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THE  
DICTIONARY  
OF  
NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

VOL. III  
BROWN—CHALONER

## *Note on the Dictionary*

THE *Dictionary of National Biography* comprises the following distinct works:

1. *The D.N.B. from the earliest times to 1900*, in two alphabetical series, (a) Vols. I–XXI, (b) the Supplementary Vol. XXII. At the end of each volume is an alphabetical index of the lives in that volume *and* of those in Vol. XXII which belong to the same part of the alphabet.

2. *The Twentieth-Century D.N.B.*

(a) *Supplement 1901–1911*, three volumes in one.

(b) *Supplement 1912–1921*, in preparation.

3. *The Concise D.N.B.*, in one volume, being an Epitome of the main work and its supplements to 1900, in *one* alphabetical series, followed by the Epitome of the Supplement 1901–1911.

THE  
DICTIONARY  
OF  
NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

Founded in 1882 by  
GEORGE SMITH

EDITED BY  
Sir LESLIE STEPHEN  
AND  
Sir SIDNEY LEE

From the Earliest Times to 1900

VOLUME III  
BROWN—CHALONER

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## NOTE

In the present reprint (1921-1922) of the twenty-two volumes of the main Dictionary it has seemed best to leave the text unaltered. The bulk of the corrections hitherto received, or collected, by the present Publishers is insignificant when compared with the magnitude of the work, and would not justify the issue of a 'new edition' purporting to supersede the editions now in the libraries and in private hands. The collection and classification of such corrections for future use is, however, being steadily carried on; and students of biography are invited to communicate their discoveries to the present Publishers or to their Advisers, Professor H. W. C. DAVIS of the University of Manchester, and Mr. J. R. H. WEAVER of Trinity College, Oxford.

The Publishers do not contemplate the separate publication of mere lists of errata; but they would be glad to consider for publication special studies in National Biography, correcting or adding to the information now available in the Dictionary, and possessing such unity of subject as would give them independent value. Any proposals in this field should be addressed to Professor Davis.

Two changes have been made in the present impression:—

1. The lists of Contributors originally prefixed to each of the sixty-six volumes, and later combined in twenty-two lists, have been combined in one list, which is now prefixed to each volume.

2. In using the main Dictionary (to 1900) it is necessary to remember that it is in *two* alphabetical series: Vols. 1-21, and the supplementary Vol. 22, in which were added lives of persons who had died too late for inclusion in their places (as well as lives of some who had been accidentally omitted). It has been sought to mitigate the inconvenience arising from this by adding to the index at the end of each volume those names, occurring in Vol. 22, which belong to the same part of the alphabet. These 'supplementary' names are added at the bottom of each page. It is thus possible to ascertain, by reference to a single volume, whether any person (who died before 1901) is or is not in the 22-volume Dictionary.

The opportunity has been taken, in accordance with the wishes of the donors, to commemorate upon each title-page the name of the munificent Founder.





# CONTENTS OF VOLS. I-22

1. Memoir of George Smith, by Sidney Lee, first published in September 1901 in the first volume of the original edition of the Supplement.

A Statistical Account of the D.N.B., first published in June 1900 as a preface to Volume 63 of the original issue of the Dictionary.

Abbadie-Beadon = Vols. 1-3 as originally published 1885.

2. Beal-Browell	=	„	4-6	„	„	1885-6.
3. Brown-Chaloner	=	„	7-9	„	„	1886-7.
4. Chamber-Craigie	=	„	10-12	„	„	1887.
5. Craik-Drake	=	„	13-15	„	„	1888.
6. Drant-Finan	=	„	16-18	„	„	1888-9.
7. Finch-Gloucester	=	„	19-21	„	„	1889-90.
8. Glover-Harriott	=	„	22-24	„	„	1890.
9. Harris-Hovenden	=	„	25-27	„	„	1891.
10. Howard-Kenneth	=	„	28-30	„	„	1891-2.
11. Kennett-Lluelyn	=	„	31-33	„	„	1892-3.
12. Llwyd-Mason	=	„	34-36	„	„	1893.
13. Masquerier-Myles	=	„	37-39	„	„	1894.
14. Myllar-Owen	=	„	40-42	„	„	1894-5.
15. Owens-Pockrich	=	„	43-45	„	„	1895-6.
16. Pocock-Robins	=	„	46-48	„	„	1896.
17. Robinson-Sheares	=	„	49-51	„	„	1897.
18. Shearman-Stovin	=	„	52-54	„	„	1897-8.
19. Stow-Tytler	=	„	55-57	„	„	1898-9.
20. Ubaldini-Whewell	=	„	58-60	„	„	1899.
21. Whichcord-Zuytlestein	=	„	61-63	„	„	1900.
22. Supplement	=	„	64-66	„	„	1901.

With a Prefatory Note, first published in September 1901 in the first volume of the original edition of the Supplement.

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Note.—Vols. 1-21, as originally issued 1885-1890, were edited by Sir Leslie Stephen ;  
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xiii

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xvii

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	(Vol. xxii)		
	THOMAS BAILEY SAUNDERS.		
	(Vols. xi-xiii)		
H. S. ....	{ HENRY STUBBS. (Vol. xix)		
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# DICTIONARY

OF

# NATIONAL BIOGRAPHY

Brown

I

Brown

**BROWN, CHARLES** (*d.* 1753), commodore, entered the navy about 1698. Through the patronage of Sir George Byng, afterwards Lord Torrington, he was appointed captain of the *Stromboli* in 1709. He commanded the *York* in 1717, and the *Advice* in 1726 in the cruises up the Baltic. In 1727, during the siege of Gibraltar by the Spaniards, he commanded the *Oxford*, and in 1731 the *Buckingham* in the Mediterranean. In 1738 he was appointed to command the *Hampton Court*, and was senior officer at this station until the arrival of Admiral Vernon in the following year. His opportunity arrived in 1739, when, during the war with Spain, he served under Vernon in the attack on Portobello, in the isthmus of Darien. He led the squadron into Boca Chica, placing his vessel, the *Hampton Court*, alongside the strongest part of the fortifications. When the fortress surrendered, the Spanish governor presented his sword in token of submission. Brown very properly declined to receive it, saying he was but 'second in command,' and took the governor in his boat to Admiral Vernon. But the Spaniard was obstinate, declaring that but for the insupportable fire of the commodore he never would have yielded. Thereupon Vernon, very handsomely turning to Brown, presented to him the sword, which is still in the possession of his descendants. In 1741 Brown was appointed to the office of commissioner of the navy at Chatham, a situation which he held with unblemished reputation until his death, 23 March 1753. His daughter, Lucy, became the wife of Admiral William Parry, commander-in-chief of the Leeward Islands; and her daughter and namesake married Captain Locker, under whom Lord Nelson served in his early days, and who subsequently became lieutenant-governor of Greenwich Hospital. There is

a portrait of Brown in the Painted Hall at Greenwich.

[Charnock's *Biog. Nav.* iv. 1; Beatson's *Nav. and Mil. Memoirs*, i. 49; E. H. Locker's *Naval Memoirs*, 1831; H. A. Locker's *Naval Gallery of Greenwich Hospital*, 1842.] A. L.

**BROWN, CHARLES ARMITAGE** (1786-1842), writer on Shakespeare's sonnets and friend of Keats, born in June 1786, went to St. Petersburg at the age of eighteen to conduct the business of a Russia merchant started there by his eldest brother John. Working on very little capital, and hampered by political disturbances, the firm soon collapsed, and about 1810, at the age of twenty-three, Brown returned to this country utterly ruined. For some years afterwards he struggled hard for a livelihood, but the death of another brother who had settled in Sumatra put him at length in the possession of a small competence, and he devoted himself to literary pursuits. In 1814 he wrote a serio-comic opera on a Russian subject, entitled 'Narensky, or the Road to Yaroslaf,' with music by Braham and Reeve. It was acted at Drury Lane, under Arnold's management, for several nights from 11 Jan. 1814, with Braham in the chief part (GENEST, viii. 405). The libretto was published in 1814, but its literary quality is poor. Brown made the acquaintance of Keats and his brothers before September 1817. At the time Brown was living at Wentworth Place, Hampstead, a double house part of which was in the occupation of Charles Wentworth Dilke, and Keats was living in Well Walk, near at hand. In July 1818 Brown and Keats made a tour together in the north of Scotland. Brown sent a number of amusing letters to Dilke describing the trip, some of which have been printed in Dilke's 'Papers of a Critic,' and in Buxton Forman's elaborate edition of Keats's

works. A diary kept by Brown at the same time is unfortunately lost. On the return from Scotland in August, Brown induced Keats to 'keep house' with him at Wentworth Place, each paying his own expenses; and there Brown introduced the poet to Fanny Brawne and her mother, who had hired Brown's rooms during his absence in the north, and had thus made his acquaintance. At Wentworth Place Keats wrote his play of 'Otho,' the plot of which he owed to Brown. In April 1819 Keats wrote some humorous Spenserian stanzas on Brown, which are printed in the various editions of the poet's works. In 1820 Keats left for Rome, with his health rapidly breaking. In 1822, shortly after Keats's death, Brown paid a long visit to Italy. He met Byron at Florence, and tried to induce him to take a just view of Keats's poetry and character. In 1824 Kirkpatrick introduced Brown to Landor, and the introduction led to a long intimacy. For many years Brown was a frequent visitor at Landor's villa at Fiesole. In April 1837 Brown returned to England and lived near Plymouth. He edited the 'Plymouth Journal,' and lectured on Keats and Shakespeare at the Plymouth Institution. Landor visited him in 1837. On 22 June 1841 he suddenly left England for New Zealand, in the hope partly of improving his fortune and partly of recovering his health, which had been failing for some time. He obtained a government grant of land at Taranaki, New Plymouth, but he was so dissatisfied with its quality and situation that he resolved to return to England. He wrote from New Zealand to Joseph Severn, under date 22 Jan. 1842, announcing this resolve, but died of apoplexy in the following June, and was buried at New Plymouth. In his last extant letter he mentions that he was engaged on a 'Handbook of New Zealand.'

A number of Keats's manuscripts came into Brown's possession on the poet's death, and Brown determined to publish some of them with a memoir by himself. He printed a few of Keats's unpublished works in the 'New Monthly Magazine,' but a short biographical sketch which he wrote of his friend was refused by the booksellers and by the 'Morning Chronicle.' On leaving England, Brown made over all his manuscripts relating to Keats to R. Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, whom he first met at Fiesole in April 1833. In his well-known book on Keats, Lord Houghton made a free use of Brown's papers.

Brown's best-known literary work is his 'Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems, being his Sonnets clearly developed, with his

Character drawn chiefly from his Works,' London, 1838. Brown dedicated the book to Landor, with whom he had first discussed its subject at Florence in 1828. It is Brown's endeavour to show that Shakespeare's sonnets conceal a fairly complete autobiography of the poet, and although Boaden had suggested a similar theory in 1812, Brown was the first to treat it with adequate fulness or knowledge. Brown often illustrates Shakespeare from Italian literature, with which he was widely acquainted. Lord Houghton says that Keats learned from Brown all that he knew of Ariosto, and that Brown scarcely let a day pass in Italy without translating from the Italian. His 'complete and admirable Version of the first five Cantos of Boiardo's "Orlando Innamorato"' (HOUGHTON) was unfortunately never published. Of Brown's contributions to periodical literature, his papers in the 'Liberal,' signed Carlone and Carlucci, are very good reading: One called 'Les Charmettes and Rousseau' has been wrongly assigned to Charles Lamb, and another, 'On Shakespeare's Fools,' equally wrongly to Charles Cowden Clarke. A story in the 'Examiner' for 1823 entitled 'La Bella Tabaccaia' is also by Brown. Various references to Brown in the letters of his literary friends, among whom Hazlitt and Leigh Hunt are to be included; prove that he was at all times excellent company. Leigh Hunt is believed to refer to him in the 'Tatler' for 14 Jan. 1831, as 'one of the most genuine wits now living.' Joseph Severn, Keats's friend, maintained a fairly regular correspondence with Brown for more than twenty years (1820-42), and many of Brown's letters to Severn and other literary friends will be printed in the 'Severn Memoirs,' edited by Mr. William Sharp.

[Information from the late W. Dilke of Chichester, from the late Lord Houghton, and William Sharp, and from Mr. Sidney Colvin; William Sharp's Life and Letters of Joseph Severn (1892); Buxton Forman's complete edition of Keats's works (1883); Dilke's Papers of a Critic; Lord Houghton's Life of Keats (1848); Forster's Life of Landor; Notes and Queries, 5th ser. vii. 388, 6th ser. viii. 392; Wells's Taranaki, 304-7. Brown is always given the second name of Armitage by Lord Houghton in his Life of Keats. On the title-page of the opera Narensky (1814) Brown is called Mr. Charles Brown, but on that of his work on Shakespeare's sonnets he is called Charles Armitage Brown. His eldest brother's name was John Armitage Brown. A son Charles or Carlino, who settled with him in New Zealand, survived him.] S. L.

BROWN, CHARLES PHILIP (1798-1884), Telugu scholar, son of the Rev. David



Brown [q. v.], provost of the college of Calcutta, entered the Madras Civil Service in 1817, was employed for many years in revenue, magisterial, and judicial duties in the districts of Cuddapah and Masulipatam, where, in addition to a knowledge of Persian, Sanskrit, and Hindustani, he acquired that mastery over the hitherto neglected language and literature of Telugu which entitles him to a foremost place among South Indian scholars. He was appointed in 1838 Persian translator, and in 1846 postmaster-general and Telugu translator to the Madras government, and became at the same time a member of the council of education, a government director of the Madras bank, and curator of manuscripts in the college library. He resigned in 1855, after thirty-eight years of service. His principal works were his valuable dictionaries of Telugu-English (Madras, 1852), English-Telugu (Madras, 1852), and 'Mixed Dialects and Foreign Words used in Telugu' (Madras, 1854), published at the expense of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. His other writings included: 'Prosody of the Telugu and Sanskrit Languages explained,' Madras, 1827; 'Vemana's Verses, Moral, Religious, and Satirical,' Madras, 1829; 'Familiar Analysis of Sanskrit Prosody,' London, 1837; 'New Telugu Version of St. Luke,' 1838; 'Grammar of the Telugu Language,' Madras, 1840, 2nd ed. 1857; 'Cyclic Tables of Hindu and Mahomedan Chronology of the Telugu and Kanadi Countries,' Madras, 1850; 'English and Hindustani Phraseology,' Calcutta, 1850; 'Ephemeris, showing the corresponding Dates according to the English, Telugu, Malayalam, and Mahomedan Calendars, 1751-1850;' 'Telugu Reader: a Series of Letters, Private and on Business, and Revenue Matters, with English Translation,' Madras, 1852; 'Dialogues in Telugu and English,' 2nd ed. Madras, 1853; 'Vākyāvali; or, Exercises in Idioms, English and Telugu,' Madras, 1852; 'Zillah Dictionary in the Roman Character,' Madras, 1852; 'The Wars of the Rajahs,' Madras, 1853; 'Popular Telugu Tales,' 1855; 'A Titular Memory,' London, 1861; 'Carnatic Chronology, the Hindu and Mahomedan Methods of reckoning Time, explained with Symbols and Historic Records,' London, 1863; 'Sanskrit Prosody and Numerical Symbols explained,' London (printed), 1869. He also edited 'Three Treatises on Mirāsi Rights,' &c.; translated from Mahratta the lives of Haidar Ali and Tippoo; and printed in 1866 an autobiography for private circulation. He was a frequent contributor to the 'Madras Journal of Literature and Science.' Some of his works were translated into Tamil, Canarese,

and Hindustani. On his return to England he accepted the post of professor of Telugu at University College. Among his titles to fame must be reckoned the fine collection of manuscripts, including over 2,000 Sanskrit and Telugu works, which he presented in 1845 to the Madras Literary Society, and which now form part of the government college library.

[Autobiography (privately printed), with preface by D. F. Carmichael; Athenæum, No. 2984; Times, 20 Dec. 1884; Ann. Report Royal Asiatic Society, 1885.] S. L.-P.

BROWN, DAVID (A. 1795), landscape-painter, commenced his artistic career by painting signboards. At the age of thirty-five he placed himself for some time under George Morland, and made copies of that artist's pictures, which are stated to have been since frequently sold as originals. Being unable to endure the excesses of his master, he left the metropolis and obtained employment in the country as a drawing-master. The dates of his birth and death are unknown, but he exhibited at the Royal Academy ten landscapes between 1792 and 1797.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists, 1878.]

L. F.

BROWN, DAVID (1763-1812), Bengal chaplain and founder of the Calcutta Bible Society, was born in Yorkshire, and was educated first under private tuition at Scarborough, and afterwards at the grammar school at Hull under the Rev. Joseph Milner [q. v.], author of the 'History of the Church,' and at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Having taken holy orders and been appointed to a chaplaincy in Bengal, Brown reached Calcutta in 1786, and was immediately placed in charge of an extensive orphanage in that city, being at the same time appointed chaplain to the brigade at Fort William. In addition to these duties Brown took charge of the mission church. In 1794 he was appointed presidency chaplain, in which office he is said to have commanded in an unusual degree the respect and esteem of the English at Calcutta. Among his most intimate friends were Henry Martyn, Claudius Buchanan, and Thomas Thomason, all of whom were successively received in his house on their first arrival in India, and regarded him as their chief guide and counsellor. To the cause of Christian missions he devoted himself with untiring zeal, labouring in it himself and affording generous aid to missionaries, both of the church of England and of other denominations.

Brown's health failing in 1812, he embarked, for the benefit of sea air, in a vessel bound

for Madras, which was wrecked on the voyage down the Bay of Bengal. The passengers and crew were rescued by another vessel and taken back to Calcutta, where Brown died on 14 June 1812. Charles Philip Brown [q.v.] was his son.

[Bengal Obituary; Memoir of Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D., by Rev. Hugh Pearson, London, 1819; Memoir of Rev. Thomas Thomason, by Rev. Thomas Sargent, 1833.] A. J. A.

**BROWN, GEORGE** (d. 1628), an English Benedictine monk, who in religion assumed the christian name of Gregory, is believed to have been the translator, from the Italian, of the 'Life of St. Mary Magdalen de' Pazzi,' 1619. It is dedicated to Lady Mary Percy, abbess of the English convent of St. Benet at Brussels. Brown died at Celle, near Paris, on 21 Oct. 1628.

[Oliver's Hist. of the Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 508; Weldon's Chronological Notes (1881), 158, Append. 6.] T. C.

**BROWN, GEORGE** (1650-1730), arithmetician, was born in 1650, and was appointed minister of the parish of Kilmaurs, in the presbytery of Irvine and county of Ayr, about 1680 (Scott, *Fasti*, ii. pt. i. p. 178), having been 'translated from Stranraer' (*ibid.* p. 384). 'About 1700 he was frequently charged for exercising discipline and marrying without proclamation' (*ibid.* p. 178). 'He invented an instrument called Rotula Arithmetica, to teach those of very ordinary capacity who can but read figures to add, subtract, multiply, and divide, on which the privy council, 13 Dec. 1698, recommended the lords of the treasury "to give a reasonable allowance to be an encouragement to him"' (*ibid.* p. 384). In explanation of this instrument he published 'Rotula Arithmetica, with an Account thereof,' 12mo, Edinburgh, 1700, and in the same year produced 'A Specie Book serving at one View to turn any pure Number of any Pieces of Silver, current in this Kingdom, into Pounds Scots or Sterling,' 12mo, Edinburgh, 1700. He next published 'A Compendious, but a Compleat System of Decimal Arithmetick, containing more Exact Rules for ordering Infinites than any hitherto extant,' 4to, Edinburgh, 1701, which he dedicated 'to John Spotiswood, Baron of Spotiswood, Advocate,' on the title-page he described himself as 'minister of Killmarie.' His last work was 'Arithmetica Infinita; or the Accurate Accountant's Best Companion, contriv'd and calculated by the Reverend George Brown, A.M., and printed for the Author,' sq. 12mo, Edinburgh, 1718. This work, which was commended by Dr. Keill, F.R.S., Savilian profes-

sor of astronomy at Oxford, was published by subscription. Brown died in 1730.

[Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Sinclair's New Statistical Account of Scotland, 1845; Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanæ*, 1868.] A. H. G.

**BROWN, SIR GEORGE** (1790-1865), general, third son of George Brown, provost of Elgin, was born at Linkwood, near Elgin, on 3 July 1790. He was educated at the Elgin academy, and showed an inclination to enter the army. His uncle, Colonel John Brown, procured him a commission, and he was gazetted an ensign in the 43rd regiment on 23 Jan. 1806. He joined his regiment in Sicily, and was promoted lieutenant on 18 Sept. 1806, and served in the expedition to Copenhagen in 1807, at the battle of Vimero, and in the retreat upon Corunna under Sir John Moore. In 1809 the 43rd was brigaded with the 52nd and 95th, and formed part of the famous light brigade. Brown was present in all its actions until in June 1811 he was promoted captain into the 3rd garrison battalion, and obtained leave to join the staff college at Great Marlow. Brown exchanged into the 85th regiment in July 1812, which in August 1813 was sent to the Peninsula, and formed one of the regiments in the unattached brigade under the command of Major-general Lord Aylmer. The brigade was engaged in the battles of the Nivelle and the Nive, in which Brown so greatly distinguished himself that he was promoted major on 26 May 1814. The 85th was then sent to join the expedition under General Ross in America, and at the battle of Bladensburg Brown was wounded so severely that his life was despaired of, and for his gallant conduct there he was promoted lieutenant-colonel on 26 Sept. 1814.

So far Brown had had a brilliant military career. He was now selected for various staff appointments at home and abroad, and while serving as assistant quartermaster-general at Malta in 1826 he married a Miss Macdonell, third daughter of Hugh Macdonell. In 1828 Lord Hill, the commander-in-chief, appointed him deputy assistant adjutant-general at headquarters. At the Horse Guards he remained in various staff appointments for more than twenty-five years, and in such capacities he rose to the highest ranks in the army without seeing any further service. In 1831 he was promoted colonel and made a K.H., and some years afterwards was appointed deputy adjutant-general at the Horse Guards. In 1841 he was promoted major-general, and in 1850 he was appointed adjutant-general at the Horse Guards by the Duke of Wellington; he was promoted lieutenant-general in 1851; and, in recognition of his long official services,

he was made a K.C.B. in April 1852. Soon after Lord Hardinge had succeeded Wellington as commander-in-chief Brown resigned his post at the Horse Guards in December 1853. His resignation was almost certainly caused by the reforms introduced into the administration of the army by Lord Hardinge, but it has been hinted that it was partly due to the interference of the prince consort with the details of military business.

In 1854 Brown was selected for a command in the army intended for the East, and soon showed that his long official life had made him something of a martinet. He was the first of the general officers to reach Turkey, and his policy of 'pipe-claying, close-shaving, and tight-stocking' was strongly condemned by the 'Times' correspondent. Though he kept his men under close discipline, he was endeared to them by his kindness when the cholera broke out at Varna. He took command of the light division, and on landing in the Crimea in advance of his soldiers was nearly taken prisoner by a Russian outpost. At the battle of the Alma his division was in the heat of the battle, and his horse was shot down under him while he was cheering on the 23rd Welsh fusiliers to the attack on the Russian centre. After the allied army took up its position before Sebastopol, the light division was posted on the Victoria Ridge, and so did not bear the brunt of the Russian attack on 5 Nov. Brown was soon on the field, and seems to have led the opportune attack of the French Zouaves, who recaptured the three guns of Boothby's demi-battery, which the Russians had just taken, and in doing so he was shot through the left arm and wounded in the chest. He refused to go home on account of his wounds, and assisted Lord Raglan, to whom he was by seniority second in command, through the winter, and in May 1855 he commanded the English contingent to the sea of Azoff, which took Kertch and Yenikale. On 28 June 1855, however, the day on which Lord Raglan died, he was invalided home by a medical board, and the imputation that he was jealous of Sir James Simpson is therefore unfounded (see Surgeon Watkins's letter to the 'Times' on 5 Sept. 1865). He was colonel of the 77th foot, 1851-4, of the 7th foot, 1854-5, and of 1st battalion of rifle brigade from January 1855, and was made G.C.B. in July 1855 and general in September 1855. On the conclusion of the war he was also made knight grand cross of the Legion of Honour and knight of the Medjidie. In 1860 he was appointed commander-in-chief in Ireland and sworn of the privy council there, and in 1863 he became colonel of the 32nd regiment and colonel-in-chief of the rifle brigade. In

April 1865 he resigned his command, and on 27 Aug. he died at his brother's house of Linkwood, near Elgin, the house in which he was born.

[Obituary notice in Times, 29 Aug. 1865; biography in Nolan's Crimea (1855), and in Ryan's Our Heroes in the Crimea; but, for the part he played there and a real account of his actions, see Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea and Dr. Russell's letters to the Times.] H. M. S.

**BROWN, GEORGE HILARY, D.D.** (1786-1856), catholic prelate, born 13 Jan. 1786, was educated at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, where he became vice-president and professor of theology. Afterwards he was missionary at Lancaster. On the partition of the northern district he was appointed vicar-apostolic of the Lancashire district by Pope Gregory XVI, and was consecrated at Rome on 24 Aug. 1840 with the title of bishop of Tloa 'in partibus infidelium.' On the restoration of the hierarchy by Pius IX in 1850 he was translated to the newly erected see of Liverpool, in which town he died on 25 Jan. 1856.

[Catholic Directory (1885), 59, 159; Weekly Register, 2 Feb. 1856.] T. C.

**BROWN, GILBERT** (d. 1612); Scotch catholic divine, was descended from the ancient family of Carsluith, in the parish of Kirkmabreck. He entered the Cistercian order, and was the last abbot of Sweetheart, or New Abbey, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, about seven miles from Dumfries. In that capacity he sat in parliament, 17 Aug. 1560, whilst the confession of faith was approved. He was, however, an active opponent of the Reformation. In 1578 he was complained of as being zealous in instructing the family of Lord Herries; and in the following year he was accused before the general assembly of enticing people within the bounds of 'papistrie.' Brown laboured so zealously for the catholic cause in Glasgow, in Paisley, and in Galloway, that in 1588 the general assembly complained of his 'busyness.' Lord Herries then expelled the presbyterian ministers from Dumfries. As all endeavours to stop the catholic reaction proved unavailing, the general assembly, in 1594, petitioned for Brown's apprehension by the guard. At this period he entered into a written controversy with John Welsche, minister of Ayr, and composed 'Ane Answer to ane certaine libell or writing, sent by Mr. John Welsche, to ane Catholicke, as ane Answer to ane Objection of the Romane Kirk, whereby they go about to deface the verities of that onely true religion whilk we

professe.' This elicited from Welsche 'A Reply against Mr. Gilbert Browne, priest,' Edinburgh, 1602, 4to, afterwards reprinted under the title of 'Popery anatomized.' At the time Welsche published this reply Dumfries 'had become the seat of excommunicated papists and jesuits;' and the abbot is described as the 'famous excommunicat, foirfaultit, and perverting papist, named Mr. Gilbert Browne, Abbot of New Abbey, quho evir since the reformatioun of religioun had conteinit in ignorance and idolatrie allmost the haill south-west partis of Scotland, and had been continowallie occupyit in practising of heresy.' At length Abbot Brown was captured near New Abbey in August 1605. The country people rose in arms to rescue him, but were overpowered by Lord Cranstoun and his guardsmen. Brown was first conveyed to Blackness castle, and thence transferred to the castle of Edinburgh, 'where he was interteaned upon the kings expences till his departure out of the countrie' (CALDERWOOD, *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, vi. 295). Eventually he was banished, and he died at Paris on 14 May 1612.

[Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Calderwood's Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland (Wodrow Soc.), v. 39, 416, vi. 295, 367, 576, 764; Gordon's Catholic Church in Scotland, 526; Keith's Cat. of Scottish Bishops (1824), 425; McCrie's Life of Melville, ii. 208; Murray's Lit. Hist. of Galloway, 56-8, 121-3.] T. C.

BROWN, IGNATIUS (1630-1679), Irish writer, was born in the county of Waterford in 1630, but educated in Spain. In his twenty-first year he was admitted into the society of jesuits at Compostella. After teaching belles-lettres for some time in Castile, he was sent on a mission into his own country, whence removing into France, he became rector, in 1676, of the newly founded Irish seminary at Poitiers. Having been appointed confessor to the Queen of Spain, he died at Valladolid in 1679, during a journey to Madrid. He was the author of 'The Unerring and Unerrable Church, in Answer to a Sermon of Andrew Sall, preached at Christ Church, Dublin, in July 1674' (dedicated in ironical terms to the Earl of Essex), 1675, and 'An Unerrable Church or None. Being a Rejoinder to "The Unerring and Unerrable Church," against Dr. Andrew Sall's Reply, entitled "The Catholic and Apostolic Church of England"' (dedicated to the Duke of Ormonde), 1678. He is also the reputed author of a treatise, 'Pax Vobis.'

[Ware's Works (Harris), ii. 186-7.]

T. F. H.

BROWN, JAMES (1709-1788), traveller and scholar, was son of James Brown, M.D., of Kelso in Roxburghshire, where he was born on 23 May 1709. He received his education at Westminster School, 'where he was well instructed in the Latin and Greek classics,' notwithstanding that he must have left school at the early age of thirteen, as in the year 1722 he went with his father to Constantinople. During the three years of his stay in the East on this occasion, the boy, 'having a great natural aptitude for the learning of languages, acquired a competent knowledge of Turkish, vulgar Greek, and Italian.' In 1725 he returned home, and 'made himself master of the Spanish language.' About the year 1732 he conceived for the first time (it has been said) the idea of a 'Directory of the Principal Traders in London.' A 'Directory' upon a similar plan had, however, been already published in London as early as 1677. After having been at some pains to lay the foundation of it, he gave it to Henry Kent, printer, in Finch Lane, Cornhill, who made a fortune by the publication. In 1741 he attempted to carry out a more ambitious project, namely, to establish a trade with Persia viâ Russia. Having entered into an agreement for the purpose with twenty-four of the principal merchants of London, members of the Russia Company, he sailed for Riga on Michaelmas day 1741, 'passed through Russia, down the Volga to Astrachan, and sailed along the Caspian Sea to Reshd in Persia, where he established a factory, in which he continued near four years.' While there he was the bearer of a letter from George II to Nadir Shah. Dissatisfied with his employers, and impressed with the dangers to which the factory was exposed from the unsettled nature of the Persian government, he resigned his post, and reached London on Christmas day 1746.

The following year the factory at Reshd was plundered, and a final period put to the Persia trade. His old aptitude for languages enabled him during his four years' stay at Reshd to acquire such proficiency in Persian that on his return he compiled 'a copious Persian Dictionary and Grammar,' which, however, was never published. Lysons states that Brown was also the author of a translation of two orations of Isocrates, published anonymously. He died of a paralytic stroke on 30 Nov. 1788, at his house in Stoke Newington, where he had resided since 1734, and was buried in the parish church of St. Mary, where there is a tomb erected to his memory (LYSONS, iii. 290).

[Gent. Mag. lviii. pt. ii. p. 1128; Lysons's Environs of London, iii. 301-2.] G. V. B.

**BROWN, JAMES, D.D. (1812-1881),** catholic bishop, was born on 11 Jan. 1812, at Wolverhampton. There, in the old chapel of SS. Peter and Paul in North Street, he often, when a child, served the mass of Bishop Milner. That prelate, taking a great liking to the boy, and observing in his little acolyte the signs of a vocation to the ecclesiastical state, sent him, in 1820, to Sedgely Park Academy. There he remained until June 1826, and in the following August was placed by Bishop Milner, as a clerical student, at St. Mary's College, Old Oscott, now known as Maryvale. He completed his studies as an Oscotian with marked success, being chiefly distinguished by his proficiency in classics. On 18 Feb. 1837 he was ordained priest by Bishop Walsh. For several years he remained at Old and (from 1838 onwards) at New Oscott as professor and prefect of studies until, in January 1844, he returned to Sedgely Park as vice-president, being afterwards, before the year was out, promoted to the rank of president. Six years later on he was still holding that position when, in the summer of 1851, he was advanced to the episcopate. He was consecrated, on 27 July 1851, the first bishop of Shrewsbury in St. George's Cathedral, Southwark, by Cardinal Wiseman. Immediately after his consecration Brown went to reside at Salter's Hall, near Newport in Shropshire. His diocese comprised within it not only Shropshire and Cheshire, but also the six counties of North Wales. Such was the energy of his episcopal governance during the thirty years that elapsed between 1851 and 1881 that within that interval he had increased the number of priests there from thirty-three to ninety-five, of churches from thirty to eighty-eight, of monasteries from one to six, and of convents from one to eleven. And whereas in 1851 he had found not one poor school at all he left flourishing, near St. Asaph, the fine establishment of St. Beuno's College, and scattered all over his diocese sixty-three poor schools, at which 9,273 children were in daily attendance. Much of this wonderful increase was directly traceable to his untiring energy and his remarkable power of organisation. In September 1868 Brown left Newport and went to reside at Shrewsbury. On 8 Dec. 1869 he took part in the inauguration of the Œcumenical Council of the Vatican. On 17 April 1870 he was named by Pius IX one of the bishops assistant at the pontifical throne. Some weeks before the declaration of the dogma of papal infallibility, on 18 July 1870, Brown was released from his attendance upon it on the score of ill-health, and

received permission to return homewards. On 27 July 1876 the silver jubilee of his episcopate was celebrated in the cathedral church at Shrewsbury, memorial gifts to the value of 1,600*l.* being presented to him on the occasion. His health breaking down three years afterwards he obtained the assistance of an auxiliary, Edmund Knight, who was consecrated on 25 July 1879. Brown then went to live at St. Mary's Grange, a sequestered spot near Shrewsbury, then recently purchased by him as the site of his proposed seminary. His active episcopal work had thenceforth to be abandoned. But to the close of his life he sedulously watched over the general administration of his diocese. Death came to him at last very gently, in his seventieth year, on 14 Oct. 1881, at St. Mary's Grange. He had been present at four provincial councils (those of 1852, 1855, 1859, and 1873) held during the time of his episcopate. He presided at his own first diocesan synod in December 1853, at St. Alban's, Macclesfield.

[Morris's Silver Jubilee Sermon at St. Beuno's, 1876; Men of the Time, 10th ed. 153; Brady's Episcopal Succession, 445; Times, 15 Oct. 1881; Tablet, 22 Oct. 1881, 674; Weekly Register, 22 Oct. 1881, 484-5.] C. K.

**BROWN, JAMES BALDWIN,** the elder (1785-1843), miscellaneous writer, was called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1816, and practised on the northern circuit and at the Lancashire quarter sessions. He was appointed judge of the Oldham court of requests in 1840, and died in November 1843. Brown married a sister of the Rev. Thomas Raffles, D.D., and was father of the Rev. James Baldwin Brown [q. v.] His portrait has been engraved.

He was the author of: 1. 'An Historical Account of the Laws enacted against the Catholics, both in England and Ireland,' London, 1813, 8vo. 2. 'An Historical Inquiry into the ancient Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction of the Crown,' 1815, 8vo. 3. 'Poems' in conjunction with the Rev. Thomas Raffles and Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, 1815, 8vo. 4. 'Memoirs of the Public and Private Life of John Howard, the Philanthropist,' London, 1818, 4to, 2nd edit. 1823, 8vo; dedicated to William Wilberforce, M.P.

[T. S. Raffles's Memoirs of Dr. Thomas Raffles, 374; Biog. Dict. of Living Authors (1816), 41; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, i. 42; Gent. Mag. N.S. xxi. 93.] T. C.

**BROWN, JAMES BALDWIN,** the younger (1820-1884), nonconformist divine, was the eldest son of James Baldwin Brown the elder [q. v.] Born in 1820 at

King's Bench Walk, Temple, he was sent to the London University, and at the age of eighteen was amongst the recipients of the first degrees granted by that body. It was intended that Brown should follow his father's profession, and he kept his terms at the Inner Temple for that purpose. He afterwards determined to devote himself to the ministry, and became a student at High-bury College. In 1843 he accepted the charge of a congregational church at Derby, and three years later he removed to London, becoming minister of Claylands Chapel, Clapham Road. During his ministry here Brown was distinguished for the breadth of his theological views. When the 'Rivulet' controversy arose in connection with the Rev. T. T. Lynch and his writings, Brown protested with other nonconformists against the severe attacks made upon Mr. Lynch. He also threw himself into the controversy on the doctrine of annihilation, and published a collection of discourses on the subject in opposition to the view held by the great body of the congregationalists. In 1870 Brown removed with the greater part of his congregation to a new and more commodious church in Brixton Road, with which his name was associated until his death.

In 1878 Brown was elected to the chair of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. During his tenure of office he once more showed himself to be a fearless controversialist. A conference was held at Leicester, in which an effort was made by certain congregational ministers holding unorthodox views to fraternise with unitarians and other advanced thinkers. Brown warmly supported the arguments of the advanced school, but the majority at the conference carried a resolution reaffirming the tenets expressed in the Congregational Declaration of Faith and Order. The enforced separation from friends on this and other occasions affected Brown keenly.

Brown was a voluminous writer, as well as an active preacher and lecturer. In 1869 he published a volume entitled 'The Divine Mysteries.' He was also the author of: 1. 'Studies of First Principles' (1848, &c.) 2. 'Competition, the Labour Market, and Christianity' (1851). 3. 'The Divine Life in Man' (1860). 4. 'Aids to the Development of the Divine Life' (1862). 5. 'The Home Life' (1866). 6. 'The Christian Policy of Life' (1870). 7. 'Buying and Selling and getting Gain' (1871). 8. 'First Principles of Ecclesiastical Truth' (1871). 9. 'Our Morals and Manners' (1872). 10. 'The Higher Life' (1874). 11. 'The Battle and Burden of Life' (1875). 12. 'The Doctrine of Annihilation in the Light of the Gospel of Love'

(1875); and a number of other works, sermons, and contributions to periodical literature.

For some time before his death Brown had been in feeble health, and laid aside from active work. He was contemplating a visit to Switzerland when he was struck down with apoplexy, and died on 23 June 1884. Brown's reputation as a preacher extended far beyond his own denomination. In all public movements he took a great interest, and at such crises as the Lancashire cotton famine, the American civil war, the Franco-German war, &c., his sympathies and aid went out towards the distressed and the suffering. He was of a sensitive and active temperament, taking a great delight in work. His discourses were marked by much fervour, intellectual force, and literary finish. He deeply lamented the exclusiveness of the established church, and was a warm advocate of the claims of dissenters at the universities. One of the reforms for which he had long striven was accomplished when Brown lived to see his own son take a first-class at Oxford after a brilliant university career. In culture and versatility of parts he was himself justly distinguished.

[Times, 24 June 1884; Christian World, 26 June 1884; Brixton Free Press, 28 June 1884; In Memoriam, James Baldwin Brown, by Mrs. Elizabeth Baldwin Brown (1884).] G. B. S.

**BROWN, JOHN** (*d.* 1532), sergeant painter to King Henry VIII, was appointed to the office by patent, dated 11 Jan. 1512, with a salary of 2*d.* a day, and a livery of four ells of woollen cloth at 6*s.* 8*d.* a yard at Christmas. On 12 March 1527 this salary was raised to 10*l.* a year. The work on which he was employed was not of a very elevated character. It consisted, as far as can be discovered from the records of the king's expenses, of painting flags for the Great Harry and other ships, surcoats and trappings for tournaments, banners and standards for the army sent into France under the Duke of Suffolk in 1523, escutcheons of arms, gilding the roofs and other decorations for a banqueting house at Greenwich, and for the castle at Guisnes in preparation for the Field of the Cloth of Gold. The only existing picture which was ever supposed to have been by his hand is a portrait on panel in the British Museum. It was presented by Sir Thomas Mantel of Dover, and now bears the number 93. It is inscribed 'Maria Princeps An<sup>o</sup> Dom. 1531. I. B.' 'In some respects,' says Sir Frederick Madden, 'it resembles the Burghley picture, but its authenticity has been questioned.' The fact is that the face does not bear the least resemblance to the features of Queen Mary, and the

costume is some thirty years or so later than the date given in the inscription, which cannot be contemporary with the painting. In 1522 Brown was elected alderman of London, but resigned the office in 1525, before he had served either as sheriff or mayor. During the last years of his life he sat on the commission of the peace in Essex and Middlesex. He was a member of the companies of Haberdashers and Painter Stainers, and shortly before his death (24 Sept. 1532) conveyed to the latter company his house in Little Trinity Lane, which has from that time continued to be the hall of the company. The house had been in his possession since 1504. His portrait, dated 1504, is preserved in the hall, but is apparently a copy painted after the great fire of 1666, when the hall was burnt. His arms were 'argent on a fess counter embattled, sable, 3 escallops of the first; on a canton, quarterly gules and azure, a leopard's head caboshed, or.' crest, 'on a wreath argent and sable, a crane's head azure, beaked gules, winged or, the neck and wings each charged with an escallop counterchanged, and holding in its beak an oak branch fruited proper.' This resembles the coat borne by the Brownes of Kent. In the British Museum is a book (Lansdowne MS. 858) which once belonged to him, and has his signature. It is the account of banners, &c., furnished to the Duke of Suffolk, and contains the shields of arms in colours of sovereigns of Europe and English nobles. By his will, dated 17 Sept. 1532, and proved 2 Dec. of the same year, it appears that he left a widow Anne and two daughters, Elizabeth and Isabel. By a previous wife, Alice, he probably had two daughters, married to Richard Colard and Edmund Lee. A house at Kingsland and lands in Hackney, and another house called 'The Swan on the Hope' in the Strand, are mentioned, and certain books of arms and badges bequeathed to his servant. He was buried in St. Vedast's, Foster Lane.

[Calendar of State Papers of Hen. VIII, vols. i-v.; Chronicle of Calais; Madden's Expenses of Princess Mary, p. clix; Stow's Survey of London, iii. 126; Walpole's Anecdotes, i. 64; Some Account of the Painters' Company, 1880, p. 14; Archæologia, xxxix. 23; Lansd. MS. 858.]

C. T. M.

**BROWN, JOHN** (1610?-1679), of Wamphray, church leader, was probably born at Kirkcudbright; he graduated at the university of Edinburgh 24 July 1630. He was probably not settled till 1655, although he comes first into notice in some highly complimentary references to him in Samuel Rutherford's letters in 1637. In the year

1655 he was ordained minister of the parish of Wamphray in Annandale. For many years he seems to have been quietly engaged in his pastoral duties, in which he must have been very efficient, for his name still lives in the district in affectionate remembrance. After the restoration he was not only compelled by the acts of parliament of 1662 to leave his charge, but he was one of a few ministers who were arrested and banished, owing to the ability and earnestness with which they had opposed the arbitrary conduct of the king in the affairs of the church. On 6 Nov. 1662 he was sentenced to be kept a close prisoner in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, his crime being that he had called some ministers 'false knaves' for keeping synod with the archbishop. The state of the prison causing his health to break down, he was banished 11 Dec. from the king's dominions, and ordered not to return on pain of death. He went to Holland. In 1676 Charles II urged the States-General to banish him from their country, a step which they refused to take. For a few years he was minister of the Scotch church in Rotterdam, and shortly before his death, which occurred in 1679, he took part in the ordination of Richard Cameron [q. v.]. He was the author of many learned and elaborate works, among which were—'Apologetical Relation of the Sufferings of Ministers of the Church of Scotland since 1660,' 1665; 'Libri duo contra Woltzogenium et Velthusium,' 1670; 'De Causâ Dei adversus anti-Sabbatarios,' 2 vols. 4to, 1674-76; 'Quakerism the Pathway to Paganism,' 1678; 'An Explanation of the Epistle to the Romans,' 1679; 'The Life of Justification opened,' 1695. Other treatises were published between 1720 and 1792, and a manuscript history of the church is in the university library at Edinburgh. Of his treatise on justification a writer says: 'It is by far our most thorough exposition and discussion of the doctrine it handles; and it is all the more to be prized because of the particular bearing it has on the new views which Baxter and others had begun to propagate, and which in some shape are ever returning among ourselves' (JAMES WALKER, D.D., Carnwath, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland*).

[Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland from the Restoration to the Revolution; Memoir prefixed to reprint of Apologetical Relation in the Presbyterian Armoury, vol. iii. Edin. 1846; Scott's Fasti, ii. 663.]

W. G. B.

**BROWN, JOHN** (1627?-1685), the 'christian carrier,' one of the most eminent names in the Scottish covenanting martyro-

logy during the stormy period known as the 'killing time' before the revolution of 1688, was born about 1627. He lived in a desolate place called Priestfield or Priesthill, in the upland parish of Muirkirk in Kyle, Ayrshire, where he cultivated a small piece of ground and acted as a carrier. Wodrow describes him as 'of shining piety,' and one who had 'great measures of solid digested knowledge, and had a singular talent of a most plain and affecting way of communicating his knowledge to others.' He had (according to Claverhouse's account) fought against the government at the battle of Bothwell Bridge (1679); he refused to 'hear the episcopal ministers,' he instructed the people in the principles of his church, and he was on intimate terms with the leaders of the persecuted party. In 1682 Alexander Peden, one of the chief of these, united him in marriage to his second wife, Marion Weir (who figures prominently in Brown's death-scene), and on this occasion Peden, according to Walker, foretold the husband's early and violent end. 'Keep linen by you for his winding-sheet,' he added.

Early in the morning of 1 May 1685 Brown and his nephew were at work in the fields cutting peat. There was a thick mist, out of which Graham of Claverhouse with his dragoons suddenly appeared and seized the two men. According to that commander's report, drawn up not many hours after the event, what followed was this: 'They had no arms about them, and denied they had any. But being asked if they would take the abjuration, the eldest of the two, called John Brown, refused it. Nor would he swear not to rise in arms against the king, but said he knew no king' (according to an act of the Scottish privy council, 22 Nov. 1684, such refusal was punishable with instant death, Wodrow, book iii. ch. viii.) 'Upon which, and there being found bullets and match in his house, and treasonable papers, I caused shoot him dead, which he suffered very unconcernedly' (Claverhouse to Queensberry, 3 May 1685, quoted in *Life* referred to below). Many additional details are given by the covenanting historians. Wodrow tells us that the soldiers were so moved by the manner in which Brown prayed before his death that they refused to fire at him, and that Claverhouse 'was forced to turn executioner himself, and in a fret shot him with his own hand before his own door, his wife with a young infant standing by, and she very near the time of her delivery of another child.' Patrick Walker's account was drawn up from information afterwards supplied to him by 'the said Marion Weir, sitting upon her husband's grave.' It

contains a striking conversation between the widow and Claverhouse, and an affecting picture of the lonely woman, after the dragoons were gone, performing the last rites to her husband's body, covering it with her plaid and sitting down in the solitude to weep over him. According to Walker's version it was the dragoons, and not Claverhouse himself, who performed the execution. A monument was afterwards erected to mark the spot where Brown was buried.

[Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, Edin. 1721-2; Walker's Life of Peden, &c. 1727, Glasgow, 1868. Napier's Life and Times of John Graham, Edin. 1862, contains Claverhouse's Report, together with a defence of his conduct; Thomson's edition of A Cloud of Witnesses (1713), Edin. 1871, gives (pp. 574-5) an account of the monument, with copy of inscription; a chap-book Life of Brown was published at Stirling in 1828.] F. W.-r.

BROWN, JOHN (*d.* 1736), chemist, was elected F.R.S. in 1722, and during 1723-1725 served on its council. He discovered the presence of magnesia in sea-water (*Phil. Trans.* xxxii. 348), and the nature of Prussian blue (*Phil. Trans.* xxxiii. 17).

H. F. M.

BROWN, JOHN (1715-1766), author of the 'Estimate,' was born at Rothbury, Northumberland, where his father was curate, 5 Nov. 1715. His father, John Brown, a member of the Haddington family, had been ordained by a Scotch bishop, and at the end of 1715 became vicar of Wigton. The son was sent to the Wigton grammar school. On 18 June 1732 he matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and took his B.A. degree with distinction in 1735. He took orders, and was appointed minor canon and lecturer by the dean and chapter of Carlisle. He showed his loyalty by serving as a volunteer in 1745 at the siege of Carlisle, and his sound whig principles in two sermons afterwards published. He thus obtained the notice of Dr. Osbaldiston, dean of York, who in 1747 became bishop of Carlisle, and who appointed Brown one of his chaplains. An accidental omission of the Athanasian Creed at the appointed time brought a censure; and Brown, after reading the creed out of due course, to show his orthodoxy, resigned his canonry. A poem upon 'Honour' (first published in 1743), and an 'Essay upon Satire,' appeared in the third volume of Dodsley's collection. The last was 'occasioned by the death of Mr. Pope,' and contains a high compliment to Pope's literary executor, Warburton. Warburton saw it 'by accident' some time after its publication (NICHOLS, *Anecdotes*, v. 587),



and asked Dodsley to let him know the author's name. He published it in the collected edition of Pope's works before the 'Essay on Man.' One line survives—

And coxcombs vanquish Berkeley by a grin.

A poem on 'Liberty,' occasioned by the peace, appeared in 1749. Warburton introduced Brown to his father-in-law, the munificent Ralph Allen. Whilst staying at Allen's Brown preached a sermon at Bath against gambling (22 April 1750). It was published with a statement that the public tables were suppressed soon after the sermon was preached. Warburton now advised Brown to carry out Pope's design of an epic poem, 'Brute;' and when this was begun suggested an essay upon Shaftesbury's 'Characteristics.' The essay, completed under Warburton's eye, appeared in 1751. The second part of this essay is a remarkably clear statement of the utilitarian theory as afterwards expounded by Paley, and is highly praised in J. S. Mill's essay upon 'Bentham.' The book provoked answers from C. Bulkley, a dissenting minister, and an anonymous author, and it reached a fifth edition in 1764. Brown helped Avisa in the composition of his essay upon 'Musical Expression,' published in the same year (1751). He showed his versatility by writing two tragedies, 'Barbarossa' (produced at Drury Lane 17 Dec. 1754) and 'Athelstane' (produced 27 Feb. 1756) (GENEST, iv. 406, 453). The first obtained a considerable success. Garrick acted in both, and wrote the prologue and epilogue of the first and the epilogue to the second. A line in the first epilogue, 'Let the poor devil eat, &c.,' gave great offence to Brown. Neither has much literary value, though 'Athelstane' was preferred by the critics to its more successful rival. Warburton, Allen, and Hurd lamented that a clergyman should compromise his dignity by 'making connections with players.' Warburton, however, had introduced Brown to his friend Charles Yorke, and through Yorke's influence his brother, Lord Hardwicke, presented Brown in 1756 to the living of Great Horkesley, near Colchester, worth 270*l.* a year or 200*l.* clear (NICHOLS, *Anecdotes*, v. 286).

In 1757 appeared Brown's most popular work, 'An Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times.' A seventh edition appeared in 1758, a 'very large impression' of a second volume, and an 'explanatory defence' in the same year. From the identity of the first and seventh editions of the 'Estimate' Hill Burton seems to doubt whether the success was genuine (*Life of Hume*, ii. 23). There is no doubt, however, of the impression made at the time. 'The inestimable estimate

of Brown,' says Cowper (*Table-Talk*), 'rose like a paper kite and charmed the town.' It is a well-written version of the ordinary complaints of luxury and effeminacy which gained popularity from the contemporary fit of national depression. Macaulay refers to it in this respect in his essay on 'Chatham.' In his first volume Brown describes Warburton as a Colossus who 'bestrides the world.' A coolness, however, seems to have arisen at this time between the two. Walpole ascribes it to Warburton's jealousy of his friend's success in a letter (to Montagu, 4 May 1578), from which it also appears that Brown was supposed to have been mad. Walpole says that he had only seen Brown once, and then 'singing the Stabat Mater with the Mingotti behind a harpsichord at a great concert at my Lady Carlisle's' in 'last Passion week,' a performance which Walpole regards as inconsistent with Brown's denunciations of the opera. He also asserts that Brown was a profane curser and swearer, that he tried to bully Sir Charles Williams, who had answered the 'Estimate,' and was supposed to be about to divulge the swearing story, and that he insulted Dodsley, who acted as go-between.

Brown was clearly an impracticable person. He had complimented Pitt and the first Lord Hardwicke in his 'Estimate,' and the failure to obtain patronage induced him, it is said, to resign the living received from Hardwicke's son. In 1760 Warburton says that Brown is 'rarely without a gloom and sullen insolence on his countenance,' symptomatic perhaps of mental disorder (*Letters of an Eminent Prelate*, pp. 300, 381). Bishop Osbaldiston, however, presented him to the living of St. Nicholas in Newcastle in 1761. Brown published several other works, which had little success: an 'Additional Dialogue of the Dead, between Pericles and Cosmo,' being a sequel to a dialogue of Lord Lyttelton's between Pericles and Cosmo, 1760 (intended to defend Pitt against the supposed insinuations of Lyttelton, who is said to have affronted Brown in society) (NICHOLS, *Anecdotes*, ii. 339); the 'Curse of Saul, a sacred ode' (set to music and performed as an oratorio), first prefixed to a 'Dissertation on the Rise, Union, and Power . . . of Poetry and Music,' 1763; 'History of the Rise and Progress of Poetry,' &c., 1764 (the substance of the last, omitting music); 'Twelve Sermons on various Subjects,' 1764 (including those at Carlisle and Bath already noticed); 'Thoughts on Civil Liberty, Licentiousness, and Fashion,' 1765, a pamphlet with some remarks on education noticed by Priestley in his essay on 'The Course of a Liberal Education'; a sermon 'On the Female Character

and Education,' preached 16 May 1765, with an appendix upon education; and 'A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Lowth, &c., 1766, an answer to an imputation made by Lowth in his controversy with Warburton upon Brown's sycophancy to Warburton. Brown advertised 'Principles of Christian Legislation,' in eight books, the manuscript of which was left to some friends in his will for publication. It never appeared. In 1765 Brown engaged in a curious correspondence, from which long extracts are given in the 'Biographia Britannica.' Dr. Dumaresq had been consulted about the provision of a school system in Russia. A lady mentioned Brown to him as an authority upon such questions. Dumaresq wrote to Brown, and received in reply a paper proposing vague and magnificent plans for the civilisation of Russia. The paper was laid before the empress, who immediately proposed that Brown should visit St. Petersburg, and upon his consent forwarded 1,000*l.* to the Russian ambassador for the expenses of the journey. Brown made preparations to start, bought a post-chaise and other necessities, and obtained leave of absence as one of the king's chaplains. His health had been shattered by gout and rheumatism, and the remonstrances of his friends and physicians induced him to abandon the plan of exposing himself to a Russian climate. He accounted for his expenses to the Russian minister, and wrote a long letter (28 Aug. 1766) to the empress, suggesting a scheme for sending young Russians to be educated abroad. He was apparently disappointed and vexed by the failure of the scheme. On 23 Sept. 1766 he committed suicide by cutting his throat. A letter from a Mr. Gilpin of Carlisle says that he had been subject to fits of 'frenzy' for above thirty years, and would have killed himself long before but for the care of friends. Walpole's remark, given above, seems to imply that his partial derangement was generally known.

[Davies's Life of Garrick, i. 206-15; Life by Kippis, with original materials in Biog. Brit.; Letters of an Eminent Prelate; Taylor's Records of my Life, i. 85; T. S. Watson's Life of Warburton.] L. S.

**BROWN, JOHN (1722-1787)**, of Hadlington, author of the 'Self-interpreting Bible,' was born in 1722 at Carpow, parish of Abernethy, Perthshire. His father was a poor weaver, who could only afford to send him to school for a few 'quarters.' During one month of this time he studied Latin. Even at this early period he learnt eagerly, getting up by heart 'Vincent's and Flavel's Catechisms, and the Assembly's Larger Catechism.' When he was eleven his father died.

His mother did not long survive. He himself was brought so low by 'four fevers on end' that his recovery was despaired of. During these trials the lad thought much on religious matters. After his recovery, he began to work as a herd-boy, and his contact with a wider and stranger world 'seemed to cause,' he tells us, 'not a little practical apostasy from all my former attainments. Even secret prayer was not always regularly performed, but I foolishly pleased myself by making up the number one day which had been deficient another.' A new attack of fever in 1741 reawakened his conscience, and on his recovery he 'was providentially determined, during the noontide while the sheep which I herded rested themselves in the fold, to go and hear a sermon, at the distance of two miles, running both to and from it.'

During his life as a herd-boy he studied eagerly. He acquired a good knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. His difficulties in regard to the second of those were very great, for he could not for some time get a grammar. Notwithstanding this, he managed by the exercise of patient ingenuity to learn the letters on a method he afterwards described in detail (paper of 6 Aug. 1745 quoted in *Biography*). He scraped together the price of a Greek testament, and a well-known story describes how he procured it. A companion agreed to take charge of his sheep for a little, so setting out at midnight, he reached St. Andrews, twenty-four miles distant, in the morning. The bookseller questioned the shepherd-boy, and one of the university professors happened to hear the conversation. 'Boy,' said he, pointing to a passage, 'read this, and you shall have the book for nothing.' Brown read the passage, got the volume, and walked home again with it (*Memoir*, p. 29; Dr. John Brown's *Letter to John Cairns, D.D.*, p. 73).

The herd-boy and his learning now became the subject of talk in the place. Some 'seceding students' accounted for the wonder by explaining that Brown had got his knowledge from Satan. The hypothesis was widely accepted, nor was it till some years had passed away that he was able by his blameless and diligent life to 'live it down.' He afterwards took occasion to note that just when he was 'licensed' his 'primary calumniator' was excommunicated for immoral conduct.

Brown now became a travelling 'chapman' or pedlar. When the rebellion of 1745 broke out, he joined the ranks of the government soldiers. He served throughout the affair, being for some time one of the garrison of Edinburgh Castle. When the war was over, he again took up his pack for a time, but soon

found more congenial occupation as a schoolmaster. He taught at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross, and at the Spittal, Penicuik, near Edinburgh. He began teaching in 1747, known as the year in which the 'breach' occurred in the secession church, to which he belonged. Two bodies were formed, called the Burghers and the Anti-burghers, of whom the first maintained that it was, and the second that it was not, lawful to take the burghess oath in the Scottish towns (for full account see McKERROW's *History*, chap. vi.) Brown adhered to the more liberal view, and now began to prepare himself for the ministry. He studied theology and philosophy in connection with the Associate Burgher Synod under Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling, and James Fisher of Glasgow. In 1750 he was licensed to preach the gospel, and next year was unanimously called to the associate congregation of Haddington. His congregation was small and poor, but though afterwards invited to be pastor to the Dutch church, New York, he never left it. His ministerial duties were very hard, for during most of the year he delivered three sermons and a lecture every Sunday, whilst visiting and catechising occupied many a weekday. Still he found time to do much other work. In 1753 he published 'An Help for the Ignorant. Being an Essay towards an Easy Explication of the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechism, composed for the young ones of his own congregation.' This 'easy explication' was a volume of about 400 pages. In it he had taken occasion to affirm that Christ's righteousness, though in itself infinitely valuable, is only imparted to believers according to their need, and not so as to render them infinitely righteous. In the following year 'A brief Dissertation concerning the Righteousness of Christ' expounded the same view. He had branded the doctrine he opposed as 'antinomian and familistic blasphemy,' but notwithstanding it was defended by various anti-burgher divines, who retorted on him the charges of 'heresy,' 'blasphemy,' and 'familism,' accused him of 'gross and palpable misrepresentation,' lamented the 'poisonous fruit,' and dwelt on the 'glaring absurdity' of his doctrine (see *Doctrine of the Unity and Uniformity of Christ's Surety-righteousness viewed and vindicated*, &c. By Rev. JOHN DALZIEL (Edin. 1760), pp. 72-4). This bitter controversy did not prevent Brown from doing acts of practical kindness to various anti-burgher brethren. He continued to write diligently, and his name became more widely known. In 1768 he was appointed professor in divinity to the Associate Burgher Synod. A great deal of work, but

no salary, was attached to this office; the students studied under Brown at Haddington during a session of nine weeks each year (McKERRROW's *History*, p. 787). In 1778 his best-known work, the 'Self-interpreting Bible,' was published at Edinburgh in two volumes. Its design, he explains in the preface, is to present the labours of the best commentators 'in a manner that might best comport with the ability and leisure of the poorer and labouring part of mankind, and especially to render the oracles of God their own interpreter.' Thus the work contains history, chronology, geography, summaries, explanatory notes, and reflections—in short, everything that the ordinary reader might be supposed to want. It is a library in one volume. Brown is always ready to give what he believes to be the only possible explanation of each verse, and to draw its only possible practical lesson therefrom. The style throughout is clear and vigorous. The book at once acquired a popularity which among a large class it has never lost. It has been read widely among the English-speaking nations, as well as in Wales and the Scottish highlands. How well known it and Brown's other works were in Scotland some characteristic lines of Burns bear witness:—

For now I'm grown sae cursed dounce,  
I pray an' ponder butt the house;  
My shins, my lane, I there sit roastin'  
Perusing Bunyan, Brown, an' Boston.

(*Letter to James Tait of Glenconner*,  
lines 19-22.)

His numerous other works strengthened his reputation, but none brought him any profit. One of his publishers, 'of his own good will,' presented him with about 40*l.*, but this he lent and lost to another. His salary from his church was for a long time only 40*l.* per annum, and it was never more than 50*l.* Only a very small sum came to him from other sources. The stern self-denial that was a frequent feature in the early Scottish household enabled him to bring up a large family, and meet all the calls of necessity and duty on this income. 'Notwithstanding my eager desire for books, I chose rather to want them, and much more other things, than run into debt,' he says. At least one-tenth of his small means was set apart for works of charity.

Throughout his life Brown was an eager student, and his attainments were considerable. He knew most of the European and several oriental languages. He was well read in history and divinity; his acquaintance with the Bible was of the most minute description. Although he says that 'few plays or romances are safely read, as they tickle the imagination,

and are apt to infect with their defilement,' so that 'even the most pure, as Young, Thomson, Addison, Richardson, bewitch the soul, and are apt to indispose for holy meditation and other religious exercises,' and although he eagerly opposed the relaxation of the penal statutes against Roman Catholics, he was, in regard to many things, not at all a narrow-minded man. His creed was to him a matter of such intense conviction, that nothing seemed allowable that tended in any way to oppose it or distract attention from its solemn doctrines. His preaching was earnest, simple, and direct, 'as if I had never read a book but the Bible.' His delivery was 'sing-song,' yet 'this in him was singularly melting to serious minds.' A widely current story affirms that David Hume heard him preach, and the 'sceptic' was so impressed that he said, 'That old man speaks as if the Son of God stood at his elbow.' The anecdote, though undoubtedly mythical, shows the popular impression as to his preaching.

Brown's labours finally ruined his health, which during the last years of his life was very poor. He continued his work to very near the end. He died at Haddington on 19 June 1787, and was interred in the churchyard there, where there is a monument to his memory. He was twice married: first to Janet Thomson, Musselburgh, second to Violet Croumbie, Stenton, East Lothian. He had issue by both marriages. Several of his descendants have made themselves names in science and literature. Brown's other works have been divided into the following classes:—

1. Of the Holy Scriptures: 'A Dictionary of the Bible' (1769); 'A brief Concordance to the Holy Scriptures' (1783); 'The Psalms of David in metre, with Notes' (1775). 2. Of Scripture subjects: 'Sacred Topology' (1768); 'An Evangelical and a Practical View of the Types and Figures of the Old Testament Dispensation' (1781); 'The Harmony of Scripture Prophecies' (1784). 3. Systematic divinity: 'A compendious View of Natural and Revealed Religion' (1782). 4. Church history: 'An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Secession' (1766); 'A general History of the Christian Church,' 2 vols. (1771); 'A compendious History of the British Churches' (1784). 5. Biography: 'The Christian, the Student, and Pastor exemplified in the lives of nine eminent Ministers' (1781); 'The Young Christian, or the Pleasantness of Early Piety' (1782); 'Practical Piety exemplified in the lives of thirteen eminent Christians' (1783). 6. Catechisms: 'Two short Catechisms, mutually connected' (1764); 'The Christian Journal' (1765). 7. Sermons: 'Religious

Steadfastness recommended' (1769); 'The fearful Shame and Contempt of those professed Christians who neglect to raise up spiritual Children in Christ' (1780); 'Necessity and Advantage of Prayer in choice of Pastors' (1783). 8. Miscellaneous pamphlets: 'Letters on the Constitution, Government, and Discipline of the Christian Church' (1767); 'The Oracles of Christ and the Abomination of Antichrist compared, a brief View of the Errors, Impieties, and Inhumanities of Popery' (1779); 'The Absurdity and Perfidy of all authoritative Toleration of gross Heresy, Blasphemy, Idolatry, and Popery in Great Britain' (1780); 'The Re-exhibition of the Testimony vindicated, in opposition to the unfair account of it given by the Rev. Adam Gib' (1780—Gib was a prominent anti-burgher clergyman who in this year had written 'An Account of the Burgher Re-exhibition of the Secession Testimony'); 'Thoughts on the Travelling of the Mail on the Lord's Day' (1785—as to this, see Cox's *Lit. of Sabbath Question*, ii. 248, Edin. 1865). 9. Posthumous works: 'Select Remains' (1789); 'Posthumous Works' (1797); 'Apology for the more frequent Administration of the Lord's Supper' (1804).

[Various short lives of Brown are prefixed to several of his works; the most authentic is the Memoir by his son, the Rev. William Brown, M.D., prefixed to an edition of the Select Remains (Edin. 1856). Some additional facts, together with an engraving from a family portrait, are given in Cooke's edition of Brown's Bible (Glasgow, 1856). Some of the more authentic of the many anecdotes about Brown are collected in Dr. John Brown's Letter to the Rev. J. Cairns, D.D. (2nd ed. Edin. 1861); see also McKerrow's History of the Secession Church (Glasgow, 1841).] F. W.-r.

**BROWN, JOHN, M.D. (1735-1788),** founder of the Brunonian system of medicine, was born at a village in the parish of Buncle, Berwickshire. The father was probably a day-labourer, and he followed the teaching of the seceders. He died early in life, and his widow married another seceder, a weaver by trade. When Brown was twelve or thirteen he gave offence to the seceding community by going once to public worship in the parish church of Dunse, and, refusing to be admonished, he formally left the sect. As he grew up he began to develop a philosophical turn, after the manner of Hume, and continued all his life to be somewhat free in his thinking. His quickness induced his father to send him, when five years old, to the parish school of Dunse, then under an unusually good Latinist named Cruickshank, and attended by boys generally Brown's

superiors in position. Before he was ten he was head of the school; but he was then taken away and put to his stepfather's trade. This made him miserable, and Cruickshank soon persuaded the parents to let him have the boy back to continue his schooling free of charge. Brown made himself generally useful in the school, and at thirteen he became pupil-teacher. He had fought his way to respect in the school no less by his superior intelligence than by his physical prowess. He was a stout thickset boy, with a ruddy face and a strong voice, and he was among the foremost at wrestling, boxing, and football. In a note to one of his books he says that he once, when fifteen, walked fifty miles in a day. His memory was prodigious; one of his old pupils tells of him that on one occasion, after going through two pages of Cicero with the class, he closed the book and repeated the whole passage word for word. The country people found out that he was a prodigy, and it was popularly believed that 'he could raise the devil.'

When he was eighteen his master found him a tutorship which proved irksome, and he went to Edinburgh to support himself by private tuition, and to attend the lectures in philosophy and divinity. After several years of Edinburgh he came back to Dunse, and resumed his place as usher in the school. A year after, being then twenty-four, he went again to Edinburgh, and applied fruitlessly for a vacant mastership in the high school. He then bethought himself of the medical profession, and obtained leave from Monro, the professor of anatomy, to attend his lectures free. The other professors gave him a like privilege, and he continued to attend the medical classes for five years, supporting himself by giving private lessons in the classics during the first year or two, and afterwards by preparing medical students for their examinations. He was in great request among the students for his convivial qualities. Meanwhile Cullen employed him as tutor to his children, and afterwards as a kind of assistant to himself, the precise nature of his duties being a matter of dispute between Cullen's apologists and Brown's biographers. In 1765 he married the daughter of an Edinburgh citizen named Lamond, and set up a boarding-house for students. Cullen encouraged him to look forward to a professor's chair. He took an extra course of dissections for nearly a year, and studied botany in order to qualify himself for a new chair in the American colonies to which Cullen had the presentation. However he remained a private tutor in Edinburgh; and it became clear after a few years that he

was somehow not likely to gain academical promotion. His varied powers were well known, and there can be no question that his technical knowledge of medical subjects was adequate. Unfortunately he had an unconscious art of putting his respectable colleagues irretrievably in the wrong. He had some venial faults; he became involved in debt, and had to compound with his creditors; high feeding gave him the gout at five-and-thirty. His society was mostly composed of admirers, and he took no pains to make interest with men of influence. He put off taking his degree of M.D. for years after his medical course was done. When he sought to graduate in 1779, the Edinburgh degree had become impossible, and he got one at St. Andrews. At an earlier period he might as a matter of course have joined the society for publishing medical essays and observations (afterwards the Royal Society of Edinburgh), but when he resolved to seek admission in 1778, Cullen privately advised him not to try; but he tried and was rejected. The antagonism to him had probably grown up in connection with his influence as a private tutor. Brown had to the last a large following of young men in Edinburgh. In 1776 the students had made him president of their Royal Medical Society, and they made him president again four years later, when the rupture between him and the professors was complete. His divergence from the teaching of Cullen had probably found expression in his private prelections. He afterwards exposed Cullen's errors in his trenchant criticism, 'Observations on the Present System of Spasm as taught in the University of Edinburgh' (1787). The first formal indication of Brown's emendations on the basis of Cullen is said to have been given in a draft of his future '*Elementa Medicinæ*,' which he had written with a view to a vacant chair, and had shown to his patron. Then came his formal ostracism in 1778, and Brown at once took up the cudgels for his own doctrines. He began a course of public lectures on the practice of physic, in which the errors of all former systems of medicine, and of Cullen's in particular, were very freely handled. In two years' time he had got ready a temperate exposition of his doctrine, the celebrated '*Elementa Medicinæ*' (1780). The purity of his Latin style at once insured for him an attentive reading abroad, especially in Italy and Germany; and the practical good sense of much of Brown's teaching at length obtained for it an enormous vogue. That the great majority of diseases were expressions of debility and not of redundant strength, and that consequently the time-honoured practice

of indiscriminate lowering was a mistake, was a doctrine that commended itself to the sensible and unprejudiced. The 'Elementa Medicinæ' consists of 'a first or reasoning part,' which proceeds upon a philosophical conception of life and diseased life more fundamental than any that had ever before been framed, a conception which reappears in Erasmus Darwin's 'Zoonomia,' and in Spencer's 'Principles of Biology' ('Incitatio, potestatum incitantium operis effectus, idonea prosperam; nimia aut deficiens, adversam valetudinem. Nulla alia corporis humani vivi, rite secusve valentis; morborum nulla alia origo'). In the second part he takes concrete diseases in systematic order, after the nosological fashion of the time, and applies his doctrine to each. The sound practical truth running through the Brunonian system, that many paradoxical manifestations of morbid action were really evidences of debility which called for supporting treatment, has in the end been quietly absorbed among the commonplaces of modern practice. But it was many years before the opposing prejudices were overcome. So late as 1841 Cullen's biographer appeals triumphantly to 'the intelligent practitioner' on behalf of bloodletting in inflammatory fever (*Life of Cullen*, ii. 326).

Brown carried on the war in Edinburgh six years longer against the professors and the general body of practitioners. Hardly any practice came to him, and the attendance at his public lectures fell away. The needs of a large family and his own improvidence brought him into serious money troubles, and he was at one time lodged in prison for debt. During his last year in Edinburgh he published 'A Short Account of the Old Method of Cure, and Outlines of the New Doctrine.' He also founded the masonic lodge of the Roman Eagle, for the encouragement of Latin scholarship, and attracted to it a number of the best known wits and scholars of the place. In 1786 he removed with his family to London, and established himself in a house in Golden Square.

In his domestic circle he had his greatest happiness. He had taught his three eldest girls and his eldest boy Latin, and had carried them some little way in Greek. Among his papers there was found a considerable fragment of a Greek grammar, written in Latin with rules in hexameter verse, which he had designed primarily for the use of his children. His cheerfulness never failed him. In London men of letters came to see him, among others Dr. Samuel Parr; but not many patients. He gave in his house courses of lectures on medicine, which do not appear

to have excited much interest among London practitioners or students, although his name was well known among them. An invitation to him from Frederick the Great to settle at the court of Berlin somehow miscarried or was rescinded. Debts again overtook him, and, through a piece of sharp practice, and perhaps treachery, he was obliged for a time to become an inmate of the king's bench prison. One means of extricating himself, closely pressed upon him by a group of greedy speculators, was to give his name to a pill or other nostrum; but the temptation was resisted. He now wrote more than he had done. He made an English translation of his 'Elementa Medicinæ,' writing it in twenty-one days. He contracted with a publisher for 500*l.* to produce a treatise on the gout, and he had other literary projects which would occupy him, he said, for ten years to come. His prospects were certainly brightening; he had several families to attend and patients were coming in, when he was struck down by apoplexy, and died on 17 Oct. 1788. He was buried in the churchyard of St. James's, Piccadilly. A portrait of him was engraved by William Blake, from a miniature now in the possession of his grandson, Mr. Ford Madox Brown. He left four sons and four daughters, who were provided for by the generosity of his friends, Dr. Parr among the rest. His eldest son, William Cullen Brown, subsequently studied medicine at Edinburgh, where he was received with much kindness by Dr. Gregory and other professors, and admitted to the lectures without fee. He, like his father, became president of the Royal Medical Society, and brought out an edition of his father's works in 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1804, with a biography of the author. A life by Dr. Beddoes of Bristol, with a portrait, was prefixed to the second edition (2 vols. 1795) of Brown's own English version of his 'Elementa Medicinæ.' Some 250 pages of vol. ii. of Professor John Thomson's 'Life of Cullen' (1832-59) are devoted to a laboured examination of the Brunonian episode and the Brunonian doctrine, from the Edinburgh professorial point of view.

The fortunes of the Brunonian doctrine, after the death of its author, occupy a considerable space in the history of medicine. The 'Elementa' was reprinted at Milan in 1792, and at Hildburghausen in 1794. The English version was republished at Philadelphia in 1790 by Dr. Benjamin Rush; a German translation of it was made at Frankfurt in 1795, and again in 1798; another at Copenhagen (three editions); there was also a French translation which was laid before

the National Convention and honourably commended; and one in Italian. A very personal book, 'An Inquiry into the State of Medicine on the Principles of Inductive Philosophy, &c.,' ostensibly by Robert Jones, M.D. (Edin. 1782), but probably by Brown himself, was brought out in Italian by Joseph Frank, at Pavia, in 1795. An earlier account of the doctrines had been published by Rasori, at Pavia, in 1792. An exposition of the system, with the complete Brunonian literature up to date, was published by Girtanner, at Göttingen, 2 vols. 1799. As late as 1802, the university of Göttingen was so convulsed by controversy on the merits of the Brunonian system, that contending factions of students in enormous numbers, not unaided by professors, met in combat in the streets on two successive days, and had to be dispersed by a troop of Hanoverian horse. The stimulant treatment of Brown was formally recommended for adoption in the various forms of camp sickness in the Austrian army, although the rescript was recalled owing to professional opposition. Scott, in his 'Life of Napoleon,' narrates that the Brunonian system was often a subject of inquiry by the First Consul. For some years there were Brunonians and anti-Brunonians all over Europe and in the colonies; until at length the sound and valuable part of Brown's therapeutic practice passed imperceptibly into the common stock of medical maxims. 'The History of the Brunonian System, and the Theory of Stimulation' was once more written in German by Hirschel in 1846.

[Lives by W. C. Brown and Dr. Beddoes as above; Häser's *Geschichte der Medicin*, ii. 750, 3rd ed. Jena, 1881.] C. C.

**BROWN, JOHN** (d. 1829), miscellaneous writer, was an inhabitant of Bolton in Lancashire, where during the early part of this century he was engaged in miscellaneous literary work. There he projected his 'History of Great and Little Bolton,' of which seventeen numbers were published (Manchester, 1824-5). This work begins with an 'Ancient History of Lancashire,' which he maintains was peopled by colonists of a 'German or Gothic' origin, and frequent visits to the west of Europe confirmed him, he says, in this belief (Introduction, pp. 9, 10). He became about this time very intimate with the inventor Samuel Crompton, also a Bolton man, and, laying his 'History of Bolton' aside, drew up 'The Basis of Mr. Samuel Crompton's Claims to a second Remuneration from Parliament for his Discovery of the Mule Spinning-Machine' (1825, reprinted Man-

chester, 1868). Moving to London, Brown there prepared a memorial on this subject, dated May 1825, addressed to the lords of the treasury, and numerous signed by the inhabitants of Bolton, with a petition to the House of Commons (6 Feb. 1826) on the part of Crompton, which briefly narrates the grounds of his claim (Appendix to *Crompton's Life*, p. 281). 'There is abundant evidence,' says French, the biographer of Crompton, 'that Brown was indefatigable in his endeavours to procure a favourable consideration of Crompton's case from the government of the day.' He was, however, completely unsuccessful, owing, as he wrote to Crompton, to secret opposition on the part of 'your primitive enemy,' as he called the first Sir Robert Peel. Further efforts were rendered useless by the death of the inventor in June 1827, and Brown did not long survive him. His life in the metropolis was in all ways unsuccessful, and in despair he committed suicide in his London lodgings in 1829. A posthumous work of his of sixty-two pages was published in 1832 at Manchester. It is entitled 'A Memoir of Robert Blincoe, an orphan boy sent from the workhouse of St. Pancras, London, at seven years of age to endure the horrors of a cotton mill.'

[Life and Times of Samuel Crompton, by G. J. French (2nd ed. Manchester, 1860); Fishwick's *Lancashire Library* (1875); Sutton's *Lancashire Authors* (Manchester, 1876).] F. W.-T.

**BROWN, JOHN** (1754-1832), of Whitburn, Scottish divine, was the eldest son of John Brown of Haddington [see **BROWN, JOHN**, 1722-1787], where he was born on 24 July 1754. At fourteen he entered Edinburgh University. He afterwards studied divinity at the theological hall of his denomination, was licensed to preach by the associate presbytery of Edinburgh, 21 May 1776, and was ordained to the charge of the congregation at Whitburn, Linlithgowshire. Here, after a lengthened and laborious ministry, he died on 10 Feb. 1832. Brown was twice married, and was survived by his second wife and the issue of both marriages. His works were: 1. 'Select Remains of John Brown of Haddington' (1789). 2. 'The Evangelical Preacher, a collection of Sermons chiefly by English Divines' (Edin. 1802-6). 3. 'Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Rev. James Hervey' (Edin. 1806; enlarged editions were afterwards published). 4. 'A Collection of Religious Letters from Books and Manuscripts' (Edin. 1813; enlarged ed. 1816). 5. 'A Collection of Letters from printed Books and Manuscripts, suited to children and youth' (Glasgow,

1815). 6. 'Gospel Truth accurately stated and illustrated' (Edin. 1817; enlarged ed. Glasgow, 1831. This is a work on the 'Marrow controversy'). 7. 'A brief Account of a Tour in the Highlands of Perthshire,' with a paper entitled 'A Loud Cry from the Highlands' (Edin. 1818). 8. 'Means of doing Good proposed and exemplified in several Letters to a Friend' (Edin. 1820). 9. 'Memoirs of private Christians' (Glasgow, 1821?). 10. 'Christian Experience, or the spiritual exercise of eminent Christians in different ages and places stated in their own words' (Edin. 1825). 11. 'Descriptive List of Religious Books in the English Language, suited for general use' (Edin. 1827). 12. 'Evangelical Beauties of the late Rev. Hugh Binning, with account of his Life' (Edin. 1828). 13. 'Evangelical Beauties of Archbishop Leighton' (Berwick, 1828). 14. 'Notes, Devotional and Explanatory, on the Translations and Paraphrases in verse of several passages in Scripture' (Glasgow and Edin. 1831). 15. 'Memoir of Rev. Thomas Bradbury' (Berwick, 1831). 16. 'Memorials of the Nonconformist Ministers of the seventeenth century' (Edin. 1832). Various works of Boston, Hervey, and others were, 'through his instrumentality, chiefly given to the public' (List in *Memoir*, p. 168).

[Memoir, with portrait, by Rev. David Smith, prefixed to Brown's Letters on Sanctification (Edin. 1834). Some interesting notices of Brown are given in his grandson's, Dr. John Brown, Letter to J. Cairns, D.D. (2nd ed. Edin. 1861).] F. W-T.

**BROWN, JOHN, D.D.** (1778-1848), of Langton, theological writer, was born at Glasgow, licensed by the presbytery of Glasgow 8 June 1803, ordained minister of Gartmore 1805, translated to Langton, Berwickshire, 1810, and joined the Free church 1843. He received the degree of D.D. from the university of Glasgow in November 1815. He died 25 June 1848. He was one of the early friends and promoters of evangelical views in the church of Scotland, and a contributor to the 'Christian Instructor,' under Dr. Andrew Thomson. Besides works of a slighter kind, he was author of two books which attained considerable fame, viz. 'Vindication of Presbyterian Church Government, in reply to the Independents,' Edinburgh, 1805, usually considered the standard treatise on its subject; and 'The Exclusive Claims of Puseyite Episcopalians to the Christian Ministry indefensible,' Edinburgh, 1842.

[Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesie Scoticane*, part ii. pp. 419-20, part iv. p. 739; Catalogue of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; Letter to the

writer from Dr. Brown's son—Rev. Thomas Brown, Edinburgh.] W. G. B.

**BROWN, JOHN, D.D.** (1784-1858), of Edinburgh, divine, was the eldest son of John Brown of Whitburn [see BROWN, JOHN, 1754-1832], where he was born on 12 July 1784. His mother, who was his father's first wife, was Isabella Cranston, a native of Kelso. He received his early education at Whitburn, and then, with a view to the ministry, entered Edinburgh University, where he studied from March 1797 to April 1800. It is still common for Scottish students to maintain themselves during their 'course,' then it was almost universal. Brown, having received his father's blessing along with a guinea, set off for Elie in Fife, where he kept a school for three years. During the summer vacation he attended at Selkirk, under Dr. Lawson, the theological hall of the burgher church (August 1800 to September 1804). At this he was present for from one to two months each year. On 12 Feb. 1805 he was licensed to preach, and nearly a year after (6 Feb. 1806) was ordained to the charge of the burgher congregation at Biggar in Lanarkshire. Brown was diligent both as preacher and pastor, and the congregation prospered under his charge. In 1815 he published his first work, 'Strictures on Mr. Yates's Vindication of Unitarianism' (Glasgow, 1815). The Rev. James Yates was a Glasgow unitarian divine, then engaged in a controversy with Dr. Wardlaw). Next year he was active in starting a periodical, 'The Christian Repository and Religious Register,' which served as the organ of his church. He edited this till five years later it was merged in the 'Christian Monitor,' which he also conducted till 1826. In 1817, in the 'Plans and Publications of Robert Owen of New Lanark,' he attacked the schemes of that thinker. Owen invited him to New Lanark, which is near Biggar. Here they had a conference which proved resultless. Brown was now much occupied with schemes for evangelising the highlands and other districts in Scotland where spiritual destitution prevailed. He himself preached and lectured in various places. His hearers approvingly said 'that they know almost every word, for that minister does not preach grammar.' This seemingly dubious compliment only meant that his manner of speaking was direct and simple. In 1820 the burgher and anti-burgher synods were united. While favouring this union, Brown, with a few friends, attempted to get the severity of certain portions of the Westminster standards relaxed. This attempt was at the time unsuccessful, but re-



sulted in some change when the union mentioned later on was accomplished. Two years afterwards he was called to Rose Street Church, Edinburgh. After labouring here for seven years, he was translated to Broughton Place Church. In 1830 he received the degree of D.D. from Jefferson College, Pennsylvania; in 1834, when his church revised its scheme of education, he was elected professor of exegetical theology; and when in 1847 his denomination by its junction with the relief body formed the United Presbyterian Church, he was moved from the junior to the senior hall.

During these years Brown wrote several works, and was actively engaged in various agitations and discussions. The chief of these was the 'voluntary controversy' (1835-43) during which he eagerly supported the separation of church and state. In Edinburgh at that time an impost called the annuity tax was levied for the support of the city ministers. This he finally refused to pay, whereupon in 1838 his goods were twice seized and sold. In connection with this he was engaged in a controversy with Robert Haldane, who replied to his 'Law of Christ respecting civil doctrine' (1839) by a series of letters (see ALEXANDER HALDANE, *Memoirs of R. and J. A. Haldane*, Lond. 1852; and Brown's *Remarks* on certain statements in it, Edin. 1852). A matter which affected him still more directly was the 'atonement controversy' (1840-5). It was supposed by some parties in the church that he and his colleague, Dr. Balmer, held unsound views on the nature of the atonement. Finally, in 1845, he was tried by libel before the synod at the instance of two brother divines, Drs. Hay and Marshall. While both sides agreed that only the elect could be saved, Brown was accused of holding that in a certain and, as his opponents affirmed, unscriptural and erroneous sense, Christ died for all men. The trial, which lasted four days, resulted in his honourable acquittal (*Report of Proceedings in Trial by Libel of John Brown, D.D.*, Edin. 1845).

During the years 1848-57 Brown was chiefly engaged in producing a number of exegetical works, which were widely read in this country and America. His jubilee, after a fifty years' ministry, was celebrated in April 1856 (see *Rev. J. Brown's Jubilee Services*, Edin. 1856). A considerable sum of money was given to him on this occasion. This, after adding a donation of his own, he presented to the aged and infirm ministers' fund of his church. He died at Edinburgh on 13 Oct. 1858. Brown was twice married, and was survived by issue of both marriages. His

eldest son was John Brown, M.D., author of 'Rab' [q.v.], who in his 'Letter to Dr. Cairns' has written the most enduring literary memorial of his father. Brown was a voluminous writer, but his works are somewhat commonplace in thought and expression, and without permanent value; yet they prove their author to have been a man of great industry and very wide and varied reading. His plan of exposition was 'to make the Bible the basis and the test of the system, and not 'to make the system the principal and, in effect, sole means of the interpretation of the Bible' (Preface to treatise on *Epistle to Galatians* quoted in 'Memoir,' p. 298). He followed this method as far as circumstances permitted, and his work undoubtedly gave a healthy impetus to the study of theology in Scotland. For many years he was the most prominent figure among the members of his church. This position was partly due to his learning and ability; it was still more due to his nobility of character and sweetness of disposition.

Brown wrote a large number of sermons, short religious treatises, biographies, and other occasional works. Of these the chief are: 'On the Duty of Pecuniary Contribution to Religious Purposes,' a sermon before the London Missionary Society (1821); 'On Religion and the Means of its Attainment' (Edin. 1818); 'What ought the Dissenters of Scotland to do at the present crisis?' (Edin. 1840); 'Hints to Students of Divinity' (Edin. 1841); 'Comfortable Words for Christian Parents bereaved of little Children' (Edin. 1846); 'Memorials of Rev. J. Fisher' (Edin. 1849). Brown's most important works were the following treatises: 'Expository Discourses on First Peter' (3 vols. Edin. 1848); 'Discourses and Sayings of our Lord Jesus Christ' (3 vols. Edin. 1850); 'An Exposition of our Lord's Intercessory Prayer' (Edin. 1850); 'The Resurrection of Life' (Edin. 1852); 'The Sufferings and Glories of the Messiah' (Edin. 1853); 'Expository Discourses on Galatians' (Edin. 1853); 'Discourses suited to the Lord's Supper' (1st ed. 1816, 3rd and enlarged ed. Edin. 1853); 'Parting Counsels, an exposition of the first chapter of second epistle of Peter' (Edin. 1856); 'Analytical Exposition of the Epistle of Paul to the Romans' (Edin. 1857). After Brown's death his 'Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews,' edited by David Smith, D.D., was published in 1862 (2 vols. Edin.).

[Cairns's Memoir of John Brown, D.D., with supplementary letter by J. Brown, M.D. (Edin. 1860). A portrait is prefixed (for notice of portraits, &c., see p. 469); J. Brown, M.D., On the Death of J. Brown (Edin. 1860); W. Hunter's Biggar and the House of Fleming (2nd ed. Edin.

1867). For estimates of Brown from various points of view, see *United Presbyterian Magazine*, November 1858; *North British Review*, xxxiii. 21; *Scotsman*, 14 Oct. 1858.] F. W.-T.

**BROWN, JOHN** (1797-1861), geographer, was born at Dover 2 Aug. 1797. He served for some time as a midshipman in the East India Company's service. In March 1819 he was forced to leave the sea in consequence of a defect in his sight. He then became a diamond merchant and made a fortune. He took a keen interest in geographical exploration, and became a fellow of the Geographical Society in 1837. He presented a portrait of his friend Weddell (an explorer of the Antarctic circle) to the society in 1839, with a letter advocating further expeditions. In 1843 he obtained from Sir Robert Peel a pension for Weddell's widow. He was a founder of the Ethnological Society in the same year. He afterwards became conspicuous as an advocate of expeditions in search of Sir John Franklin. He defined the area which the expedition was ultimately found to have reached, but was not attended to at the time. In 1858 he published 'The North-west Passage and the Plans for the search for Sir John Franklin: a review.' A second edition appeared in 1860. He was complimented on this work by Humboldt. Brown made large collections illustrative of Arctic adventure. He lost his wife in 1859, and died 7 Feb. 1861, leaving three sons and two daughters.

[Gent. Mag. 1861.]

**BROWN, JOHN, M.D.** (1810-1882), author of 'Horæ Subsecivæ' and 'Rab and his Friends,' was born on 22 Sept. 1810 at Biggar in Lanarkshire, and was the son of Dr. John Brown, the biblical scholar (1784-1858) [q. v.]; who was at that time the secession minister there. His education at Biggar was conducted by his father in private, but on the removal of the latter to Edinburgh in 1822, John entered a classical school kept by Mr. William Steele, and at the end of two years passed on to the rector's class in the high school, then under the charge of Dr. Carson. Here he spent another two years, and at the end of that time, in November 1826, became a student in the arts classes of Edinburgh University. In 1828 he commenced the study of medicine, attending the usual college classes in that department, and at the same time becoming a pupil and apprentice of the eminent surgeon, Mr. Syme. In 1833 he graduated as doctor of medicine, and immediately after commenced practice in Edinburgh, where he spent the whole of his after life in the active exercise of his

profession. As it is chiefly as a writer that Brown is likely to be permanently remembered, it is only necessary to say that in his medical capacity he was remarkable for his close and accurate observation of symptoms, skill and sagacity in the treatment of his cases, and conscientious attention to his patients. It may even be said that whatever position he may be thought to have taken in literature, he was first of all a physician thoroughly devoted to his profession, and, though not writing on strictly professional subjects, yet originally diverging into authorship on what may be called medical grounds. Naturally unambitious, it is doubtful if, with all his wide culture and enthusiastic love of literature, he would ever, but for his love of his profession, have been induced to appear before the world as an author at all. It is observable that the whole of the first volume of 'Horæ Subsecivæ'—perhaps, though not the most popular, yet the most substantially valuable of the whole series—is almost exclusively devoted to subjects intimately bearing on the practice of medicine. The importance of wide general culture to a physician; the necessity of attending to nature's own methods of cure, and leaving much to her recuperative power rather than to medicinal prescriptions: the distinction to be always kept in view between medicine as a science and medicine as an art; the necessity of constant attention being paid to the distinctive symptoms of each individual case as a means of determining the special treatment to be adopted; and, in general, the value of presence of mind, 'nearness of the nous' (*ἀγχίνοια*) in a physician—these and the like points are what he is never tired of inculcating and illustrating in almost every page of the volume. And even 'Rab and his Friends' belongs properly to medicine, and serves to withdraw the physician from exclusive recognition of science in the exercise of his profession, and to bring him tenderly back to humanity.

In the two later volumes of the 'Horæ' Brown's pen took a somewhat wider range. He had, we suppose, discovered his own strength in authorship, and found that he had other things in his mind besides medicine on which he had something to say. Poetry, art, the nature and ways of dogs, human character as displayed in men and women whom he had intimately known, the scenery of his native country with its associations romantic or tender—all these come in for review, and on all of them he writes with a curiously naïve and original humour, and, as it seems to us, a singularly deep and true insight. One great charm of his writings is that, as with those of Montaigne and

Charles Lamb, much of his own character is thrown into his books, and in reading them we almost feel as if we became intimately acquainted with the author. And in private he did not belie the idea which his books convey of him. Few men have in life been more generally beloved, or in death more sincerely lamented. He had a singular power of attaching both men and animals to himself, and a stranger could scarcely meet with him even once without remembering him ever afterwards with interest and affection. In society he was natural and unaffected, with pleasantry and humour ever at command, yet no one could suspect any tinge of frivolity in his character. He had read very widely, had strong opinions on many questions both in literature and philosophy, possessed great knowledge of men, and had an unflinching interest in humanity. With all the tenderness of a woman, he had a powerful manly intellect, was full of practical sense, tact, and sagacity, and found himself perfectly at home with all men of the best minds of his time who happened to come across him. Lord Jeffrey, Lord Cockburn, Mr. Thackeray, Mr. Ruskin, Mr. Henry Taylor, and Mr. Erskine of Linlathen were all happy to number themselves among his most attached friends.

There was a strong countervailing element of melancholy in Brown's constitution, as in most men largely endowed with humour. This, we believe, showed itself more or less even in boyhood; but in the last sixteen years of his life it became occasionally so distressing as to necessitate his entire withdrawal for a time from society, and latterly induced him to retire to a great extent from the general practice of his profession. In the last six months of his life, however, his convalescence seemed to be so complete that his friends began to hope he had finally thrown off this tendency, and during the winter immediately preceding his death all his old cheerfulness and intellectual vivacity appeared to have returned; but in the beginning of May 1882 he caught a slight cold, which deepened into a severe attack of pleurisy, and carried him off after a short illness on the 11th of that month.

The first volume of the '*Horæ Subsecivæ*' was published in 1858, the second in 1861, and a third in 1882, only a few weeks before Brown's death. They have gone through numerous editions. '*Rab and his Friends*' (first published in 1859) and other papers have separately appeared in various forms. A collection of Brown's '*Letters*,' including correspondence with Ruskin and Thackeray, came out in 1907.

[Personal knowledge.]

J. T. B.

**BROWN, JOHN CRAWFORD** (1805-1867), landscape painter, was born at Glasgow in 1805, and resided in London for some time after travelling in Holland and Spain. He then removed to his native city, and finally settled in Edinburgh, where he died at 10 Vincent Street 8 May 1867. He was an associate of the Royal Scottish Academy. His picture '*The Last of the Clan*' was engraved by W. Richardson for the Royal Association of Fine Arts, Scotland, in 1851. In 1833 he exhibited at the Royal Academy, No. 278, '*A Scene on the Ravensbourne, Kent*;' at this period he resided at 10 Robert Street, Chelsea. Two other landscapes he also exhibited in this same year at the British Institution and the Suffolk Street Exhibition.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists, 1878.]

L. F.

**BROWN, JOHN WRIGHT** (1836-1863), botanist, was born in Edinburgh on 19 Jan. 1836. He was of a delicate constitution, and early showed a great love for plants, in consequence of which he was, at the age of sixteen, placed in one of the Edinburgh nurseries. But the exposure connected with garden work proved too much for his health, and Professor Balfour appointed him to an assistantship in the herbarium connected with the Botanic Garden. Here he improved his opportunities and became well acquainted with botany; he was much interested in the Scottish flora, and contributed a list of the plants of Elie, Fifeshire, to the Edinburgh Botanical Society, of which he was an associate. He died in Edinburgh on 23 March 1863.

[Trans. Bot. Soc. Edinburgh, vii. 519.] J. B.

**BROWN, JOSEPH** (1784-1868), physician, was born at North Shields in September 1784, and studied medicine at Edinburgh and also in London. Though the son of a quaker, and educated as such, he entered the army medical service, was attached to Wellington's staff in the Peninsular war, and was present at Busaco, Albuera, Vittoria, and the Pyrenees, gaining high commendation for his services. After Waterloo he remained with the army of occupation in France. Subsequently he again studied at Edinburgh, and graduated M.D. in 1819. He settled at Sutherland, and took a leading part in local philanthropy and politics, being a strong liberal and a zealous but not bigoted Christian. He was once mayor of Sunderland and a borough magistrate, and also for many years physician to the Sunderland and Bishopwearmouth Infirmary. He was highly cultured, of dignified manners, yet deeply sympathetic with the poor. He died on 19 Nov. 1868. Besides numerous

contributions to medical reviews, and several articles in the 'Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine,' Brown wrote: 1. 'Medical Essays on Fever, Inflammation, &c.,' London, 1828. 2. 'A Defence of Revealed Religion,' 1851, designed to vindicate the miracles of the Old and New Testaments. 3. 'Memories of the Past and Thoughts on the Present Age,' 1863. 4. 'The Food of the People, with a Postscript on the Diet of Old Age,' 1865.

[Lancet, 5 Dec. 1868; Sunderland Herald, 20 Nov. 1868.] G. T. B.

**BROWN, LANCELOT** (1715-1783), landscape-gardener and architect, known as 'Capability Brown,' was born in 1715 at Harle-Kirk, Northumberland. He was originally a kitchen gardener in the employment of Lord Cobham at Stow. His remarkable faculty for prejudging landscape effects soon, however, procured him the patronage of persons of rank and taste. Humphrey Repton treats Brown as the founder of the modern or English style of landscape-gardening, which superseded the geometric style, brought to its perfection by André Le Nôtre (*b.* 12 March 1613; *d.* 15 Sept. 1700) at Versailles. The praise of originating the new style is, however, due to William Kent (*b.* 1684; *d.* 12 April 1748), but Brown worked independently and with greater genius. His leading aim was to bring out the undulating lines of the natural landscape. He laid out or remodelled the grounds at Kew, Blenheim, and Nuneham Courtenay. His style degenerated into a mannerism which insisted on furnishing every landscape with the same set of features; but this declension is to be attributed to the deficiencies of those who had worked under him, and took him as their model. Of Brown's architectural works a full list is given by Repton, beginning in 1751 with Croome, where he built the house, church, &c. for the Earl of Coventry. His exteriors were often very clumsy, but all his country mansions were constructed with great success as regards internal comfort and convenience. He realised a large fortune, and by his amiable manners and high character he supported with dignity the station of a country gentleman. In 1770 he was high sheriff of Huntingdonshire. He died on 6 Feb. 1783. His son, Lancelot Brown, was M.P. for Totnes, 1780-1784, Huntingdon, 1784-90, and Huntingdonshire, 1792-4.

[Repton's Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture, ed. J. C. Loudon, 1840, pp. 30, 266, 327, 520; Knight's English Cyclopædia, Biography, 1866, i. 950; Jals's Diet. Crit. de Biog. et Hist. 1867, p. 773.] A. G.

**BROWN, LEVINIUS** (1671-1764), jesuit, born in Norfolk on 19 Sept. 1671, re-

ceived his education at St. Omer and the English college at Rome. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1698, being already a priest, and became a professed father in 1709. Previously to this, in 1700, he had been appointed to the mission of Ladyholt, Sussex. He was rector of the English college at Rome from 1723 to 1731, when he became master of the novices, and was chosen provincial of his order in 1733, continuing in that office till 1737, and then passing to the rectorship of Liège college. He spent the last years of his life in the college of St. Omer, and witnessed the forcible expulsion of the English jesuits from that institution by the parliament of Paris in 1762. Being too old and infirm to be removed, he was allowed to remain in the house until his death on 7 Nov. 1764.

Brown was a friend of Alexander Pope's, and it is probable that during his residence as missionary of Ladyholt he induced the poet to compose his beautiful version of St. Francis Xavier's hymn 'O Deus, ego amo Te.' He published a translation of Bossuet's 'History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches,' 2 vols., Antwerp, 1742, 8vo.

[Oliver's Collections S. J. 61; Foley's Records, iii. 541-3, vi. 442, vii. 94; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), i. 241.] T. C.

**BROWN, OLIVER MADOX** (1855-1874), author and painter, son of Ford Madox-Brown, the distinguished painter, was born at Finchley on 20 Jan. 1855. From early boyhood he showed remarkable capacity, both in painting and literature. One of his works, a water-colour named 'Chiron receiving the Infant Jason from the Slave,' was begun when he was fourteen, and exhibited in the Dudley Gallery in the following year. At the same gallery in 1870 he exhibited a very spirited water-colour called 'Obstinacy,' which represents the resistance of an unruly horse, whose rider is urging him towards the sea; 'Exercise,' a companion picture to the above, appeared the same year on the walls of the Royal Academy. A scene from 'The Tempest—Prospero and the Infant Miranda,' when sent adrift by the creatures of the usurping duke, found its way in 1871 to the International Exhibition at South Kensington. This was followed by a water-colour, 'A Scene from Silas Marner,' exhibited in 1872 at the gallery of the Society of French Artists in New Bond Street. These two latter works especially showed so much grasp of idea, force of expression, and, with regard to the scene from 'Silas Marner,' so much beauty of execution, as to indicate that the lad, had he lived, would have signally dis-

tinguished himself as a painter. His youthful successes in art, however, were overshadowed by those which he achieved in literature, particularly in prose fiction. When thirteen or fourteen years old he wrote several sonnets, of which only two have been preserved. To these may be added another, written probably at a somewhat later date. These productions, if they do not fulfil all the technical conditions on which severe critics of the sonnet insist, have at least more than average correctness, and show, like his fragmentary blank verse poem, 'To All Eternity,' written a year or two later, originality of design, with force and dignity of expression surprising in one so young. Of a few lyric snatches the most have individuality, while the stanzas beginning—

Oh, delicious sweetness that lingers  
Over the fond lips of love!

display, besides great wealth of imagery, the overflow of feeling that belongs to the genuine lyric. His first prose story, 'Gabriel Denver,' was begun in the winter of 1871, finished early in the following year, when he was seventeen, and published in 1873. The story was originally one of a wife's revenge upon her husband and the woman to whom he had transferred his affection. At the wish of his publishers the young author made important alterations. A spiteful cousin was substituted for the revengeful wife, and a happy dénouement for a tragic one. The story, as originally planned, was, however, published under the title of 'The Black Swan' in his 'Literary Remains.' 'Gabriel Denver,' though on occasions it leans to over-analysis and substitutes accounts of emotions for the embodiment of them, reveals striking power in its treatment both of characters and events. Its descriptions, moreover, which combine realistic accuracy with imaginative suggestiveness, are often most impressive, while certain passages show a vein of deep reflection and speculation, to which perhaps no parallel can be cited from the works of juvenile writers. At times with such strange weird power is some crisis of the story presented that it seems to arrest the eye with its ominous significance. In 1872 the young novelist made considerable way in his story entitled 'Hebditch's Legacy,' which, though containing many examples of his power, both as a narrator and a psychologist, relies for its plot too much upon somewhat hackneyed motives and incidents. This story he never completed. The end was supplied by his editors from recollections of his design. The tale is included in his 'Literary Remains,' published in 1876. So early as 1872 he had

begun his romance, called 'The Dwale Bluth,' an old North Devonshire name for the plant known as 'the deadly nightshade.' 'The Dwale Bluth' is a tragic story with a glamour of fate around it. It shows the writer's powers of description, chastened and matured, and his usual deep insight into character and motive. In this tale he also displayed a humour peculiar to himself, and a rare aptitude for portraying the natures and habits of children and animals. The work was also left uncompleted, an end in accordance with his intentions being again supplied from memory by his editors. Madox-Brown's 'Literary Remains' also contain two or three short stories written or dictated in the closing year of his life. In September 1874 he was attacked by gout. His seeming recovery from this was followed by hectic fever, and finally by blood-poisoning. He died on 5 Nov. 1874, the day of the month on which his first story, 'Gabriel Denver,' had been published in the preceding year. As to personal appearance his face was oval, his features were regular. In repose he had at times a rather weary look, but his grey eyes had a singularly animated and engaging expression in the society of those whom he liked. His disposition, though somewhat sensitive, was genial and sincere, his discernment was keen, his standard of life high, and his sense of its obligations deep and sympathetic. As an imaginative writer, whose career ended at nineteen, he was not, of course, faultless. His descriptions, for the most part daring and successful, are at times over-ambitious and over-elaborate; while in the opinion of some there is a suggestion of the morbid in the general choice of his themes. But for the union of Defoe-like truth of description with poetic touches that render the truth more vivid, and for a sympathetic imagination which, in dealing with human motives and passions, often seems to anticipate experience, Oliver Madox-Brown must stand in the van of young writers, who not only surprise by the brilliancy of their work, but retain admiration by its solidity. The 'Literary Remains' contain, besides the works already named as included, the writer's poems.

[Memoir prefixed to the *Literary Remains*; Biographical Sketch by John H. Ingram; Notice by P. B. Marston in *Scribner's Magazine*.]

W. M.

**BROWN, PHILIP** (*d.* 1779), was a doctor of medicine, practising in Manchester. His favourite pursuit towards the close of his life being botany, he procured living plants from various parts of the world through his interest with merchants and ship captains.

At his death a catalogue of the collections was drawn up for sale, its title being 'A Catalogue of very curious Plants collected by the late Philip Brown, M.D., lately deceased,' Manchester, 1779, 12mo, pp. 30.

[Catalogue cited.]

B. D. J.

**BROWN, RAWDON LUBBOCK** (1803–1883), is chiefly known for his researches in the Venetian archives. The story runs that about 1833, while on a holiday tour, Brown paid a first visit to Venice, and that the place exerted so powerful a charm over him that he could not bring himself to leave it. It is a fact that he never quitted Venice from 1833 till his death, fifty years later. He acquired a unique knowledge of its history and antiquities, and spent most of his life in studying its archives. He was the first to appreciate the importance of the news-letters which the Venetian ambassadors in London were in the habit of sending to the republic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. After completing some original investigations into the life and works of Marino Sanuto the younger, the Venetian historian, he wrote an account of 'Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII' (1854), from the despatches of Sebastian Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador in London at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. The new light which this book threw on the relation of the Venetian archives to English history induced Lord Palmerston, at the instance of the chief literary men in England, to commission Brown in 1862 to calendar those Venetian state papers which treated of English history. This work engaged all Brown's attention for the rest of his life. He spared himself no labour, and is computed to have examined twelve million packets of documents, most of them at Venice, but a few of them in other towns of North Italy. Brown was always ready to help scholars who applied to him for information. He died at Venice on 25 Aug. 1883, and was buried in the Lido cemetery three days later. He was popular with all classes in Venice, and was very hospitable to English visitors. Robert Browning wrote a sonnet on Brown's death (dated 28 Nov. 1813), which is printed in the 'Century Magazine' for February 1884, and in the 'Browning Society's Papers,' 132\*–3\*. The first volume of his 'Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating to English Affairs existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in other Libraries of Northern Italy,' with an elaborate introduction, was issued in 1864, and covered the years from 1202 to 1509. It was succeeded by vol. ii. (1509–19) in 1867, by vol. iii. (1520–6) in

1869, by vol. iv. (1527–33) in 1871, by vol. v. (1534–54) in 1873, by vol. vi. pt. i. (1555–6) in 1877, by vol. vi. pt. ii. (1556–7) in 1881. The last volume (vol. vi. pt. iii.), issued in 1884, dealt with the years 1557–8, and an appendix supplied a large number of fifteenth-century papers which had been omitted from the earlier volumes. Mr. T. D. Hardy, in a report on the Venetian archives addressed to Sir John Romilly, master of the rolls, in 1866, praises highly Brown's accuracy and industry. Brown presented to the Public Record Office 126 volumes of transcripts of Venetian archives, dating from early times to 1797. Brown also published: 1. 'Ragguagli sulla vita e sulle opere di Marino Sanuto, . . . intitolati dall'amicizia di uno straniero al nobile J. V. Foscarini,' Venice, 1837–8. 2. 'Lettere diplomatiche inedite,' Venice, 1840. 3. 'Itinerario di Marino Sanuto per la terraferma veneziana nell'anno 1483,' Padua, 1847. 4. 'Four Years at the Court of King Henry VIII,' a translation of the despatches sent home by Giustiniani, the Venetian ambassador in London, between 1515 and 1519, London, 1854. 5. 'Avviso di Londra,' an account of news-letters sent from London to Venice during the first half of the seventeenth century, published in vol. iv. of the Philobiblon Society's 'Bibliographical and Historical Miscellanies,' London, 1854. 6. 'L'archivio di Venezia con riguardo speciale alla storia inglese,' forming vol. iv. of the 'Nuova Collezione di opere storiche,' Venice and Turin, 1865. 7. 'Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Parma: Date of her Birth on Venetian Authority,' Venice, 1880. A folio sheet was issued at Venice in 1841 with a drawing and description, by Brown, of the 'Shield placed over the remains of Thomas Mowbray in St. Mark's Church,' Venice.

[Times, 22 Aug., 8 Sept., 13 Sept. 1883; Athenæum, 8 Sept. 1883; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

S. L.

**BROWN, SIR RICHARD.** [See BROWNE.]

**BROWN, ROBERT** (d. 1753), historical and decorative painter, was a pupil of Sir James Thornhill, whom he assisted in painting the cupola of St. Paul's Cathedral. It is related on the authority of Highmore, that while engaged in this undertaking he and his master worked together on a scaffold, which was an open one. Thornhill had just completed the head of the apostle, and was retiring backwards in order to survey the effect; as he had just reached the edge, Brown, not having time to warn him, snatched up a pencil, full of colour, and dashed it upon the face. Thorn-

hill enraged ran hastily forward, exclaiming, 'Good God! what have you done?' 'I have only saved your life,' was the reply. Brown was also assistant to Verrio and La Guerre, and then setting up for himself was employed to decorate several of the city churches. He painted the altar-piece in St. Andrew Undershaft, the 'Transfiguration' in St. Botolph, Aldgate, the figures of St. Andrew and St. John in St. Andrew's, Holborn, and those of St. John the Baptist and St. John the Evangelist in the chapel of St. John, Bedford Row. He also painted some portraits. Brown was the master of Hayman, and died 26 Dec. 1753. A few of his works have been engraved in mezzotint: 'The Annunciation,' by Valentine Green; 'Salvator Mundi' (two plates), by James McArdell; 'Our Saviour and St. John the Baptist,' by Richard Earlom; and 'Geography,' by J. Baber.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists, 1878.]

L. F.

**BROWN, SIR ROBERT** (d. 1760), diplomatist, is said when a young man to have gone out to Venice with no other capital than a large second-hand wig, which he sold for 5*l*. At Venice he amassed a fortune by successful trading, and for some years held the office of British resident in the republic. He received a baronetcy from George II in 1732. Writing to the Earl of Essex, then ambassador at Turin, in May 1734, he says that he is about to be returned to parliament, that he is glad to say that his election will entail little expense or trouble on him, though he does not know for what place he will be put up. Two letters from him, and several from Colonel Niel Brown, the consul, who was probably his kinsman, are in the British Museum. Some of these letters contain references to Turkish affairs, and to the progress of the Polish succession war. Brown came back to England, and was returned as one of the members for Ilchester 30 Aug. 1734, retaining his seat during that parliament and the succeeding one summoned in 1741. From 1741 to July 1742 he held office as paymaster of the king's works. He married Margaret Cecil, granddaughter of the third Earl of Salisbury, and sister of Charles, bishop first of Bangor and then of Bristol, a lady of wit and fashion. 'Lady Brown,' Burney tells us, 'gave the first private concerts under the direction of the Count of Germain; she held them on Sunday evenings, at the risk of her windows. She was an enemy of Handel and a patroness of the Italian style.' Horace Walpole records a bitter retort she made on Lady Townshend (*Memoirs of George II*, ii. 358), and sneers at her 'Sunday

nights,' as 'the great mart for all travelling and travelled calves' (*Letters*, i. 229). By her Brown had two, or, according to Walpole, three daughters, who died before him. It was with reference to these daughters that the avarice for which he was notorious appears to have chiefly displayed itself. When the eldest, who at the age of eighteen fell into a decline, was ordered to ride for the benefit of her health, he made the servant who attended her carry a map he drew out marking all the by-lanes, so as to avoid the turnpikes; and when she was dying, he bargained with the undertaker about her funeral, on the principle apparently of a wager, for he is said to have urged the man to name a low sum by representing that she might recover. These stories rest on the authority of H. Walpole. If they are not literally true, they at least serve to show Brown's character. He died on 5 Oct. 1760, leaving everything, even, Walpole believes, his avarice, to his widow. Lady Brown died in 1782.

[Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 27732-5 (Correspondence of Lord Essex), 23797 (Correspondence of Thomas Robinson, first baron Grantham); Burney's History of Music, iv. 671, ed. 1789; Walpole's Memoirs of George II, 4to, 1822; Walpole's Letters, i. 187, 220, ii. 398, 450, iii. 351, iv. 70, viii. 176, ix. 221 (ed. Cunningham); Collins's Baronetage, iv. 235; Betham's Baronetage, iii. 219; Return of Members of Parliament, ii. 78, 90.]

W. H.

**BROWN, ROBERT** (1757-1831), agricultural writer, born in East Linton, Haddingtonshire, entered into business in his native village, but soon turned to agriculture, which he carried on first at West Fortune and afterwards at Markle, where he practised several important experiments. He was an intimate friend of George Rennie of Phantassie. While Rennie applied himself to the practice of agriculture, Brown wrote on the science. He published a 'View of the Agriculture of the West Riding of Yorkshire,' 8vo, 1799, and a 'Treatise on Rural Affairs,' 2 vols. 8vo, 1811, and wrote many articles in the Edinburgh 'Farmer's Magazine,' of which he was editor for fifteen years. Some of these articles have been translated into French and German. He died at Drylaw, East Lothian, on 14 Feb. 1831, in his seventy-fourth year.

[Anderson's Scottish Nation, i. 395; Irving's Eminent Scotsmen, 41; Gent. Mag. 1831, vol. ci. pt. ii. p. 647.]

W. H.

**BROWN, ROBERT** (1773-1858), botanist, was born in Montrose on 21 Dec. 1773, his father, the Rev. James Brown, being the episcopalian minister in that town.

His mother was the daughter of the Rev. Robert Taylor, who was also a presbyterian pastor. His earliest education was obtained at the Montrose grammar school, where he formed a friendship, which lasted through life, with James Mill. At the age of fourteen Brown was entered at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he obtained a Ramsay bursary in philosophy. In 1789 his father sent him to the university of Edinburgh, whither he had moved from Montrose. The boy's friends destined him for the medical profession. He does not appear to have distinguished himself in either classics or the physical sciences. The tendency of his mind was towards natural history, and at an early age he became a member of the Natural History Society of Edinburgh; while his close attention to botanical science secured him the friendship of the professor, Dr. Walker, under whose directions he diligently made a collection of the Scottish flora. In 1791 he contributed to the Natural History Society his first paper, which was a careful enumeration of such plants as he had collected in Scotland, with observations thereon and explanatory notes. All the specimens and accompanying descriptions were used by Dr. Withering, who was at this time engaged in preparing the second edition of his 'Arrangement of British Plants,' and an intimate friendship thus arose between the two botanists. In 1795 Brown obtained a double commission of ensign and assistant-surgeon in the Fifeshire regiment of fencible infantry, and proceeded to the north of Ireland. In 1798 he was sent to England on recruiting service, and remained several months in London. During this time Brown was introduced to Sir Joseph Banks, his botanical reputation securing him a hearty reception and the free use of Sir Joseph's collections and library. Early in the following year he returned to his regiment in Ireland, but soon accepted an offer from Sir Joseph Banks of the post of naturalist to an expedition then fitting out for a survey of the coast of New Holland.

In the summer of 1801 Brown embarked at Portsmouth, under the command of Captain Flinders. He was absent from England more than four years. In the interval he thoroughly explored the vegetable world on the coasts of New Holland and on the southern portion of Van Diemen's Land. He returned to England in 1806, landing at Liverpool in the month of October with a collection of nearly 4,000 species of dried plants, a great number of which were new to science. During his voyage home he devoted himself to a close examination of the plants

which he had collected, and made many new and important observations as to the anatomy and physiology of plants in general.

In 1798 Brown was elected an associate of the Linnean Society, and very soon after his return from the Antipodes the council appointed him their librarian. This position—the free use of the Banksian library and herbarium, and the aid given by Sir Joseph Banks himself—enabled him to work in the light of the most recent botanical discoveries. In 1810 the first volume appeared of his '*Prodromus Floræ Novæ Hollandiæ et insulæ Van-Diemen exhibens characteres plantarum quas annis 1802–5 per oras utriusque insulæ collegit et descripsit Robertus Brown. Londini, 1810.*' About the same date Brown published two memoirs—one on the *Asclepiadæ* in the '*Transactions of the Wernerian Society of Edinburgh*' (1809), and another on the *Proteacæ* in the '*Transactions of the Linnean Society*' (1810). To the '*Narrative of Captain Flinders's Voyage*,' which was published in 1814, Brown appended '*General Remarks, Geographical and Systematical, on the Botany of Terra Australis.*'

These contributions to botanical science, setting forth in the most instructive form the advantages of the natural system, aided materially in leading to its almost universal adoption. In the '*Transactions of the Linnean Society*' will be found a number of memoirs by Brown giving the fullest and most complete development of his views in every division of botanical science. These gave a high character to vegetable physiology, and placed upon the sure basis of exact observation our knowledge of the vital functions of plants.

On the death of Dryander, at the close of 1810, Brown succeeded his friend as librarian to Sir Joseph Banks, and he held that appointment until Sir Joseph's death in 1820; the use and enjoyment of this library and the collections being then bequeathed to him for life, with the house in Soho Square, in which for nearly sixty years Brown pursued his scientific labours. In 1827 Brown, however, acting on the provisions of the will of Sir Joseph Banks, assented to the transference of the books and specimens to the British Museum. He was appointed to the office of keeper of the botanical collections in that establishment, which position he held until his death.

To '*Tilloch's Philosophical Magazine*,' 1826, Brown contributed a remarkable paper on the '*Character and Description of Kingia*, a new genus of plants found on the south-west coast of New Holland, with observations on the



structure of its unimpregnated ovulum and on the female flowers of *Cycadææ* and *Coniferæ*.' In 1828 we find in the 'Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal' 'A brief Account of Microscopical Observations made in the months of June, July, and August 1827 on the particles contained in the pollen of plants, and on the general existence of active molecules in organic and inorganic bodies.' These were speedily followed by six papers 'On the Organs and Mode of Fecundation in *Orchidææ* and *Asclepiadææ*,' and one on the 'Origin and Mode of Propagation of the Gulf-weed.' These important contributions to science—exhibiting the most patient research and refined deductions from his minute observations—were highly appreciated by all naturalists, as was shown by the fact of the illustrious Humboldt dedicating his 'Synopsis Plantarum Orbis Novi' to him in the following words: 'Roberto Brownio, Britanniarum gloriæ atque ornameto, totam botanices scientiam ingenio mirifico compeccenti.'

In 1811 Brown became a fellow of the Royal Society, and he was several times elected a member of the council of that body. In 1839 the Copley medal was presented to him 'for his discoveries on the subject of vegetable impregnation,' he having received previously (in 1832) from the university of Oxford the honorary degree of D.C.L. In 1833 he was elected a foreign associate of the Academy of Sciences of the Institute of France. Sir Robert Peel granted him a pension on the civil list of 200*l.* per annum, and the king of Prussia subsequently decorated him with the cross of the highest civil order 'Pour le Mérite.'

Beyond the works already named, Brown frequently contributed to the 'Linnean Transactions' and scientific periodicals. His botanical appendices to the 'Voyages and Travels of the most celebrated Navigators and Travellers' should not be forgotten; they were all marked by his distinguishing characteristics, minuteness of detail and comprehensive generalisation.

Especial mention is demanded of his discoveries of the nucleus of the vegetable cell; of the mode of fecundation in several species of plants; of the developments of the pollen and of the ovulum in the *Coniferæ* and *Cycadææ*, and the bearing of these on impregnation in general. The relation of a flower to the axis from which it is derived, and of the parts of a flower to each other, are among the most striking of Brown's structural investigations. It must not be forgotten that fossil botany was also a favourite pursuit of his, and that in its prosecution he formed a valuable col-

lection of fossil woods which he bequeathed to the British Museum.

Brown's character in private life was acknowledged to be peculiarly attractive by all who knew him. This cannot be more satisfactorily shown than by a quotation from a letter written by Dr. Francis Bott on 21 June 1863 to Dr. Sharpey, presenting to the Royal Society a copy of Brown's 'Prodromus Floræ Novæ Hollandiæ,' which was a personal gift from the author: 'I never presumed to be able to estimate Brown's eminent merits as a man of science; but I knew vaguely their worth. I loved him for his truth, his simple modesty, and, above all, for his more than woman's tenderness. Of all the persons I have known, I have never known his equal in kindness of nature.' Brown died on 10 June 1858.

[Proceedings of the Royal Society, ix, 527 (1859); Royal Society Catalogue of Scientific Papers, vol. i. (1867); Linnean Society's Transactions, vols. x-xii. (1816-20); Ann. Sci. Nat. vols. viii-x. xi. xix. (1826-30) Ray Society; Miscellaneous Botanical Works of Robert Brown, ed. Bennett, 2 vols. 1866-8.] R. H.-T.

**BROWN or BROWNE, SAMUEL** (*n.* 1700), was a surgeon stationed at the end of the seventeenth century at Madras, then called Fort St. George. From time to time he sent collections of dried plants &c. to England, where they were described by James Petiver, and published in the 'Phil. Trans.' in a series of papers in vols. xx. (1698) and xxiii. (1703). Petiver's plants passed into the hands of Sir Hans Sloane, and now form part of the herbarium of the British Museum (Nat. History) in Cromwell Road. Particulars of his life are wanting.

[Pulteney's Biog. Sketches of Botany (1790), ii. 38, 39, 62.] B. D. J.

**BROWN, SIR SAMUEL** (1776-1852), engineer, the eldest son of William Brown of Borland, Galloway, by a daughter of the Rev. Robert Hogg of Roxburgh, was born in London in 1776. He served in the navy with some distinction during the French war from 1795 onwards. He became commander 1 Aug. 1811, and retired captain 18 May 1842. In January 1835 he was made a knight of the Hanoverian Guelphic Order, and a knight bachelor in 1838. His principal reputation was gained as an engineer. He invented an improved method of manufacturing links for chain cables, which he patented in 1816 conjointly with Philip Thomas, and the experiments which he carried out led to the introduction of chain cables into the navy. He also patented in

1817 improvements in suspension bridges, the patent including a special sort of link which enabled such bridges to be constructed on a larger scale than had ever before been possible. The first large suspension bridge was the Union Bridge across the Tweed near Berwick, a picture of which, painted by Alexander Nasmyth before the erection of the bridge in order to show what it would be like when completed, is now in the possession of the Society of Arts. His principle was also used by Telford in the suspension bridge across the Menai Straits. In 1823 he constructed the chain pier at Brighton. Besides those for his inventions connected with chains and chain cables, he took out numerous other patents (ten in all), most of them for matters connected with naval architecture or marine engineering. Brown died at Blackheath on 15 March 1852. He married Mary, daughter of John Horne of Edinburgh, writer to the signet, 14 Aug. 1822.

[Gent. Mag. 1852, i. 519; Records of the Patent Office.] H. T. W.

BROWN, SAMUEL (1817-1856), chemist, fourth son of Samuel Brown of Haddington, founder of itinerating libraries, and grandson of John Brown, author of the 'Self-interpreting Bible' [q. v.], was born at Haddington on 23 Feb. 1817, and, after attending the grammar school of Haddington and the high school of Edinburgh, entered the medical classes of the university of Edinburgh in 1832. He graduated M.D. in 1839, but devoted his chief attention to chemical research. An account of his experiments on 'Chemical Isomerism' was published in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, 1840-1,' and during the same winter he delivered, along with Edward Forbes, a course of lectures on the philosophy of the sciences. In 1843 he was a candidate for the chair of chemistry in the university of Edinburgh, but on account of his failure to establish the proposition of the isomerism of carbon and silicon, his other high qualifications were disregarded. From this time he retired very much from public life, and gave himself over to the task of realising experimentally his doctrine of the atomic constitution of bodies, only desisting when failing health rendered it imperative on him to do so. He died at Edinburgh on 20 Sept. 1856. His 'Lectures on the Atomic Theory, and Essays Scientific and Literary' were published in 1858 in two volumes. He was also the author of a tragedy, 'Galileo Galilei,' 1850, and of 'Lay Sermons on the Theory of Christianity.'

[Preface by his cousin, Dr. John Brown, author of Rab and his Friends, to Lectures on

the Atomic Theory; Recollections of Professor Masson in Macmillan's Magazine, vol. xii.; North British Review, vol. li.] T. F. H.

BROWN, SAMUEL (1810-1875), actuary and statist, entered the office of the old Equitable Life in 1829 as a junior. He was appointed actuary of the Mutual Life Office in 1850, and of the Guardian Insurance Company in 1855. He contributed numerous papers to the 'Assurance Magazine,' and also to the 'Journal of the Statistical Society.' He took a very prominent part in the decimal coinage movement, and several times discussed the question before the International Statistical Congress. He also advocated uniform weights and measures throughout the commercial world. He took an active part in founding the Institute of Actuaries in 1848, and became its president in 1867, holding the office for three consecutive years. He was also joint editor of the 'Journal of the Institute of Actuaries.' In 1868 he was president of the Economic section of the British Association at Norwich. He instituted the 'Brown Prize' at the Institute of Actuaries, and the first award under the terms of the endowment—fifty guineas for the best essay on the history of life insurance—was made in 1884. He gave evidence before various parliamentary committees on insurance and kindred topics. He died in 1875, aged 65.

[Walford's Insurance Cyclopædia.] C. W.

BROWN, STEPHEN (*n.* 1340<sup>p</sup>), theologian, a native of Aberdeen, was a doctor of theology, and a Carmelite monk. He is mentioned as one of the twelve scholars of special reputation in Scotland whom Edward I is said to have invited to Oxford; and certain collections of sermons, theological treatises, expositions, and letters are attributed to him. Brown's identity is, however, extremely doubtful; and the very date at which he is said to have flourished is hardly compatible with the facts related of his life. He has apparently been confounded with another Stephen Brown who was appointed to the see of Ross, in the province of Munster, by a papal provision dated 22 April 1399 (*C. DE VILLIERS, Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, ii. 767), and who, 'having made the requisite declarations and renounced all clauses in the pope's bull which were prejudicial to the rights of the crown, was restored to his temporalities on May 6, 1402' (*H. COTTON, Fasti Eccles. Hibern.* i. 352, 2nd ed. 1851). This confusion of the two persons has, in fact, been made by the historian of the Carmelite order (*l.c.*); and, to add to the difficulty, Bale describes Brown as bishop of Ross in

Scotland, and Tanner, by an error easily accounted for, makes him bishop of Rochester ('Roffensis'). Since, however, the bishop of the Irish see is an historical personage, of whom even the armorial bearings are preserved (COTTON, *l.c.*), it is perhaps most probable that his earlier namesake is purely fictitious.

[Bale's Script. Brit. Cat. xiv. 54 (vol. ii. 215 et seq.); T. Dempster's Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot. ii. § 196, p. 107, ed. Bologna, 1627; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. p. 131.] R. L. P.

**BROWN, THOMAS** (*fl.* 1170), officer of the exchequer. [See THOMAS.]

**BROWN** or **BROUNS, THOMAS** (*d.* 1445), was bishop of Rochester and Norwich. As Cardinal Repington, bishop of Lincoln, collated him to the sub-deanery of Lincoln in 1414, and as Repington was chancellor of Oxford, it is probable that Brown was of that university. In 1419 he was made archdeacon of Stow, in 1422 prebendary of Biggleswade, in 1423 prebendary of Langford Manor (all in the diocese of Lincoln), in 1425 prebendary of Flixton in the diocese of Lichfield, in 1427 archdeacon of Berkshire, and in 1431 dean of Salisbury. He held all these preferments together till his promotion to the see of Rochester in 1435, being at the same time vicar-general to Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury. Can Thomas Gascoigne be referring to Brown when he says, in his usually extravagant manner, 'Novi unum fatuum qui habuit unum magnum archidiaconatum et xij. præbendas magnas' ? (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, Clarendon Press, 4to, 1881, p. 43). In 1429 he was elected to the bishopric of Chichester, and was approved by the king; but the pope, Martin V, quashed the election, and he had to wait four years before he was raised to the episcopate. He was consecrated bishop of Rochester at Canterbury on 1 May 1435, and next year, while attending at the council of Basle, was translated by Eugenius IV to the bishopric of Norwich. Henry VI taking offence at this, Brown submitted himself to the king's pleasure, and with so good a grace that his apology was accepted, and he was allowed to take possession of his see. In 1439 he was sent as ambassador to negotiate a peace with France, and to make a commercial treaty with the Flemings. His episcopate is uneventful, except that he was a peacemaker on the occasion of a serious dispute between the citizens of Norwich and the priory. Possibly his award may have been displeasing to the convent, for soon after this the prior behaved with exceeding disrespect to the bishop, and the quarrel ended in an

appeal to Rome, when the prior was compelled to submit to his diocesan. Brown died at Hoxne on 6 Dec. 1445, and was buried in the cathedral. His will has been preserved. In it, besides other legacies, he leaves money for the support of poor scholars at both universities.

[Le Neve's Fasti, ii. 40, 79, 567, 634 (Hardy); Rymer's Foedera, x. 433, 608, 724, 728, 730; Rolls of Parliament, v. 13; Blomefield's Norfolk, iii. 533; Stubbs's Reg. Sac. Anglic.; Brown's will, Lambeth Reg. Stafford, 131 b; Genealogist, v. 324.] A. J.

**BROWN, THOMAS** (*fl.* 1570), translator, of Lincoln's Inn, translated into English 'A rich Storehouse or Treasure for Nobilitye and Gentlemen, which in Latine is called Nobilitas literata, written by a famous and excellent man, John Sturmius, and translated into English by T. B., gent., . . . Imprinted at London by Henrie Denham . . . 1570.' This volume is in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. In a note appended to it Mr. Grenville says that it does not appear who T. B. was. A Thomas Brown who wrote some verses prefixed to the 'Galateo of maister John Della Case (Casa) archbishop of Beneventa,' translated by Robert Peterson of Lincoln's Inn, gentleman, a work printed in 1576, and described in Herbert's edition of Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities,' is probably Thomas Browne (*d.* 1585) [q. v.]

[Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 131; manuscript note of Mr. T. Grenville; Herbert's Ames's Typographical Antiquities, ii. 903.] W. H.

**BROWN, THOMAS** (1663-1704), miscellaneous writer, son of a farmer, was born in 1663 at Shifnal in Shropshire. He was educated at Newport school, in the same county, whence he proceeded in 1678 to Christ Church, Oxford. Here his irregular habits brought him into trouble. The story goes that the dean of Christ Church, Dr. Fell, threatened to expel him, but, on receipt of a submissive letter, promised to forgive him if he would translate extempore the epigram of Martial (i. 32), 'Non amo te, Sabidi,' &c., which Brown promptly rendered by—

I do not love thee, Dr. Fell,  
The reason why I cannot tell;  
But this I know, and know full well,  
I do not love thee, Dr. Fell.

Brown afterwards made amends by writing the doctor's epitaph. Some English verses by Brown are prefixed to Creech's translation of Lucretius, 1682, and there is a copy of his Latin verses, entitled 'Soteria Ormondiana,' in 'Musæ Oxonienses.' He contributed some translations from Horace to 'Miscellany

Poems by Oxford Hands,' 1685. Leaving the university without a degree, he came to London, and endeavoured to support himself by his pen; but, finding it difficult to procure employment, he reluctantly accepted the post of usher in a school at Kingston-on-Thames. Writing to a friend at this date, he says: 'I ventured once or twice to launch my little bark amongst the adventurous rovers of the pen, but with such little success that for the present I have abandoned all hopes of doing anything that way. . . . The prodigal son, when he was pressed by hunger and thirst, joined himself to a swineherd; and I have been driven by the same stimuli to join myself to a swine, an ignorant pedagogue about twelve miles out of town.' He was afterwards appointed head-master of the grammar school at Kingston-on-Thames. Having spent three years in school work, he settled in London, and devoted himself to the production of satirical poems and pamphlets, varying this employment with translations from Greek, Latin, French, and Spanish authors. In 1687 he contributed supplementary 'Reflections on the Hind and the Panther' to Matthew Clifford's 'Four Letters' on Dryden; and in the following years, assuming the pseudonym Dudley Tomkinson, he assailed Dryden in a spiteful, though not unamusing, pamphlet, entitled 'The Reasons of Mr. Bays' changing his religion, considered in a dialogue between Crites, Eugenius, and Mr. Bays,' 4to, of which a second part was published in 1690 under the title of 'The Reasons of the New Convert's taking the Oaths,' 4to, and a third part, 'The Reason of Mr. Hains the Player's Conversion and Reconversion,' in 1691, 4to. In 1691 he published 'The Weesils. A satirical Fable giving the account of some argumental passages happening in the lion's court about Weesilion's taking the oaths,' London, 1691, 4to, an attack on Dr. Sherlock. An anonymous satire on Dufey, 'Wit for Money, or Poet Stutter, a Dialogue,' 1691, 4to, may probably be assigned to Brown, who, in the same year, assailed two prominent clergymen in an anonymous pamphlet entitled, 'Novus Reformator Vapulans, or the Welsh Levite tossed in a blanket. In a dialogue between Hick[eringill] of Colchester, David J[ohn]nes and the Ghost of Wil. Pryn,' 4to. About this time Brown started the 'Lacedæmonian Mercury,' in opposition to Dunton's 'Athenian Mercury'; but the paper had only a short run. In August 1693 he wrote a copy of satirical verses on the occasion of the marriage of Titus Oates ('The Salamanca Wedding; or a true Account of a swearing Doctor's Marriage with a Muggletonian Widow,' halfsheet),

for which performance he is said to have been apprehended and punished. Many of Brown's humorous and satirical verses were published in 'A Collection of Miscellany Poems, Letters, &c., by Mr. Brown, &c.,' London, 1699, 8vo. On p. 49 of this collection is a bitter attack by Brown on Tom Dufey, beginning—

Thou cur, half French, half English breed,  
Thou mongrel of Parnassus.

Elsewhere (*Works*, ed. 1719-21, v. 65) he has some amusing verses on a duel fought at Epsom in 1689 between Dufey and Bell, a musician. In a 'Session of the Poets' there is a mock trial of Dufey and Brown, held at the foot of Parnassus on 9 July 1696. Brown's satirical writings are more remarkable for coarseness than for wit. In worrying an adversary he was strangely pertinacious; he never would let a quarrel drop, but returned to the attack again and again. Sir Richard Blackmore was one of the special objects of his aversion; he edited in 1700 a collection of mock 'Commendatory Verses on the Author of the Two Arthurs and the Satyr against Wit by some of his particular Friends,' fol. For writing a 'Satyr upon the French King on the Peace of Reswick' (*Works*, i. 89, ed. 1707) he was committed to prison; and the story goes that he procured his release by addressing to the lords in council a Pindaric petition, which concludes thus:

The pulpit alone  
Can never preach down  
The fops of the town.  
Then pardon Tom Brown  
And let him write on:

But if you had rather convert the poor sinner,  
His fast writing mouth may be stopped with a dinner.

Give him clothes to his back, some meat and much drink,  
Then claphim close prisoner without pen and ink,  
And your petitioner shall neither pray, write, nor think.

Tom Brown's life was as licentious as his writings. Much of his time was spent in a low tavern in Gower's Row in the Minorities. His knowledge of London was certainly 'extensive and peculiar,' and his humorous sketches of low life are both entertaining and valuable. An anonymous biographer says: 'Tom Brown had less the spirit of a gentleman than the rest of the wits, and more of a scholar. . . . As of his mistresses, so he was very negligent in the choice of his companions, who were sometimes mean and despicable.' Brown died in Aldersgate Street on 16 June 1704, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, near his friend Mrs. Aphra Behn. The inscription (which has

been lately recut) on his tombstone is, 'Thomas Brown, Author of "The London Spy," born 1663, died 1704,' but the author of 'The London Spy' was Ned Ward. Shortly after his death appeared a 'Collection of all the Dialogues of Mr. Thomas Brown, 1704, 8vo, to which was appended a letter (the genuineness of which was attested by Thomas Wotton, curate of St. Lawrence Jewry) purporting to have been written by Brown on his deathbed. In this letter Brown, after expressing regret for having written anything that would be likely to have a pernicious influence, protests against being responsible for 'lampoons, trips, London Spies,' in which he had no hand. He was too lazy, he tells us, to write much, and yet pamphlets good and bad of every kind had been fathered upon him. A whimsical description of Brown's experiences on his arrival in Hades was published under the title of 'A Letter from the dead Thomas Brown to the living Herodotus,' 1704, 8vo. An epitaph, written shortly after his death, contains the lines—

Each merry wag throughout the town  
Will toast the memory of Brown,  
Who laugh'd a race of rascals down.

Addison, in his essay on the 'Potency of Mystery and Innuendo' (*Spectator*, No. 567), after mentioning that some writers, 'when they would be more satirical than ordinary, omit only the vowels of a great man's name, and fall most unmercifully upon all the consonants,' adds that 'Tom Brown, 'of facetious memory,' was the first to bring the practice into fashion.

A collected edition of Brown's works in three volumes, with a character of the author by James Drake, M.D., was published in 1707-8, 8vo. Vol. i. contains essays, poems, satires, and epigrams; original letters; translations of Aristænetus's letters, and of letters from Latin and French. Vol. ii. is entirely occupied with 'Letters from the Dead to the Living' (which had been previously published in 1702). These are partly original and partly translated from the French. Brown wrote only a portion of the collection. The contents of vol. iii. are: 'Amusements Serious and Comical, calculated for the Meridian of London' (separately published in 1700); 'Letters Serious and Comical'; 'Pocket-book of Common Places'; 'A Walk round London and Westminster'; 'The Dispensary, a Farce'; 'The London and Lacedæmonian Oracles.' The fourth edition, in four volumes 8vo, is dated 1719; a supplementary volume of 'Remains' (incorporated in later editions) followed in 1721. The eighth and final edition was published in

1760, 4 vols. 8vo. Two (unacted) comedies are not included in the collected editions: 1. 'Physic lies a-bleeding, or the Apothecary turned Doctor,' 1697, 4to. 2. 'The Stage-Beaux tossed in a Blanket, or Hypocrisy à-la-mode,' 1704, 4to, a comedy in three acts, satirising Jeremy Collier. Among Brown's scattered writings are: 1. 'Lives of all the Princes of Orange, from the French of Baron Mourier; to which is added the Life of King William the Third,' 1693, 8vo. 2. 'Life of the famous Duke de Richelieu, from the French of Du Plessis,' 1695. 3. 'France and Spain naturally Enemies, from the Spanish of C. Garcia.' 4. 'Miscellanea Aulica; or a Collection of State Treatises,' 1702, with a preface of ten pages by Brown. 5. 'Short Dissertation about the Mona in Cesar and Tacitus,' appended to Sacheverell's 'Account of the Isle of Man,' 1702, 12mo. 6. 'Marriage Ceremonies as now used in all Parts of the World.' Written originally in Italian by Signor Gaya, third edition, 1704. 7. 'Justin's History of the World made English by Mr. T. Brown,' second edition, 1712, 12mo. Brown's name is found on the list of contributors to the variorum translations of Petronius (1708), Lucian (1711), and Scarron (1772). A collection of 'Beauties of Tom Brown,' with a preface by C. H. Wilson, and a coloured folding frontispiece by Thomas Rowlandson, was published in 1808, 8vo.

[Mémorial by James Drake, prefixed to Brown's Collected Works; Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, iv. 662-4; Cibber's Lives of the Poets, vol. iii.; Biographia Dramatica, ed. Stephen Jones; Scott's Swift, 2nd ed., ix. 375; Scott's Dryden, x. 102-3; Ebsworth's Bagford Ballads, i. 88; Notes and Queries, 6th ser. i. 316, 337, ii. 158, 210, 228; Works.]

A. H. B.

BROWN, THOMAS (1778-1820), metaphysician, was born at the manse of Kilmabreck 9 Jan. 1778. His father, minister of Kilmabreck and Kirkdale, died eighteen months later, and his mother removed to Edinburgh. Thomas was a very precocious child. His biographer asserts, 'upon the most satisfactory evidence,' that when four years old he was found comparing the gospels to see in what respects the narratives differed. In his seventh year he was sent to a school at Camberwell by a maternal uncle, Captain Smith. Thence, in a year, he was moved to Chiswick, and afterwards to schools at Bromley and Kensington. On his removal from Chiswick, the other pupils drew up a round-robin asking for his return. A poem on Charles I, written at Chiswick, was inserted by one of the masters in a magazine.

In 1792, on the death of his uncle, he returned to Edinburgh, and was much grieved by the loss of his books at sea. He entered the university at Edinburgh, and studied logic under Dr. Finlayson. In 1793 he spent part of the vacation at Liverpool. Here he made the acquaintance of Dr. Currie, the biographer of Burns, who put into his hands the recently published first volume of Dugald Stewart's 'Elements.' Next winter he attended Stewart's lectures, and attracted the professor's notice by submitting to him an acute criticism. If, as Stewart held, memory depends upon voluntary attention, how, asked Brown, do we remember dreams? The same objection had been urged in a letter which Stewart had just received from Prevost of Geneva (1755-1819), afterwards professor at Montauban. (Prevost's letter is given in Stewart's 'Works,' ii. 491.) Darwin's 'Zoonomia' was at this time attracting attention, and Brown wrote some remarks upon it, which, by Stewart's advice, he communicated to Darwin. A correspondence took place (October 1796 to January 1797), in which Darwin showed some annoyance at the sharp treatment of his theories. The remarks were put together by the boyish critic, and published in 1798. They were highly praised by the critics in the literary circles of Edinburgh. Brown had become intimate with young men of promise. He joined the Literary Society in 1796, and a smaller society, formed by some of the members in 1797, which called itself the Academy of Physics, and included Brougham, Jeffrey, Horner, Sydney Smith, Leyden, and others. It flourished for about three years, and helped to bring together the founders of the 'Edinburgh Review.' Brown was one of the first reviewers. He wrote an article upon Kant in the second number, which is at least a proof of courage, as it is founded entirely upon Villiers's French account of Kant. Some editorial interference with an article in the third number led him to withdraw from the review. He never afterwards wrote in a periodical. He began to study law in 1796, but finding that it did not suit his health became a medical student from 1798 to 1803. His thesis upon taking his degree, entitled 'De Somno,' is praised for the purity of the Latin, in which language, it is said, he could talk as fluently as in English.

In 1804 he published poems in two volumes, and in the same year took part in a famous controversy. The claims of Leslie to the mathematical chair at Edinburgh had been opposed on the ground that he had spoken favourably of Hume's theory of causation. Brown undertook to prove that Hume's

theory did not lead to the sceptical consequences ascribed to it. He published 'Observations on the Nature and Tendency of the Doctrine of Mr. Hume concerning the Relation of Cause and Effect' in 1804; a second and enlarged edition of which appeared in 1806; and a third, called 'An Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect,' in 1818. In 1806 Brown became a partner of Dr. Gregory. In spite of fair professional prospects, his tastes were still philosophical. Attempts had been made in 1799 to obtain his appointment to the chair of rhetoric, and in 1808 to the chair of logic. The tory and church interest was too strong for him. Dugald Stewart's health was now declining, and he obtained the assistance of Brown in lecturing the moral philosophy class in the winter of 1808-9. In the next winter Brown acted for a longer time as Stewart's substitute. His lectures attracted the attendance of professors as well as students, and a committee was formed upon Stewart's reappearance to congratulate him and express admiration for his assistant. In the following May (1810), after an earnest canvass by Stewart himself, and many letters from eminent men, Brown was elected by the town council as Stewart's colleague. He held this position for the rest of his life. His lectures were written at high pressure. He began to write each on the evening before its delivery, sat up late—several times all night in the first winter—and did not finish till the clock struck twelve, the hour of lecturing. Three volumes were thus written in his first session, and the fourth in the second. He lived quietly with his mother and sisters, hospitably entertaining visitors to Edinburgh. His chief amusement was walking, and he had a passion for hill climbing. He also found time to compose a quantity of indifferent poetry, which he alone preferred to his philosophy. In 1814 he finished and published anonymously his 'Paradise of Coquettes,' begun six years before. In 1815 he published the 'Wanderer in Norway,' an elaboration of some verses in his first volumes, suggested by Mary Wollstonecraft's 'Letters from Norway.' In 1816 he published the 'Warfiend,' in 1817 the 'Bower of Spring,' in 1818 'Agnes,' and in 1819 'Emily.' A collected edition in 1820, in four volumes, includes these and a second edition of a poem called the 'Renovation of India,' originally written for a college prize, and published when, after three years, no award was made. He was much grieved by the death, in 1817, of his mother, to whom he had been most tenderly attached. In 1819 he began to prepare a text-book of his lectures. He fell ill, and

upon meeting his class broke down in giving a lecture (No. 35 in the collected edition), which always affected him. He never lectured again. His health was injured by worry about providing a substitute, and afterwards by severe weather. His physicians recommended a voyage to London. He died at Brompton on 2 April 1820. He had left to his friend and biographer, Dr. Welsh, the superintendence of the last sheets of his text-book, called the 'Physiology of the Human Mind,' which was already in the press; and his lectures were published under the care of John Stewart (who had undertaken to supply his place on his final breakdown), and on Stewart's death of the Rev. E. Milroy.

Brown was a man of simple habits and strong domestic affections. He read all his works before publication to his mother and sisters. He was specially fond of animals; he held that some of them had a moral sense and immortal souls, and meant to write a treatise on our duties to them. He was a patriotic Scotchman, and a strong liberal, and credited, though not accurately, with republicanism. Except in the period of first preparing his lectures, he confined his hours of composition to the morning, after breakfast, and the evening from seven till ten or eleven. His knowledge of modern languages was considerable, and his memory extraordinary; he could remember twenty or thirty lines of French or Italian after a single reading. Brown's poetry, modelled chiefly upon Pope and Akenside, never made much impression. His lectures excited the utmost enthusiasm amongst the students; and his fame lasted till the rise of a new school, culminating about 1830 to 1835. A 19th edition of his lectures appeared in 1851. The inquiry into the relation of cause and effect is one of the most vigorous statements of the doctrine first made prominent by Hume, and since maintained by the Mills. Like them, Brown reduces causation to invariable sequence, and especially labours the point that 'power' is a word expressive of nothing else. He denies the distinction between 'physical' and 'efficient' causes. He differs, however, from Hume (upon whose writings he makes some interesting criticisms) in inferring that we have an intuitive conception, underlying all experience, that the same antecedents will produce the same consequences. This takes the place of Hume's 'custom,' and enables Brown to avoid Hume's theological scepticism. He infers God as the cause of an orderly universe. The lectures, hurriedly written, are injured by the sentimental rhetoric and frequent quotations from Akenside,

VOL. III.

by which they are overlaid and expanded. This is due probably to haste and to the desire to catch a youthful audience. They show, however, remarkable powers of psychological analysis. The most valuable teaching is considered to be the exposition (lectures 22 to 27) of the part played by touch and the muscular sense in revealing an external world. Professor Bain's writings upon the same topic partly embody Brown's theories. Hamilton (REID's *Works*, p. 868) accuses Brown of borrowing in this direction from Condillac and De Tracy. His philosophy, as Dr. McCosh says, is a combination of Reid and Stewart with the French sensationalists. A peculiarity of Brown is, that he suppresses the will, as Reid had suppressed the feelings in the more generally accepted classification of intellect, will, and feeling. By the subordination of the will to desire, Hamilton (*ib.* p. 531) says that he virtually abolished all freedom, responsibility, and morality. Hamilton everywhere shows a strong dislike to Brown, whose influence was supplanted by his own. In an article in the 'Edinburgh Review' (October 1830), reprinted in his 'Dissertations,' he accuses Brown of totally misunderstanding the history of previous theories of perception, and of grossly misrepresenting Reid. Brown speaks with some severity of Reid, and Stewart had protested against this, and condemned the general hastiness of Brown's work in a note to the third volume of his 'Elements' (published in 1826) (STEWART's *Works*, iv. 377). He had been unconscious of his colleague's sentiments till the publication of the lectures in Welsh's 'Life.' Hamilton's dislike is obvious, and his charges of plagiarism, seem to be unfair as against lectures intended for learners, and published after the author's death, and without his explanations. Whatever Brown's originality, he was the last and a very vigorous representative of the Scotch school, modified by French influence, but not affected by the German philosophy, which, under the influence of Hamilton and his followers, has since so deeply affected philosophical speculation in Scotland.

[Welsh's Account of the Life and Writings, &c., 1825 (an abridgment is prefixed to the later editions of the lectures); McCosh's *Scottish Philosophy*, pp. 317-37.] L. S.

BROWN, THOMAS JOSEPH, D.D. (1798-1880), catholic bishop, was born at Bath on 2 May 1798. His education began at a small protestant school in that city, while his religious instruction was entrusted by his catholic parents to the care of Ralph Ainsworth, then the priest in charge of the

Bath mission. At Ainsworth's instance he was sent in 1807 to Acton Burnell, near Shrewsbury, where the Benedictine monks had opened a college. There he remained for seven years, towards the end of which time he received the Benedictine habit, on 19 April 1813. Early in 1814 he accompanied the community on their migration to their new home at Downside in Somersetshire. At the new college of St. Gregory's, Downside, Brown remained in residence for more than a quarter of a century. He was ordained to the priesthood on 7 April 1823 in London, and almost immediately appointed professor of theology at Downside. That office he held for upwards of seventeen years. Throughout that period he conducted the dogmatic course invariably in Latin. As Bishop Hedley says, in his funeral sermon (p. 5), 'Unwearying study, extreme pains in collating author with author and passage with passage, and unfailling accuracy of memory—these, in his best days, were the characteristics of his class lessons.' In 1829 he was sent to Rome as *socius* with Fr. Richard Marsh, then president-general, to conduct a most delicate case before the Roman Curia. Three years before this Brown had published 'A Letter to the Very Rev. Archdeacon Daubeney, LL.D., exposing the Misrepresentations of his Third Chapter on Transubstantiation,' 1826. On his return to England, Brown attained a position of great eminence, both on the platform and in the press. For five days together, in 1830, he, with five of his coreligionists, confronted three members of the Protestant Reformation Society in the riding school at Cheltenham, in the presence of four thousand people. The fifth day's controversy closed with a scene of riotous confusion. Soon afterwards appeared 'Substance of the Arguments adopted by the Roman Catholic Advocates in the Recent Discussion at Cheltenham on the Rule of Faith, collected from Notes taken during the Discussion by the Rev. T. J. Brown, S.T.P.,' 1830. In 1833 a controversy sprang up between Brown and two protestant clergymen, the Rev. Messrs. Batchellor and Newnham. Brown's argument was published as 'Catholic Truth vindicated against the Misrepresentations and Calumnies of "Popery Unmasked,"' 1833. Before the close of that year Brown was appointed cathedral prior of Winchester. Early in 1834 he took part in the controversy long afterwards memorable as 'The Downside Discussion.' It arose, on 10 Jan. 1834, at the Old Down inn, out of a meeting of the Protestant Reformation Society, at which the two principal speakers were the Rev. John Lyons and the Rev. Ed-

ward Tottenham. A friend of Brown's having formally challenged those gentlemen to a disputation, six meetings were soon afterwards arranged to take place in the college chapel at Downside. These meetings came off in 1834, and in 1836 appeared the 'Authentic Report of the Discussion which took place in the Chapel of the Roman Catholic College of Downside, near Bath. Subjects: the Rule of Faith and the Sacrifice of the Mass.' Soon afterwards, in the same year, was published 'Supplement to the Downside Discussion, by the Rev. T. J. Brown, D.D.' Brown had been elected, 18 July 1834, prior of Downside, and had received six days afterwards, 24 July, his cap as doctor of divinity. Immediately after his election to the priorship he resumed with unabated energy his teaching labours as professor of theology. In July 1840 the vicars apostolic in England were increased from four to eight, Wales, until then included in the western district, being formed into a separate vicariate. Gregory XVI, who as Cardinal Cappellari had years before then learned to appreciate his capacities, named Brown at once the first bishop of the Welsh district. He accepted the dignity at last with profound reluctance. His episcopal consecration by Bishop Griffith took place on 28 Oct. 1840, in St. John's Chapel, Pierpoint Place, Bath, the title assumed by him being Bishop of Apollonia in the Archdiocese of Thessalonica. The newly created diocese embraced the twelve counties of Wales, with Herefordshire and Monmouthshire. His vicariate was very extensive and extremely impoverished. It included within it only nineteen chapels. Eleven of these belonging to Hereford and Monmouth, no more than eight in all appertained to the dozen Welsh counties. On the formation of the catholic hierarchy Brown was translated, on 29 Sept. 1850, to the newly constituted see of Newport and Mernevia. His jurisdiction was thenceforth restricted to the six counties of South Wales, with the shires of Hereford and Monmouth. Towards the close of that year he was drawn into the last of his more noteworthy theological discussions. It began on 3 Dec. 1850, in a correspondence which was not completed until 13 Jan. 1852. Immediately upon its conclusion it appeared as 'A Controversy on the Infallibility of the Church of Rome and the Doctrine of Article VI of the Church of England, between Bishop Brown and the Rev. Joseph Baylee, M.A., Principal of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead,' 1852. Besides this and the works already enumerated, Brown published 'Monita Confessariorum,' and in



the 'Orthodox Journal' very many articles and letters signed with his then well-known initials, S[acrae] T[heologiae] P[ro]fessor. In 1858 he obtained permission from the holy see that his cathedral chapters should be formed exclusively of Benedictine monks. He thus succeeded in reviving under the new hierarchy one of the most remarkable and distinctive features of the pre-reformation hierarchy of England. On 29 Sept. 1873 John Cuthbert Hedley was consecrated bishop auxiliary, and seven years later was his successor in the see of Newport and Menevia. Before the close of his life Brown was for many years the senior member of the English catholic episcopate. For forty years together he was in a very literal and primitive sense a bishop in poverty. Rising all through his long life invariably at 5 A.M., he persistently travelled, preached, wrote, saved, and begged for his flock. And with such good effect did he spend himself in their interests that, instead of the nineteen chapels and nineteen priests he had found in his huge vicariate of the Welsh district, he left in his comparatively much smaller diocese of Newport and Menevia fifty-eight churches and sixty-two priests. Brown died on 12 April 1880, shortly before the completion of his eighty-second year, at his residence in Bullingham, Herefordshire.

[Snow's Necrology of the English Benedictines from 1600 to 1883, p. 174; Men of the Time, 10th ed., p. 153; Maziere Brady's Episcopal Succession, pp. 337, 354, 424-6; Oliver's Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion, &c., pp. 252, 253; The Downside Review, No. 1, July 1880, Memoir, pp. 4-16; Annual Register for 1880, p. 160; Tablet, 17 April 1880, p. 498; Weekly Register, 17 April 1880, pp. 241, 246.] C. K.

**BROWN or BROWNE, ULYSSES MAXIMILIAN von (1705-1757)**, count of the holy Roman empire, baron de Camus and Mountany, and field-marshal in the imperialist armies, was son of Ulysses, baron Brown, an Irish colonel of cavalry in the Austrian army ennobled for his military services by the emperor Charles VI, and was born at Basle on 23 Oct. 1705. He entered the imperial service at an early age and distinguished himself on several occasions. At the age of twenty-one he married the young Countess Marie Philippine von Martinez, daughter of George Adam Martinez, who for a short time was imperial vicergerent in the kingdom of Naples. Brown's influential connections, as well as his personal merits, secured his rapid advancement. At twenty-nine he commanded an Austrian infantry regiment in Italy, and a few years later, on the

accession of the empress Maria Theresa, he was advanced to the rank of field-marshal lieutenant and appointed to command in Silesia. In the campaigns in Italy in 1743-8 he greatly distinguished himself, particularly at the battle of Piaccenza, where he commanded the Austrian left, and mainly contributed to the success of the day. When the Austrians moved southward the city of Genoa opened its gates to him, and he subsequently commanded the imperialist troops that crossed the Var and entered France, establishing their outposts a few miles from Toulon. His withdrawal from Genoa was considered a masterly operation. After the convention of Nizza in 1749 he returned to Vienna, and held commands in Transylvania and Bohemia. He became a field-marshal in 1753. At the outbreak of the seven years' war he was in Silesia, and commanded the Austrians at the battle of Lobositz. Believing a dual command, as proposed by Maria Theresa, to be prejudicial to public interests, Brown offered to serve under the orders of Prince Charles of Lorraine, the empress's favourite, in Bohemia, and there, while heading a bayonet-charge of grenadiers on the Prussian line before the walls of Prague, on 6 May 1757, was struck by a cannon-shot, which shattered one of his legs. He was carried from the field, and died of his wound at Prague on 26 June following, leaving behind him the reputation of a consummate general and an able and successful negotiator. His biography was published in German and in French in 1757.

[Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie (Leipzig, 1876), iii. 369-73, the particulars in which are taken from Zuverlässige Lebensbeschreibung von U. M. Count von Brown (Leipzig and Frankfurt, 1757); Baron O'Cahill's Geschichte der grössten Heerführer der neueren Zeit (Rastadt, 1785), ii. 264-316. English readers will find compendious notices of Count Brown's military operations in Sir E. Cust's Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century (London, 1860-1); Carlyle's Frederick the Great.] H. M. C.

**BROWN, WILLIAM (d. 1814)**, rear-admiral, of an old Leicestershire family, was made a lieutenant in the navy in 1788, and a commander in 1792, when he came home from the Mediterranean in command of the Zebra sloop. After sixteen months' uneventful service on the home station, in command of the Kingfisher and Fly sloops, he was advanced to post rank on 29 Oct. 1793. In 1794 he commanded the Venus frigate in the Channel fleet under Lord Howe, and in her was present at the action of 1 June, but without any opportunity of distinction. In 1795 he commanded the Alcmenè, and,

though in feeble health, continued in her on the home station and the coast of Portugal till November 1797, when he was discharged to sick quarters at Lisbon. On his recovery, he was in March 1798 appointed by Lord St. Vincent to the *Defence*, of 74 guns, and on her being paid off in the following January he commissioned the *Santa Dorothea*.

In 1805 Brown commanded the *Ajax*, of 74 guns, and in her was present in the action off Cape Finisterre on 22 July; but by bearing up at the critical moment of the attack, in order to communicate with the admiral, during the prevalence of a fog, he weakened the English van, and must be considered as to some extent a cause of the unsatisfactory result of the action (JAMES, *Naval History*, 1860, iii. 361). He afterwards, at the request of Sir Robert Calder, left the *Ajax* in command of the first lieutenant, and returned to England in order to give evidence at Calder's court-martial [see CALDER, SIR ROBERT]. He was thus absent from Trafalgar, where the *Ajax* was commanded by Lieutenant Pilfold. Brown was afterwards for some time commissioner of the dockyards at Malta and at Sheerness. He attained his flag rank in 1812, and in June 1813 was appointed commander-in-chief at Jamaica, where he died, 20 Sept. 1814, after an illness of five days. He married a daughter of Mr. John Travers, a director of the East India Company, by whom he had several children.

[O'Byrne's *Nav. Biog. Dict.* under 'Charles Foreman Brown' and 'William Cheselden Browne'; Official Correspondence in the Public Record Office.] J. K. L.

BROWN, WILLIAM, D.D. (1766–1835), historical writer, was born in 1766. He was licensed by the presbytery of Stirling in 1791, was presented to the parish of Eskdalemuir by the Duke of Buccleuch in 1792, and fulfilled there the duties of minister for forty-three years. In 1797 he married Margaret Moffat, by whom he had three children. He received the degree of D.D. from the university of Aberdeen in 1816, and died on 21 Sept. 1835. He was the author of the '*Antiquities of the Jews*' (2nd ed. 1826, 2 vols.), and wrote the '*Account of the Parish of Eskdalemuir*' in the '*Statistical Account of Scotland*.' His work on the Jews enters with great detail into their customs and religious ceremonials, but barely touches upon their political history or ethnical peculiarities.

[Hew Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, vol. i. part ii. 635; *Gent. Mag.* new series, iv. 554; *Chambers's Historical Newspaper*.] N. G.

BROWN, WILLIAM (1777–1857), admiral in the navy of Buenos Ayres, a native of Ireland, accompanied his family to America in 1786, and, being there left destitute by the death of his father, obtained employment as cabin-boy on board a merchant ship. In 1796 he was pressed into an English man-of-war, and served for several years in the navy. Afterwards, having obtained the command of an English merchant ship, he came, in 1812, to Buenos Ayres, where he settled with his family. In 1814 he accepted a naval command in the service of the republic. He engaged a Spanish flotilla at the mouth of the Uruguay, and he fought another and more decisive action off Monte Video, capturing four of the Spanish vessels and dispersing the rest. He received the title of admiral, and fitted out a privateer, in which he cruised against the Spaniards in the Pacific. His ship was visited by an English man-of-war, sent to Antigua, and there condemned, but was afterwards restored on appeal to the home government. Brown lived in retirement at Buenos Ayres till December 1825, when Brazil declared war against the republic and blockaded the River Plate. On 4 Feb. 1826 Brown attacked the enemy of more than four times his material force, and drove them eight leagues down the coast. In February 1827 Brown engaged and almost totally destroyed a squadron of nineteen small vessels at the mouth of the Uruguay. On 9 April he put to sea with a few brigs, and was at once brought to action by a superior force of the enemy. Some of the brigs seem to have got back without much loss; Brown, though badly wounded, succeeded in running one ashore and setting fire to her; the other was reduced to a wreck and captured. The loss obliged the republic to enter on negotiations which resulted in a peace. In the civil war of 1842–5 Brown was again in command of the fleet of Buenos Ayres, and with a very inefficient force kept up the blockade of Monte Video, notwithstanding an order from the English commodore to throw up his command. In 1845, when the English and French squadrons were directed to intervene and restore peace to the river, their first step was to take possession of Brown's ships, thus reducing him to compulsory inactivity. He had no further service, but passed the rest of his life on his small estate in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres. He died on 3 May 1857. A powerful ironclad, named the *Almirante Brown*, still keeps his memory living in the navy of the Argentine republic.

[Mulhall's *English in South America*, p. 144 (with a portrait); Drake's *Dict. of American*

Biography; Memoirs of General Miller (1829); Armitage's History of Brazil, vol. i.; Chevalier de Saint-Roberts's *Le Général Rosas et la Question de la Plata* (1848, 8vo), p. 41; Mallalieu's *Buenos Ayres, Monte Video, and Affairs in the River Plate* (1844, 8vo), p. 27.] J. K. L.

**BROWN, SIR WILLIAM** (1784–1864), benefactor to Liverpool, eldest son of Alexander Brown of Ballymena, county Antrim, and Grace, daughter of John Davison of Drumnasole, was born at Ballymena on 30 May 1784. At twelve years of age he was placed under the care of the Rev. J. Bradley at Catterick, Yorkshire, whence in 1800 he returned to Ireland. Soon afterwards he sailed with his father and mother for the United States of America, and at Baltimore, where his father continued the linen trade in which he had been engaged in Ireland, received in the counting-house his commercial education. In a few years the house at Baltimore became the firm of Alexander Brown & Sons, consisting of the father and his sons, William, John, George, and James. In 1809 William returned to the United Kingdom, established a branch of the firm in Liverpool, and they shortly afterwards abandoned the exclusive linen business and became general merchants. The transactions of the firm soon extended so as to require further branches. James established himself at New York and John at Philadelphia, and on the death of their father the business, then the most extensive in the American trade, was continued by the four brothers, George remaining in Baltimore. The disastrous aspect of affairs in 1839 induced the brothers George and John, who had by this time realised ample fortunes, to retire from the firm, leaving William the eldest and James the youngest to continue the concern. They now became bankers in the sense of conducting transmissions of money on public account between the two hemispheres, and in this pursuit and the business of merchants they acquired immense wealth. In 1825 William took an active part in the agitation for the reform in the management of the Liverpool docks. He was elected an alderman of Liverpool in 1831, and held that office until 1838. He was the unsuccessful Anti-Cornlaw League candidate for South Lancashire in 1844. He was, however, returned in 1846, and continued to represent South Lancashire until 23 April 1859. He was the founder of the firm of Brown, Shipley, & Co., Liverpool and London merchants, and at one time was the chairman of the Atlantic Telegraph Company. His name is probably best known by the munificent gift which he bestowed on his adopted town. He erected the Free Public Library

and Derby Museum at Liverpool, which was opened on 8 Oct. 1860, at a cost to himself of 40,000*l.*, the corporation providing the site and foundation and furnishing the building. At the inauguration of the volunteer movement in 1859 he raised and equipped at his own expense a corps of artillery, which ranked as the 1st brigade of Lancashire artillery volunteers. He was created a baronet on 24 Jan. 1863, and in the same year he served as sheriff for the county of Lancashire. He did not, however, live long to enjoy his honours, as he died at Richmond Hill, Liverpool, on 3 March 1864. He was always an advocate of free trade, and particularly favoured the idea of a decimal currency. On the proving of his will on 21 May 1864 the personalty was sworn under 900,000*l.*

He married, on 1 Jan. 1810, Sarah, daughter of Andrew Gibson of Ballymena; she died on 5 March 1858. The eldest son, Alexander Brown, having died on 8 Oct. 1849, the grandson, Lieutenant-colonel William Richmond Brown, succeeded to the baronetcy in 1864. Sir W. Brown was the author of a pamphlet entitled '*Decimal Coinage. A Letter from W. Brown, Esq., M.P., to Francis Shand, Esq., Chairman of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce,*' 1854.

[Gent. Mag. xvi. 657–8 (1864); Illustrated London News, xix. 70 (1851), with portrait; H. R. Fox Bourne's *English Merchants* (1866), ii. 299–301, 306–20.] G. C. B.

**BROWN, WILLIAM LAURENCE** (1755–1830), theological writer, was born at Utrecht in Holland, where his father was minister of the English church, 7 Jan. 1755. His father having been appointed professor of ecclesiastical history at St. Andrews, Scotland, the son studied at the university; but afterwards he proceeded to Utrecht, where, after completing his theological studies, he was in 1778 ordained minister of the English church. He obtained in 1783 the Stolpian prize at Leyden for an essay on the origin of evil, and various prizes from the Teylerian Society at Haarlem, the subject of one being '*On the natural Equality of Man.*' In 1784 the university of St. Andrews conferred on him the degree of D.D. In 1788 he was appointed professor of moral philosophy and ecclesiastical history at Utrecht, and two years after he became rector of the university. Thereafter there was added to his duties the professorship of the law of nature.

Driven from Holland in 1795 by the French invasion, Brown with his wife and five children crossed the Channel in mid winter in an open boat, and after a stormy passage landed at London. The magistrates

of Aberdeen appointed him to the chair of divinity in Marischal College on the resignation of Dr. George Campbell, and in 1796 he also succeeded Campbell as principal of the university.

Brown soon became a conspicuous and influential member of the general assembly, sympathising mainly with the reforming party in the church. He made several contributions to literature after his arrival in Scotland, the most important being 'An Essay on the Existence of a Supreme Creator,' written in response to the offer of valuable prizes by the trustees of the late Mr. Burnett of Dens, Aberdeen, 2 vols. 8vo, 1816. Brown's essay obtained the first prize, amounting to 1,250*l.*, the second being awarded to the Rev. John Bird Sumner, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Another elaborate work was entitled 'A Comparative View of Christianity, and of the other forms of religion which have existed, and still exist, in the world, particularly with regard to their moral tendency,' 2 vols. 8vo, 1826. He died 11 May 1830.

Brown's works were written from the point of view of the time, and were marked by considerable ability; but the standpoint of discussion has altered so completely that now they have little more than an antiquarian interest.

[Catalogue of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; Hew Scott's *Fasti*, iii. 475; R. Chambers's *Eminent Scotsmen*.] W. G. B.

**BROWNBILL, THOMAS ROBSON.**  
[See ROBSON.]

**BROWNE.** [See also BROWN and BROWN.]

**BROWNE, ALEXANDER** (*n.* 1660), miniature painter, engraver, and printseller, who lived in the reign of Charles II, painted the portrait of that monarch and that of the Prince of Orange. In 1675 he published 'Ars Pictoria, or an Academy treating of Drawing, Painting, Limning, and Etching,' fol., London. The designs are after foreign artists, and chiefly copied from Bloemart's drawing-book. Mr. J. Chaloner Smith, in his 'Catalogue of British Mezzotint Portraits,' enumerates forty-four plates after A. van Dyck and Sir Peter Lely, which were published by Browne 'at the blew balcony in Little Queen Street,' but do not bear any engraver's name. It has been conjectured, but on insufficient grounds, that these may be the work of Browne himself.

[Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists*, 1878.]

L. F.

**BROWNE, SIR ANTHONY** (*d.* 1548), politician, only son of Sir Anthony Browne, standard-bearer of England and constable of Calais, and of his wife Lady Lucy Nevill, daughter and coheirress of John Nevill, marquis Montacute, and niece of Richard, earl of Warwick, was knighted in 1523 after the successful siege of Morlaix. In 1524 he was made esquire of the body to King Henry VIII, and from that time until the death of Henry he became more and more the friend of his sovereign. In 1526 he was created lieutenant of the Isle of Man during the minority of Edward, earl of Derby. In 1528, and again in 1533, Browne was sent into France; on the first occasion to invest Francis I with the order of the Garter, and on the second to attend that king to Nice for the conference with the pope respecting the divorce of Henry VIII and Catherine of Arragon. In 1539 Browne was made master of the horse, and in 1540 he was created a knight of the Garter.

Battle Abbey was granted to Browne in 1538; he occupied the abbot's lodging, and razed to the ground the church, the cloisters, and the chapter-house. At the same time he received the priory of St. Mary Overy in Southwark, and the house which he built there was for generations the London residence of his descendants the Viscounts Montague. The manors of Godstow, of Send in Sussex, and of Brede, which included a considerable part of the town of Hastings, were also granted to Browne; and in 1543, on the death of his half-brother, Sir William Fitzwilliam, K.G., earl of Southampton, he inherited the Cistercian abbey of Waverley, the monasteries of Bayham near Lamberhurst and of Calce to near Arundel, the priory of Easebourne, and the estate of Cowdray, both close to Midhurst. Part of the magnificent mansion of Cowdray had already been built by the Earl of Southampton, but was enlarged by Browne. He was M.P. for Surrey in 1542 and 1547.

In 1540 Browne was sent to the court of John of Cleves to act as proxy at the marriage of Henry VIII with Anne of Cleves. In 1543 he accompanied the Duke of Norfolk in an expedition against the Scots, and in the following year, as master of the horse, he attended Henry VIII at the siege of Boulogne. In 1545 he was made justice in eyre of all the king's forests north of the Trent, and in the same year he was constituted standard-bearer to Henry VIII as his father had been to Henry VII. During the last illness of Henry VIII Browne, with 'good courage and conscience,' undertook to tell the king of his approaching end. Henry

appointed him guardian to Prince Edward and to Princess Elizabeth, made him one of his executors, and left him a legacy of 300*l*. On the king's death Browne went to Hertford in order to tell the news to the young prince; and when Edward VI made his public entry into London, Browne, as master of the horse, rode next to him. But Browne survived Henry VIII only one year. On 6 May 1548 he died at a house which he had built at Byfleet in Surrey. He was buried with great pomp at Battle, under a splendid altar-tomb which he had himself prepared.

Browne was twice married. His first wife, whose effigy lies on the tomb at Battle beside his own, was Alys, daughter of Sir John Gage, K.G., constable of the Tower. By her he had seven sons and three daughters; the eldest son, Anthony, succeeded to his father's estates, and was created in 1554 Viscount Montague. Browne's second wife was Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, daughter of Gerald, ninth earl of Kildare, and better known as 'the fair Geraldine.' At the time of this marriage Browne was sixty, and the bride only fifteen years of age. Her two sons died in infancy. After the death of Browne his young widow married Sir Edward Clinton, first earl of Lincoln, and was buried with him in St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

[Collins's Peerage; Baronagium Genealogicum, 1732; Sussex Archæological Collections; Dallaway's History of Sussex.] J. A. E. R.

**BROWNE, ANTHONY** (1510?-1567), judge, son of Sir Wistan Browne of Abbesriding and Langenhoo in Essex, knight, and Elizabeth, daughter of William Mordaunt of Turvey in Bedfordshire, was born in Essex about 1510 and studied at Oxford without graduating. Entering at the Middle Temple, he was appointed reader in the autumn of 1553, but did not read until Lent of the following year. In 1553 (28 June) he purchased of the Lady Anne of Cleves the reversion of the manor of Costedhall near Brentwood in Essex, which had formerly belonged to Thomas Cromwell. He was M.P. for Lostwithiel, 1545, Preston, 1553, and Maldon, 1554. Being one of the magnates of Essex, he was commissioned with Lord Rich and others in 1554 to enforce the Statute of Heretics (2 & 3 Ph. & M. c. 6) against the puritans in that part of the country. He would seem to have had no fixed religious opinions, if the evidence of Watts, a protestant, burned at Chelmsford in 1555, is to be credited. The story which is told both by Foxe and Strype is to the effect that Watts being asked by

Browne whence he got his religious views, replied 'Even of you, sir; you taught it me, and none more than you. For in King Edward's days in open sessions you spoke against this religion now used—no preacher more. You then said the mass was abominable and all their trumpery besides, wishing and earnestly exhorting that none should believe therein, and that our belief should be only in Christ; and you then said that whosoever should bring in any strange nation to rule here it were treason and not to be suffered.' The same year Browne was active in bringing one William Hunter to the stake at Brentwood; and in the following year he received the thanks of the privy council 'for his diligent proceedings against' one George Eagles, *alias* Trudge-over-the-world, whom he had executed as a traitor, and was authorised 'to distribute his head and quarters according to his and his colleagues' former determination, and to proceed with his accomplices according to the qualities of their offences.' This Eagles was a tailor and itinerant preacher, who was convicted of treason for holding religious meetings, and hanged, drawn, and quartered. The earliest mention of Browne in the reports is under date Michaelmas term 1554, when he argued an important case in the common pleas. In 1555 (16 Oct.) he took the degrees of serjeant-at-law and king and queen's serjeant together. In 1558 (5 Oct.) he was appointed chief justice of the common bench, and at once had an opportunity of showing that he was capable of maintaining the prerogatives of that office with due tenacity. The office of exigenter of London and other counties having become vacant during the lifetime of Browne's predecessor, Sir R. Brooke, the queen, by letters patent of the same date as Browne's appointment, granted the office to a nominee of her own, one Coleshill. Browne refusing to admit Coleshill, and admitting his own nephew Scroggs, Elizabeth (who had acceded in the interim) in Michaelmas term 1559 directed the lord-keeper, Nicholas Bacon, to examine Coleshill's case. In the result the judges of the queen's bench were assembled, and unanimously decided that the action of Mary in granting the office was illegal, the right to do so being an integral part of the prerogative of the chief justice, and that, therefore, the title of Coleshill was null and void. Browne's patent had at first been renewed on Elizabeth's accession, but in consequence of his energetic conduct in enforcing the laws against heresy it was deemed advisable to degrade him, and accordingly (22 Jan.) Dyer was made chief justice and Browne reduced to the level of a puisne judge. In

1504 it is said that the queen offered the office of clerk of the hanaper to Browne, and that he refused it. In 1566 he was knighted by the queen at the Parliament House. He died on 16 May 1567 at his house in Essex. His wife, Joan, only daughter of W. Farington, died in the same year. Browne is credited by Doleman with having furnished Morgan Philipps with the legal authorities cited in his treatise in support of the title of the Queen of Scots to the succession to the English throne, of which the bishop of Ross (John Leslie) made considerable use in his work on the same subject. On the strength of this somewhat doubtful connection with literature, Wood accorded him a niche in the 'Athenæ Oxonienses.' Plowden speaks in very high terms of his legal learning and eloquence, quoting some barbarous elegiacs to the like effect.

[Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, 462; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 356, 405, 433; Morant's *Essex*, i. 118, 120; Foss's *Lives of the Judges*; Strype's *Memorials* (fol.), ii. (pt. ii.) 509, iii. (pt. i.) 51, 196, 265, 340, (pt. ii.) 400; *Narratives of the Reformation* (Camden Society), 212, 237; Foxe's *Martyrs* (ed. 1684), iii. 157-9, 222, 700-2; Dugdale's *Orig.* 217; Dugdale's *Chron.* Ser. 90, 91; Wynne's *Serj.-at-Law*; Dyer's *Reports*, 175 a; Plowden's *Reports*, 249, 356, 376.]

J. M. R.

**BROWNE, ANTHONY**, first Viscount MONTAGUE (1526-1592), was the eldest son of Sir Anthony Browne (*d.* 1548) [q. v.] and Alys his wife, daughter of Sir John Gage. He succeeded his father in 1548, inheriting with other property the estates of Battle Abbey and Cowdray in Sussex. Like his father he was a staunch Roman catholic, yet his loyalty to the crown was above suspicion, and he enjoyed the confidence of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. He was M.P. for Guildford, 1542 and 1547, Petersfield, 1553, and Surrey, 1554. He was knighted at the coronation of Edward VI, and although he was in the Fleet for a short time in 1551 for hearing mass, in 1552 he entertained the king sumptuously at Cowdray House. In the following year his wife, Lady Jane, daughter of Robert Ratcliff, earl of Sussex, died in giving birth to a son. He afterwards married Magdalen, a daughter of William, lord Dacre of Graystock and Gilsland, and by her had five sons and three daughters. In 1554, on the occasion of Mary's marriage with Philip of Spain, he was created a viscount, and chose the title of Montague, probably because his grandmother, Lady Lucy, had been daughter and coheirress of John Nevill, marquis Montacute. In the same year he was made master of the horse, and was sent to Rome on an embassy with Thirlby, bishop of

Ely, and Sir Edward Carne (the three ambassadors representing the three estates of the realm), to treat with the pope concerning the reconciliation of the church of England to the papal see. In 1555 he was made a member of the privy council and a knight of the Garter, and in 1557 he acted as lieutenant-general of the English forces at the siege of St. Quentin in Picardy.

On the accession of Elizabeth, Montague lost his seat in the privy council, and he boldly expressed his dissent in the House of Lords from the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. Nevertheless he was employed two years afterwards, in 1561, on a special mission to the court of Spain, as one whom the queen 'highly esteemed for his great prudence and wisdom, though earnestly devoted to the Romish religion.' In 1562 he made a forcible and courageous speech in the House of Lords against the act entitled 'for the assurance of the queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions,' by which all persons were bound to take the oath of supremacy if required to do so by a bishop or by commissioners, incurring the penalties of præmunire for refusing to take it, and of high treason if the refusal was persisted in. Montague opposed the measure, not only on the ground that the queen's Roman catholic subjects were peaceably and loyally disposed, but also as being in itself 'a thing unjust and repugnant to the natural liberty of men's understanding . . . for what man is there so without courage and stomach, or void of all honour, that can consent or agree to receive an opinion and new religion by force and compulsion?'

He did not, however, forfeit the favour of Elizabeth. He was one of the forty-seven commissioners who sat on the trial of Mary Queen of Scots in 1587, and in 1588, when the queen reviewed her army at Tilbury Fort, Montague was the first to appear on the ground, leading a troop of two hundred horsemen, and accompanied by his son and grandson. Three years after the defeat of the Spanish Armada in August 1591 the queen paid a visit to Cowdray, where she was most magnificently entertained for nearly a week. In October of the following year Montague died, and was buried in Midhurst Church. A splendid table tomb of marble and alabaster, surmounted by a kneeling figure of himself and recumbent effigies of his two wives, was erected over his remains, but has since been removed to Easebourne Church, close to the entrance of Cowdray Park.

[Burnet's *History of the Reformation* (Pocock's edition), vols. ii. iii. and v.; Hallam's *Constitutional Hist.* i. 116, 117, 162; Nichols's *Progresses*

of Queen Elizabeth, vol. iii.; Mrs. Roundell's History of Cowdray, ch. iv.] W. R. W. S.

**BROWNE, ARTHUR** (1756?-1805), an Irish lawyer, born about 1756, was the son of Marmaduke Browne, rector of Trinity Church, Newport, Rhode Island, who in 1764 was appointed one of the original fellows of Rhode Island College, known from 1804 as Brown University. His grandfather, the Rev. Arthur Browne, born at Drogheda 1699, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, becoming B.A. 1726 and M.A. 1729. In 1729 he emigrated, at Berkeley's persuasion, to Rhode Island, and was for six years the minister of King's Chapel, Providence, and in 1736 he became episcopal minister at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and died 10 June 1773. Arthur Browne, the grandson, was educated at a school established in Newport by Dr. Berkeley. His father died from the privations of the voyage almost immediately after his return to Rhode Island from Ireland, whither he had repaired in order to enter his son at Trinity College, Dublin. Arthur Browne had previously been entered at Harvard College, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1771. At Trinity College he gained a scholarship in 1774, and took his B.A. degree in 1776. He was elected a junior fellow in 1777, proceeded M.A. 1779, and was called to the bar of Ireland. He graduated LL.B. (1780) and LL.D. (1784), and in 1784 became an advocate in the courts of delegates, prerogative, admiralty, and consistory, and for a long time held the vicar-generalship of the diocese of Kildare. He served as junior proctor of the university in 1784, and as senior proctor—having become a senior fellow in 1795—from 1801 to the time of his death. In 1783 he was returned to the Irish House of Commons as member for the university of Dublin, which he continued to represent in three parliaments until 1800. In 1785 Browne became regius professor of civil and canon laws, and afterwards published 'A Compendious View of the Civil Law,' &c. (1798), and 'A Compendious View of the Ecclesiastical Law, being the Substance of a Course of Lectures read in the University of Dublin,' &c., 8vo, Dublin, 1799, &c. A second edition, 'with great additions,' was published as 'A Compendious View of the Ecclesiastical Law of Ireland,' &c., 8vo, Dublin, 1803; and a 'first American edition from the second London edition, with great additions,' was published as 'A Compendious View of the Civil Law, and of the Law of the Admiralty,' &c., 2 vols. 8vo, New York, 1840. In addition to his chair of law Browne thrice held the regius professorship of Greek at Dublin (from 1792

to 1795, from 1797 to 1799, and from 1801 to 1805).

Browne was made king's counsel in 1795, became prime serjeant in 1802, and in 1803 was admitted a bencher of the Society of the King's Inns, Dublin. Browne was the last to hold the office of prime serjeant. He died on Saturday morning, 8 June 1805, in Clare Street, Dublin. He was twice married, and had by his first wife a daughter, and a family by his second wife, who, with five children, survived him.

When a college corps of yeomanry was formed on the appearance of the French in Bantry Bay in December 1796, Browne was unanimously elected to the command. In 1787 he defended the church of Ireland in spite of much abuse, and was a conscientious supporter of the union. Browne published, in imitation of Montaigne, two volumes of 'Miscellaneous Sketches, or Hints for Essays,' 8vo, London, 1798, the first of which was inscribed 'to his daughter, M. T. B.,' the second 'to the memory of Marianne,' his first wife. Browne also published, as a study in fancy and philology, 'Hussen O Dil. Beauty and the Heart, an Allegory; translated from the Persian Language,' &c., 4to, Dublin, 1801; and he was also the author of 'A Brief Review of the Question, Whether the Articles of Limerick have been violated?' 8vo, Dublin, 1788, a defence of the legislature against the calumnies with which it had been assailed during the session preceding its publication.

[Dublin University Calendar, 1833; Catalogue of Dublin Graduates, 1869; Smyth's Chronicle of the Law Officers of Ireland, 1839; Members of Parliament: Parliaments of Ireland, 1559-1800, 1877; Records of the State of Rhode Island, 1856-65; Faulkner's Dublin Journal, 11 and 13 June 1805; Walker's Hibernian Magazine, October 1805; Monthly Anthology, 1805; Ripley and Dana's American Cyclopædia, 1873-78; Duykinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature, 1877.]  
A. H. G.

**BROWNE, DAVID** (Æ. 1638), a learned Scotchman, is known only by indications in his curious books on calligraphy. His first work was 'The New Invention, intituled Calligraphia or the Art of Fair Writing . . . by His Majesties Scribe, Master David Browne. Saint Andrewes, 1622,' 12mo. It gives a copy of King James's letter granting the author 'the only licence and priviledge . . . under paine of 1000 pounds monie to be paid by the contraveners.' It is dedicated to the king, whose 'scribe' he calls himself. Its 270 pages comprise arguments and instructions full of heavy learning, wise saws, puerile illustrations, and the most common matters having

reference to writing. King James, when at Holyrood House, appears to have seen and approved of his wonderful exercises, illustrated by certain 'rare practices of a disciple,' a child only nine years old. His book gives spaces here and there to be filled up by his clerks for the various pupils or purchasers, but existing copies are without these necessary illustrations of the art. His second work, entitled 'The Introduction to the true understanding of the whole arte of expedition in teaching to write . . . Anno Dom. 1638,' 8vo, is more extraordinary than the other, as on the title-page he claims to teach his art in six hours, parades his own excellence beyond all others, and asserts that 'a Scottishman is more ingenious than one of another nation;' yet the book itself has little to do with calligraphy, and teaches nothing. There is one plate at the end of the book, a specimen of 'The new, swift, current, or speedy Italian writting,' very inferior in style and execution to the handiwork of other penmen of the century. At the time this book was published the author taught his art at 'the Cat and Fiddle in Fleet Street,' where 'Mary Stewart and her daughters also instructed young, noble, and gentlewomen in good manners, languages,' &c., by his direction. He afterwards removed to a country-house at Kemmington (*sic*), near the Newington Butts. The dates of his birth and death are not known.

[Browne's Works; Massey's Origin of Letters.]  
J. W.-G.

**BROWNE, EDWARD** (1644-1708), physician, was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich [q. v.], and was born in that city in 1644. He was educated at the Norwich grammar school and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He graduated M.B. at Cambridge 1663, and then returned to Norwich. A journal of this period of his life is extant, and gives an amusing picture of his diversions and occupations, and of life in Norwich. Browne often went to dances at the duke's palace, admired the gems preserved there, and learnt to play ombre from the duke's brother. He dissected nearly every day, sometimes a dog, sometimes a monkey, a calf's leg, a turkey's heart. He studied botany, read medicine and literature and theology in his father's library, and saw at least one patient. '16 Feb. Mrs. Anne Ward gave me my first fee, ten shillings.' A week after this important event Browne went to London. He attended the lectures of Dr. Terne, physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, whose daughter Henrietta he married in 1672. His notes of Dr. Terne's lectures exist in manuscript in the British Museum. When the

lectures were ended, Browne returned to Norwich, and soon after started on his travels. He went to Italy and came home through France, and it is by his description of this and of several subsequent journeys that he is best known. In 1668 he sailed to Rotterdam from Yarmouth and went to Leyden, Amsterdam, and Utrecht, visiting museums, libraries, and churches, attending lectures, and conversing with the learned. He went on to Antwerp, and ended his journey at Cologne on 10 Oct. 1668. His next journey was to Vienna, where he made friends with the imperial librarian Lambecius, and enjoyed many excursions and much learned conversation. He seems to have studied Greek colloquially, and brought back letters from a learned Greek in his own tongue to Dr. Pearson, the bishop of Chester, and to Dr. Barrow, the master of Trinity. From Vienna Browne made three long journeys, one to the mines of Hungary, one into Thessaly, and one into Styria and Carinthia. Wherever he went he observed all objects natural and historical, as well as everything bearing on his profession. He sketched in a stiff manner, and some of his drawings are preserved (British Museum). At Buda he came into the oriental world, and at Larissa he saw the Grand Seigneur. Here he studied Greek remains, and followed in imagination the practice of Hippocrates. He returned to England in 1669, but made one more tour in 1673 in company with Sir Joseph Williamson, Sir Leoline Jenkins, and Lord Peterborough. He visited Cologne, Aix-la-Chapelle, Liège, Louvain, Ghent, Bruges, and other towns of the Low Countries, and saw all that was to be seen. He published in London in 1673 a small quarto volume called 'A Brief Account of some Travels in Hungaria, Styria, Bulgaria, Thessaly, Austria, Servia, Carynthia, Carniola, and Friuli;' another volume appeared in 1677, and in 1685 a collection of all his travels in one volume folio. It contains some small alterations and some additions. In 1672 he published in 12mo a translation of a 'History of the Cossacks,' and he wrote the lives of Themistocles and Sertorius in Dryden's 'Plutarch,' published in 1700.

In 1667 Browne had been elected F.R.S., and in 1675 was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians. He lived in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street (*College of Physicians Lists*), and became physician to the king. He was elected physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital 7 Sept. 1682 (*MS. Journal, St. Barth. Hosp.*); was treasurer of the College of Physicians 1694-1704, and president 1704-1708. He had a large practice, and enjoyed the friendship of many men in power. A Grub Street writer attributes part of his good



fortune to the favour of one of Charles II's mistresses; but the statement has no foundation in fact. Browne's professional success was due to his general capacity and interesting conversation. His note-books show that he laboured hard at his profession, and that through good introductions he early became known to many physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries. In 1673 he had already met in consultation thirteen physicians and ten surgeons (*Sloane MS.* 1895). A great many letters and notes in his handwriting are to be found among the Sloane MSS. Amongst them is the earliest known copy of the 'Pharmacopœia' of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. It is dated 1670, and some of its prescriptions were the subject of correspondence between Browne and his father. Browne died at Northfleet, Kent (*MUNK, Coll. of Phys.* i. 375), on 28 Aug. 1708, and left a son Thomas (1672-1710) [q.v.] and a daughter. He is buried at Northfleet. Browne's travels are spoken of by Dr. Johnson with small respect, and their style cannot be commended. The best that can be said of them is that they contain many interesting facts, and that their information is exact. They may be read with pleasure if viewed as a table of contents of the mind of a well-read Englishman of King Charles II's days. Browne had read a good deal of Greek as well as of Latin, the fathers as well as the classical authors. He was also well versed in new books; he had read Ashmole's 'Order of the Garter,' La Martinière's 'Arctic Travels,' and did not even despise the last new novel, but quotes the Duchess of Newcastle's 'New Blazing World' (*Travels*, ed. 1685, pp. 97, 99, 123) in the year of its publication. He loved his father, and inherited his tastes, and, if practice had not engrossed too much of his time, might have written books as good as the 'Vulgar Errors' or the 'Hydriotaphia.' Deeper meditations like those of the 'Religio Medici' were probably foreign to his nature. In a taste for every kind of information, in regard for his profession, in warm family affections, and in upright principles and conduct, he resembled his father; but the deeper strain of thought which is to be found in Sir Thomas Browne is nowhere to be traced in the writings of his eldest son.

[Sloane MSS. in British Museum, 1895-7; Wilkins's Works of Sir Thomas Browne; Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878; Works.] N. M.

BROWNE, EDWARD (d. 1730), an eminent quaker, son of James Browne of Cork, was a native of that city. He was long an inhabitant of Sunderland, where he served his apprenticeship and afterwards rose

to considerable opulence. In 1727 he built himself a commodious mansion, with several other dwelling-houses adjoining, intended for the residences of the captains of his ships and other persons in his employment. The mansion-house afterwards became the custom-house for the port of Sunderland. Browne died at Cork 27 Aug. 1730. 'Some Account of Edward Browne of Sunderland, with copies of manuscripts respecting him,' was printed for private circulation at Sunderland, 1821, 12mo, and reprinted for sale London, 1842, 12mo.

[Joseph Smith's Cat. of Friends's Books, i. 329; Richardson's Local Historian's Table Book (Hist. Div.), i. 329.] T. C.

BROWNE, FELICIA DOROTHEA.  
[See HEMANS.]

BROWNE, GEORGE, D.D. (d. 1556), archbishop of Dublin, the chief instrument of Henry VIII in the Irish reformation, was originally a friar, and first emerges into notice in 1534, when, as provincial of the whole order of Austin Friars, he was employed, in conjunction with Hilsey, the provincial of the Dominicans, to minister the oath of succession to all the friars of London and the south of England (*DIXON, Hist. of the Church of England*, i. 214). He is said to have recommended himself to the king by advising the poor, who were beginning to feel the distress caused by the religious revolution, to make their applications solely to Christ. Within a year he was nominated to the see of Dublin, vacant by the murder of Archbishop Allen in the rising of Kildare in 1534. He was consecrated at Lambeth, 19 March 1534-5, but another year elapsed before he arrived in Ireland on 6 July 1536 (*HAMILTON, Cal. State Papers, Ireland*, p. 21; the life of Browne in *Harleian Misc.* vol. v. places his arrival in Dec. 1535). The Irish parliament, which had been sitting for two months, accepted all the principal acts by which England had declared herself independent of Rome. The only opposition to these sweeping measures was offered by the clergy, who claimed the power of voting in their own house upon bills which had passed the Irish commons, and carried this obstructive policy so far, under the leadership of their primate Cromer, the archbishop of Armagh, that it was found necessary to deprive them of their privilege (*DIXON*, ii. 179). A speech made by Browne on this occasion, declaring his vote for the king as supreme head of the Irish church, has been preserved (*Harl. Misc.* v. 559); and it was through him, as he boasted, that a separate act was passed

granting the first-fruits of all abbeys to the king, thus paving the way for the suppression of the Irish monasteries, which quickly followed. By these enactments the English reformation ready made was flung in a mass into the midst of a semi-barbarous and decaying country. Browne held a commission from Thomas Cromwell, the minister and vicegerent of Henry, to further 'the king's advantage;' and in this cause he laboured with diligence, journeying into various parts, preaching, publishing the royal articles and injunctions, and collecting the first-fruits and twentieths of the spiritualties which had been decreed to the king. He put forth a form of bidding bedes, or prayers, which is the earliest document in which the church of Ireland is conjoined with the church of England under royal supremacy (*Cal. of State Papers*, ii. 504; *COLLIER, Eccl. Hist. Records*, No. 40). Browne encountered not only the open hostility of many of his brethren, and especially of Staples, the bishop of Meath, but the detractions and suspicions of the rest of the Irish council. The lord-deputy Grey was his enemy, and treated him with contempt, calling him a 'polshorn friar,' and on one occasion putting him in prison. The king entertained the complaints that were sent to England against him of arrogance and inefficiency, and wrote him a severe letter, menacing him with disgrace; but Browne contrived to explain all accusations, except perhaps the one of receiving bribes. He must have been a man of some sagacity, for he predicted that the alteration of religion would cause 'the English and Irish race to lay aside their national old quarrels, and a foreigner to invade the nation' (Letters to Cromwell, May 1538, *Harl. Misc.* v. 561).

In the first years of Edward VI the reformation languished. Browne lay at the moment under the cloud of certain accusations of neglect of duty, alienation of leases, and 'undecent' conduct in preaching, which were preferred against him by another member of the Irish council, and seem never to have been fully explained (*DIXON*, iii. 406). It was not until 1550, after the full publication of the first English Prayer Book in 1549, that the attempt was resumed to impose on Ireland the English alterations of religion. By that time Belingham had been succeeded by the second administration of Santleger, a man of easy temper, secretly attached to the old system. His instructions were to order the clergy to use the English service. Accordingly he somewhat incautiously summoned a convention of the bishops and clergy at Dublin, and thus brought about the curious scene which was the final protestation of the ancient independent

Hibernian church before she assumed her English livery. The lord-deputy read the royal order for the service to be in English. 'Then,' exclaimed the primate Dowdall indignantly, 'any illiterate layman may say mass!' and after a warm altercation he left the meeting, followed by the greater number of his suffragans. Santleger then handed the order to Browne, who now assumed his natural position as head of the conforming party. 'This order, good brethren,' said he to the remaining clergy, 'is from the king and from our brethren the fathers and clergy of England; to him I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things lawful, asking no questions why or wherefore, as owning him our true and lawful king.' On the Easter day following the English service was used for the first time in the cathedral church of Dublin, Browne preaching the sermon. To the Irish people the change from Latin to English was a change from one unknown tongue to another, for English maintained itself with difficulty even in the pale, though the use of it was commanded by penal statutes. The churches were emptier than ever, and the malcontent clergy were aided by papal emissaries, and the Jesuit missionaries gained ground (*MACGEOGHAN, Hist. of Ireland*). The prelates, however, who followed Dowdall gradually conformed; and when, in the middle of the same year, 1550, Dowdall went from his see, declaring that he would not be bishop where there was no mass, none of his brethren imitated his example. His place, after a vacancy of two years, was filled by Goodacre, an Englishman sent by Cramer, who was consecrated by Browne at Christ Church. At the same time the primacy of all Ireland, the ancient dignity of the see of Armagh, was claimed by Browne, and transferred by royal patent to Dublin.

Browne had complained to the authorities in England of the remissness of Santleger in the reformation (Browne to Warwick, August 1551; *HAMILTON, Irish Cal.* p. 115). But to John Bale, who arrived in Ireland at the same time as Goodacre, Browne himself appeared remiss. The Bishop of Ossory has given him the character of an avaricious dissembler, hints that he was a drunkard and a profligate, and affirms that his complaints against Santleger were a device to get the primacy. 'As for his learning,' says Bale, 'he knows none so well as the practices of Sardanapalus; for his preachings twice in the year, of the ploughman in the winter, by "Exit qui seminat," and of the shepherd in the summer, by "Ego sum bonus pastor," they are so well known in Dublin that when he cometh into the pulpit they can tell the

sermon.' Bale was consecrated by Browne; and the bitterness between them began at the ceremony, which Bale affirmed that Browne performed very awkwardly, and desired to have deferred, in order to get the revenue for the see for the year. Their differences were renewed when, on the accession of Queen Mary, Bale was forced to quit Ossory and fly for his life to Dublin. Browne refused to allow him to preach there. 'Sitting on his ale-bench, with his cup in his hand, he made boast that I should not preach in his city' (BALE, *Vocation*, in *Harl. Misc.* vol. vi.) Browne's triumph was short. In the revolution under Mary his primacy was revoked, and, Goodacre being expelled from Armagh, Dowdall was reinstated in his see and title of primate of all Ireland, and the superior style afterwards stood firm in Armagh without revocation. By Dowdall Browne was extruded from Dublin as being a married man (WARE, *De Præsulib. Hib.* 120), and in two years his successor, Hugh Carwin, was appointed, September 1555. The death of Browne followed shortly afterwards. His character, which seems to have been insignificant, has been described by the Irish historians merely in accordance with their own prejudices.

[Besides the authorities above mentioned, see Mant's *Hist. of Ireland*; Mosheim gives a long account of Browne in his *Ch. Hist.*; the *Life* in the *Harleian Misc.* is also in the *Phoenix*, a series of scarce tracts in 2 vols., London, 1707; *Christian Biography*, 2 vols., London, 1835.]

R. W. D.

**BROWNE, GEORGE, COUNT DE** (1698-1792), Irish soldier of fortune, was descended from a family which could trace its descent to the time of the Conqueror, and had settled in Ireland at a very early period. His immediate ancestors were the Brownes of Camas, Limerick, where he was born 15 June 1698. He was educated at Limerick diocesan school. A catholic and a Jacobite, he, like several of his other relations, sought scope for his ambition in a foreign military career. In his twenty-seventh year he entered the service of the elector palatine, from which he passed in 1730 to that of Russia. He distinguished himself in the Polish, French, and Turkish wars, and had risen to the rank of general, with the command of 30,000 men, when he was taken prisoner by the Turks. After being three times sold as a slave, he obtained his freedom through the intervention of the French ambassador Villeneuve, at the instance of the Russian court, and, remaining for some time at Constantinople in his slave's costume, succeeded in discovering important

state secrets which he carried to St. Petersburg. In recognition of this special service he was raised by Anna to the rank of major-general, and in this capacity accompanied General Lacy on his first expedition to Finland. On the outbreak of the Swedish war his tactical skill was displayed to great advantage in checking Swedish attacks on Livonia. In the seven years' war he rendered important assistance as lieutenant-general under his cousin Ulysses Maximilian, count von Browne [q. v.] His fortunate diversion of the enemy's attacks at Kollin, 18 June 1757, contributed materially to the allied victory, and in token of her appreciation of his conduct on the occasion Maria Theresa presented him with a snuff-box set with brilliants and adorned with her portrait. At Zorndorf, 25 Aug. 1758, he again distinguished himself in a similar manner, his opportune assistance of the right wing at the most critical moment of the battle changing almost inevitable defeat into victory. By Peter III he was named field-marshal, and appointed to the chief command in the Danish war. On his addressing a remonstrance to the czar against the war as impolitic, he was deprived of his honours and commanded to leave the country, but the czar repenting of his hasty decision recalled him three days afterwards and appointed him governor of Livonia. He was confirmed in the office under Catherine II, and for thirty years to the close of his life administered its affairs with remarkable practical sagacity, and with great advantage both to the supreme government and to the varied interests of the inhabitants. He died 18 Feb. 1792.

[*Histoire de la Vie de G. de Browne*, Riga, 1794; Ersch and Gruber's *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, sect. i. vol. xiii. pt. i. pp. 112-13; Ferrar's *History of Limerick*.] T. F. H.

**BROWNE, HABLÖT KNIGHT** (1815-1882), artist and book-illustrator, who assumed the pseudonym of PHIZ, was born at Kennington, Surrey, on 15 June 1815, being the ninth son of Mr. William Loder Browne, a merchant, who came originally from Norfolk. The child was christened Hablot in memory of Captain Hablot, a French officer, to whom one of his sisters was betrothed, and who fell at Waterloo. Young Browne received his first education at a private school in Botesdale, Suffolk, kept by the Rev. William Haddock. In his earliest years he displayed so strong a bias for drawing that he was apprenticed to Finden the engraver. In London he found a congenial home in the house of an elder sister, who was married to Elhanan Bicknell [q. v.], afterwards

well known as a collector of Turner's and other pictures. Painting in water-colour soon became a passion with young Browne, who, having obtained his release from the monotonous work at Finden's, set up as a painter with a young friend of similar tastes. The rent of the attic which they shared was paid by the produce of their artistic labours. About this time Browne attended a 'life' school in St. Martin's Lane, where Etty was a fellow-student.

In 1832 Browne gained the silver Isis medal offered by the Society of Arts for the best illustration of an historical subject (*Trans.* xlix. pt. i. 24); and later another prize from the same society for an etching of 'John Gilpin's Race.'

In 1836 Browne first became associated with Charles Dickens, his senior by three years, in the illustration of Dickens's little work, 'Sunday as it is by Timothy Sparks.' This book was levelled at the fanatical Sab-batarians, and it gave the artist an opportunity of revealing his truly comical genius. In the same year began the publication of the 'Pickwick Papers,' the early portion of which was written to elucidate the drawings of cockney sporting life by Robert Seymour. On Seymour's death Dickens resolved to subordinate the plates to his text, and looking out for a sympathetic illustrator after Mr. Buss's unsuccessful attempt to follow Seymour, he negotiated with Browne and Thackeray, who both sent drawings to him. Browne was chosen, and was not long in conquering a world-wide reputation under the signature of 'Phiz.' For the first two plates he assumed the modest pseudonym 'Nemo,' but afterwards adopted that of 'Phiz' as more consonant to the novelist's 'Boz.' A 'verbal description' (see preface to *Pickwick*) of the scene to be depicted was frequently all that Browne received from Dickens. In some instances the conception of the artist unquestionably bettered that of the author. Those who in the days of his public readings in England and America heard Dickens represent the immortal Sam Weller as a loutish drawing humorist, were unable to recognise the brisk, saucy, ready cockney ostler sketched so cleverly by Phiz.

The association of Browne and Dickens continued throughout the publication of many novels. 'Martin Chuzzlewit' and 'David Copperfield' contain perhaps the etcher's most vigorous work. Occasionally differences of opinion would arise between author and artist. 'Paul and Mrs. Pipchin,' in 'Dombey and Son,' 'really distressed' Dickens, 'it was so frightfully and wildly wide of the mark.' On the other hand Mi-

cawber in 'David Copperfield' 'was capital,' and Skimpole was 'made singularly unlike the great original,' a result which the author doubtless very much desired.

In 1837 Browne made a trip to Flanders, accompanied by Dickens, and in the following year they went together into Yorkshire and made studies for 'Nicholas Nickleby.' The sketch of Squeers was taken from the life. The 'Tale of Two Cities' was the last work by Dickens that Browne illustrated.

For many years the artist kept up the practice of sending water-colour drawings to the exhibitions at the British Institution and the Society of British Artists. To the exhibition of cartoons in Westminster Hall in 1843 he sent a large design of 'A Foraging Party of Cæsar's Forces surprised by the Britons,' and No. 65 in the same exhibition, 'Henry II defied by a Welsh Mountaineer,' is attributed to him. His oil paintings were imperfect in their technical execution. Two large oil pictures, however, in the Loan Exhibition of his works in 1883 attracted much attention: No. 81, 'Les trois vifs et les trois morts,' painted in 1867; and No. 128, 'Sintram and Death descending into the Dark Valley,' painted in 1862. He had had no regular training except for a short period in the 'life' school in St. Martin's Lane. He never worked after that from a model either of man or horse. He took great delight in horses and horsemanship, and at the height of his fortunes, when living at Croydon and Banstead, he regularly followed the hounds. In his illustrations of Lever's novels the staple is almost invariably the description of wild feats of horsemanship. 'I wish I could draw horses like Browne,' Leech was once heard to say. 'Harry Lorrequer,' 'Charles O'Malley,' 'Jack Hinton,' and 'Tom Burke' bear witness to 'Phiz's' versatility in his graphic treatment of the horse, while 'The O'Donoghue,' 'The Barringtons,' and 'Con Cregan' contain some of his best designs. Browne went over to Brussels to confer with Lever on the designs for 'Jack Hinton,' and the two men became intimate. Lover, who was of the party, wrote that 'they did nothing all day, or, in some instances, all night, but eat, drink, and laugh.' Occasionally Lever had his grumble over Browne's plates: 'The supper scene in No. 2 of "Lorrequer" showed the hero as another "Nicholas Nickleby," and plagiarisms, he begged to say, were the author's prerogative. Again, in a moment of severe respect for the proprieties of life, he wrote, "The character of my books for uproarious people and incident I owe mainly to master Phiz." In the Irish scenes he thought

Browne was not familiar enough with the national physiognomy, and begged him to go and study O'Connell's 'Tail' in the House of Commons (*Lever's Life*, i. 225, 228, 237, 295).

In the illustrations to Smedley's 'Frank Fairlegh' and 'Lewis Arundel' the horse frequently plays a part. Browne's power in producing strong effects of black and white are well shown in the illustrations to some of Ainsworth's romances, particularly in 'Old St. Paul's.'

For thirty years Browne laboured with few intervals of rest save the hunting season and occasional travels. His principal recreation was painting, and in 1867 he had just finished on a broad canvas the 'Three Living and the Three Dead,' when he was struck with paralysis, the immediate cause of which was exposure to a strong draught in his bedroom at the seaside. He survived fifteen years, and with characteristic tenacity continued to work at plates. His mind was clear and well stored with anecdotes of the eminent men he had known. But his hand had lost its cunning. For a few of his latter years he received a small pension from the Royal Academy, which had previously been held by George Cruikshank. In 1880 he removed with his family from London to West Brighton, and there died on 8 July 1882. He was buried on the summit of the hill at the north side of the Extramural Cemetery, Brighton.

In person Browne was handsome and strongly built. His disposition was modest and retiring, but he had a fund of quiet humour and was a charming companion with intimates. When he was about to leave his residence at Croydon for another, he made a bonfire of all the letters he had received from Dickens, Lever, Ainsworth, and others, because they were almost solely about illustrations (*Lever's Life*, ii. 51 note). He was happily married in 1840 to Miss Reynolds, and at his death left five sons and four daughters.

[Thompson's *Life and Labours* of H. K. Browne, 1884; Phiz, a *Memoir* by F. G. Kitton, 1882; Forster's *Life* of Charles Dickens, iii., 1874; Fitzpatrick's *Life* of Charles Lever, 1879.] R. H.

**BROWNE, HENRY** (1804-1875), classical and biblical scholar, son of the Rev. Henry John Browne, rector of Crownthorpe, Norfolk, was born in 1804. He was educated at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he gained Bell's university scholarship in 1823; he graduated B.A. in 1826, and M.A. in 1830. From 1842 to 1847 he was princi-

pal of the theological college, Chichester; on 9 Dec. 1842 he was collated to the prebendal stall of Waltham in Chichester cathedral; in 1843 he was appointed examining chaplain to the bishop of Chichester; and in 1854 he was preferred to the rectory of Pevensay in the same diocese. Here he remained till his death, 19 June 1875. Besides editions and translations of the classics, Browne applied himself chiefly to the elucidation of sacred chronology. His published works are numerous: 1. 'Ordo Sæclorum, a treatise on the Chronology of Holy Scripture.' The argument, which is subtle, is mainly on the same lines as Clinton's, and the latest contemporary knowledge of oriental archaeology is brought to bear on the biblical statements (1844). 2. 'Examination of the Ancient Egyptian Chronographies,' commenced in 1852 in Arnold's 'Theological Critic.' 3. 'Remarks on Mr. Greswell's "Fasti Catholici"' (1852). This is a criticism which aims at completely annihilating the conclusions of Greswell. 4. He translated for the 'Library of the Fathers' seventeen short treatises of St. Augustine, in conjunction with C. L. Cornish, and also St. Augustine's Homilies on the Gospel and First Epistle of St. John (1838, &c.) 5. Several volumes of Greek and Latin classics for Arnold's 'School and College Series' (1851, &c.) 6. A translation of Madvig's 'Greek Syntax' (1847). 7. 'A Handbook of Hebrew Antiquities' (1851). 8. 'An English-Greek Lexicon,' conjointly with Radersdorf (1856). 9. 'Hierogrammata' (1848). The aim is to show that Egyptian discoveries do not invalidate the Mosaic account. He was also the author of several articles in the last edition (1862-6) of Kitto's 'Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature.'

[*Men of the Time*, ninth edition; *Le Neve's Fasti* (Hardy), i. 285; *British Museum Catalogue*.] A. G.-N.

**BROWNE, ISAAC HAWKINS**, the elder (1705-1760), poet, was born on 21 Jan. 1705 at Burton-on-Trent, of which parish his father—a man of private fortune and the holder of other ecclesiastical preferments—was vicar. Receiving his first education at Lichfield, he passed to Westminster School, and thence in 1721 to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he obtained a scholarship and took the degree of M.A. About 1727 he began the study of law at Lincoln's Inn, but though called to the bar he did not seriously prosecute the practice of his profession. Through the influence of the Forester family he was twice returned (1744, 1747) to the House of Commons for the borough of Wen-

lock, Shropshire, near to which was his own estate. He was during his parliamentary career (1744-54) a supporter of Pelham's whig ministry. Before this time he had written a poem of some length on 'Design and Beauty,' addressed to Highmore the painter, and among his other productions 'A Pipe of Tobacco,' an ode in imitation of Pope, Swift, Thomson, and other poets then living, had gained a considerable measure of popularity. His principal work, published in 1754, was a Latin poem on the immortality of the soul—'De Animi Immortalitate'—which received high commendation from the scholars of his time. Of this there have been several English translations, the best known of which is by Soame Jenyns. After a lingering illness he died in London on 14 Feb. 1760. An edition of his poems was published by his son [see BROWNE, ISAAC HAWKINS, the younger] in 1768. Browne had little aptitude for professional or public life, but he was a man of lively talents and varied accomplishments. The humour of some of his lighter pieces has not wholly evaporated, and the gaiety of his genius is vouched for by contemporaries of much wider celebrity. Warburton, praising the poem on the soul, adds that it 'gives me the more pleasure as it seems to be a mark of the author getting serious' (NICHOLS, *Illustr. of Lit.* ii. 33). Mrs. Piozzi reports Dr. Johnson as saying of Browne that he was 'of all conversers the most delightful with whom I ever was in company; his talk was at once so elegant, so apparently artless, so pure and so pleasing, it seemed a perpetual stream of sentiment, enlivened by gaiety and sparkling with images' (Mrs. Piozzi, *Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson*, 1786). And fifteen years after Browne's death Johnson is found thus illustrating the proposition that a man's powers are not to be judged by his capacity for public speech: 'Isaac Hawkins Browne, one of the first wits of this country, got into parliament and never opened his mouth' (BOSWELL, *Johnson*, 5 April 1775). In the 'Tour to the Hebrides,' two years earlier, Boswell writes (5 Sept. 1773): 'After supper Dr. Johnson told us that Isaac Hawkins Browne drank freely for thirty years, and that he wrote his poem "De Animi Immortalitate" in some of the last of these years. I listened to this with the eagerness of one who, conscious of being himself fond of wine, is glad to hear that a man of so much genius and good thinking as Browne had the same propensity.' This story is confirmed to some extent by Bishop Newton, who speaks of Browne's 'failings,' and draws a parallel between him and Addison: 'They were both excellent companions, but neither of them

could open well without having a glass of wine, and then the vein flowed to admiration.' According to the same authority, Browne died of consumption (*Life of Thomas Newton, D.D., Bishop of Bristol*. Written by himself, 1782).

[Biog. Brit. (Kippis), ii. 647; Return of Members; authorities quoted in the text.]

J. M. S.

BROWNE, ISAAC HAWKINS, the younger (1745-1818), only child of Isaac Hawkins Browne the elder [q.v.], was born 7 Dec. 1745. He was educated at Westminster School and Hertford College, Oxford. Long after taking his M.A. in 1767, he kept his rooms at Oxford and frequently resided there; in 1773 he received the degree of D.C.L. Having made a tour on the continent, he settled on his property in Shropshire, and in 1783 served as sheriff for the county. In 1784 he entered the House of Commons as member for Bridgnorth, which he represented for twenty-eight years (1784-1812); he was a supporter of Pitt. Like his father, he seems to have had no gift for oratory, but when he spoke 'his established reputation for superior knowledge and judgment secured to him that attention which might have been wanting to him on other accounts.' In 1815 he published, anonymously, 'Essays, Religious and Moral,' this work he afterwards acknowledged, and an edition published two years later bears his name. His 'Essays on Subjects of important Inquiry in Metaphysics, Morals, and Religion' (1822) were not published till after his death; if the seriousness of his mind is shown by the spirit of this volume, his exactness and capacity for taking pains are illustrated by the array of authorities by which the text is supported. Bishop Newton (*Life of Thomas Newton, D.D., Bishop of Bristol*, 1782) speaks of him as 'a very worthy, good young man, possessed of many of his father's excellencies without his failings,' and this portrait is completed by a contemporary biographer, who, mentioning that Charles James Fox was a fellow-student with Browne and of the same college, is careful to add that they formed no intimacy, 'their pursuits, habits, and connections being of a widely different character.' In 1768 he edited his father's poems in two editions, the best of which, with plates by Sterne, was not for sale. This edition, it may be presumed, contained the memoir of his father, which he is said to have issued with his works; in any case there is no memoir in the edition offered to the public, which is the only one generally accessible, though

the material facts in the life of Browne the elder in the 'Biographia Britannica' were, as appears from an acknowledgment in that work, supplied by his son. Browne was twice married (1788 and 1805), his first wife being the daughter of the Hon. Edward Hay, son of the seventh earl of Kinnoul. Browne died in London 30 May 1818.

[Gent. Mag. lxxxviii. part ii. 179.]

J. M. S.

**BROWNE** or **BROWN**, JAMES (1616-1685), theologian, son of a father of the same names, of Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire, matriculated at Oxford as a student of Oriel in 1634, and took his B.A. degree in 1638. He then left the university, and is said to have become a chaplain in the parliamentary army and to have been an eager disputant. On the Restoration he conformed. He wrote: 1. 'Antichrist in Spirit,' a work answered by George Fox in his 'Great Mystery of the Great Whore,' pp. 259, 260, where the author's name is spelt Brown. 2. 'Scripture Redemption freed from Men's Restrictions,' 1678, and printed with it. 3. 'The Substance of several Conferences and Disputes . . . about the Death of our Redeemer.'

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (ed. Bliss), iv. 504; Fox's *Great Mystery* (ed. 1659), 259.] W. H.

**BROWNE**, JAMES, LL.D. (1793-1841), journalist and author, was the son of a manufacturer at Coupar Angus, and was born at Whitefield, parish of Cargill, Perthshire, in 1793. He was educated for the ministry of the church of Scotland at the university of St. Andrews, where he specially distinguished himself in classics. After obtaining license to preach he spent some time on the continent as tutor in a private family. On his return to Scotland he acted as assistant classical master in Perth Academy, officiating at the same time as interim assistant to the minister of Kinnoul, Perthshire. About this time he published anonymously a 'History of the Inquisition,' which obtained a large circulation, and in 1817 he printed a sermon preached on the death of the Princess Charlotte. Either because he found his work uncongenial, or because he saw little prospect of obtaining a parish, he resolved to study for the bar. He passed advocate in 1826, and received the degree of LL.D. from the university of St. Andrews; but failing to obtain a practice at the bar he gradually turned his attention wholly to literature. For some time he acted as editor of the 'Scots Magazine,' and in 1827 he became editor of the 'Caledonian Mercury,' to which in the same year he con-

tributed certain articles which assisted to bring to light the Burke and Hare murders. During his editorship of the 'Mercury' he became involved in a dispute with Mr. Charles Maclaren, editor of the 'Scotsman,' with the result that they fought a duel, in which neither was injured. In 1830 he resigned the editorship of the 'Mercury,' and started the 'North Britain;' but after the discontinuance of that paper he resumed the editorship of the 'Mercury.' When the issue of the seventh edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' was resolved upon, he was appointed assistant editor. In his books and in his newspaper articles the excitability of his temperament was mirrored in a boisterous and blustering mode of expression, cleverly caricatured in an article in 'Blackwood' (vol. xviii.), entitled 'Some Passages in the Life of Colonel Cloud.'

He was the author of: 1. 'A Sketch of the History of Edinburgh,' attached to Ewbank's 'Picturesque Views of Edinburgh,' 1823-5. 2. 'Critical Examination of Macculloch's Work on the Highlands and Islands of Scotland,' 1826. 3. 'Aperçu sur les Hiéroglyphes d'Egypte,' Paris, 1827; a French translation of articles contributed to the 'Edinburgh Review.' 4. 'Remarks on the Study of the Civil Law, occasioned by Mr. Brougham's late attack on the Scottish Bar,' 1828. 5. A popular and interesting 'History of the Highlands and of the Highland Clans,' in four volumes, 1st ed. 1835-8, 2nd ed. 1845. By his excessive literary labours he overtasked his strength and induced a severe attack of paralysis, from which his recovery was never more than partial. He died April 1841 at Woodbine Cottage, Trinity, near Edinburgh, and was buried in Duddingstone churchyard. In his later years he became a convert to the Roman catholic faith, and he wrote a tractate, entitled 'Examination of Sir Walter Scott's Opinions regarding Popery,' which was published posthumously in 1845.

[Caledonian Mercury, 10 April 1841; Gent. Mag. new ser. xv. 662; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, ii. 400-1; Encyc. Brit. 9th ed. iv. 389.] T. F. H.

**BROWNE**, JOHN (1642-1700?), surgeon, was born in 1642, probably at Norwich, where he lived in the early part of his life. He was of a surgical family, being, as he says, 'conversant with chirurgery almost from my cradle, being the sixth generation of my own relations, all eminent masters of our profession.' Among these relations was one William Crop, an eminent surgeon in Norfolk. He was acquainted with the celebrated

Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich [q. v.], who wrote commendatory letters prefixed to two of his namesake's books, but there is no mention of any kinship between them. Browne studied at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, under Thomas HOLLYER, but after serving as a surgeon in the navy settled down at Norwich. In 1677 he published his book on tumours, and in the following year migrated to London, being about the same time made surgeon in ordinary to King Charles II. On the occasion of a vacancy for a surgeon at St. Thomas's Hospital, the king sent a letter recommending him for the appointment, and he was elected by the governors on 21 June 1683, 'in all humble submission to his majesty's letter,' though the claims of another surgeon, Edward Rice, who had taken charge of the hospital during the plague of 1665, when all the surgeons deserted their posts, were manifestly superior. This royal interference did not in the end prove a happy circumstance for Browne. In 1691 complaints arose that the surgeons did not obey the regulations of the hospital, and pretended that being appointed by royal mandamus they were not responsible to the governors. In the changed state of politics, and under the guidance of their able president, Sir Robert Clayton, the governors were determined to maintain their authority, and on 7 July 1691 they 'put out' the whole of their surgical staff, including Browne, and appointed other surgeons in their place. Browne appealed to the lords commissioners of the great seal, and the governors were called upon to defend their proceedings. The decision apparently went in their favour, for in 1698 Browne humbly petitioned the governors to be reinstated, though without success. Browne managed to continue in court favour after the revolution, and was surgeon to William III. He died probably early in the eighteenth century.

Browne was a well-educated man, and in all likelihood a good surgeon, as he was certainly a well-trained anatomist according to the standard of the day. His books show no lack of professional knowledge, though they are wanting in originality. The most notable perhaps is 'Charisma Basilicon, or an Account of the Royal Gift of Healing,' where he describes the method pursued by Charles II in touching for the 'king's evil,' with which as the king's surgeon he was officially concerned. Though full of gross adulation and a credulity which it is difficult to believe sincere, it is the best contemporary account of this curious rite as practised by the Stuart kings, and gives statistics of the numbers of persons touched (amounting be-

tween 1660 and 1682 to 92,107). His treatise on the muscles consists of six lectures, illustrated by elaborate copper-plates, of which the engraving is better than the drawing. It is probably the first of such books in which the names of the muscles are printed on the figures. Browne's portrait, engraved by R. White, is prefixed in different states to each of his books.

He wrote: 1. 'A Treatise of Preternatural Tumours,' 8vo, London, 1678 (with plates). 2. 'A Complete Discourse of Wounds,' 4to, London, 1678 (plates). 3. 'Adeno-Choiradologia, or an Anatomick-Chirurgicall Treatise,' &c., 8vo, London, 1684; in three parts with separate titles, viz. (1) 'Adenographia, or an Anatomical Treatise of the Glandules;' (2) 'Chœradologia, or an exact Discourse of Strumaes or King's Evil Swellings;' (3) 'Charisma Basilicon, or the Royal Gift of Healing Strumaes, &c., by Contact or Imposition of the Sacred Hands of our Kings of England and of France.' 4. 'Myographia Nova, or a graphical description of all the Muscles in the Human Body; with one and forty copper-plates,' London, 1684; 2nd ed. Lugd. Batavorum, 1687; 3rd ed. London, 1697; 4th ed. London, 1698. 5. 'The Surgeon's Assistant,' 8vo, London, 1703.

[Browne's Works; Archives of St. Thomas's Hospital.] J. F. P.

BROWNE, JOHN (1741-1801), engraver, was born at Finchfield, Essex, 26 April 1741. He was the posthumous son of the rector of Boston, Norfolk, and was educated at Norwich. In 1756 he was apprenticed to John Tinney, the engraver, who was also William Woollett's master. With Tinney he remained till 1761, and then placed himself under Woollett, many of whose plates were commenced by Browne. On leaving Woollett he engraved a series of plates after N. Poussin, P. P. Rubens, Claude Lorraine, and other eminent masters. Browne practised exclusively as an engraver of landscape, and attained to a high degree of excellence in that department. He was elected an associate engraver of the Royal Academy in 1770, and exhibited thirteen plates between 1767 and 1801. He died in West Lane, Walworth, 2 Oct. 1801. The following are some of his most important works, which are to be seen in our national collection of prints: 'The Watering Place,' after Rubens; 'The Forest,' after Sir George Beaumont; 'St. John the Baptist in the Wilderness,' after S. Rosa; 'A View of the Gate of the Emperor Akbar at Secundrii,' after Hodges; 'The Cascade,' after G. Poussin; and four plates from his own designs, 'Morning,' 'Evening,' 'After



Sunset,' and 'Moonlight;,' also several large plates after Claude Lorraine.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists, 1878.]

L. F.

**BROWNE, JOSEPH** (*d.* 1706), physician, has been generally described as a charlatan. His origin is unknown, and the particulars of his personal history are scanty, but it is probable that he was the Joseph Browne of Jesus College, Cambridge, who proceeded M.B. 1695; that he took the degree of M.D. does not appear, though he assumed the title. In 1706 he was twice convicted for libelling Queen Anne's administration. The first of these occasions, when he was fined forty marks and ordered to stand in the pillory, was for the publication of 'The Country Parson's Honest Advice to that judicious and worthy Minister of State my Lord Keeper.' In a letter addressed to Secretary Harley, 'occasioned by his late committment to Newgate,' he denies the authorship of this pamphlet, of which at the same time he gives a professedly disinterested explanation. He also speaks of Harley as having 'not only treated him like a patriot, but given him friendly advice.' For thus undertaking the office of political interpreter he was again fined forty marks and ordered to stand in the pillory twice. He has been described 'as a mere tool of the booksellers and always needy' (GRANGER, *Biog. Hist. of England* (Noble's continuation), ii. 232). It is at any rate certain that he was an industrious writer, and that his effrontery may be discerned through an obscure and rambling style. He wrote and lectured against Harvey's theory of the circulation of the blood, and he continued the 'Examiner' after it had been dropped by Mrs. Manley, who had succeeded Swift and others; 'consequently it became as inferior to what it had been as his abilities were to theirs' (*ib.*). Following the fashion of the time, he sought the patronage of great people, and was bold and importunate in his applications. Thus his 'Modern Practice of Physick vindicated' (two parts, 1703-4) is dedicated to the Duke of Leeds without permission, for he was 'jealous it might be denied him.' He hopes, however, the duke will 'pardon the ambition I have of publishing to the world that I am known to your grace.' A similar motive led him to dedicate his 'Lecture of Anatomy against the Circulation of the Blood' (1701) to 'His Excellency Heer Vrybergen, Envoy Extraordinary from the States-General.' His 'Practical Treatise of the Plague' (1720) has a prefatory epistle to an eminent medical authority of that day, Dr. Mead, and his last

known publication, also on the plague, was addressed to the president and members of the Royal College of Physicians, with which body he was not affiliated. Beyond the date of this publication (1721) there is no trace of him.

[Brit. Mus. Cat.; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, continuation by Noble, ii. 232; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. i. 465, ii. 13.] J. M. S.

**BROWNE, JOSEPH** (1700-1767), provost of Queen's College, Oxford, son of George Browne, yeoman, was born at a place called the Tongue in Watermillock, Cumberland, educated at Barton school, and admitted commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, on 21 March 1716-17, the expense of his education being, it is said, partly defrayed by a private benefactor. He was elected tabarder on the foundation of his college, and, having graduated M.A. on 4 Nov. 1724, became a chaplain there. He was elected fellow 1 April 1731, and became a successful tutor; took the degree of D.D. 9 July 1743, and was presented by the college with the living of Bramshot, Hampshire, 1746. In that year he was appointed professor of natural philosophy, and held that office until his death. He was instituted prebendary of Hereford on 9 June of the same year (he was afterwards called into residence), and on 13 Feb. 1752 was collated to the chancellorship of the cathedral. On 3 Dec. 1756 he was elected provost of Queen's College. From 1759 to 1765 he held the office of vice-chancellor of the university. He had a severe stroke of palsy 25 March 1765, and died on 17 June 1767. He edited 'Maffei S. R. E. Card. Barberini postea Urbani VII Poemata,' 1726.

[Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, i. 426, 427; Wood's History and Antiquities of the Colleges and Halls (Gutch), 149, app. 172, 173; History of the University, ii. 871; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), i. 494, 496. The lives of Dr. Browne in Chalmers's and Rose's Biographical Dictionaries are taken from Hutchinson's Cumberland.] W. H.

**BROWNE, LANCELOT** (*d.* 1605), physician, was a native of York. He matriculated at St. John's College, Cambridge, in May 1559, graduated B.A. in 1562-3, and M.A. in 1566. In 1567 he was elected fellow of Pembroke Hall; in 1570 received the license of the university to practise physic. He took a leading part in the opposition to the new statutes of the university promulgated in 1572, and in 1573 was made proctor. He was created M.D. in 1576, and after this would appear to have moved to London, as on 10 June 1584 he was elected fellow of the

College of Physicians. He was censor in 1587, and several times afterwards; an elect in 1599; and a member of the council of the college in 1604-5; but died in 1605, probably shortly before 11 Dec. Browne was physician to Queen Elizabeth, to James I, and to his queen. He is not known to have written anything except a commendatory letter in Latin prefixed to Gerarde's 'Herbal' (first edition, 1597). He was one of those entrusted by the College of Physicians in 1589 with the preparation of a pharmacopœia, and in 1594 was on a committee appointed for the same object, but for some reason the work was stopped, and not resumed till twenty years afterwards, when Browne was no longer living.

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii. 421; Munk's Coll. of Phys. (2nd ed.) ii. 86.]

J. F. P.

**BROWNE, LYDE** (d. 1787), the elder, virtuoso, was a director of the Bank of England, having a town house in Foster Lane, City, and a country house at Wimbledon. He commenced the antique-art collections for which he was distinguished about 1747. He became F.S.A. on 5 April 1752; he resigned the fellowship in 1772. In April 1768 he was elected director of the Bank of England. By that year he had gathered together at his Wimbledon house as many as eighty-one rare statues and other precious examples of Greek and Roman art. Browne's art treasures were described in a Latin catalogue, 8vo, published in 1768, together with the sources whence some of them were obtained. By 1779 Browne had largely increased his collection. An Italian catalogue of it (4to, Rivingtons) was published in that year, and this speaks of 236 pieces as being the choicest of Browne's possessions, and comprising some said to be 'd' uno stile il più sublime' and in perfect preservation. About 1786 Browne arranged to sell the whole of these treasures (or a portion, it is not clear) to the Empress of Russia, and the price he was to be paid was 22,000*l*. Choosing a merchant in St. Petersburg, on the recommendation of some friends, to receive and transmit this sum of money, Browne had 10,000*l*. of it duly forwarded, but the balance was never sent, owing to the merchant's bankruptcy. The loss caused Browne much depression, and he soon afterwards (10 Sept. 1787) died of apoplexy.

His Wimbledon mansion was tenanted after his death by Henry Dundas (Lord Melville), and subsequently by the Earl of Aberdeen and by Lord Lovaine (LYSONS, *Environs*, Supplement, p. 96).

[*Gent. Mag.* 1787, vol. lvii. pt. ii. p. 840, under

'Brown;,' *Bibliotheca Typographica Britannica*, x. 64; *Catalogus Veteris Ævi varii*, &c.; *Catalogo dei più scelti e preziosi Marmi*, &c.; *Lysons's Environs*, i. 540, Supplement, 96; private information.] J. H.

**BROWNE, LYDE** (d. 1803), the younger, lieutenant-colonel 21st royal Scots fusiliers, who was killed by Emmet's mob in Dublin in 1803, entered the army as cornet in the 3rd dragoons 11 June 1777, and obtained his troop in the 20th light dragoons, a corps formed during the American war out of the light troops of some other cavalry regiments, and which was disbanded in 1783, when he was placed on half pay. He was brought on full pay in the 40th foot in May 1794, and served with that regiment in the West Indies, and became major in the 4th (Nicholl's) West India regiment in 1797. His subsequent commissions were major 90th foot, 1798; lieutenant-colonel 35th foot, with which he served at Malta, 1800; lieutenant-colonel 85th foot; 1801; and lieutenant-colonel 21st fusiliers, 25 Jan. 1802. The latter regiment was stationed in Cork Street, Thomas Street, and Coombe Barracks in July 1803, and Browne was repairing thither to join his men on the alarm being given at dusk on 23 July, when he was shot dead by some of the same mob which immediately afterwards murdered the aged Lord Kilwarden in an adjoining street.

[Annual Army Lists; Trimen's *Hist. Rec.* 35th Foot (Southampton, 1874); H. Stooks-Smith's *Alph. List Officers*, 85th Lt. Inf. (London, 1850); Cannon's *Hist. Rec.* 21st Fusiliers.] H. M. C.

**BROWNE, MOSES** (1704-1787), poet, born in 1704, was originally a pen-cutter. His earliest production in print was a weak tragedy called 'Polidus, or Distress'd Love,' and an equally weak farce 'All Bedevil'd, or the House in a Hurry,' neither of which was ever performed by regular actors or in a licensed theatre. His earliest studies were patronised by Robert, viscount Molesworth, and his poems of 'Piscatory Eclogues,' 1729, were dedicated to Dodington, afterwards Lord Melcombe. They were reissued with other works in 1739 under the title of 'Poems on various Subjects,' and again in 1773 as 'Angling Sports, in nine Piscatory Eclogues.' Browne found a kind friend in Cave, the proprietor of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and for a long time he was the principal poetical contributor to that periodical. The prize of 50*l*. offered by Cave for the best theological poem was awarded to Browne by Dr. Birch; it is printed, with other prize poems of his composition, in the 'Poems on various Subjects.'

Browne was an enthusiastic angler, and in 1750, at the suggestion of Dr. Johnson, brought out an edition of Walton and Cotton's 'Compleat Angler,' adding to it 'a number of occasional notes.' These were of value, but unfortunately the original text was altered to suit the taste of the age. Other editions appeared in 1759 and 1772, the former giving rise to a controversy with Sir John Hawkins, who was also an editor of that work. Browne's volume, 'Works and Rest of the Creation, containing (1) an Essay on the Universe, (2) Sunday Thoughts,' was published in 1752, and was several times reprinted, the last edition being in 1806. Through the encouragement of the Rev. James Hervey he took orders in the English church and became curate to Hervey at Colingtree in 1753. The small living of Olney was given to Browne by Lord Dartmouth in the same year, but as the poet had a large family—Cowper says 'ten or a dozen' children, Hervey with greater precision 'thirteen'—he was forced to accept in 1763 the chaplaincy of Morden College, and to be non-resident at Olney. At a still later date he became the vicar of Sutton in Lincolnshire. Browne died at Morden College 13 Sept. 1787, his wife, Ann, having predeceased him on 24 March 1783, aged 65. A tablet to his memory is in Olney Church. John Newton was his curate there from 1764 to 1780, when Thomas Scott succeeded him.

He was the author of several sermons and the translator of 'The Excellency of the Knowledge of Jesus Christ, by John Liborius Zimmermann,' which passed through three editions (1772, 1773, and 1801). At the command of the Duke and Duchess of Somerset he wrote in 1749 a poem on their seat of 'Percy Lodge,' but it was not given to the world until 1755. Had they lived, this poor poet would have been better provided for.

[Gent. Mag. 1736, pp. 59-60, 1787 pp. 286, 840, 932; Biog. Dram. (1812), i. 75; Westwood's Bibl. Piscatoria (1838), pp. 43-4, 221-2; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 21, 436, v. 36-7, 51-3; Hawkins's Johnson, p. 46; Hervey's Letters, i. and ii.; Southey's Cowper, i. 243-4, iv. 154; Abbey and Overton's English Church, ii. 331.]

W. P. C.

**BROWNE, PATRICK (1720?-1790),** author of the 'Civil and Natural History of Jamaica,' was the fourth son of Edward Browne of Woodstock, co. Mayo, Ireland, and was born about 1720. In 1737 he was sent to reside with a relative in Antigua, but ill-health compelling him to return to Europe he went to Paris, where he commenced the study of physical science, especially botany. Afterwards he removed to Leyden, where he

continued his studies, obtaining the degree of M.D. 21 Feb. 1743 (PEACOCK, *English Students at Leyden*, p. 14). At Leyden he made the acquaintance of Gronovius, and began a correspondence with Linneus, which continued till his death. After practising his profession for two years in London he returned to the West Indies, spending some months in Antigua and other sugar islands, and thence proceeding to Jamaica. Here he occupied himself with the study of the geology, botany, and natural history of the island. In 1755 he published a new map of Jamaica, and in 1756 'Civil and Natural History of Jamaica' in folio, ornamented with forty-nine engravings, a map of the island, and a map of the harbour of Port Royal, Kingston, &c. All the copperplates as well as the original drawings used in the work were consumed in the great fire in Cornhill 7 Nov. 1765, and consequently the second edition of the book published in 1769, with four new Linnæan indexes, is without illustrations. In June 1774 he published in 'Exshaw's London Magazine' a 'Catalogue of the Birds of Ireland, whether natives, casual visitors, or birds of passage, taken from observation, classed and disposed according to Linnæus;' and in August of the same year a 'Catalogue of Fishes observed on our coasts, and in our lakes and rivers.' He left in manuscript a 'Catalogue of the Plants now growing in the Sugar Islands,' and a 'Catalogue of such Irish Plants as have been observed by the author, chiefly those of the counties of Mayo and Galway.' He died at Rushbrook, co. Mayo, 29 Aug. 1790, and was interred in the family burying-place at Crossboyne, where there is a monument to his memory with an inscription written by himself.

[Walker's Hibernian Mag. 1795, pt. ii. pp. 195-7.] T. F. H.

**BROWNE, PETER (d. 1735),** divine, was born in co. Dublin soon after the Restoration; entered Trinity College in 1682; became fellow in 1692, and provost in August 1699. He was made bishop of Cork and Ross in January 1710. He became first known as a writer by an attack upon Toland, who had published in 1696 his 'Christianity not Mysteriorous.' Browne made one of the best known replies to this work; and Toland was in the habit of boasting that he had thus made Browne a bishop (TOLAND, *Life* prefixed to *Collection of several Pieces*, 1726, p. xx). Browne held that Toland was beyond the pale of toleration (AMORY, *Memoirs*, &c., i. 85). He afterwards published a full elaboration of his argument in the 'Procedure, Extent, and Limits of Human Understanding,' 1728.

and in 'Things Supernatural and Divine conceived by Analogy with things Natural and Human,' 1733. The argument in these books resembles one afterwards put forward by Dean Mansel. It is adopted from Archbishop King's sermon on predestination (1709, and republished with notes by Archbishop Whately, 1821). According to Browne we can have no direct knowledge at all of the real nature of the Divine attributes, though we may have an 'analogical' knowledge through revelation. The doctrine was intended at first to upset Toland's argument against mystery as being equivalent to nonsense. Berkeley, in his 'Alciphron' (third dialogue, 1732), urged that it really led to atheism. Browne replies to Berkeley at great length in the 'Analogy.' Berkeley says (4 April 1734) that he did not answer the last attack, as the book had excited little notice in Ireland. Browne also took part in a controversy about the practice of drinking to the 'glorious and immortal memory.' He maintained it to be a superstitious rite in various pamphlets: 'Drinking in Remembrance of the Dead, being the substance of a discourse delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Cork,' 1713; second part, 1714; 'An Answer to a Rt. Rev. Prelate's Defence of, &c.,' 1715; a 'Discourse of Drinking Healths, wherein the great evil of the custom is shown,' 1716; and 'A Letter to a Gentleman in Oxford on the subject of Health-drinking,' 1722. Swift refers to this in his letters to Sheridan (28 and 29 June 1725), and says that the bishop is a 'whimsical gentleman.' Browne died 25 Aug. 1735, and was buried at Ballinaspic, near Cork, where he had spent 2,000*l.* on a house which he left to his successors in the bishopric. His body was exhumed 12 Jan. 1861, in consequence of a report that it had been stolen, and found so perfect that the resemblance to his portrait in the palace at Cork was recognisable. It was reinterred under the new cathedral church of St. Finbar, Cork. He is described as a man of austere and simple habits, lavish and secret in his charities, and a very impressive preacher. His sermons, in two volumes, were published in 1742. He left various writings in manuscript, including a third volume of the 'Analogy,' a tract 'On the Use and Abuse of Metaphysics in Religion,' and some other tracts and sermons.

[Fraser's Berkeley, iv. 18, 222, 234; Mant's Church of Ireland, ii. 193; Amory's Memoirs of several Ladies, &c., i. 85; Ware's Bishops of Ireland (Harris), 571, 572; Ware's Writers of Ireland (Harris), 296, 297.] L. S.

**BROWNE, Sir RICHARD** (d. 1669), parliamentary general, a citizen of London,

is described as a 'woodmonger' in the list of adventurers for the reconquest of Ireland, to which enterprise he subscribed 600*l.* He took up arms for the parliament, and obtained a command in the trained bands. In September 1642 he disarmed the royalist gentry of Kent (VICARS, i. 163). In December 1642 he served under Waller, and his regiment was the first to enter the breach at the capture of Winchester (*ib.* i. 229). In July 1643 he was charged with the suppression of the rising which took place in Kent in connection with Waller's plot, and crushed the insurgents in a fight at Tunbridge (16 July 1643, *ib.* iii. 12). On 23 Dec. 1643 the parliament appointed Browne to the command of the two regiments (the white and the yellow) sent to reinforce Waller's army, and he shared the command at the victory of Alresford (29 March 1644). In the following summer, by an ordinance dated 8 June, he was constituted major-general of the forces raised for the subduing of Oxford, and commander-in-chief of the forces of the three associated counties of Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire (RUSHWORTH, iii. pt. ii. 673). With three regiments of auxiliaries raised in London he took up his headquarters at Abingdon, where 'he was a continual thorn in the eyes and goad in the sides of Oxford and the adjacent royal garrisons' (VICARS, *England's Worthies*, 101). The parliamentary 'Diurnals' are full of his exploits, while the royalist tracts and papers continually accuse him of plundering the country and ill-treating his prisoners. An attempt was made by Lord Digby to induce him to betray his charge, but it met with signal failure (September to December 1644, RUSHWORTH, iii. pt. ii. 808-16).

In May 1645 Browne was employed for a short time in following the king's movements, but was recalled to take part in the first siege of Oxford (June 1645). He took part in the final siege of that city in the summer of 1646. On the conclusion of the war he was appointed one of the commissioners to receive Charles from the Scots (5 Jan. 1647, RUSHWORTH, iv. pt. i. 394). While at Holmby he was, according to Anthony Wood, 'converted by the king's discourses' (*Annals*, ii. 474). He was at Holmby when the king was seized by Cornet Joyce, and told the soldiers 'that if he had had strength we should have had his life before we brought the king away. "Indeed," said the cornet, "you speak like a gallant and faithful man;" but he knew well enough he had not the strength, and therefore spake so boldly' (RUSHWORTH, iv. 516). Browne was elected for Wycombe amongst the recruiters (October 1645) and in

1648 was chosen alderman and sheriff of London. Clarendon credits him with 'a great name and interest in the city, and with all the presbyterian party' (*Rebellion*, x. 70). With the majority of his party he changed sides in 1648, was accused by the army of confederating with the Scots and the secluded members for the invasion of England (6 Dec.), arrested (12 Dec.), expelled from the House of Commons, and deprived of his sheriffdom and aldermanic and other posts (WALKER, *Independency*, ii. 39; RUSHWORTH, iv. pt. ii. 1854-61). For several years he remained in prison at Windsor, Wallingford, Warwick, Ludlow, and other places. In the account of his sufferings which he gave in parliament in March 1659 he says: 'I was used worse than a cavalier; taken and sent away prisoner to Wales; used with more cruelty than if in Newgate; in a worse prison than common prisoners. My wife and children could not come under roof to see me. My letters could not pass. The governor demanded my letters; I said he should have my life as soon. I defended them with my weapon' (BURTON, *Diary*, iv. 263). This imprisonment lasted for five years. In 1656 Browne was one of the members excluded from parliament for refusing to take the engagement demanded by the Protector (see Protest of 22 Sept. in WHITELOCKE). In Richard Cromwell's parliament he was one of the members for London, and found at length, in March 1659, an opportunity for securing redress. On 26 March 1659 the House of Commons annulled the vote of 4 Dec. 1649 disabling him from the office of alderman, and ordered the payment of 9,016*l.* still owing to him from the state. In the summer of 1659 he was implicated in Sir George Booth's rising, and his arrest ordered, but he succeeded in lying hid at Stationers' Hall, 'by the faithful secrecy of Captain Burroughes' (HEATH'S *Chronicle*, p. 737). The votes then passed against him were annulled on 22 Feb. 1660 (*Journals*; and PEYRS, *Diary*). Browne was one of the persons with whom Whitelocke took counsel for the furtherance of his scheme of persuading Fleetwood to recall the king (WHITELOCKE, 22 Dec. 1659). Browne was chosen by the city as one of the deputation to Charles II, and headed the triumphal procession which brought the king back to London with a troop of gentlemen in cloth of silver doublets. His services were liberally rewarded by the king, who conferred the honour of knighthood on both him and his eldest son. He was also elected lord mayor on 3 Oct. 1660. During his mayoralty Venner's insurrection took place, and the vigour he showed in suppressing it gained

him fresh advancement. The city rewarded him with a pension of 500*l.* a year (7 Aug. 1662, KENNET, p. 739), and the king created him a baronet. He was commissioner of appeals in the Excise, 1661-9, and president of Bethlehem and Bridewell Hospitals, 1660-8. He died on 24 Sept. 1669, 'at his house in Essex, near Saffron Walden' (*Obituary of Richard Smyth*, p. 83). He was a brave soldier, and the charges of rapacity and cruelty brought by the royalist pamphleteers can hardly be regarded as proved. A greater blot on his fame is his conduct at the trial of the regicides. Browne repeated against Adrian Scroop casual words spoken by him to justify the king's execution, and this testimony excited a feeling in the high court and parliament which cost Scroop his life (WOOD, *Athenæ*, ii. 74, ed. 1721).

[Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle; Rushworth's Historical Collections; Kennet's Register; Vicars's England's Worthies (1647) contains a sketch of Browne's career and a portrait. The correspondence with Lord Digby was printed in a pamphlet entitled *The Lord Digby's Design on Abingdon* (4to, 1644), and several of Browne's relations of different battles and skirmishes were published contemporaneously.] C. H. F.

**BROWNE or BROWN, RICHARD** (*fl.* 1674-1694), physician, was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, but graduated at Leyden, where he was admitted 20 Sept. 1675, being then fifty years old. He became a licentiate of the College of Physicians on 30 Sept. 1676. His principal writings, some of which bear on the title-page 'by Richard Browne, Apothecary of Oakham,' are: 1. 'Medicina Musica; or a Mechanical Essay on the Effects of Singing, Music, and Dancing on Human Bodies; with an Essay on the Nature and Cure of the Spleen and Vapours,' London, 1674, new edition 1729. 2. 'Περὶ Ἀρχῶν, Liber in quo Principia Veterum evertuntur, et nova stabiliuntur,' London, 1678. 3. 'Prosodia Pharmacopœorum, or the Apothecary's Prosody,' London, 1685. 4. 'English Grammar,' London, 1692. 5. 'General History of Earthquakes,' London, 1694. A small book entitled 'Coral and Steel, a most Compendious Method of Preserving and Restoring Health,' by R. B., M.D., no date, is doubtfully assigned to the same R. Brown.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. (1878), i. 391.]

G. T. B.

**BROWNE, SIR RICHARD** (1605-1683), diplomatist, born in 1605, was the only son of Christopher Browne of Sayes Court, Deptford, and Thomasine Gonson whose father and grandfather, Benjamin and William Gonson, had been treasurers of the navy. The father of Christopher, Sir Richard

Browne, knight, was in the service of the Earl of Leicester while governor of the Netherlands, and held the appointment of clerk of the green cloth under Elizabeth and James I. Richard Browne was educated at Merton College, Oxford. After travelling on the continent, and especially, as it would seem, in France, he returned to England, and was sworn clerk of the council to King Charles I on 27 Jan. 1640-1. In the same year he was sent on two diplomatic missions, to the Queen of Bohemia and the Elector Palatine, and to Henry Frederick, prince of Orange. In July 1641 Browne entered on the chief occupation of his life, being at that date appointed king's resident at the court of France, in succession to the Earl of Leicester. This appointment he held for no less than nineteen years, acting as the representative both of Charles I and of his exiled son. Browne was a staunch royalist, and his loyalty was thoroughly tried. During the whole of his diplomatic career in France he seems to have been practically obliged to give his services gratuitously. More than once he is found writing anxiously for some payment of his allowances, while on one occasion he complained bitterly that he had not even 'the wherewithal to provide himself out of mourning a new coat and liveries.' The sum due to him for his allowance as resident was stated, after the Restoration, to amount to 19,732*l.*, of which only 7,668*l.* had been paid or deducted as a fine on the lease to him of Sayes Court. An attempt made in 1649 by Augier, 'the agent for the rebels,' to bribe the king's resident if he would 'serve the new state, and discover what came to his knowledge of the Louvre councils,' was, however, indignantly repelled. 'I replied,' wrote Browne at the time, 'that I took it very ill that he or any should dare to make any such overture to me . . . that I held his masters the most execrable villains that were ever upon the face of the earth, and that if his majesty—now that I had spent my whole estate in this my last eight years' service—were neither able nor willing to use me, I would retire into some remote, cheap corner of the world, where, feeding only upon bread and water, I and mine would hourly pray for his majesty's re-establishment.' But probably Browne's greatest service in the eyes of the royalists was his maintenance of the public service and liturgy of the church of England during the exile of the English king. In his large house in Paris, Browne erected a chapel which was much frequented by many well-known English divines and other exiles. On the Trinity Sunday of 1650 John Evelyn was

present at a service in this chapel, when the ordination took place of two Englishmen—Durell, afterwards dean of Windsor, and Brevint, afterwards dean of Durham; the Bishop of Galloway officiated, and the sermon was preached by the Dean of Peterborough. It is recorded that divers bishops, doctors of the church, and others who found an asylum in Browne's house at Paris, were accustomed, in their disputes with papists and sectaries, at a time when the church of England seemed utterly lost, 'to argue for the visibility of the church,' solely from the existence of Browne's chapel and congregation. About 1652-3 Browne also purchased a piece of ground for the interment of protestants who died in or near Paris.

A selection from Browne's correspondence has been published in the appendix to Bray's edition of Evelyn's 'Diary and Correspondence,' the most important portion of it consists of the letters which passed privately between himself and Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Earl of Clarendon), principally from February 1652 to August 1659. In the correspondence very frequent mention is made of the 'prizes' captured, after the death of Charles I, by the privateers of Scilly and Jersey. Those islands being then in the hands of the parliamentary forces, the freebooters were compelled to bring their prizes into the ports of France, and, in return for the sanction of the royal commission, were called upon to pay certain dues into the exchequer of the exiled English king (see Bray's notes to the Hyde and Browne Correspondence in vol. iv. of EVELYN). In the collection of these dues Charles experienced great difficulties, and from the close of 1652 to 1654 Browne was actively engaged in Brittany, at Brest and Nantes, endeavouring to collect the sums owing to the king. On 1 Sept. 1649 Browne had been created a baronet by Charles II, in virtue of a dormant warrant sent to him by Charles I in February 1643. On 19 Sept. 1649 he had also received from Charles II the honour of knighthood.

At the Restoration the king's resident returned to England, landing at Dover 4 June 1660. He continued to hold office as clerk of the council until January 1671-2. The remainder of his life was spent (according to Woon, *Fasti Oxon.*) at Charlton in Kent, where he passed his time 'in a pleasant retiredness and studious recess.' For some few months before his decease he suffered from gout and dropsy, and died on 12 Feb. 1682-3, at Sayes Court, Deptford. He was buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas, Deptford, his funeral being attended by the brethren of

the Trinity corporation, of which he had been master. Browne married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Prettyman of Dryfield in Gloucestershire. Their only daughter, Mary, became the wife of the well-known John Evelyn.

The Sir Richard Browne of this article should be carefully distinguished from Alderman Sir Richard Browne (*d.* 1669) [q. v.]

[Evelyn's *Diary and Correspondence* (ed. Bray) *passim* and Browne's *Correspondence* thereto subjoined; *Monumental Inscriptions at Deptford*, printed in Lysons's *Environs of London*, vol. iv.; *Wood's Fasti* (Bliss), pt. i. pp. 439-40; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, especially from 1640-1 to 1663.] W. W.

**BROWNE, ROBERT** (1550?-1633?), the earliest separatist from the church of England after the Reformation, and now claimed as the first exponent of their principle of church government by the modern congregationalists in England and America, was born at Toilethorpe in Rutland about the middle of the sixteenth century, though the exact date of his birth is unknown. The family from which he sprang had been settled at Stamford in Lincolnshire since the fourteenth century. They had amassed considerable wealth, filled positions of trust and importance, and were recognised county magnates before the fifteenth century had closed. One of them, John Browne, a merchant of the staple, and a rich alderman of Stamford, built the church of All Saints in that town at his sole expense, and a brass in memory of him and his wife still exists in the church he erected. This man's son, Christopher Browne of Toilethorpe, was high sheriff for the county of Rutland in the reign of Henry VII, and his son, grandfather of the subject of this article, received a curious patent from Henry VIII, allowing him to wear his hat in the royal presence when he pleased. Robert was the third child of Mr. Anthony Browne of Toilethorpe, by Dorothy, daughter of Sir Philip Boteler of Watton Woodhall, Hertfordshire, and was connected more or less closely through both parents with some of the most wealthy and influential families in England. In Cecil, lord Burghley, whose family had been connected with Stamford for generations, and who on more than one occasion acknowledged Browne as a kinsman, he found a friend indeed when he most needed his protection and support.

Browne is said to have entered at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1570, and to have taken his B.A. degree in 1572. Both statements can hardly be true, and—as he certainly did take the B.A. degree in 1572, when

his name was placed eightieth on the list—it is probable that he matriculated first at some other college and migrated to Corpus for some reason which must remain unknown to us. Thomas Aldrich, one of the leaders of the puritan party at Cambridge, was master of Corpus at this time, having been elected, on the recommendation of Archbishop Parker, 3 Feb. 1569-70. The college was in a flourishing condition, due in a great measure to the favour shown to it by the primate, who had himself held the mastership from 1544 to 1553. It is hardly conceivable that Browne between the time of his entry at Corpus and the taking of his degree should have been admitted to the household of the unfortunate Thomas Howard, fourth duke of Norfolk, still less that he should in any sense have been the duke's domestic chaplain in June 1571, as Strype asserts he was. The duke at this time was deeply pledged to the papal party, of which he was soon to be acknowledged as the ostensible leader, and he was the last man just at this time to have extended his patronage to a young firebrand like Browne, whose violent denunciation of all that was 'popish' was quite ungovernable and at any rate unrestrained. It is far more probable that Strype has confused Robert Browne with another man of the same name upon whom Cecil doubtless had his eye—the man who two months later was implicated when the Ridolfi conspiracy was discovered, and who was to be the bearer of the bag of money which was intended for Lord Herries but never reached his hands. After taking his degree Browne appears to have gone to London, where he supported himself as a schoolmaster, and delivered his soul on Sundays by preaching in the open air in defiance of the rector of Islington, in whose parish it was that his auditors assembled. About 1578, the plague being more than usually violent in London, his father ordered him to return to Toilethorpe; but unable to remain long without active employment, he grew tired of the quiet home, and again went up to Cambridge, probably with a view to taking the higher degrees, or on the chance of a fellowship falling to him. At this time he came under the influence of Richard Greenham, rector of Dry Drayton, six or seven miles from Cambridge, a clergyman of great earnestness and conspicuous ability, who had remarkable influence upon the more devout and ardent young men in the university then preparing for holy orders. Browne was probably placed for a while under Greenham as a pupil in his family, and the elder man soon perceived that the younger one had gifts of no ordinary kind. Beginning by allowing

him to take a prominent part in the religious exercises of his household, which was a large one, he went on to encourage him to preach in the villages round, without taking the trouble to get the bishop's license, though it is almost certain that he must have been previously ordained. Soon the fame of his eloquence and enthusiasm extended itself, and he was invited to accept the cure of a parish in Cambridge, probably St. Benet's, adjoining his own college, where he preached fervently and effectively for some months; at the end of that time he 'sent back the money they would have given him, and also gave them warning of his departure.' His congregation were not 'as yet so rightly grounded in church government' as they should be. In other words, he could not persuade them to follow him as far as he desired to go. It was at this point in his career that he first became possessed with the notion that the whole constitution of ecclesiastical government was faulty and needed a radical reform. Ordination, whether episcopal or presbyterian, was to his mind an abominable institution: to be authorised, licensed, or ordained, by any human being was hateful. When his brother obtained for him the necessary license from Cox, bishop of Ely, and paid the fees, Browne lost one of the necessary documents, threw the other into the fire, and proceeded openly to preach in Cambridge, wherever he had the opportunity, 'against the calling and authorising of preachers by bishops,' protesting that though he had been fortified with the episcopal license, he cared not one whit for it and would have preached whether he had been provided with it or not. If the ecclesiastical government of the bishops in their several sees was bad, not less objectionable did the whole structure of the parochial system seem to him, harmful to religion and a bondage from which it was high time that the true believers should be set free. 'The kingdom of God,' he proclaimed, 'was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather by the worthiest, were they never so few.' Already he had persuaded himself distinctly that the Christian church, so far from being a corporation comprehensive, all-embracing, and catholic, was to be of all conceivable associations the most narrow, exclusive, and confined in its influence and its aims. It was to be a society for a privileged and miraculously gifted few, a witness immeasurably less for divine truth than against the world, which was lying in wickedness, and which Browne seems to have considered he had little concern with, little call to convert from the errors of its ways.

While vehemently and incessantly pro-

claiming this new theory of ecclesiastical polity—and at this time it was a very new theory—his health broke down, and while still suffering from illness he was formally inhibited from preaching by the bishop. Browne, with characteristic perversity, told the bishop's officer that he was not in a position to preach just then; if the circumstances had been different, 'he would no whit less cease preaching' for the episcopal inhibition. Soon after this he heard that there were certain people in Norfolk who were 'very forward' in their zeal for a new reformation, and consumed by his desire to spread his views of the importance of a separation of the godly from the ungodly, he felt called to go down to East Anglia. It was just at this time that a former acquaintance and fellow-collegian of his, one Robert Harrison, returned to Cambridge, or paid a brief visit to the university. Harrison, who was Browne's senior by some years, had recently been dismissed from the mastership of Aylsham school in Norfolk for some irregularity or nonconformity, but had been fortunate enough to obtain another resting-place as master of St. Giles's [?] Hospital in the city of Norwich. Harrison's visit to Cambridge resulted in a renewal of an old intimacy and in a closer union between two enthusiasts who had much in common. It ended by Browne leaving Cambridge and taking up his residence for a time in Harrison's house at Norwich. Gradually Browne, gaining ascendancy over his friend, used him as a coadjutor, the two working together—pretty much as Reeve and Muggleton did a century later—and round them there soon gathered a small company of believers who, accepting Browne as their pastor, called themselves 'the church,' as others have done before and since, and separated from all other professing christians, who 'were held in bondage by anti-christian power, as were those parishes in Cambridge by the bishops.' The disciples became generally known as Brownists. Edmund Freake was bishop of Norwich at this time, and it was not long before he took action against the new sect. On 19 April 1581 he forwarded certain articles of complaint 'against one Robert Browne' to Lord Burghley, in which he set forth that 'the said party had been lately apprehended on complaint of many godly preachers, for delivering unto the people corrupt and contentious doctrine,' and further that he was seducing 'the vulgar sort of people, who greatly depended on him, assembling themselves together to the number of one hundred at a time in private houses and conventicles to hear him, not without danger of some evil effect.' It was not at



Norwich but at Bury St. Edmunds that Browne had produced this effect, and it is probable that he had been led to move into Suffolk by finding that at Norwich the power of the bishop was too strong for him, or that the clergy of the city, then deeply affected with Genevan proclivities and as a body very zealous in their ministerial duties, were by no means willing to befriend or co-operate with a sectary who began by assuming that they were all in the bonds of iniquity. Lord Burghley returned a prompt reply to the bishop's letter of complaint, but as promptly sent back his kinsman to Bury with a kindly excuse for him, and a suggestion that his indiscretions proceeded 'of zeal rather than malice.' Browne was no sooner released than he returned to the old course, and the bishop every day received some fresh complaint and became more and more irritated. In the following August he again wrote a strong letter to the lord treasurer, in which he said that his duty 'enforced him most earnestly to crave his lordship's help in suppressing' this disturber of his diocese. Again Burghley stood his friend, and when, a little after, Browne was brought before the archbishop, even the primate could not keep his prisoner, and he was set at liberty only to return to his followers with his influence over them increased tenfold. The truth is that the time was hardly favourable for exercising exceptional severity against a zealot of this character, who was for ever declaiming against papistry and Roman errors. The Jesuit mission to England had only just collapsed by the apprehension of Campion on 10 July. Parsons was still at large, and the rack was being employed pretty freely in the Tower upon the wretched men who, if they had succeeded in nothing else, had succeeded in rousing the anti-papal feelings of the masses and the alarm of such statesmen as looked with apprehension upon a revival of catholic sentiment. Nevertheless it became evident that the little congregation, the 'church' which prized above all things human the privilege of having their 'pastor' present with them, could hardly continue its assembly if Browne were to be continually worried by citations and imprisonment at the will of one after another of the stiff sticklers for uniformity; and when they had sought about for some time for a retreat where they might enjoy liberty of worship unmolested, they emigrated at last in a body to Middleburg in the autumn of 1581. Cartwright and Dudley Fenner were the accredited ministers of the English puritan colony at Middleburg, but Browne and his

exclusive congregation were in no mood to ally themselves with their fellow-exiles. All other professing Christians might come to him, he certainly would not go to them. To the amazement and grief of Cartwright he found in the newcomers no friends but aggressive opponents, and a paper war was carried on, Browne writing diligently and printing what he wrote as fast as the funds could be found. Harrison too rushed into print, and the books of the two men were sent over to England and circulated by their followers so sedulously—for not all the Norwich congregation had emigrated—that a royal proclamation was actually issued against them in 1583, and two men were hanged for dispersing the books and one for the crime of binding them!

Meanwhile the violent and imperious character of Browne led him into acts and words which were not favourable to harmony even in his own little company of devoted followers, and that which any outsider who watched the movement must have foreseen to be inevitable happened at last; the Middleburg 'church' broke up, and Browne towards the close of 1583 turned his back upon Harrison and the rest, and set sail for Scotland accompanied by 'four or five Englishmen with their wives and families,' so much already had the 'church' shrunk from its earlier proportions.

Arrived in Scotland Browne began in the old way, denouncing everything and everybody concerned in matters religious or ecclesiastical, and he had scarcely been a month in the country before he was cited to appear before the kirk of Edinburgh, and on his behaving himself with his usual arrogance and treating the court with an insolent defiance he was thrown into the common gaol till time should be given to two theologians who were appointed to examine and report upon his books. Meanwhile some secret influences had been brought to bear in his favour, and just when it was confidently expected that this mischievous troubler would be condemned and silenced, to the surprise of all he was set at liberty, why, none could explain. Browne appears to have remained some months or even longer in Scotland, but he made no way, left no mark, and gained no converts. In disgust at his reception he delivered his testimony against the Scotch in no measured terms, shook off the dust of his feet against them, and setting his face southwards was once more printing and publishing books in the summer of 1584. Once more he was thrown into prison and kept there for some months, and once more Burghley interposed, became security for his good conduct, effected his

release, and actually interceded for him in a letter to his father, who was still alive. Browne returned to Toilethorpe much broken in health by his long imprisonment. On recovering his strength his former habits and temper returned, and old Anthony Browne, vexed and provoked by his son's contumacy, applied to Burghley and obtained his sanction for his son's removal to Stamford, possibly under the eye of some relatives, members of the Browne or Cecil families. But such men as this are incorrigible. In the spring of 1586 he had left Stamford and was preaching as diligently as ever at Northampton—as diligently and as offensively—and on being cited by Howland, bishop of Peterborough, to appear before him, Browne took no notice of the citation, and was excommunicated for contempt accordingly.

This seems to have been the turning-point of his strange career. Whether it was that Browne was prepared to suffer in his person all sorts of hardships, but had never thought of being *cast* out of the church from which he gloried in urging others to *go* out, and thus was startled and confused by the suddenness and unexpected form of the sentence that had been pronounced; whether his disordered imagination began to conjure up some vague, mysterious consequences which might possibly ensue, and on which he had never reflected before; or whether his fifteen years of restless onslaught upon all religions and all religious men who would not follow nor be led by him, had almost come to be regarded by himself as a conspicuous failure, and he had given up hope and lost heart, it is impossible to say. Certain it is that from this time he ceased to be a disturber of the order of things established, and his 'church' or 'churches' were compelled to seek elsewhere for their 'pastors' and guides. In November 1586 Browne was elected to be master of Stamford grammar school, certain pledges being exacted from him for good behaviour, and certain conditions being extorted for the restraining him from troubling the world with the expression of his peculiar views. To these conditions he affixed his signature, and he began at once to discharge his new duties. He continued master of Stamford school for five years, and resigned his mastership only on his being presented to the rectory of Achurch in Northamptonshire, a benefice which was in the gift of Lord Burghley, who two years before had made interest, but to no purpose, with the Bishop of Peterborough to obtain some preferment for his kinsman. At Achurch Browne continued to reside for more than forty years, doing

his duty in his parish with scrupulous fidelity and preaching frequently and earnestly to his people. His end was a sad one; Thomas Fuller described it thus: '... As I am credibly informed, being by the constable of the parish (who chanced also to be his godson) somewhat roughly and rudely required the payment of a rate, he happened in passion to strike him. The constable (not taking it patiently as a castigation from a godfather, but in anger as an affront to his office) complained to Sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring justice of the peace, and Browne is brought before him. The knight, of himself, was prone rather to pity and pardon, than punish his passion; but Browne's behaviour was so stubborn, that he appeared obstinately ambitious of a prison, as desirous (after long absence) to renew his familiarity with his ancient acquaintance. His *mittimus* is made; and a cart with a feather-bed provided to carry him, he himself being too infirm (above eighty) to go, too unwieldy to ride, and no friend so favourable as to purchase for him a more comely conveyance. To Northampton gaol he is sent, where, soon after, he sickened, died, and was buried in a neighbouring churchyard; and it is no hurt to wish that his bad opinions had been interred with him' (FULLER, *Church History*, bk. ix. sect. vi.) Fuller is wrong in the date of Browne's death; an entry in his hand is still to be seen in the parish register of Achurch, made on 2 June 1631, and his successor in the living was not instituted till 8 Nov. 1633. His burial-place is unknown.

Browne's wife was Alice Alden, a Yorkshire lady; by her he had four sons and three daughters. The hateful story that he ill-used his wife in her old age is in all probability an infamous slander. Browne was very fond of music, and besides being himself 'a singular good lutenist,' he taught his children to become performers. On Sundays 'he made his son Timothy bring his viol to church and play the bass to the psalms that were sung.' Browne's issue eventually inherited the paternal estate at Toilethorpe. A son Edward was one of the twenty gentlemen who, under the leadership of Cecilius Calvert, second lord Baltimore, founded the colony of Maryland in 1634. He settled permanently in the colony, and by his wife Mary, daughter of Morgan Williams, was father of Morgan and Edward, whose descendants are still numerous in America.

That so powerful and intelligent a body as the congregationalists should desire to affiliate themselves on to so eccentric a person as Browne, and to claim him as the first enunciator of the principles which are distinctive

of their organisation, will always appear somewhat strange to outsiders. Into discussions on church polity, however, it is not our intention to enter. The last three works quoted among the authorities at the end of this article will give the reader as full a view as he can desire of the congregationalist standpoint. Mr. Dexter's most able and learned volume contains an exhaustive account of the literature and bibliography of the whole subject, and his elaborate monograph on Browne's life has materially added to our knowledge of the man's curious career. Here too will be found by far the most complete list of his writings and some valuable extracts from hitherto unknown works which prove him to have been a man of burning enthusiasm and one who, as we might have expected, could at times burst forth into passages of fiery and impetuous eloquence which must have been extraordinarily effective in their day, however much they may appear to us no more than vehement rhetoric.

[Blore's Hist. and Antiq. of the County of Rutland, 1813, p. 93, &c.; Fuller's Worthies (Rutland); Lamb's Masters's Hist. of Corpus Christi Coll. Cambridge, pp. 123 et seq., 460; communication from Dr. Luard, Registrar of Camb. Univ.; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1547-1580, p. 421; Froude's Hist. Engl. x. 289-90; Strype's Parker, ii. 68; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. ii. 177, 178; Fuller's Church Hist. bk. ix., cent. xvi., sect. vi., §§ 1-7, 64-9; Lansdowne MSS., quoted by all modern writers, No. xxxiii. 13, 20; Hanbury's Historical Memorials relating to the Independents, 1839, vol. i. ch. ii.; John Browne's Hist. of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk (1877), chs. i-iii.; Dexter's Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years, as seen in its Literature, New York, 1880.]

A. J.

**BROWNE, SAMUEL** (1575?-1632), divine, born at or near Shrewsbury, became a servitor or clerk of All Souls College, Oxford, in 1594, at the age of nineteen, graduated B.A. 3 Nov. 1601, and M.A. 3 July 1605, took orders, and in 1618 was appointed minister of St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, 'where he was much resorted to by precise people for his edifying and frequent preaching' (Wood). In spite, however, of this notice of his ministry in the 'Athenæ Oxon.,' Browne can scarcely have been a puritan, for in the curious little book entitled 'The Looking-glasse of Schisme, wherein by a briefe and true Narration of the execrable Murders done by Enoch ap Evan, a downe-right Non-conformist . . . the Disobedience of that Sect . . . is plainly set forth' (1635), the author; Peter Studley, minister of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, speaks of him with great respect, and

says that during the thirteen years of his ministry he was 'rudely and unchristianly handled' by the disloyal and schismatical party in the town, and that finally, 'by an invective and bitter Libell, consisting of fourteene leaves in quarto cast into his garden, they disquieted his painefull and peaceable soule, and shortened the date of his troublesome pilgrimage.' Browne died in 1632, and was buried at St. Mary's on 6 May. He published 'The Sum of Christian Religion by way of Catechism,' 1630, 1637, 8vo, and 'Certain Prayers,' and left at his death several sermons which he wished printed.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 531; Fasti (Bliss), i. 290, 306; Studley's Looking-glasse of Schisme, 180-1; Phillips's History and Antiquities of Shrewsbury, 100; Some Account of the Ancient and Present State of Shrewsbury (ed. 1810), 216, 217.] W. H.

**BROWNE, SAMUEL** (d. 1668), judge, was the son of Nicholas Browne of Polebrooke, Northamptonshire, by Frances, daughter of Thomas St. John, third son of Oliver, lord St. John. He was thus first cousin to Oliver St. John, chief justice of the common pleas during the protectorate. He was admitted pensioner of Queens' College, Cambridge, 24 Feb. 1614, entered as a student at Lincoln's Inn 28 Oct. 1616, where he was called to the bar 16 Oct. 1623, and elected reader in Michaelmas term 1642. In October 1641 he had been returned to parliament as member for the united parishes of Clifton, Dartmouth, and Hardness in Devonshire. In the articles laid before the king at Oxford in 1642, with a view to negotiations for peace, the appointment of Browne to a seat on the exchequer bench was suggested. In November of the same year he was made one of the commissioners of the great seal. In March 1643-4 he was appointed one of the committee to which the management of the impeachment of Laud was entrusted. His speech on this occasion has not been preserved, but from the constant references which Laud makes to it he appears to have put the case against the archbishop in a very effective way. After the trial was ended (2 Jan. 1644-5) he was deputed, with Serjeants Wilde and Nicolas, to lay before the House of Lords the reasons which, in the opinion of the commons, justified an ordinance of attainder against the archbishop. This had already been passed by the commons, and the upper house immediately followed suit. In July 1645 a paper was introduced to the House of Commons, emanating from Lord Savile, and containing what was in substance an impeachment of Denzil Hollis and Whitelocke,

of high treason in betraying the trust reposed in them in connection with the recent negotiations at Oxford, of which they had had the conduct. After some discussion the matter was referred to a committee, of which Browne was nominated chairman. The affair is frankly described by Whitelocke as a machination of the independents, designed to discredit the presbyterian party, of which both Hollis and himself were members; and as he accuses Browne of displaying a strong bias in favour of the impeachment, it may be inferred that at this time he had the reputation of belonging to the advanced faction. The charge was ultimately dismissed. In October of the following year Browne delivered the great seal to the new commissioners then appointed, the speakers of the two houses. In September 1648 he was one of ten commissioners nominated by the parliament to treat with the king in the Isle of Wight. On the receipt of letters from the commissioners containing the king's ultimatum, the House of Commons, after voting the king's terms unsatisfactory, resolved 'that notice be taken of the extraordinary wise management of this treaty by the commissioners.' Next day Browne was made a serjeant-at-law and justice of the king's bench by accumulation. The latter dignity, however, he refused to accept, whether out of timidity or on principle it is impossible to determine. He was elected M.P. for Bedford in 1659, and for Bedfordshire in 1660. At the Restoration he was readmitted serjeant-in-law (Trinity term 1660), and shortly after (Michaelmas term) made justice of the common pleas, and knighted 4 Dec. He died in 1668, and was buried at Arlesley in Bedfordshire, where he had a house. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Meade of Nor-tofts, Finchingham, Essex.

[Wotton's Baronetage, iv. 178; Dugdale's Orig. 256, 324; Willis's Not. Parl. iii. 243; Dugdale's Chron. Ser. 114, 115; Parl. Hist. ii. 606, iii. 70, 182; Cobbett's State Trials, iv. 347, 443, 449, 464-470, 509, 554-7, 599; Whitelocke's Mem. 154, 156, 160, 226, 334, 342, 378; Commons' Journ. iii. 734; Siderfin's Rep. i. 3, 4, 365; Le Neve's Pedigrees of Knights (Harleian Society, vol. viii.), 122; Cal. State Papers, Dom. (1640), 103; Morant's Essex, ii. 366; Lysons's Bedfordshire, 40; Foss's Lives of the Judges.] J. M. R.

**BROWNE, SIMON** (1680-1732), divine, was born at Shepton Mallet, Somersetshire; educated under Mr. Cumming, and at the academy of Mr. Moor at Bridgewater. He began to preach before he was twenty, and after being a minister at Portsmouth became, in 1716, pastor of the important congregation in the Old Jewry, London. In 1720 he published 'Hymns and Spiritual Songs,' and in

1722 a volume of sermons. In the Salters' Hall controversy (1719) Browne had taken the side of the non-subscribers, who resisted the imposition of a Trinitarian test. This led to a rather sharp controversy in 1723 with the Rev. Mr. Thomas Reynolds in regard to the dismissal of a preacher. About the same time the simultaneous loss of his wife and only son (or, according to another story, the accidental strangling of a highwayman) unhinged his mind; and though his faculties remained perfect in other respects he became persuaded that God had 'annihilated in him the thinking substance,' and that his words had no more sense than a parrot's. He tried by earnest reasoning to persuade his friends that he was 'a mere beast.' He gave up his ministry, retired to Shepton Mallet, and amused himself by translating classical authors, writing books for children, and composing a dictionary. 'I am doing nothing,' he said, 'that requires a reasonable soul. I am making a dictionary; but you know thanks should be returned to God for everything, and therefore for dictionary-makers.' He took part, however, in the controversies of the time, as an opponent of the deists from a rationalist point of view. In 1732 he published 'a sober and charitable disquisition concerning the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity,' &c., 'A Fit Rebuke to a Ludicrous Infidel, in some remarks on Mr. Woolston's fifth discourse,' &c., with a preface protesting against the punishment of freethinkers by the magistrate; and a 'Defence of the Religion of Nature and the Christian Revelation,' &c., in answer to Tindal's 'Christianity as old as the Creation,' a concluding part of which appeared in 1733 posthumously. To the last of these works he had prefixed a dedication to Queen Caroline, asking for her prayers in his singular case. He was 'once a man,' but 'his very thinking substance has for more than seven years been continually wasting away, till it is wholly perished out of him.' This was suppressed at the time by his friends, but afterwards published by Hawkesworth in the 'Adventurer,' No. 88. Browne died at the end of 1732, leaving several daughters.

[Biog. Britannica; Atkey's Funeral Sermon; Town and Country Magazine for 1770, p. 689; Adventurer, No. 88; Gent. Mag. xxxii. 453; Protestant Dissenters' Magazine, iv. 433, v. 111; Leland's View, i. 110, 130; Wilson's Dissenting Churches, i. 165, iii. 338-57, where is a full list of his works.] L. S.

**BROWNE, THEOPHILUS** (1763-1835), unitarian clergyman, born at Derby in 1763, entered as a student at Christ's College, Cambridge, graduated B.A. and M.A., took

orders, and was admitted a fellow of Peterhouse on 15 July 1785. In December 1793 he was presented to the college living of Cherry Hinton, Cambridgeshire. While vicar of this country parish he adopted the positions of the Priestley school of unitarians, and resigned his living. In 1800 he became minister of the presbyterian congregation at Warminster. In 1807 he left Warminster for the post of classical and mathematical tutor at Manchester College, York. At midsummer, 1809, Browne left York to become minister of the Octagon Chapel, Norwich. He had preached at Norwich as a candidate in the previous January, and appears to have dissatisfied the college authorities by doing so without notice to them. His ministry at Norwich was unhappy; he is said to have 'magnified his office,' and not to have understood the dislike of his congregation to anything in the shape of a dogmatic creed. He took his stand upon his vested right to a small endowment, and was paid for his resignation at the end of 1810. He did not at once leave Norwich. A letter from him, dated Colgate, Norwich, 10 March 1812, appears in the 'Monthly Repository,' in which he says he will be at liberty to take a congregation at the end of March, and offers to go on six months' trial. He was minister at Congleton from 1812 to 1814. For a short time he acted as a supply at Chester, but removed to Barton Street Chapel, Gloucester, in 1815. He established a fellowship fund at Gloucester on 1 Nov. 1818, and a year or two afterwards created some consternation by proposing that unitarian fellowship funds should invest in state lotteries, with a view to gaining windfalls for denominational purposes. He remained at Gloucester till the close of 1823. From this time he resided at Bath, preaching only occasionally. He took great interest in education, and was president of the Bath Mechanics' Institution. His friend Brock speaks of him as 'conscientious almost to a fault,' and very generous to the poor. He lost his wife Anne, three years his senior, on Christmas day, 1834, and died, after a short illness, on 20 May 1835. He was buried at Lyncomb Vale, near Bath. There is a tablet to his memory in Trim Street Chapel, Bath. He published: 1. 'Eight Forms of Prayer for Public Social Worship,' Bath, 1803, 12mo. 2. 'Plain and Useful Selections from the Books of the Old and New Testament,' 1805, 8vo (intended as a lectionary, but not much esteemed; Browne projected a sequel to be taken from the apocrypha). 3. 'Religious Liberty and the Rights of Conscience and Private Judgment grossly violated,' &c., 1819, 12mo, and a ser-

mon. The terms in which he dedicated this pamphlet to the Rev. T. Belsham, 'to whom, if to any, may be justly applied the title Head of the Unitarian Church,' gave great offence to his co-religionists. Besides these he edited: 1. Select parts of William Melmoth's 'Great Importance of a Religious Life' (originally published in 1711). 2. A selection of 'Sermons' (1818, 12mo) by Joshua Toulmin, D.D. 3. 'Devotional Addresses and Hymns' (1818, 12mo), by William Russell of Birmingham.

[G. B. B. (George Browne Brock) in *Chr. Reformer*, 1835, pp. 507 seq., see also p. 806; *Monthly Repos.* 1812, pp. 64, 272, 1818, p. 750, 1819, pp. 18, 300, 1820, p. 392; Murch's *Hist. of Presb. and Gen. Bapt. Churches in W. of Eng.* 1835, pp. 13, 16, 92; Taylor's *Hist. of Octagon Chapel, Norwich*, 1848, p. 55; Roll of Students, Manch. New Coll. 1868; Pickford's *Brief Hist. of Congleton Unit. Chapel*, 1883, p. 12; manuscript correspondence of Rev. C. Wellbeloved, in possession of G. W. R. Wood, Manchester; information from Rev. J. K. Montgomery, Chester.]

A. G.

BROWNE, THOMAS (*d.* 1585), headmaster of Westminster, was born about 1535, and educated at Eton, whence he proceeded to King's College, Cambridge, in 1550. He graduated B.A. in 1554-5, M.A. in 1558, and B.D. in 1559. In the 'Alumni Etonenses' (p. 166) he is styled S.T.P. Wood (*Athene*, iii. 1004) also calls him a doctor of divinity. He was presented by the provost and scholars of King's College to the rectory of Dunton-Waylett in Essex, which he held from 18 April 1564 till his death (NEWCOURT, ii. 231). In 1564 he was appointed to the head-mastership of Westminster School. In the following year he was made a canon of the church of Westminster, and acted for some time as sub-dean (LE NEVE, iii. 350; WIDMORE, *Antiq. of West.* p. 219). Browne was next promoted to the rectory of St. Leonard, Foster Lane, on the presentation of the dean and chapter of Westminster, 11 July 1567 (NEWCOURT, i. 394). This preferment he resigned when presented, 7 June 1574, to the rectory of Chelsea, by Anne, duchess dowager of Somerset and Francis Newdigate (NEWCOURT, i. 586). He had meanwhile resigned the mastership of Westminster in 1570 (so WELCH, *Alumni West.*; WIDMORE, p. 227, gives 1569 as the date). In 1584, when it was proposed to translate Aylmer to the vacant see of Ely, and promote Day, the provost of Eton, to London, the names of Mr. Browne and Mr. Blithe were submitted for the provostship in a scheme sent by Whitgift to the queen (STRYPE, *Whitgift*, i. 387), but the scheme

fell through, and Browne died in the following year (1585) on 2 May (LE NEVE, iii. 350). He was buried in the north transept of the abbey (WIDMORE, 219, 227), or according to Faulkner in the cloisters (*Chelsea*, i. 179). In the register of Chelsea parish for 3 April 1576 is found the baptism of Gabriel, son of Thomas Browne, Pars. (FAULKNER, ii. 119). Browne was the author of occasional poems in Latin and English verse. 1. A Latin poem, prefixed to Edward Grant's 'Spicilegium Græcæ Linguae' (1577). 2. A similar poem in John Prise's 'Defensio Historiæ Britannicæ' (1573). 3. A Latin poem on the death of the two Dukes of Suffolk (1552). 4. 'Thebais, a tragedy.' 5. A poem in English on Peterson's 'Galateo' (1576) (v. AMES, ii. 903). 6. Wood (*Athenæ*, ii. 130) mentions verses by a Thomas Browne, prebendary of Westminster, in Twyne's translation of Humphrey Lloyd's 'Breviary of Britain.' 7. Prefixed to a sermon by Richard Curteys, bishop of Chichester, preached before the queen at Greenwich in 1573-4, there is a 'Preface,' written according to the title-page by one T. B., and signed 'Thomas Browne B.D. at Westminster.' This is probably the work of the man under notice.

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 510; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.*; Welch's *Alumni Westmonast.* p. 9; Harwood's *Alumni Eton.* p. 166; Newcourt's *Reperitorium*, i. 394, 586, 923, ii. 231; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 231, iii. 1004; Faulkner's *Chelsea*, i. 179, ii. 119; Widmore's *Antiquities of Westminster*, pp. 219, 227; Strype's *Whitgift*, i. 337; Ames (Herbert), ii. 903; Curteys's *Sermon before the Queen at Greenwich, 1573-4*; Le Neve, iii. 350.] A. G.-N.

**BROWNE** or **BROWN**, **THOMAS** (1604?-1673), divine, a native of Middlesex, was elected student of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1620, took the degree of M.A. in 1627, was proctor of the university in 1636, and took the degree of B.D. and was appointed domestic chaplain to Archbishop Laud in 1637. A sermon of his on John xi. 4 was highly offensive to the puritans, and they were indignant at his appointment to a canonry at Windsor in 1639. This sermon was found in manuscript in Laud's study when the archbishop's papers were seized, and appears not to have been printed. Browne held the rectories of St. Mary Aldermary and Oddington in Oxfordshire. Being forced by the puritans to leave his cure in London, he joined the king at Oxford, was made his chaplain, and received the degree of D.D. by letters patent 2 Feb. 1642. On the overthrow of the royal cause he took shelter in Holland, and was appointed chaplain to the Princess of Orange. At the Re-

storation he recovered his benefices. In 1661 he was recommended for the provostship of Eton, but the king passed him by. He died 6 Dec. 1673, being buried at Windsor. He published 'Tomus alter et idem, a History of the Life and Reign of that famous Princess Elizabeth,' a translation of vol. ii. of Camden's 'Annals,' to which he added an 'Appendix containing animadversions upon several passages,' 1629; a sermon preached before the University of Oxford, 1634; 'Concio ad Clerum,' or 'A Discourse of the Revenues of the Clergy . . . in a sermon preached . . . before the university upon taking a B.D. degree 8 June 1637,' preserved in 'The Present State of Letters,' where it is described as 'a notable specimen of the pulpit oratory of that time;' 'A Key to the King's Cabinet, or Animadversions upon the three printed Speeches of Mr. L'Isle, Mr. Tate, and Mr. Browne, spoken in London, 3 July 1645,' Oxford, 1645; 'A Treatise in defence of Hugo Grotius,' Hague, 1646; 'Dissertatio de Therapeuticis Philonis,' published with 'The Interpretation of the Two Books of Clement by other writers,' 1689. 'The Royal Charter granted unto Kings by God,' 1649, attributed to Browne by Hearne, is by Thomas Bayly [q. v.]

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (ed. Bliss) iii. 1003; Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, pt. ii. 93; *Present State of Letters* (ed. Andrew Reid), vi. art. 21, 199-219; Hearne's *Collections* (ed. Doble), 102, 363 (Oxford Hist. Soc.)] W. H.

**BROWNE**, **SIR THOMAS** (1605-1682), physician and author, was born in London, in the parish of St. Michael, Cheapside, on 19 Oct. 1605. His father was a mercer at Upton, Cheshire, but came of a good family. From a pedigree (printed by Wilkin) in the College of Arms, we learn that his mother was Anna, daughter of Paul Garraway of Lewes, Sussex. His father died prematurely; his mother, who had received 3,000*l.* as a third part of her husband's property, married Sir Thomas Dutton, and left her young son completely under the care of rapacious guardians. Having been educated at Winchester College, Browne was sent at the beginning of 1623 as a fellow-commoner to Broadgate Hall (now Pembroke College), Oxford. He was admitted to the degree of B.A. on 31 June 1626, and proceeded M.A. on 11 June 1629. Turning his attention to the study of medicine, he practised for some time in Oxfordshire; afterwards, throwing up his practice, he accompanied his stepfather (who held some official position) to Ireland on a visitation of the forts and castles. From Ireland he passed to France and Italy; stayed at

Montpellier and Padua, where were flourishing schools of medicine; and on his return through Holland was created doctor of medicine at Leyden *circa* 1633. His name is not found in the list of Leyden students, for the Thomas Browne who graduated on 22 Aug. 1644 (see PEACOCK'S *Leyden Students*) must certainly have been another person; but the register is in a faulty state. Having concluded his travels, he established himself as a physician at Shipden Hall, near Halifax. In 1637 he removed to Norwich. Wood states that he was induced to take this step by the persuasions of Dr. Thomas Lushington, formerly his tutor, then rector of Burnham Westgate, Norfolk; but, according to the author of the life prefixed to 'Posthumous Works,' 1712, he migrated at the solicitations of Sir Nicholas Bacon of Gillingham, Sir [or Dr.] Justinian Lewyn, and Sir Charles le Gros of Crostwick. Probably both statements are correct. A few months after he had settled at Norwich, Browne was incorporated doctor of medicine at Oxford on 10 July 1637. His fame was now established, and 'he was much resorted to for his skill in physic' (WHITEFOOT). In 1641 he married Dorothy, fourth daughter of Edward Mileham of Burlingham St. Peter. She bore ten children (of whom one son and three daughters survived their parents), and died two years after her husband. Whitefoot describes her as 'a lady of such symmetrical proportion to her worthy husband, both in the graces of her body and mind, that they seemed to come together by a kind of natural magnetism.'

The famous treatise '*Religio Medici*' was surreptitiously published in 1642. It was probably written in 1635, during Browne's residence at Shipden Hall. He states, in the preface to the first authorised edition, published in 1643: 'This, I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leisurable hours composed.' In pt. i. § xli. he says: 'As yet I have not seen one revolution of Saturn, nor hath my pulse beat thirty years;' and again, in pt. ii. § xi., we find: 'Now for my life it is a miracle of thirty years.' The author's manuscript was passed among his private friends, by whom frequent transcripts were made with more or less inaccuracy, and at length two surreptitious editions in octavo were printed in 1642 by Andrew Crooke. There is some doubt as to which of these editions is to be entitled the *editio princeps* (see Greenhill's Introduction to the facsimile of the first edition of '*Religio Medici*,' 1883). In 1643 appeared the first authorised edition,

with a preface, in which Browne informs us that he had 'represented into the world a full and intended copy of that piece which was most imperfectly and surreptitiously published before.' By transcription the work had become 'successively corrupted, until it arrived in a most depraved copy at the press.' The alterations in the authorised edition mainly consist of corrections of textual errors; but Browne also took occasion to modify various positive assertions. The treatise, on its appearance in 1642, immediately secured attention. It was commended by the Earl of Dorset to the notice of Sir Kenelm Digby, who reviewed it in a lengthy paper of 'Observations.' Hearing that these 'Observations' had been put to press, Browne sent Digby a courteous letter (dated 3 March 1642-3), in which he stated that the treatise was unworthy of such notice, that it had been intended as a private exercise, and that the surreptitious edition was corrupt; and he concluded with a request that the 'Observations' should not be published until the authorised edition appeared. On 20 March Digby replied that on the receipt of Browne's letter he had at once sent instructions to the printer not to proceed with the 'Observations,' which were hastily put together in one sitting—the reading of the treatise and the composition of the 'Observations' having occupied only the space of twenty-four hours. Notwithstanding Digby's instructions to the printer, the *animadversions* (pp. 124, 8vo) were published without delay. When the authorised edition of '*Religio Medici*' appeared there was prefixed an admonition (signed 'A. B.'): 'To such as have or shall peruse the "*Observations*" upon a former corrupt copy of this book,' in which Digby is severely reprehended. The admonition is written much in Browne's style, and there is reason to doubt whether it was prefixed (as 'A. B.' professes) 'without the author's knowledge.' In the preface Browne endeavours to secure himself against criticism by observing that 'many things are delivered rhetorically, many expressions merely tropical, and therefore many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason.' It is clear that he was not without misgivings as to how his treatise would be received. Wilkin protests against the view favoured by Dr. Johnson, that Browne procured the anonymous publication of the treatise in 1642 in order to try its success with the public before openly acknowledging the authorship. The authorised edition, in any case, was issued by the publisher of the surreptitious edition. The probability is that, though Browne did not

personally procure the publication of the anonymously editions, he took no active steps to hinder it. A Latin translation of 'Religio Medici' (from the edition of 1643), by John Merryweather, was published in 1644. It immediately passed through two editions at Leyden, and was twice reprinted in the same year at Paris. From an interesting letter (dated 1 Oct. 1649) of Merryweather to Browne it appears that there was considerable difficulty in finding a publisher for the translation. In the first instance Merryweather offered it to a Leyden bookseller named Haye, who submitted it to Salmasius for approbation. Salmasius kept it for three months, and then returned it with the remark that 'there were indeed in it many things well said, but that it contained many exorbitant conceptions in religion, and would probably find but frowning entertainment, especially amongst the ministers;' so Haye refused to undertake the publication. Finally, after it had been offered in two other quarters, it was accepted by Hackius. In 1645 Alexander Ross published 'Medicus Medicatus; or the Physician's Religion cured by a Lenitive or Gentle Potion,' in which he attacked both Browne and Digby—the former for his application of 'rhetorical phrase' to religious subjects, for his leaning towards judicial astrology, and generally on the score of heresy; the latter for his Romanism and metaphysics. Browne did not reply to this attack, but issued in the same year a new edition of his treatise. A Latin edition, with prolix notes by 'L. N. M. E. M.,' i.e. Levinus Nicolaus Moltkuius (or Moltkenius) Eques Misnensis (or Mecklenbergensis or Megalopolitanus), was published in 1652. To an English edition, published in 1656, were appended annotations by Thomas Keck. The title-page of the annotations has the date 1659, but the preface is dated March 1654. Dutch, French, and German translations appeared respectively in 1665, 1668, and 1680. Merryweather's version contributed to make the book widely known among continental scholars. Guy Patin (*Lettres*, 1683, Frankfort, p. 12), in a letter dated from Paris 7 April 1645, writes: 'On fait icy grand état du livre intitulé "Religio Medici." Cet auteur a de l'esprit. Il y a de gentilles choses dans ce livre,' &c. Browne's orthodoxy was vigorously assailed abroad for many years, and vigorously defended. The editor of the Paris edition (1644) of Merryweather's translation was convinced that Browne, though nominally a protestant, was in reality a Roman catholic; but the papal authorities judged otherwise, and placed the treatise in the 'Index Expurga-

torius.' Samuel Duncon, a quaker residing at Norwich, conceived the hope of inducing Browne to join the Society of Friends. It is not surprising that such divergence of opinion should have existed in regard to the purport of Browne's speculations; for the treatise appears to have been composed as a *tour de force* of intellectual agility, an attempt to combine daring scepticism with implicit faith in revelation. At the beginning of the treatise the author tells us that he was 'naturally inclined to that which misguided zeal terms superstition,' and that he 'could never hear the Ave Mary bell without an elevation.' After stating that he subscribes to the articles and observes the constitutions of the church of England, he adds: 'In brief, where the Scripture is silent the church is my text; where that speaks, 'tis but my comment; where there is a joint silence of both, I borrow not the rules of my religion from Rome or Geneva, but the dictates of my own reason.' He deprecates controversies in matters of religion, asserting that he has 'no taint or tincture' of heresy; after which announcement he proceeds with evident relish to discuss seeming absurdities in the scriptural narrative. In the course of the treatise he tells us much about himself. He professes to be absolutely free from national prejudices: 'all places, all airs, make unto me one country; I am in England everywhere and under any meridian.' The one object that excites his derision is the multitude, 'that numerous piece of monstrosity, which, taken asunder, seem men and the reasonable creatures of God, but, confused together, make but one great beast and a monstrosity more prodigious than Hydra.' For the sorrows of others he has quick sympathy, while he is so little afflicted by his own sufferings that he 'could lose an arm without a tear, and with a few groans be quartered into pieces.' He understands six languages, besides the patois of several provinces; he has seen many countries, and has studied their customs and polities; he is well versed in astronomy and botany; he has run through all systems of philosophy, but has found no rest in any. As 'death gives every fool gratis' the knowledge which is won in this life with sweat and vexation, he counts it absurd to take pride in his achievements. Like other great men of his time, Browne believed in planetary influence: 'At my nativity my ascendant was the watery sign of Scorpius; I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and I think I have a piece of that leaden planet in me.' He is not 'disposed for the mirth and galliardise of company,' yet in one dream he



can compose a whole comedy. Discouraging leisurely in this vein of whimsical semi-seriousness, from time to time he allows his imagination free scope, and embodies the loftiest thought in language of surpassing richness.

At the outbreak of the civil wars Browne's sympathies were entirely with the royalists. He was among the 432 principal citizens who in 1643 refused to contribute to the fund for regaining the town of Newcastle, but there is no evidence to show that he gave any active assistance to the king's cause. His great work, '*Pseudodoxia Epidemica, or Enquiries into very many received tenets and commonly presumed truths, which examined prove but Vulgar and Common Errors*,' appeared in 1646 (fol.) On the composition of this treatise, which contains an extraordinary amount of learning and research, he must have been engaged for many years. In the preface he apologises for having undertaken single-handed a work which well deserved 'the conjunction of many heads.' He knows how difficult it is to eradicate cherished beliefs from men's minds; but he does not despair of gaining a favourable hearing. His professional employment has been at once a hindrance and advantage in the pursuit of his investigations; for though physicians are led in the course of their professional practice to the discovery of many truths, they have not leisure to arrange their materials or make 'those infallible experiments and those assured determinations which the subject sometimes requireth.' He had originally determined to publish his treatise in Latin, but considering that his countrymen, especially the 'ingenuous gentry,' had a prior claim upon his services, he had abandoned his intention and written in English. Readers, however, must be prepared to find the style somewhat difficult; neologism is unavoidable in the conduct of such inquiries—besides, the writer is addressing not the illiterate many, but the discerning few. To modern readers '*Vulgar Errors*' presents an inexhaustible store of entertainment. The attainment of scientific truth was not for Browne the sole object; it is in the discussion itself that he delights, and the more marvellous a fable is, the more sedulously he applies himself to the investigation of its truth. Though he professed his anxiety to dispel popular superstitions, Browne was himself not a little imbued with the spirit of credulity. He believed in astrology, alchemy, witchcraft, and magic, and he never abandoned the Ptolemaic system of astronomy. The subject may perhaps have been suggested by a hint in Bacon's

chapter on the '*Idols of the Understanding*.' Both at home and abroad the treatise attracted immediate attention. In 1652 Alexander Ross published '*Arcana Microcosmi* . . . with a refutation of Dr. Browne's '*Vulgar Errors*,' the Lord Bacon's '*Natural History*,' and Dr. Harvey's Book "*De Generatione*," "*Comenius*," and others, &c.,' in which he shows amusing persistence in defending the absurdest of superstitions. John Robinson, a fellow-townsmen of Browne and a physician, passed some not unfriendly animadversions on '*Vulgar Errors*' in his '*Ventilatio Tranquilla*' appended to '*Endoxa*,' 1656 (enghlished in 1658). Isaac Gruter proposed to translate Browne's treatise into Latin, and addressed to him five letters (preserved in Rawlinson MS. D. 391) on the subject, but the translation was never accomplished.

Browne's fame for encyclopædic knowledge being now firmly established, his aid was frequently solicited by scholars engaged on scientific or antiquarian inquiries. The bulk of his correspondence has perished, but enough remains to show that he spared neither time nor trouble in answering inquiries addressed to him. One of his earliest correspondents was Dr. Henry Power, afterwards a noted physician of Halifax, to whom he addressed in 1647 a letter of advice as to the method to be pursued in the study of medicine. There is extant a letter of Power's to Browne, dated 15 Sept. 1648, from Christ's College, Cambridge, in which he expresses a desire to reside for a month or two at Norwich in order to have the advantage of Browne's personal guidance, for at Cambridge there are 'such few helpes' that he fears he will 'make but a lingering progresse.' Another of his correspondents was Theodore Jonas, a Lutheran minister residing in Iceland, who came yearly to England and, in gratitude for some professional directions against the leprosy, never failed before his return to visit Browne at Norwich. Sir Hamon L'Estrange, of Hunstanton, equally zealous as a naturalist and as a parliamentarian, showed his admiration of Browne by sending him in January 1653-4 eighty-five pages of manuscript '*Observations on the Pseudodoxia*,' (preserved in Sloane MS. 1839). His advice was sought in 1655 by a botanist of reputation, William How, who, after serving as an officer in a royalist cavalry regiment, had established himself as a physician, first in Lawrence Lane, and afterwards in Milk Street. By the death of Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich, in September 1656, Browne was deprived of a dear friend. He attended the bishop in his last illness. In 1658 Browne entered into correspondence

with John Evelyn and William Dugdale. The correspondence with Evelyn was begun at the request of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Robert Paston, created earl of Yarmouth in 1673. At this time (January 1657-8) Evelyn was preparing for publication a work to be entitled 'Elysium Britannicum,' and he was anxious to receive assistance from Browne. The tract, 'Of Garlands,' and perhaps the 'Observations on Grafting,' were written at Evelyn's request. Though only a few letters have been preserved, the correspondence appears to have been kept up for some years. In 'Sylva' Evelyn gives an extract from a letter which Browne addressed to him in 1664. The correspondence with Dugdale relates to the treatise 'On Embanking and Draining,' which Dugdale was then preparing for publication.

In 1658 appeared (1 vol. 8vo) 'Hydriotaphia. Urn Burial; or a Discourse of the Sepulchral Urns lately found in Norfolk' and 'The Garden of Cyrus; or the Quincuncial Lozenge, net-work plantations of the Ancients, artificially, naturally, mystically considered.' The former treatise is dedicated to Thomas Le Gros of Crostwick; the latter to Sir Nicholas Bacon of Gillingham. In 'Hydriotaphia' Browne discusses with great learning the burial-customs that have existed in various countries at various times. More than one quotation is made from Dante; he was among the very few men of his time who had read the 'Inferno.' The concluding chapter is a solemn homily on death and immortality, unsurpassed in literature for sustained majesty of eloquence. Lamb was an enthusiastic admirer of 'Hydriotaphia.' The 'Garden of Cyrus' is the most fantastic of Browne's writings. Beginning with the garden of Eden, he traces the history of horticulture down to the time of the Persian Cyrus, who is credited with having been the first to plant a quincunx, though Browne discovers the figure in the hanging gardens of Babylon, and supposes it to have been in use from the remotest antiquity. The consideration of a quincuncial arrangement in horticulture leads him to a disquisition on the mystical properties of the number five. He finds (in Coleridge's words) 'quincunxes in heaven above, quincunxes in earth below, quincunxes in the mind of man, quincunxes in tones, in optic nerves, in roots of trees, in leaves, in everything.' At the end of the 'Garden of Cyrus' Browne inserted a note disclaiming the authorship of a book called 'Nature's Cabinet unlocked,' which had been impudently published under his name.

Browne took a lively interest in the training of his children. His eldest son was

Edward [q. v.] Thomas, the second son, was sent in 1660 at the age of fourteen, unaccompanied, to travel in France. Among the Rawlinson MSS. (D. 391) are transcripts made by Mrs. Elizabeth Lyttleton of letters written by Browne to 'honest Tom' (as the address always runs) between December 1660 and January 1661-2. The postscript of one letter concludes: 'You may stay your stomach with little pastys sometimes in cold mornings, for I doubt sea larks will be too dear a collation and drawe too much wine down; be warie, for Rochelle was a place of too much good fellowship and a very drinking town, as I observed when I was there, more than other parts of France.' There appears to have been a perfect understanding between father and son. The youth joined the navy in 1664, and had a brief but brilliant career. He disappears from 1667. There are extant two of his letters to his father, written in May 1667, which prove him to have been a man of scholarly attainments as well as a gallant officer. Browne cherished the memory of his lost son, and often alludes to him in letters of later years. Whitefoot states that two of Browne's daughters were sent to France, but we have no account of their travels. In 1669 Browne's daughter Anne had been married to Edward Fairfax, grandson of Thomas, lord viscount Fairfax. She and her husband spent the Christmas of 1669 under her father's roof, and the visit was either prolonged or repeated, for the registers of St. Peter's, Norwich, contain entries of the birth and burial of their first child, Barker Fairfax, on 30 Aug. and 5 Sept. 1670.

An unfortunate practical illustration of Browne's credulity was given in 1664, when Amy Duny and Rose Cullender were arraigned for witchcraft before Sir Matthew Hale at Bury St. Edmunds. Browne, who was in court at the time of the trial, having been requested by the lord chief baron to give his opinion on the case, declared 'that the fits were natural, but heightened by the devils co-operating with the malice of the witches, at whose instance he did the villainies;' and he mentioned some similar cases that had lately occurred in Denmark. It is supposed that this expression of opinion helped in no slight degree to procure the poor women's conviction (HUTCHINSON, *Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, 118-20).

In December 1664 Browne was admitted socius honorarius of the College of Physicians, receiving his diploma on 6 July 1665. In 1666 he presented to the Royal Society some fossil bones found at Winterton in Norfolk. Two years afterwards he sent some informa-

tion on the natural history of Norfolk to Dr. Christopher Merrett, who was then contemplating a third and enlarged edition (which never appeared) of his 'Pinax Rerum Naturalium Britannicarum.' He also lent a number of coloured drawings to Ray, who acknowledged in his editions of Willoughby's 'Ornithology' and 'Ichthyology' the assistance that he had received from Browne, but was at no pains to return the drawings.

On 28 Sept. 1671, Charles II paid a state visit to Norwich. He was anxious to confer the dignity of knighthood as a memorial of the visit on one of the leading inhabitants. As the mayor declined the honour, Browne was knighted. Early in October Evelyn, who was staying at Euston as the guest of the Earl of Arlington, drove over with Sir Thomas Clifford to join the royal party at Norwich. His chief desire was to see Browne, and he has left a brief but interesting account of a visit paid to 'that famous scholar and physitian.' He found the house and garden 'a paradise and cabinet of rarities, and that of the best collections, especially medails, books, plants, and natural things.' He took particular notice of Browne's extensive collection of birds' eggs. After inspecting the rarities, he was conducted round the city by Browne, who pointed out to him whatever was worthy of observation. In the following year Browne bore personal evidence (in a note dated 20 July 1672) to the marvellous precocity of William Wotton [q. v.] He communicated in March 1672-3 to Anthony à Wood through Aubrey some notices concerning his former tutor, Dr. Lushington, and others; also some biographical particulars about himself. In answer to inquiries of Elias Ashmole respecting Dr. John Dee, he sent some curious information that he had derived from the alchemist's son, Dr. Arthur Dee, himself a firm believer in alchemy, who had resided at Norwich for many years.

Browne published nothing after 1658, but he appears to have had the intention of collecting his scattered manuscript tracts for publication. In the biographical notice of himself that he sent through Aubrey to Wood, he says that he had 'some "Miscellaneous Tracts" which may be published.' To the close of his life he continued to make observations and experiments. His last extant letter to his son Edward was written on 16 June 1682. It is a gossiping letter, relating to his daughter Elizabeth, who had married Captain George Lyttleton, and was settled in Guernsey. Dr. Edward Browne wrote on 3 Oct. to ask his father to 'thinke

of some effectuall cheape medicines for the hospitall.' A few days afterwards Browne was seized with a sharp attack of colic, to which he finally succumbed on 19 Oct., the day on which he completed his seventy-seventh year. He was buried in the church of St. Peter Mancroft at Norwich, where a mural monument was erected to his memory by his widow. In August 1840, while some workmen were digging a vault in the chancel of the church, his coffin-lid was broken open by a blow from a pickaxe. The bones were found to be in good preservation, and the fine auburn hair had not lost its freshness (*Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, 1847). On the brass coffin-plate was found a curious inscription (perhaps written by his son) which supplied matter for antiquarian controversy. His skull is now kept under a glass case in the museum at the Norwich hospital.

Browne left considerable property, both real and personal. On 2 Dec. 1679 he prepared a will, by which ample provision was made for his widow and his two unmarried daughters, Elizabeth and Frances. Elizabeth was married some time before his death to Captain Lyttleton. At the request of Dame Dorothy Browne 'Some Minutes for the Life of Sir Thomas Browne' were drawn up by his old and intimate friend the Rev. John Whitefoot, rector of Heigham. In these 'Minutes' we are told that Browne's 'stature was moderate, and habit of body neither fat nor lean, but εὐσαρκος.' He was simple in his dress, and 'kept himself always very warm, and thought it most safe so to do.' His modesty 'was visible in a natural habitual blush, which was increased upon the least occasion, and oft discovered without any observable cause.' He attended church very regularly and read the best English sermons, but had no taste for controversial divinity. He was liberal 'in his house entertainments and in his charity.' It has been already mentioned that he subscribed towards building a new library in Trinity College, Cambridge. Kennet (*Register*, p. 345) records another instance of his generosity—that he contributed 130*l.* towards the repairs of Christ Church, Oxford. From Rawlinson MS. D. 391 we learn that he gave 12*l.* 'towards the building of a new school in the college near Winton.'

Various writings of Browne were published posthumously. In 1684 appeared a collection of 'Miscellany Tracts,' 8vo, under the editorship of Archbishop Tenison, who states in the preface that he 'selected them out of many disordered papers and disposed them into such a method as they were capable of.'

These tracts chiefly consist of letters in reply to inquiries of correspondents. A copy that belonged to Wilkin contains a manuscript note by Evelyn: 'Most of these letters were addressed to Sir Nicholas Bacon.' The contents are: 1. 'Observations upon several Plants mentioned in Scripture.' 2. 'Of Garlands and Coronary or Garland Plants,' against which in Evelyn's copy is the note: 'This letter was written to me from Dr. Browne; more at large' in the Coronarie plants.' 3. 'Of the Fishes eaten by our Saviour with his Disciples after his Resurrection from the Dead.' 4. 'An Answer to certain Queries relating to Fishes, Birds, and Insects.' 5. 'Of Hawks and Falconry, ancient and modern.' 6. 'Of Cymbals,' &c. 7. 'Of Ropalic or Gradual Verses,' &c. 8. 'Of Languages, and particularly of the Saxon Tongue.' 9. 'Of Artificial Hills, Mounts, or Burrows in many parts of England,' addressed to 'E. D.,' an evident mistake for 'W. D.,' i.e. William Dugdale. 10. 'Of Troas,' &c. 11. 'Of the Answers of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos to Croesus, King of Lydia,' from which tract (as from a passage of 'Religio Medici') it appears that Browne believed in the satanic origin of oracles. 12. 'A Prophecy concerning the Future State of several Nations.' 13. 'Museum Clausum, or Bibliotheca Abscondita,' a whimsical *jeu d'esprit*, suggested (as Warburton supposed) by Rabelais' catalogue of the books in the library of St. Victor. These tracts were republished in the 1686 folio of Browne's works. The fine and solemn 'Letter to a Friend upon occasion of the death of his intimate friend' was issued in 1690 as a folio pamphlet by Dr. Edward Browne. It closes with a string of maxims which reappear with slight variations in 'Christian Morals.' A manuscript copy of the 'Letter,' differing largely from the printed text, is preserved in Sloane MS. 1862. In 1712 appeared 'Posthumous Works of the learned Sir Thomas Browne, knt., M.D., late of Norwich: printed from his original manuscripts,' &c. The volume opens with a short life of Browne, to which are appended Whitefoot's 'Minutes,' and the diploma given to Browne by the College of Physicians when he was chosen socius honorarius. The miscellanies embrace: 1. 'An Account of Island, *alias* Iceland, in the year 1662.' 2. 'Repertorium, or some Account and Monuments in the Cathedral Church of Norwich,' written in 1680. In the preface to the 1684 collection Archbishop Tenison, speaking of Browne's unpublished manuscripts, referred to this tract in the following terms: 'Amongst these manuscripts there

is one which gives a brief account of all the monuments of the cathedral of Norwich. It was written merely for private use, and the relations of the author expect such justice from those into whose hands some imperfect copies of it are fallen, that, without their consent first obtained, they forbear the publishing of it. The truth is, matter equal to the skill of the antiquary was not there afforded.' 3. 'Concerning some Urnes found in Brampton Field, Norfolk, ann. 1667,' a supplement to 'Urn Burial.' 4. 'Some Letters which pass'd between Mr. Dugdale and Dr. Browne, ann. 1658; a letter "Concerning the too nice curiosity of censuring the Present or judging into Future Dispensations;" a note "Upon reading Hudibras."' 5. 'A Letter to a Friend,' &c. (originally published in 1690). The first edition of 'Christian Morals' was published in 1716 by Archdeacon Jeffery. It is supposed that this treatise was intended as a continuation of 'Religio Medici.' A correspondent of the 'European Magazine' (xi. 89) found in a copy of the 1686 edition of Browne's works a manuscript note by White Kennet stating, on information derived from Mrs. Lyttleton, that when Tenison returned Browne's manuscripts to Dr. Edward Browne the choicest papers, which were a continuation of his 'Religio Medici,' could not be found. This note is supported by the statement of Jeffery in the preface, that the reason why the treatise had not been printed earlier was 'because it was unhappily lost by being mislaid among other manuscripts for which search was lately made in the presence of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, of which his grace, by letter, informed Mrs. Lyttleton when he sent the manuscript to her.' It may be assumed with certainty that Browne never intended 'Christian Morals' for publication in its present shape. Of all his works it is the weakest, and has the appearance of being a collection of fragmentary jottings from notebooks—a piece of patchwork. Of course it contains some noble passages, but too often the thought is thin and the language turgid.

The manuscripts of Browne and of his son and grandson, Dr. Edward Browne and Dr. Thomas Browne, were sold after the death of the grandson. Most of them were purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, and are now preserved in Sloane MSS. 1825-1923. A full list of these manuscripts is given by Wilkin at the end of the fourth volume of the 1835 edition of Browne. All the pieces in the collection that could be shown to be by Browne were printed by Wilkin. Among these are: 1. 'Account of Birds, Fish, and

other Animals found in Norfolk.' 2. 'Oratio Anniversaria Harveiana,' written to be delivered by his son. 3. 'On the Ostrich,' a paper drawn up for his son's use. 4. 'On Dreams,' a striking fragment. 5. 'Observations on Grafting,' probably written for Evelyn. 6. 'Hints and Extracts' (from commonplace books), set down for the use of his son. 'They are not trite or vulgar,' says Browne, 'and very few of them anywhere to be met with. I set them not down in order, but as memory, fancy, or occasional observation produced them; whereof you may take the pains to single out such as shall conduce unto your purpose.' 7. 'De Enecante Garrulo,' a quaint specimen of humorous invective. From memoranda in Sloane MS. 1843 it appears that Browne meditated writing (1) 'A Dialogue between an Inhabitant of the Earth and of the Moon,' and (2) 'A Dialogue between two Twins in the Womb concerning the world they were to come into.' In the fourth chapter of 'Urn Burial' he observes: 'A dialogue between two infants in the womb concerning the state of this world might handsomely illustrate our ignorance of the next, whereof methinks we yet discourse in Plato's den, and are but embryo philosophers.' Whether the dialogues were ever actually written is uncertain. A 'Conjectural Restoration of the lost Dialogue between two Twins, by Sir Thomas Browne,' was published in 1855 by B. Doxey. The 'Fragment on Mummies,' which Wilkin received without suspicion and printed in the fourth volume of Browne's Works (1835), was written by James Crossley. An anonymous manuscript play, called 'The Female Rebellion,' has been ascribed to Browne, without the slightest show of probability, by a correspondent of 'Notes and Queries' (5th ser. iii. 341-4). A few unpublished letters of Browne on professional subjects are preserved in private libraries (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Repts.*)

A very careful bibliography of 'Religio Medici' has been drawn up by Dr. Greenhill. He enumerates thirty-three English editions, ranging from 1642 to 1881. Of the Latin translation ten editions were published between 1644 and 1743; a Dutch translation appeared in 1665, and was reprinted in 1668 and 1683; a French translation, made from the Dutch, is dated 1668, and Watt mentions an edition in two volumes, 12mo, 1732; a German translation was published in 1680, and republished in 1746. In a letter to Aubrey, dated 14 March 1672-3, Browne states that the treatise had been already translated into high Dutch and Italian. No such Italian translation has been discovered.

Five manuscript copies of 'Religio Medici' are known (see GARDINER'S Preface to *Rel. Med.* 1845, p. vi note). 'Pseudodoxia Epidemica' was originally published (in pot folio) in 1646. The second edition, which is typographically the best, appeared in 1650. Two editions are dated 1658, one in folio, and the other (which includes 'Hydriotaphia' and 'The Garden of Cyrus') in quarto. The fifth edition, 1669, 4to, has a portrait of the author which bears little resemblance to the other portraits. The sixth edition, 1672, 4to, with a portrait by Van Hove, was the last that appeared in the author's lifetime, and contains his final corrections. A Dutch translation was published in 1668 by Gründahl, and a German translation in 1680 by Christian Knorr (Peganius). In the British Museum there is an Italian translation, in 2 vols. 12mo, published at Venice in 1737. The Italian translation was made (as we learn from the title-page) from the French; but the earliest French translation yet discovered is dated 1738. The first collective edition of Browne's works was published in 1686, fol. It contains everything that had been printed in his lifetime, together with the 'Miscellany Tracts' that Tenison had edited in 1683. 'Hydriotaphia' and the 'Garden of Cyrus,' originally published in 1658, reached their sixth edition in the folio of 1686. In 1736 Curll reprinted 'Hydriotaphia' and a portion of the 'Garden of Cyrus,' including in the same collection the tract on Brampton urns and the ninth of the miscellany tracts. No new edition of 'Hydriotaphia' appeared until 1822, when it was edited (with 'A Letter to a Friend' and 'Museum Clausum') by James Crossley. The 'Garden of Cyrus' is included in Wilkin's editions of Browne's complete works; it has not been published in a separate form. Of a 'Letter to a Friend' Dr. Greenhill describes eleven editions, ranging from 1690 to 1869; his own edition, accompanying 'Religio Medici' (1881), is the twelfth. The 'Posthumous Works,' 1712, were not reissued in a separate form, but are included in Wilkin's editions. 'Christian Morals,' 1716, was republished in 1756, with a life of Browne by Dr. Johnson and notes. The editions of 1761 and 1765 are merely the unsold copies (with fresh title-pages) of the 1756 edition. 'Christian Morals' has been appended to several modern editions of 'Religio Medici.' The only complete collection of Browne's works is Pickering's edition in four volumes, 1835-6, edited by Simon Wilkin. This is a worthy edition of a great English classic. Wilkin spent twelve years in collecting and arranging his material; he spared himself no trouble and left no source of

information unexplored. The three-volume reprint, 1852, of Wilkin's edition is far inferior to the 1835 edition; some of the most interesting portions of the correspondence and several miscellaneous pieces are omitted. Dr. Greenhill's edition of 'Religio Medici,' 1881, displays great care and learning.

Portraits of Browne are preserved in the Royal College of Physicians, in the vestry of St. Peter's, Norwich, and at Oxford.

[Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), iv. 56-9; Wood's *Fasti*, i. 426, 461, 498; *Life*, and Whitefoot's *Minutes*, prefixed to *Posthumous Works*, 1712; *Life* by Dr. Johnson and *Supplementary Memoir* by Simon Wilkin; Blomefield's *Norfolk*, iii. 414, iv. 193-194; *Works* (ed. Wilkin), 1835-6; Greenhill's editions of *Religio Medici*, 1881 and 1883; Coleridge's *Literary Remains*, i. 241-8, ii. 398; *Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute*, 1847; *The Palatine Note-book*, vol. iii. No. 34.]

A. H. B.

**BROWNE, THOMAS** (1672-1710), physician, was the son of Dr. Edward Browne [q. v.], president of the College of Physicians, and thus grandson of the author of 'Religio Medici.' He was born in London, and baptised on 21 Jan. 1672-3. His childhood was spent with his grandfather at Norwich, as is known from the numerous references to 'Tomey' in Sir T. Browne's correspondence with his son. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, and proceeded M.B. in 1695, M.D. 1700. He was admitted a candidate of the College of Physicians on 30 Sept. 1704, and a fellow on 30 Sept. 1707 (MUNK). In 1698 he married his cousin Alethea, daughter of Henry Fairfax, but had no issue. He inherited his father's estate at Northfleet, Kent, and (according to a statement in Le Neve's pedigree of the Brownes, printed in Wilkin's 'Life and Works of Sir T. Browne') died in 1710, in consequence of a fall from his horse. Browne was not eminent as a physician, and what interest attaches to his memory is chiefly through his family connections. He wrote, however, a curious account of an antiquarian tour through England in company with Dr. Robert Plot (historian of Oxfordshire, &c.), which exists in manuscript in the British Museum (Sloane 1899), and is printed in Wilkin's work above cited.

[Wilkin's *Life and Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, London, 1836, i.; Munk's *Coll. of Phys.* 2nd ed. ii. 18.]

J. F. P.

**BROWNE, THOMAS** (1708?-1780), Garter king-of-arms, the second son of John Browne of Ashbourne, Derbyshire, became Bluemantle pursuivant in 1737, Lancaster herald in 1743, Norroy king-of-arms in 1761,

Clarenceux in 1773, and Garter in 1774. He was a most eminent land surveyor, and was called 'Sense Browne,' to distinguish him from his contemporary, Lancelot Brown [q. v.], who was usually called 'Capability Brown.' At first he resided at his seat of Little Wimley, near Stevenage, Hertfordshire, which he received with his wife; afterwards he removed to Camville Place, Essendon, in that county. But he died at his town house in St. James's Street (now called Great James Street), Bedford Row, on 22 Feb. 1780. His portrait has been engraved by W. Dickinson, from a painting by N. Dance.

[Noble's *College of Arms*, 394, 395, 415, 422, 439; Evans's *Cat. of Engraved Portraits*, 13196; Bromley's *Cat. of Engraved Portraits*, 340; *Gent. Mag.* i. 103.]

T. C.

**BROWNE, WILLIAM** (1591-1643?), poet, second son of Thomas Browne, who is supposed by Prince to have belonged to the knightly family of the Brownes of Browne flash in the parish of Langtree, near Great Torrington, Devonshire, was born at Tavistock in 1591. Wood states that he was educated at the grammar school of his native town, and 'about the beginning of the reign of James I' was sent to Exeter College, Oxford. On leaving Oxford (without a degree) he entered himself at Clifford's Inn, whence he migrated (November 1611) to the Inner Temple. A certain William Browne was granted on 18 April 1615 the place of pursuivant of wards and liveries during life; but we cannot be sure that it was the poet who received the sinecure, for at this time there were other William Brownes belonging to the Inner Temple. A William Browne of Chichester was admitted student in November 1588, and another of 'Walcott, Northants,' in November 1579 (*Students of the Inner Temple*, 1571-1625, pp. 32, 57). Browne's earliest publication was an elegy on Prince Henry, who died in November 1612. It was printed in 1613, with an elegy by Christopher Brooke [q. v.], in a small quarto, entitled *Two Elegies, consecrated to the never-dying memorie of the most worthily admyred: most hartily loued; and generally bewayled Prince, Henry Prince of Wales,* 17 leaves. There is a manuscript copy of this elegy in the Bodleian. It was afterwards introduced, in a somewhat altered form, into the fifth song of the first book of 'Britannia's Pastorals.' The first book of the 'Pastorals' appears to have been composed before the poet had attained his twentieth year; for in the fifth song he writes—

O how (methinkes) the impes of Mne me bring  
Dewes of Invention from their sacred spring!  
Here could I spend that spring of Poesie  
Which not twice ten sunnes have bestow'd on me.

The curiously engraved title-page of the first edition of book i., fol., bears no date, but the address to the reader is dated 'From the Inner Temple, June the 18, 1613.' Prefixed are commendatory verses (in Latin, Greek, and English) by Drayton, Selden, Christopher Brooke, and others; and the book is dedicated to Edward, lord Zouch. In 1616 appeared the second book, with a dedicatory sonnet to William, earl of Pembroke, and commendatory verses by John Glanvill, John Davies of Hereford, Wither, Ben Jonson, and others. The two books were republished in one vol. 8vo in 1625. A copy of the edition of 1625, containing manuscript additional commendatory verses by friends of the poet, was in the possession of Beloe, who printed the whole of the manuscript matter in the sixth volume of his 'Anecdotes of Literature.' The third book of the 'Pastorals' was not published in the author's lifetime; but Beriah Botfield [q.v.], while engaged in collecting materials for his work on 'Cathedral Libraries,' discovered a manuscript copy of it in the library of Salisbury Cathedral. In 1852 the manuscript was printed for the Percy Society, and it has since been reprinted in Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt's collective edition of Browne's works (2 vols. 1868). As the third book is much inferior to the first and second books, doubts were cast on its authenticity at the time of the publication of the manuscript; but this inferiority is probably due to the fact that the third book is in an unrevised state. 'Britannia's Pastorals' were greatly applauded at the time of their first appearance, and still hold a distinguished place in English poetry. Browne was an ardent admirer of Spenser, to whose memory he pays an eloquent tribute in the first song of the second book. Many passages are written in close imitation of Spenser, and it was from the study of the 'Faërie Queene' that he drew his fondness for allegory. The narrative is very vague and shadowy; and it is doubtful whether there is some real story of love troubles, or whether the characters are wholly fictitious. Browne is at his best when he leaves the narrative to take care of itself and indulges in pastoral descriptions. Few have shown a truer appreciation for the sights and sounds of the country, though his descriptions are sometimes weakened by the introduction of crowded details. He is particularly fond of drawing similes from the homeliest objects, and his quaint simplicity of imagery is not the least of his charms. The baldness of the narrative and the tediousness of the allegorising are forgotten when he sings of the trim hedgerows and garden walks of his native Devon. Browne has always been a favourite

with the poets. Passages in Milton's 'L'Allegro' are imitated from the 'Pastorals'; Keats's early poems show clear traces of Browne's influence; and Mrs. Browning took some lines from 'Britannia's Pastorals' as the motto of her 'Vision of the Poets.' Browne was indeed, as Michael Drayton says of him in the epistle to Henry Reynolds, a 'rightly born poet.' There is preserved (in the library of Alfred H. Huth) a copy of the first edition of 'Britannia's Pastorals' containing notes in the handwriting of Milton. The volume was submitted to the scrutiny of experts, and there is no reason for doubting the authenticity of the notes, which are meagre and of no great interest. In 1614 appeared 'The Shepherds Pipe,' small 8vo, dedicated to Edward, lord Zouch. It contains seven eclogues by Browne, to which are appended eclogues by Christopher Brooke, Wither, and Davies of Hereford. In the first of Browne's eclogues is incorporated the story of Jonathas by Occleve, then printed for the first time. At the end of the eclogue Browne makes the following note:—'As this shall please I may be drawne to publish the rest of his workes, being all perfect in my hands.' Unfortunately the manuscripts were never published. The fourth eclogue is a smoothly written elegy (which may have supplied Milton with hints for 'Lycidas') on the death of Thomas Manwood, son of Sir Peter Manwood. In the fifth eclogue the poet addresses Christopher Brooke, urging him to write poetry of a higher strain. After the seventh eclogue there is a second title-page, 'Other Eglogues: by Mr. Brooke, Mr. Wither, and Mr. Davies.' The first piece is inscribed to Browne by Brooke; in the second (which is by Wither) Brooke and Browne are figured under the names of Cuttie and Willy; the third, which is by Davies, is entitled 'An Eclogue between young Willy the singer of his native Pastorals and old Wernocke his friend.' Then follows a third title-page, 'Another Eclogue by Mr. George Wither. Dedicated to his truly louing and worthy friend, Mr. W. Browne.' Browne's next work was the 'Inner Temple Masque,' on the subject of Ulysses and Circe, written to be represented by the members of that society on 13 Jan. 1614-15. As the books of the Inner Temple contain no mention of any expenses incurred by the performance, it is probable that the arrangements for the representation of the masque were at the last moment countermanded. The piece was printed for the first time in Davies's edition of Browne's works (3 vols. 1772), from a manuscript in Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Warton suggests, with little show of plausibility, that the 'Inner

Temple Masque' supplied Milton with 'the idea of a masque on the subject of Comus.'

Few facts are known about Browne's personal history. From Harleian MS. 6164 Sir Egerton Brydges discovered that he married the daughter of Sir Thomas Eversfield of Den, near Horsham, and had two sons, who died in infancy. He survived his wife and wrote an epitaph on her. At the beginning of 1624 he returned to Exeter College and became tutor to the Hon. Robert Dormer, afterwards earl of Carnarvon. In the 'Matriculation Book' is the entry, '30 Ap. 1624, William Browne, son of Thomas Browne, gentleman, of Tavistock, matriculated, age 33.' It is possible (though improbable) that he did not matriculate during his earlier residence. On 25 Aug. 1624 he received permission to be created master of arts, but the degree was not actually conferred until the 16th of the following November. In the public register of the university he is styled 'vir omni humana literarum et bonarum artium cognitione instructus.' Wood states that he was afterwards received into the family of the Herberts at Wilton, where he 'got wealth and purchased an estate.' In 1629 Samuel Austin [q. v.] of Lostwithiel dedicated to Browne, jointly with Drayton and Serjeant Pollexfen, the second book of his 'Urania.' Ashmole MS. 36 contains a copy of verses by Abraham Holland addressed 'To my honest father M. Michael Drayton and my new yet loved friend Mr. Will. Browne.' In November 1640 Browne was residing at Dorking, whence he addressed a letter (preserved in Ashmole MS. 830) to Sir Benjamin Ruddyard. Among the Lansdowne MSS. (No. 777) is a collection of poems by Browne, first printed at the Lee Priory Press in 1815. The collection includes a series of fourteen sonnets to 'Cœlia,' in which the writer seems to refer to the death of his wife and to his second wooing; some tender epistles and elegies; six 'Visions,' on the model of Du Bellay; jocular and bacchanalian verses; epigrams and epitaphs. Among the epitaphs are found the famous lines 'Underneath this sable herse,' &c., which have been commonly attributed, on no better authority than Peter Whalley, to Ben Jonson. In 'Notes and Queries,' 1st ser. iii. 262, it was pointed out that in Aubrey's 'Memoires of naturall remarques in Wilts' the lines are stated to have been 'made by Mr. Willia Browne, who wrote the Pastoralls, and they are inserted there.' No new information was elicited by the recent discussion in the pages of the 'Academy' (Nos. 608-10, and 617). The Lansdowne MS. makes the epitaph consist of twelve lines; and in this

form it is found in 'Poems written by the Right Honourable William, Earl of Pembroke' (1660) and Osborne's 'Traditional Memoirs of James I.' The epitaph certainly reads better as a single sextain; and Hazlitt makes the plausible suggestion, that 'whoever composed the original sextain . . . the addition is the work of another pen, namely, Lord Pembroke's.' Among the humorous poems in the Lansdowne MS. is the well-known 'Lydford Journey.' Prince in the 'Worthies of Devon' makes the poem consist of sixteen verses. The manuscript gives seventeen verses; and the copy in Thomas Westcote's 'View of Devonshire in 1630' (Exeter, 1845) contains nineteen verses. Comparing Westcote's text with the text of the Lansdowne MS., we get twenty verses (vide *Academy*, No. 623, p. 262).

After 1640 we hear no more of Browne. In the register of Tavistock, under date 27 March 1643, is an entry, 'William Browne was buried' (*Works*, ed. Hazlitt, i. xxxviii); but, as the name is so common, we cannot be sure that this William Browne was the poet. Another William Browne died at Ottery St. Mary in December 1645. From a passage in Carpenter's 'Geographia' (1635, p. 263) it has been frequently asserted that Browne intended to write a history of English poetry from the earliest times to his own day; but Carpenter's words, which are usually quoted at second hand and without reference to the context, do not bear this interpretation. What he says is: 'Many inferior faculties are yet left, wherein our Devon hath displayed her abilities as well as in the former, as in Philosophers, Historians, Oratours, and Poets, the blazoning of whom to the life, especially the last, I had rather leave to my worthy friend Mr. W. Browne, who, as hee hath already honoured his countrie in his elegant and sweet Pastoralls, no question will easily bee intreated a little farther to grace it by drawing out the line of his Poeticke Auncasters beginning in Josephus Iscanus and ending in himselfe.' Wood, making no reference to Carpenter, writes: 'So was he expected and also intreated, a little farther to grace it [sc. his country] by drawing out the line of his poetic ancestors beginning in Josephus Iscanus and ending in himself; but whether ever published, *having been all or mostly written as 'twas said*, I know not.' Whether there is any truth or not in the italicised words, it is certain that the work would have been merely an account of Devonshire writers, not a complete survey of English poetry. Browne was a good antiquarian. In a marginal note at the beginning of the first book of 'Britannia's Pastorals' he corrects a passage



in the printed copy of William of Malmesbury from a manuscript copy in the hands of his 'very learned friend Mr. Selden.' Michael Drayton in the Epistle to Henry Reynolds speaks of Browne as one of his 'dear companions' and 'bosom friends.' To the second edition of the 'Polyolbion' (1622) Browne prefixed a copy of laudatory verses; and Drayton showed his respect for Browne by dedicating to him an elegy. Christopher Brooke's 'Ghost of Richard the Third,' 1614, and the later editions of Overbury's 'Wife,' contain poetical tributes by Browne, to whom may be safely assigned the commendatory verses, bearing the signature 'W. B.,' prefixed to Massinger's 'Duke of Millaine,' (1623) and 'Bondman' (1624). Browne was also a contributor to 'Epithalamia Oxoniensia,' 1625. Like his friend Michael Drayton, whom he resembled in many respects, Browne possessed a gentleness and simplicity of character which secured him the affection and admiration of his contemporaries. Prince tells us that 'he had a great mind in a little body.' Whether this description is to be taken merely as a flower of speech, or whether the poet was of short stature, it would be difficult to determine.

Browne's works were edited in 1772, 3 vols. 12mo, by Thomas Davies the bookseller. The poems in Lansdowne MS. 777 were first printed by Sir Egerton Brydges at the Lee Priory Press. In 1868 a complete edition of Browne's works was edited for the Roxburghe Club, in 2 vols. 4to, by Mr. W. Carew Hazlitt.

[Memoir by W. C. Hazlitt prefixed to vol. i. of Browne's works, ed. 1868; Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), ii. 364-7; Wood's *Fasti*, i. 419; Boase's *Reg. Exeter Coll. Oxon.*; Prince's *Worthies of Devon*; Carpenter's *Geographia*, 1635, p. 263; Beloe's *Anecdotes*, vi. 58-85; Warton's *Hist. of English Poetry*, ed. 1871, iii. 321; *Retrospective Review*, ii. 149; Corser's *Collectanea*.] A. H. B.

**BROWNE, WILLIAM** (1628-1678), botanist, was born at Oxford, and trained at that university, where he graduated B.A. on 2 Nov. 1647, being described as of Magdalen College. On 2 July 1652 he was one of the examiners of Anthony à Wood for B.A. Conjointly with Dr. P. Stephen, principal of Magdalen Hall, he edited a new edition of Bobart's 'Catalogue of the Oxford Garden.' This is notable as being the first botanical book issued in this country which cites the pages of authors quoted. He took the degree of B.D. on 8 July 1665, and preached one of the university sermons at St. Mary's on 22 Aug. 1671. He died suddenly on 25 March 1678, and was buried in the outer chapel

of Magdalen College, of which he was senior fellow.

[Wood's *Fasti* (Bliss), ii. 104, 282; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss) *Life*, xx, lxx; Pulteney's *Biog. Sketches of Botany* (1790), i. 166-9.]  
B. D. J.

**BROWNE, SIR WILLIAM** (1692-1774), physician, was born in the county of Durham in 1692, and was the son of a physician. He entered Peterhouse, Cambridge, in 1707; graduated B.A. 1711, and M.A. 1714. In 1716, having received a license from the university, he began to practise medicine at Lynn, Norfolk, where he lived for over thirty years. He was considered to be eccentric, but he succeeded in making a fortune, and in 1749 he moved to London, where he lived for the rest of his life in Queen Square, Bloomsbury. In 1721 he took his M.D. degree at Cambridge. In 1725 he was admitted a candidate at the College of Physicians, and in the next year a fellow. On 1 March 1738-9 he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1748 he was knighted through the interest of the Duke of Montagu. After settling in London he passed through the various offices of the College of Physicians, and in 1765 and 1766 was president. At this time there was a violent dispute between the college and the licentiates. Browne was a defender of the privileges of the universities, and had offended the licentiates by a pamphlet in the dispute with Dr. Schomburgk (a 'Vindication of the Royal College of Physicians,' 1753). Foote caricatured him on the stage in his farce 'The Devil on Two Sticks.' Browne sent Foote a card complimenting him on his accuracy, but sending his own muff to complete the likeness. He found it difficult to maintain his dignity at the college, and on one occasion, when he was holding the comitia, the licentiates forced their way tumultuously into the room. Resolving to avoid such an affront in future, he determined to resign his office instead of holding it for the usual term of five years. On quitting the chair he delivered a humorous address, which was published in Latin and English. In this he declared that he had found fortune in the country, honour in the college, and now proposed to find pleasure at the medicinal springs. He accordingly went to Bath, where he called upon Warburton at Prior Park. Warburton gives a ludicrous description of the old gentleman, with his muff, his Horace, and his spy-glass, who showed all the alacrity of a boy both in body and mind. He returned to London, where, on St. Luke's day 1771, he appeared

at Batson's coffee-house in a laced coat and fringed gloves to show himself to the lord mayor. He explained his healthy appearance by saying that he had neither wife nor debts. His wife had died on 25 July 1763, in her sixty-fourth year. Browne died on 10 March 1774. He was buried at Hillington, Norfolk, under a Latin epitaph written by himself. He left a will profusely interlarded with Greek and Latin, and directed that his Elzevir Horace should be placed on his coffin. He left three gold medals worth five guineas each to be given to undergraduates at Cambridge for Greek and Latin odes and epigrams. He also founded a scholarship of twenty guineas a year, the holder of which was to remove to Peterhouse.

Browne's only daughter Mary was second wife of William Folkes, brother of Martin Folkes, president of the Royal Society. In 1767 he presented his picture by Hudson to the College of Physicians.

Browne's works are as follows: 1. 'Translation of Dr. Gregory's Elements of Catoptrics and Dioptrics (with some additions),' 1715 and 1735. 2. 'Two Odes in imitation of Horace,' 1763 and 1765; the second written in 1741 on Sir Robert Walpole ceasing to be minister, and dedicated to the Earl of Orford, from whose family he had received many favours. 3. 'Opuscula varii utriusque linguae,' 1765 (containing the Harveian oration for 1751, also published separately at the time). 4. 'Appendix altera ad opuscula,' his farewell oration, also published in English, 1768. 5. 'Fragmentum Isaaci Hawkins Browne, arm., sive Anti-Bolingbrotius,' translated for a second 'Religio Medici,' 1768 (the Latin of I. H. Browne from the poems published by his son in 1768, with English by W. B.). 6. 'Fragmentum completum,' 1769 (continuation of the last in Latin and English by W. B.). 7. 'Appendix ad Opuscula' (a Latin ode with English translations), 1770. 8. 'A Proposal on our Coin, to remedy all Present and prevent all Future Disorders,' 1771 (dedicated to the memory of Speaker Onslow). 9. 'A New Year's Gift, a Problem and Demonstration on the Thirty-nine Articles' (explaining difficulties which had occurred to him on having to sign the articles at Cambridge), 1772. 10. 'The Pill-plot, to Dr. Ward, a quack of merry memory,' 1772 (written at Lynn in 1734). 11. 'Corrections in Verse from the Father of the College on Son Cadogan's Gout Dissertation, containing False Physic, False Logic, False Philosophy,' 1772. 12. 'Speech on the Royal Society, recommending Mathematics as the paramount Qualification for their Chair,'

1772. 13. 'Elogy and Address,' 1773. 14. 'Latin Version of the Book of Job' (unfinished).

Browne's best known production is probably the Cambridge answer to the much better Oxford epigram upon George I's present of Bishop Moore's library to the university of Cambridge:—

The king to Oxford sent a troop of horse,  
For tories own no argument but force;  
With equal care to Cambridge books he sent,  
For whigs allow no force but argument.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. ii. 95; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. iii. 315-30; Letters from a late Eminent Prelate, p. 404.] L. S.

**BROWNE, WILLIAM (1748-1825)**, gem and seal engraver, obtained the patronage of Catherine II, empress of Russia, who gave him much employment and appointed him her 'gem sculptor.' In 1788 he was living in Paris, where he worked for the royal family, but in the outbreak of the revolution in the following year returned to England. He was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy between 1770 and 1823 of classical heads and portraits. Browne's talents met with but little recognition in his own country, and the finest specimens of his art were sent to Russia. Some of his portraits of eminent persons are in the royal collection at Windsor. He died in John Street, Fitzroy Square, 20 July 1825, aged 77.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878); MS. Notes in British Museum.] L. F.

**BROWNE, WILLIAM GEORGE (1768-1813)**, oriental traveller, was born in London on 25 July 1768, and descended from an old Cumberland family. He was educated privately until entering at Oriel College, Oxford, where, receiving 'no encouragement and little assistance in his academical studies,' he diligently strove to educate himself. After leaving Oxford (B.A. 1789) he for a time pursued the study of the law, which he relinquished upon becoming independent by his father's death. His earnest though sedate temper was deeply stirred by the French revolution. He reprinted at his own expense a portion of Buchanan's treatise 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos,' and other political tracts, and seemed inclined to a public career, when his thoughts were diverted into a new channel by reading Bruce's travels and the first report of the African Association, and he resolved to devote himself to the exploration of Africa. Among his qualifications he enumerates 'a good constitution, though by no means robust, steadiness of purpose, much indifference to personal accommodations and

enjoyments, together with a degree of patience which could endure reverses and disappointments without murmuring.' He also possessed a fair acquaintance with the classics, and an elementary knowledge of chemistry, botany, and mineralogy. He arrived at Alexandria in January 1792, and after two months' residence proceeded westwards along the coast to visit the ruins at Siwah, which, with a candour rare among explorers, he pronounced not to be the remains of the temple of Jupiter Ammon. Rennell, who differed from him on this question, remarks that Browne's Ammonian expedition involved much more personal risk than Alexander's. He subsequently spent some time at Cairo, studying Arabic and investigating the political and social condition of the country, and visited the principal remains of Egyptian antiquity, now familiar, but in his time little known, to Europeans. Being prevented by war from entering Nubia, he turned aside to the vast Roman quarries at Cosseir on the Red Sea, which he explored in the disguise of an oriental. The war still continuing, he determined to accompany the great Soudan caravan to Darfur, a country not previously described by any European, from which he hoped to penetrate into Abyssinia. After encountering great hardships he reached Darfur in July 1793, only to fall sick of dysentery, to be robbed of most of his property, and to be detained by the sultan. He was not, however, imprisoned or personally ill-treated, and employed his enforced residence in examining the character and productions of the uninviting country, solacing his *ennui* by the education of two young lions. At length the sultan was induced to dismiss him by the fear of reprisals on Darfurian merchants in Egypt, and Browne returned with the caravan of 1796, having made no remarkable discoveries of his own, but having gained much information, especially on the course of the Nile, the correctness of which has been established by subsequent research. Having journeyed over Syria and through Asia Minor to Constantinople, he arrived in England in 1798, and published an account of his travels in 1800. The unfavourable reception of this valuable work was chiefly owing to the defects of the writer's style. As a traveller Browne is not only observant but intelligent and judicious, but his good sense deserts him when he takes the pen in hand, and he becomes intolerably affected and pedantic. His enthusiasm is unaccompanied by fancy or imagination, and his faithful registry of observations and occurrences is rarely enlivened by any gleam of descriptive power.

His work was further prejudiced in the eyes of the public by the prominence given to physiological details and an eccentric encomium of eastern manners and customs at the expense of the civilisation of Europe. There is, nevertheless, an element of reason in Browne's paradox, and his favourable judgment of orientals after all he had undergone at their hands says much for his good temper and philosophic candour.

From 1800 to 1802 Browne travelled again in Turkey and the Levant generally, and collected much valuable information, partially published after his death in Walpole's 'Travels in various Countries of the East.' He spent the next ten years in England, 'leading the life of a scholar and recluse in the vast metropolis,' but intimate with several men of similar tastes, especially Smithson Tennant, the Cambridge professor of chemistry, who speaks of his 'soothing, romantic evening conversations.' In 1812 he again left England with the object of penetrating into Tartary by way of Persia. Travelling through Asia Minor and visiting Armenia, he proceeded in safety as far as Tabriz, which he left for Teheran towards the end of the summer of 1813, accompanied by two servants. According to one account these men returned a few days afterwards, declaring that Browne had been murdered by banditti. According to another, the discovery was made by the mehmandar, or officer charged to insure his safety, whom Browne had unfortunately preceded. His body could not be recovered, but his effects, excepting his money, were restored to the English ambassador, and after some time his bones, or what were represented as such, were brought to Tabriz and honourably interred. There seems no good reason for the suspicions entertained of the Persian government, and it remains a question whether the motive of the murder was plunder or fanaticism exasperated by Browne's imprudence in wearing a Turkish dress.

Browne is described as grave and saturnine, 'with a demeanour,' says Beloe, 'precisely that of a Turk of the better order.' Beneath this reserve he concealed an ardent enthusiasm, his attachments were warm and durable, he acted from the highest principles of honour, and was capable of great generosity and kindness. In politics he was a republican, in religion a free-thinker. His intellectual endowments were rather solid than shining, but he possessed in an eminent degree two of the traveller's most essential qualifications, exactness and veracity.

[Browne's Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, 1800; 'Walpole's Travels in various

Countries of the East, 1820; Beloe's Sexagenarian, vol. ii.] R. G.

**BROWNING, ELIZABETH BARRETT** (1806-1861), poetess, was born at Coxhoe Hall, in the parish of Kelloe, Durham, on 6 March 1806. She was the eldest daughter of Edward Moulton, and was christened by the names of Elizabeth Barrett. Her parents were married at Gosforth church, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Not long afterwards Mr. Moulton, himself succeeding to some property, took the name of Barrett. In after times Mrs. Browning signed herself at length as Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Her mother was Mary Graham, the daughter of a Mr. Graham, afterwards known as Graham Clarke of Feltham in Northumberland. Soon after the child's birth her parents brought her southwards to Hope End, near Ledbury in Herefordshire, where Mr. Barrett possessed a considerable estate, and had built himself a country house, with Moorish windows and turrets. It is described by one of his family as standing in a lovely park among trees. The house, too, was very beautiful. The great hall had an organ in it. 'Elizabeth's room' was a lofty chamber with a stained-glass window. Little Elizabeth used to sit propped against the wall with her hair falling all about her face, a childlike fairy figure. Elizabeth was famed among the children for her skill with her white roses; she had a bower of her own all overgrown with their sprays. The roses are still blooming for the readers of the 'Lost Bower,' 'clear as once beneath the sunshine.'

Another favourite device of the child's was that of a man of flowers laid out in beds upon the lawn; a huge giant wrought of spade, 'eyes of gentianella's azure, staring, winking at the skies' (see 'Hector in the Garden'). Elizabeth's gift for learning was extraordinary; at eight years old she had a tutor and could read Homer in the original, holding her book in one hand and nursing her doll on the other arm. She has said herself that in those days 'the Greeks were her demi-gods.' 'She dreamed more of Agamemnon than of Moses her black pony.' At the same age she too began to write poems. When she was thirteen her epic of the 'Battle of Marathon' was written in four books, and her father had it printed in 1819, issuing it in 1820; 'papa was bent upon spoiling me,' she writes. A cousin remembers an ode, which the girl recited to her father on his birthday about this time. This cousin used to pay visits to Hope End, where their common grandmother would also come and stay. The old lady did not approve of these

readings and writings, and used to say she had far rather see Elizabeth's hemming more carefully finished off than hear of all this Greek. Elizabeth was growing up meanwhile under happy influences. She had brothers and sisters in her home, her life was not all study, she had the best of company, that of happy children, as well as of all bright and natural things. She was fond of riding, she loved her gardens, her woodland playground. As she grew older she used to drive a pony and go further afield. A child of those days flying in terror along one of these steep Herefordshire lanes, perhaps frightened by a cow's horns beyond the hedge, still describes being overtaken by a young girl in a pony carriage with a pale spiritual face and a profusion of dark curls, who suddenly caught her up into safety and drove rapidly away with her. All these scenes are turned to account in 'Aurora Leigh.' One day, when Elizabeth was about fifteen, the young girl, impatient for her ride, tried to saddle her pony alone, in a field, and fell with the saddle upon her, in some way injuring her spine so seriously that she was for years upon her back.

She was about twenty when her mother's last illness began, and at the same time some money catastrophe (the result of other people's misdeeds) overtook Mr. Barrett. He would not allow his wife to be troubled or told of this crisis in his affairs, and compounded at an enormous cost with his creditors, materially diminishing his income for life, so as to put off any change in the ways at Hope End until change could trouble the sick lady no more. After Mrs. Barrett's death, when Elizabeth was a little over twenty, they came away, leaving Hope End among the hills for ever. 'Beautiful, beautiful hills,' Miss Barrett wrote long afterwards from her closed sick room in London, 'and yet not for the whole world's beauty would I stand among the sunshine and shadow of them any more: it would be a mockery, like the taking back of a broken flower to its stalk' (see *Letters of E. B. Browning to R. H. Horne*).

The family spent two years at Sidmouth and then came to London, where Mr. Barrett bought a house at 74 Gloucester Place. Elizabeth Barrett published the 'Essay on Mind' at twenty years of age (1826), 'Prometheus' and other poems at twenty-six; she was twenty-seven when the 'Seraphim' came out. Her continued delicacy kept her for months at a time a prisoner to her room, but she was becoming known to the world. 'Prometheus' is reviewed in the 'Quarterly Review' for 1840, and there Miss Barrett's name comes second among a list of the most

accomplished women of those days. Her noble poem on Cowper's grave was republished with the 'Seraphim,' on which (whatever her later opinion may have been) she at the time seems to have set small count; all the remaining copies of the book being locked away, she writes, in the 'wardrobe in her father's bedroom,' entombed as safely as *Oedipus* among the olives. In a copy of this book, which belonged to the late J. Dykes Campbell, there is an added stanza to 'The Image of God,' which she never printed, and many faint corrections in her delicate handwriting. From Gloucester Place Miss Barrett went an unwilling exile for her health's sake to Torquay, where the tragedy occurred which 'gave a nightmare to her life for ever.' Her brother had come to see her to seek comfort for trouble of his own, when he was accidentally drowned in Babbicombe Bay, under circumstances of torturing suspense, which added to the shock. All that year the sea beating upon the shore sounded to her as a dirge, she says, in a letter to Miss Mitford. It was long before Miss Barrett's health was sufficiently restored to allow of her being brought home to Gloucester Place, where many years passed away in the confinement of a sick room, to which few besides the members of her own family were admitted. Among these exceptions were to be found Miss Mitford, who would travel forty miles to see her for an hour, Mrs. Jameson, and above all Mr. Kenyon, the 'friend and dearest cousin' to whom she afterwards dedicated '*Aurora Leigh*.' Mr. Kenyon had an almost fatherly affection for her, and from the first recognised his young relative's genius. He was her constant visitor and link with the outside world. As Miss Barrett lay on her couch with her dog Flush at her feet, Miss Mitford describes her as reading 'books in almost every language,' giving herself heart and soul to poetry. She also occupied herself with prose, writing literary articles for the '*Athenæum*,' and contributing to a modern rendering of Chaucer, which was then being edited by her unknown friend, Mr. R. H. Horne. These early letters of Mrs. Browning to Mr. Horne, published after her death with her husband's sanction, are full of the suggestions of her fancy; as for instance, '*Sappho who broke off a fragment of her soul for us to guess at*.' Of herself she once writes (apparently in answer to some question of Mr. Horne's): 'My story amounts to the knife-grinder's, with nothing at all for a catastrophe! A bird in a cage would have as good a story; most of my events and nearly all my intense pleasure have passed in my thoughts.'

In 1843 Miss Barrett wrote the '*Cry of the Children*,' so often quoted. It was suggested by the report of the commissioners appointed to investigate the subject of the employment of young children. In the early part of 1846 she assisted Mrs. Jameson, who was preparing a volume of collected papers, by contributing a translation from the '*Odyssey*.' About this time Mr. Kenyon first brought Mr. Browning as a visitor to the house. It must have been about this time that Miss Barrett, writing to Mrs. Jameson, says, in a warm and grateful letter in the possession of Mrs. Oliphant: 'First I was drawn to you, then I was and am bound to you, but I do not move into the confessional notwithstanding my own heart and yours.'

In '*Lady Geraldine's Courtship*' Miss Barrett had written of Browning among other poets as of the 'pomegranate which, if cut deep down the middle, shows a heart within blood-tinctured, of a veined humanity.' Very soon after their first acquaintance they became engaged, and were married in the autumn of the same year, 1846. The '*Sonnets from the Portuguese*' are among the loveliest in the English language, and were written in secret by Mrs. Browning before her marriage, although they were not shown to her husband till long afterwards. He himself had once called her 'his Portuguese' (see Mrs. Browning's '*Caterina to Camoens*'), and she had replied by writing these sonnets. There is a quality in them which is beyond words; an echo from afar which belongs to the highest human expression of feeling. Leigh Hunt may be quoted as expressing his wonder at the marvellous beauty, 'the entire worthiness and loveliness' of these sonnets. Some time in 1846 the doctors had declared that Miss Barrett's life depended upon her leaving England for the winter, and immediately after their marriage Mr. Browning took his wife abroad. Mrs. Jameson was at Paris when Mr. and Mrs. Browning arrived there. In the life of Mrs. Jameson, by her niece, Mrs. Macpherson, there is an interesting description of the meeting and the surprise, and of their all journeying together southwards by Avignon and Vacluse. They came to a rest at Pisa, whence Mrs. Browning writes to her old friend, Mr. Horne, to tell him of her marriage, and she adds that Mrs. Jameson calls her, notwithstanding all the emotion and fatigue of the last six weeks, rather 'transformed' than improved. From Pisa the new married pair went to Florence, where they finally settled, and where their boy was born in 1849. Those among us who only knew

Mrs. Browning as a wife and as a mother have found it difficult to realise her life under any other conditions, so vivid and complete is the image of her peaceful home, of its fire-side where the logs are burning, and the mistress established on her sofa, with her little boy curled up by her side, the door opening and shutting meanwhile to the quick step of the master of the house, and to the life of the world without, coming to find her in her quiet corner. We can recall the slight figure in its black silk dress, the writing apparatus by the sofa, the tiny inkstand, the quill-nibbed pen-holder, the unpretentious implements of her work. 'She was a little woman; she liked little things.' Her miniature editions of the classics are still carefully preserved, with her name written in each in her sensitive fine handwriting, and always her husband's name added above her own, for she dedicated all her books to him: it was a fancy that she had. Nathaniel Hawthorne, who visited Mrs. Browning at Florence, has described her as 'a pale small person scarcely embodied at all,' at any rate only substantial enough to put forth her 'slender fingers to be grasped, and to speak with a shrill yet sweet tenuity of voice.' 'It is wonderful,' he says, 'to see how small she is, how pale her cheek, how bright and dark her eyes. There is not such another figure in the world, and her black ringlets cluster down into her neck and make her face look whiter.' There is another description of Mrs. Browning by an American (also quoted in the papers of the Browning Society), 'a soul of fire enclosed in a shell of pearl,' and, in common with all who knew her best, the writer dwells on her sweetness of temper and purity of spirit.

Mrs. Browning has had readers worthy of her genius. The princess of poets, says George Macdonald, in idea she is noble, in phrase magnificent. When Wordsworth died, the 'Athenæum' urged that Mrs. Brownings should succeed him as poet laureate. Mr. Ruskin and George Eliot were among her readers. 'I have lately read again with great delight Mrs. Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows,"' George Eliot writes (in the 'Memoirs' published by Mr. J. W. Cross); 'it contains, among other admirable things, a very noble expression of what I believe to be the true relation of the religious mind of the past to that of the present.' Hans Andersen was another of her devoted friends. Mrs. Browning writes of him to Mr. Thackeray 'as delighting us all, more especially the children.' The author of 'Vanity Fair' had a most special feeling of tender, admiring respect and affection for Mrs. Browning.

Among the Brownings' greatest friends in Italy were Mr. and Mrs. Story, with whom they lived during two or three summers at Siena in *villeggiatura*. Walter Savage Landor found first at Siena, and then at Florence, a refuge and a home with Mr. and Mrs. Browning after he had been left desolate—'a Lear whose own were unkind' (Corvin, *Life of Landor*). Landor finally settled down near the Brownings in Florence, being established by their care in the house of a former maid of Mrs. Browning's, who had married an Italian, and who was living close to Casa Guidi. Mr. Story has written an interesting letter about Casa Guidi prefixed to the American edition of Mrs. Browning's works. He describes the square ante-room with its pictures, and the pianoforte where 'her young Florentine' already strikes the keys, the little dining-room covered with tapestry, the large drawing-room where she always sat: 'It opens upon a balcony fitted with plants, and looks out upon the iron-grey church of Santa Felice' (Hawthorne speaks in his 'Memoirs' of listening from this room to the sound of the chanting from the opposite church). Mr. Story goes on to write of the tapestry-covered walls, and old pictures of saints that stare out sadly from their carved frames of black wood; of the 'large book-cases brimming over with learned-looking books, tables covered with more gaily bound volumes, the gift of brother authors, Dante's grave profile, a cast of Keats's face and brow taken after death, a pen-and-ink sketch of Tennyson, the genial face of John Kenyon, Mrs. Browning's good friend and relative, little paintings of the boy Browning, all attracted the eye in turn; a quaint mirror, easy chairs and sofas, a hundred nothings, were all massed in this room.' Mrs. Browning used to sit in a low armchair near the door; a small writing-table, strewn with writing materials and newspapers, was always by her side. It was here she wrote 'Casa Guidi Windows' and 'Aurora Leigh,' which the authoress herself calls 'the most mature of my works, the one into which my highest convictions of work and art have entered' (see preface of *Aurora Leigh*). The poem is full of beauty from the first page to the last. The opening scenes in Italy, the impression of light, of silence, the beautiful Italian mother, the austere father with his open books, the death of the mother, who lies laid out for burial in her red silk dress, the epitaph, 'Weep for an infant too young to weep much, when death removed this mother;' Aurora's journey to her father's old home, her lonely terror of England, the slow yielding of her nature to its silent beauty, her

friendship with her cousin, Romney Leigh, their saddening, widening knowledge of the burden and sorrow of the life around, and the way this knowledge influences both their fates, all is described with that irresistible fervour which is the translation of the essence of things into words—of their very soul into common life. When the manuscript of 'Aurora Leigh' was nearly finished, the Brownings came over to England for a time, and at Marseilles, by some oversight, the box was lost in which the manuscript had been packed. In this same box were also carefully put away certain velvet suits and lace collars, in which the little son was to make his appearance among his English relatives. Mrs. Browning's chief concern was not for her manuscripts, but for the loss of her little boy's wardrobe, which had been devised with so much tender motherly care and pride. Happily one of her brothers was at Marseilles, and the box was discovered stowed away in some cellar at the customs there. The happy influence of Mrs. Browning's marriage is shown in the added beauty and vivid flash of reality of her later poetry, although the husband and wife carefully abstained from reading each other's work while it was going on. In Leigh Hunt's 'Correspondence,' vol. ii., there is a joint letter from Mr. and Mrs. Browning, dated Bagni di Lucca, in which mention is made of Leigh Hunt's praise of 'Aurora Leigh': 'I am still too near the production of "Aurora Leigh" to be able to see it all.' Mr. Browning says: 'My wife used to write it and lay it down to hear our child spell, or when a visitor came in it was thrust under the cushions then. At Paris, a year ago last March, she gave me the first six books to read, I never having seen a line before. She then wrote the rest and transcribed them in London, where I read them also. I wish in one sense that I had written—and she had read it.'

Mrs. Browning's later poems chiefly concerned public affairs, and the interests of Italy so near her heart. Mrs. Kemble quotes with admiration the noble poem of the 'Court Lady,' included in the 'Poems before Congress.'

Mrs. Browning's feeling for Nápoleon III was the expression of her warm gratitude for the liberator of her adopted country; her own enthusiasm coloured her impressions of those who appealed to her generous imagination.

'In melodiousness and splendour of poetic gift Mrs. Browning stands, to the best of my knowledge, first among women,' says a critic (P. BAYNE, *Great Englishwomen*). She may not, as he goes on to say, have the know-

ledge of life, the insight into character of some, but a poet's far more essential qualities are hers, usefulness, fervour, a noble aspiration, and, above all, tender, far-reaching nature, loving and beloved, and touching the hearts of her readers with some virtue from its depths. She seemed even in her life something of a spirit, and her view of life's sorrow and shame, of its beauty and eternal hope, is something like that which one might imagine a spirit's to be.

It has been said that the news of the death of Cavour, coming when she was very ill, hastened her own. Elizabeth Barrett Browning died at Florence 30 June 1861. A tablet has been placed to her memory on the walls of Casa Guidi. It was voted by the municipality of Florence, and written by Tommaseo—'Qui scrisse e morì E.B.B., che in cuore di donna conciliava scienze di dotto e spirito di poeta e fece del suo verso aureo anello fra Italia e Inghilterra.' Pose questa memoria Firenze grata, 1861.' Another mural tablet is in Kelloe church (1897).

Mrs. Browning's works are as follows:—

1. 'An Essay on Mind, with other Poems,' 12mo, 1826; anonymous, dropped by the author, but reprinted (by R. H. Shepherd) in 'The Earlier Poems of E. B. Browning,' 1826-33, 12mo, 1878.
2. 'Prometheus Bound: translated from the Greek of Æschylus, and Miscellaneous Poems by the author of "An Essay on Mind," with other Poems,' 8vo, 1833; anonymous, dropped by the author, but the miscellaneous poems reprinted in 'The Earlier Poems,' &c. mentioned under 1. The 'Prometheus Bound' was rewritten and printed in 5.
3. 'The Seraphim, and other Poems,' by E. B. Barrett, author of 'A Translation of the Prometheus Bound,' &c., 12mo, 1838.
4. 'Poems by E. Barrett Barrett,' author of 'The Seraphim,' &c., 2 vols. 12mo, 1844. Preface says, all written later than 3.
5. 'Poems by E. B. Browning,' 2nd edition, 2 vols. 12mo, 1850, containing new poems and an entirely new version of the 'Prometheus.' 3rd edition, 1853; 4th, 1856, &c.
6. 'Casa Guidi Windows,' a poem by E. B. Browning, 12mo, 1851.
7. 'Aurora Leigh,' by E. B. Browning, 8vo, 1857; 2nd edition same year, 18th edition 1884.
8. 'Poems before Congress,' by E. B. Browning, 12mo, 1860.
9. 'Last Poems,' by E. B. Browning, 12mo, 1862. Posthumous, edited by Robert Browning, who states that there are included some translations written in early life.
10. 'The Greek Christian Poets, and the English Poets,' by E. B. Browning, 12mo, 1863. Posthumous, edited by Robert Browning, who states these (prose essays and trans-

lations) were published in the 'Athenæum' in 1842. 11. 'Selections from Poems by E. B. Browning,' edited by Robert Browning, first series, 12mo, 1866, reprinted in Tauchnitz series. 12. 'Selections,' &c., second series, 12mo, 1880. 13. 'Poetical Works,' 6 vols. 1890, 8vo. 14. 'Poetical Works,' 1 vol. 1897. There are many American editions and selections.

[Information from Miss Browning, Lady Carmichael, and J. Dykes Campbell; Mrs. Browning's Letters, ed. Kenyon, 1897; Letters of R. Browning and E. B. Browning (1843-6), 1899; Mrs. Browning's Letters to R. H. Horne, ed. Mayer, 1877; Mrs. Sutherland Orr's Life of Robert Browning, 1891; J. H. Ingram's Mrs. Browning, 1888; Miss Mitford's Recollections of a Literary Life; Macmillan's Magazine, vol. iv.; Quarterly Review, 1840; Bayne's Two Great Englishwomen; Forster's and Colvin's Lives of Landor; Revue Littéraire, art. by Leo Quesnel; Field's Yesterdays with Authors; Ireland's Bibliography of Leigh Hunt; Leigh Hunt's Correspondence. ii. 264; Mrs. Jameson's Memoirs; Browning Society's Papers, Nos. 1 & 2.] A. R.

**BROWNING, JOHN** (*n.* 1584), divine, matriculated as a sizar at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 14 Nov. 1558, and was afterwards elected to a scholarship and a fellowship. He proceeded B.A. 1562-3, M.A. 1566, and B.D. 1577. He opposed the adoption of the new university statutes of 1572. At the close of the same year he was charged before Dr. Whitgift, deputy vice-chancellor, and the heads of houses, with preaching the Novatian heresy at St. Mary's, and was ordered to abstain from preaching for a time. But he disobeyed the order, and was committed by the vice-chancellor to the Tolbooth on 27 Jan. 1572-3. In February he was released on giving sureties to abstain from preaching until he had come up for further examination. He afterwards sent to Lord Burghley (17 March 1572-3) a formal confession of his errors. Burghley forwarded the confession to the vice-chancellor, with a warning that steps should be taken to see that Browning acted up to his professions of conformity. On 8 July 1580 Browning was created D.D. at Oxford. Dr. Still, master of Trinity College, Cambridge, complained to Lord Burghley that Browning's standing did not permit him to receive the degree; but on 8 Dec. 1581 Still signed the grace by which Browning was incorporated D.D. of Cambridge. On 7 Sept. 1584 Browning, as vice-master of the college, issued an order suspending Still, the master, from his office, on the ground that he had married, contrary to his oath, that he had broken many college statutes, and had wasted the college resources.

Still replied by ejecting Browning from his fellowship; but Browning refused to leave, and had to be dragged from his rooms by force. Browning had been chaplain in earlier years to Francis, earl of Bedford, and the earl appealed to Burghley to restore Browning to his fellowship, insisting on 'his sufficiency in the sounde preching of the trueth,' and his 'godly conversacion.' But nothing is known of the result of this appeal, or of Browning's subsequent career.

Another **JOHN BROWNING** was rector of Easton Parva, Essex, from 22 April 1634 till 1639, and of Easton Magna from 9 Nov. 1639. He was the author of 'Concerning Publike Prayer and the Fastes of the Church: six sermons and tractates,' 2 parts, London, 1636 (*NEWCOURT, Diocese of London; Brit. Mus. Cat.*)

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 239; Wood's *Fasti* (Bliss), i. 216; *Strype's Annals*, ii. i. 278-81; *Strype's Whitgift*, i. 93; *Strype's Parker*, ii. 195-7; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 214.] S. L.

**BROWNLOW, RICHARD** (1553-1638), chief prothonotary of the court of common pleas, was the son of John Brownlow of High Holborn, by a daughter of Sir John Zouch of Stoughton Grange, Leicestershire. He was born 2 April 1553, and baptised 12 April at St. Andrew's, Holborn. In 1583 he was entered at the Inner Temple, and was treasurer of that society in 1606. On 9 Oct. 1591 he was made chief prothonotary of the court of common pleas, which office he continued to hold until his death, deriving from it an annual profit of 6,000*l.*, with which he purchased the reversion of the estate of Belton, near Grantham, and other properties in Lincolnshire. He married Katherine, daughter of John Page of Wembly, Middlesex, one of the first governors of Harrow School, and by her had three sons and three daughters. He died at Enfield on 21 July 1638 in his eighty-sixth year; his bowels were buried in Enfield church, but his body was carried to Belton, and buried 1 Aug. in the church there, where there is a figure of him in his prothonotary's gown surmounting his monument. A portrait in similar dress is preserved at Belton House, and was engraved by Thomas Cross as frontispiece to his works. His will is dated 1 Jan. 1637-8, and was proved 8 Aug. 1638 by his two sons, John and William Brownlow, who were both created baronets, the latter being the ancestor of John Brownlow, viscount Tyrconnel, whose sister married Sir Richard Cust, bart., the ancestor of the present Earl Brownlow. A street in Holborn still bears the name. After his death various



collections from his manuscripts were published, including: 1. 'Reports of diverse Choice Cases of Law, taken by Richard Brownlow and John Goldesborough,' 1651. 2. 'Reports' (a second part of 'Diverse Choice Cases of Law'), 1652. 3. 'Declarations and Pleadings in English,' 1652; 2nd part 1654; 3rd edition 1659. 4. 'Writs Judicial,' 1653. 5. 'Placita Latine Rediviva: a Book of Entries collected in the Times and out of some of the Manuscripts of those famous and learned prothonotaries Richard Brownlow, John Gulston, Robert Moyland, and Thomas Cory, by R. A. of Furnival's Inn,' 1661; 2nd edition 1673. 6. 'A Second Book of Judgements in Real, Personal, and Mixt Actions and upon the Statute; all or most of them affirmed upon Writs of Error. Being the collection of Mr. George Huxley of Lincoln's Inn, gent., out of the choice manuscripts of Mr. Brownlowe and Mr. Moyle,' &c., 1674. 7. 'Latine Redivivus: a Book of Entries of such Declarations, Information, Pleas in Bar, &c., contained in the first and second parts of the Declarations and Pleadings of Richard Brownlow, esq., late chief prothonotary of the Court of Common Pleas (unskillfully turned into English and) printed in the years 1653 and 1654. Now published in Latin, their original language, with additions,' 1693.

[Turnor's Collections for the History of the Town and Soke of Grantham, pp. 94-5, 100; Gent. Mag. xvi. 26; Barrington's Observations on the more Ancient Statutes; Granger's Biographical History of England (5th edit.), iii. 26; Visitations of Lincolnshire, Harl. MSS. 1190, 1550, 1551, 3625, and Herald's' College; Brit. Mus. Catalogue; family papers belonging to Earl Brownlow.] T. F. H.

**BROWNRIG, RALPH** (1592-1659), bishop of Exeter, was born at Ipswich of parents who are described as being 'of merchantly condition, of worthy reputation, and of very Christian conversation.' His father died when he was only a few weeks old, but he was well brought up by a pious and judicious mother, who sent him at an early age to the excellent grammar school at Ipswich. There he remained until his fourteenth year, when he was sent to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. He was elected scholar of the 'house,' and then fellow sooner than the statutes permitted, because 'the college wanted to make sure of him.' He took his M.A. degree in 1617, B.D. in 1621, and D.D. in 1626. When James I was entertained at Cambridge with a 'Philosophy Act,' Brownrig was chosen by the university to act the jocosous part of 'Prævaricator,' and greatly

delighted the king and the rest of the audience by 'such luxuriancy of wit consistent with innocency.' Thomas Fuller, who knew him personally, tells us that 'he had wit at will, but so that he made it his page, not his privy counsellor, to obey, not direct his judgment.' In 1621 he was made rector of Barley in Hertfordshire, and in the same year was appointed to a prebend at Ely by Dr. Felton, the bishop of that see. He ministered to his rustic parishioners at Barley for some years, 'and fitted,' says his biographer, 'his net to the fish he had to catch; but,' he adds, 'he was more fit to preside in the schools of the prophets than to rusticate among plain people that follow the plough.' He was presently called to preside in a school of the prophets, being chosen master of St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, in 1631. He appears to have been a very successful master, the hall improving both in the quality and quantity of its students in consequence of his care and the fame of his name. In 1629 he was made prebendary of Lichfield; in 1631 archdeacon of Coventry. He held the office of vice-chancellor of the university in 1637 and 1638. He was presented to the eleventh stall in Durham Cathedral by Bishop Morton, whose chaplain he was, in 1641; and finally, in the year 1642, upon the translation of Bishop Hall to Norwich, he succeeded him in the see of Exeter. He was vice-chancellor again in 1643-4, when the Earl of Manchester visited the university, and it is highly probable that his interposition was serviceable to the church party at Cambridge. But it is also probable that his retention of his mastership was due not only to 'the procerity of his parts and piety,' but also to the fact that his lawn sleeves did not altogether alienate his presbyterian friends, and moreover that in some points he agreed with them rather than with their adversaries. For he was a strict Calvinist, and in other respects was opposed to the Laudian type of churchmanship. He was also nominated one of the assembly of divines. Yet, in his way, he was thoroughly attached to the church of England, 'which (he said) he liked better and better as he grew older.' In 1645 he was brave enough to preach a royalist sermon before the university, and was deprived of his mastership in consequence, and was obliged to quit Cambridge. He had previously been deprived of all his other preferments. He found refuge among the independent laity, who were still faithful to the church. He divided his time between London, Bury St. Edmunds, Highgate, and Sonning, a village in Berkshire, by far the greatest part of it being spent in the last-named place at the

house of his good friend Mr. Rich. At Sonning he had the moral courage to exercise his episcopal functions. He ordained there, among others, the famous Edward Stillingfleet. It is said that Oliver Cromwell asked his counsel about some public business, and that he bravely replied, 'My lord, the best counsel I can give you is, Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's,' with which reply the Protector was silenced rather than satisfied. About a year before his death Brownrig was invited by the honourable societies of both Temples to come and live among them and be their chaplain. He accepted the invitation, and 'was provided with handsome lodgings and an annual honorary recompense' (GAUDEN). This hardly amounted to his being appointed, as Neal says (*History of the Puritans*), master of the Temple. He preached in the Temple church in Easter term 1659, when there was so large a crowd that many were disappointed of hearing him. His last sermon was on 5 Nov. in the same year, and on the 7th of the following month he died. He was buried, at his own desire, in the Temple church, his funeral sermon being preached by Dr. Gauden, afterwards his successor in the see of Exeter. Dr. Gauden also published a 'Memorial of the Life and Death of Dr. Ralph Brownrig,' which is, in fact, merely an amplification of what he said in the sermon. Fuller, who was present at the funeral, says: 'I observed that the prime persons of all denominations were present, whose judgments going several ways met all in a general grief at his decease.' Echard says 'he was a great man for the anti-Arminian cause (for he was a rigid Calvinist), yet a mighty champion for the liturgy and ordination by bishops, and his death was highly lamented by all parties;' and Neal owns that 'he was an excellent man, and of a peaceable and quiet disposition' (*History of the Puritans*). His reputation was so great that Tillotson, when he first came to London, sought him out and made him his model, both for his preaching and for his mode of life.

Brownrig published nothing during his lifetime, but at his death he 'disposed all his sermons, notes of sermons, papers, and paper-books,' to the Rev. W. Martyn, 'sometime preacher at the Rolls,' with liberty to print what he should think good. Mr. Martyn determined to print nothing without the sanction of Dr. Gauden, whose rather exaggerated view of Brownrig's merits he seems to have adopted, for he calls him 'one of the greatest lights the church of England ever enjoyed.' He published forty sermons of Brownrig's in

1652, which were reprinted with twenty-five others in 1665, making two volumes. They are full of matter, and, after the fashion of those times, they pick their texts to the very bone. As they are very long, full of quotations, and divided and subdivided into innumerable heads, it is not surprising that they never reached the rank of the great classical sermons of the seventeenth century. They are not, like Bishop Andrewes's sermons (which they resemble in form), of such superlative excellence as to overcome the repugnance which set in after the Restoration against this mode of preaching.

[Bishop Gauden's Memorial of the Life and Death of Dr. Ralph Brownrig; Fuller's Worthies; Biog. Brit. (Kippis), ii. 674-6; Neal's History of the Puritans, iii. 112, iv. 242-3; Bishop Brownrig's Sermons.] J. H. O.

**BROWNRIGG, ELIZABETH** (d. 1767), murderess, was the wife of James Brownrigg, a house painter, who lived at Fleur de Luce Court, Fetter Lane. For some years she practised midwifery, and about 1765 was appointed by the overseers of St. Dunstan's in the West to act as midwife to the poor women of the parish workhouse. She had three apprentices, Mary Mitchell, Mary Jones, and Mary Clifford, all of whom she treated in a most inhuman manner. On 3 Aug. Clifford was found in a dying state, hidden in Brownrigg's premises, and died shortly after. James, the husband, was committed for trial. Elizabeth and her son John fled, but were apprehended on the 16th. Elizabeth was tried at the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Hewitt, on 12 Sept. 1767, found guilty, and received sentence. Her husband and son were acquitted. It appears that after practising all sorts of diabolical cruelties upon Clifford, the woman Brownrigg tied her up to a hook fixed in one of the beams in the kitchen, and flogged her no less than five times on 31 July. She was hanged at Tyburn on 14 Sept. 1767. Her skeleton was exposed in a niche at Surgeons' Hall in the Old Bailey, 'that the heinousness of her cruelty might make the more lasting impression on the minds of the spectators' (*Gent. Mag.*) A well-known reference to her crime is made in some verses in the 'Anti-Jacobin.'

[Knapp and Baldwin's New Newgate Calendar, iii. 216-23; Celebrated Trials (1825), iv. 425-31; Sessions Papers (1766-7), 257-76; The Ordinary of Newgate's Account of Elizabeth Brownrigg; Bayley's Life of Elizabeth Brownrigg; Wilson's Wonderful Characters (1822), iii. 321-30; *Gent. Mag.* (1767), xxxvii. 426-8, where a picture of the ill-treatment of the apprentices will be found, 476.] G. F. R. B.

**BROWNRIGG, SIR ROBERT** (1759-1833), the conqueror of the kingdom of Kandy, was the second son of Henry Brownrigg of Rockingham, county Wicklow, and was born there in 1759. He was gazetted an ensign in the 14th regiment in 1775, and joined it in America; but it was at once sent home. His family was not rich, and he had only himself to depend upon for rising in his profession. He became lieutenant and adjutant in 1778. In 1780 and 1781 he served as a marine on board the fleet, and from 1782 to 1784 he was stationed in Jamaica. In March 1784 he was promoted captain into the 100th regiment; in the October of the same year he exchanged into the 52nd; and was promoted major in May 1790. In that year he was appointed deputy adjutant-general to the so-called Spanish armament, which was equipped at the time of the affair of Nootka Sound, and when the Spanish armament was broken up he was made commandant and paymaster at Chatham. In September 1793 he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 88th regiment, and joined the army in the Netherlands as deputy quartermaster-general. He served throughout the campaign of 1794, and in the disastrous retreat to Bremen, and became the Duke of York's special protégé and friend. He was military secretary to the duke, when he was made commander-in-chief in February 1795, received a company in the Coldstream guards in June 1795, and was promoted colonel in May 1796. He accompanied the Duke of York as military secretary on the expedition to the Helder in 1799, and in the same year was made colonel-commandant of the 60th regiment. He was promoted major-general in 1802, and in 1803 exchanged his appointment of military secretary at the Horse Guards for that of quartermaster-general. His conduct in this office received the approbation of the Duke of Wellington.

Brownrigg was made colonel of the 9th regiment in 1805, promoted lieutenant-general in 1808, served as quartermaster-general in the Walcheren expedition in 1809, and in October 1811 was appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Ceylon. When he took up his command, the English occupied only certain towns on the coast. The interior of the island was ruled by the king of Kandy, who thoroughly despised the English ever since his capture and massacre of Major Davie's detachment in 1803. Matters came to a crisis during Brownrigg's tenure of office. A chief named Ehellapola was ordered up to Kandy to be killed; he revolted and offered his province to the English, whereupon the whole of his family were mas-

sacred by the king. He fled to Colombo and was kindly received by General and Mrs. Brownrigg. The king of Kandy promptly murdered ten British subjects, and Brownrigg issued a proclamation, declaring war. But it was not until December 1814 that he formed his available troops, consisting of the 19th and 73rd regiments and four Ceylon regiments, three thousand men strong, into three divisions, took the command in person, and occupied Kandy on 14 Feb. 1815. The king was taken prisoner on 18 Feb., and on 2 March 1815 the kingdom of Kandy was annexed by proclamation. Brownrigg had been gazetted G.C.B. in January 1815, and he was created a baronet in March 1816. He was promoted general in August 1819, and returned to England in 1820. He was allowed to bear the crown, sceptre, and banner of the kingdom of Kandy in his arms in 1821, and was governor of Landguard Fort from 1823 till death. He died at Helston House, near Monmouth, 27 May 1833.

[For the dates of General Brownrigg's promotions see the Army Lists; for a short and incomplete sketch of his life see the Annual Obituary and Register for 1833, which is not at all full on the Ceylon war, of which the best account extant is in a rare contemporary tract (numbered in the British Museum Library 585, f. 14); A Narrative of Events which have recently occurred in the Island of Ceylon, written by a Gentleman on the Spot, 73 pp. 1815.]

H. M. S.

**BROWNRIGG, WILLIAM** (1711-1800), physician and chemist, was born at High Close Hall, Cumberland, 24 March 1711. After studying medicine in London for two years, he completed his medical education at Leyden, graduating M.D. in 1737, and publishing an elaborate thesis, '*De Praxi Medica ineunda*.' Entering upon practice in Whitehaven, he commenced to investigate the gaseous exhalations from the neighbouring coal-mines. In 1741 he communicated several papers on the subject to the Royal Society, and was elected F.R.S.; but his papers were not published, at his own request, as he intended to prepare a complete work. He had a laboratory erected in Whitehaven and supplied with a constant stream of fire-damp from the mines, and he constructed furnaces by which great variations of heat could be obtained. His papers brought him into communication with Sir Hans Sloane, Dr. Hales, and other eminent men; and with their advice and aid he undertook to prepare a general history of damps, the outlines of which Hales read and submitted to the Royal Society in 1741. But Brownrigg, strangely enough, could never be induced to publish this research, and thus his fame has been

much obscured. He learnt to foretell explosions in the mines by the rapidity of fall of the barometer, and was often consulted by proprietors of collieries. An extract from the essay read before the Royal Society in 1741, 'On the Uses of a Knowledge of Mineral Exhalations when applied to discover the Principles and Properties of Mineral Waters, the Nature of Burning Fountains, and those Poisonous Lakes called Avernî,' was published in 'Philosophical Transactions,' lv. 236, as an appendix to his paper on 'Spa Water.' In it he endeavours to prove that the distinguishing qualities of most mineral waters depend on a particular kind of air, which forms a considerable part of their composition; and that this air differs in no respect from choke-damp. Sulphureous waters he also shows to depend for their special qualities on a kind of fire-damp. He had a remarkable prescience of the import of these gases, and came very near to being a chemical discoverer of the first rank. He was probably the first person acquainted with the acid nature of fixed air, or carbonic acid gas. A visit to Spa was subsequently made the occasion of some experiments on the air given off by Spa water. These are recounted in 'Philosophical Transactions,' lv. 218, and for them Brownrigg received the Copley medal of the Royal Society. He here showed conclusively that this gas is destructive to animal life. He also proved that the same gas is the solvent of various earths in the water, and that when these have been precipitated from it, they can be redissolved after again dissolving the gas in the water. In several particulars his researches were parallel with those of Priestley, Black, and Cavendish. His later observations are given in 'Philosophical Transactions,' lxiv. 357-71.

In 1748 Brownrigg published a valuable book 'On the Art of making Common Salt.' An abridgment of the work by W. Watson, F.R.S., was inserted in 'Philosophical Transactions,' xlv. 351-72. Brownrigg was also the first to give any detailed accounts of platina, as brought by his relative, Charles Wood, from the West Indies in 1741. These are published, with experiments by Brownrigg, in 'Philosophical Transactions,' xlvii. 584-96. Brownrigg showed that no known body approached nearer to gold. Another valuable paper of Brownrigg's was one criticising Dr. Hales's method of distillation by the united force of air and fire (Phil. Trans. xlix. 334). In it he makes most original suggestions for increasing the expansion of steam by mechanical agitation, and by the passing of steam into water in the steam-engine.

In 1771, when great alarm was excited by outbreaks of the plague on the continent, Brownrigg published 'Considerations on the Means of preventing the Communication of Pestilential Contagion, and the Methods by which it is conveyed from Place to Place and from one Person to another;' but this, though characterised both by research and good judgment, met with no great success, inasmuch as the threatened epidemic did not reach Britain.

The association of Brownrigg in 1772 with Benjamin Franklin in the experiment of stilling Derwentwater during a storm by pouring oil upon it is interesting, and it led to the publication of an account of Franklin's experiments on the subject (*ib.* lxiv. 445). The last communication from Brownrigg to the Royal Society was a description of twenty specimens of Epsom salts, green vitriol, &c., obtained from the coal-mines at Whitehaven (*ib.* lxiv. 481). Previous to this he had retired to his paternal estate at Ormathwaite, near Keswick, where he spent a quiet old age, surviving till 6 Jan. 1800. His scientific as well as professional fame would have brought him into great practice if he could have been persuaded to settle in London. But nothing could induce him to quit his native district. He personally knew or corresponded with many of the most eminent scientific men of his day, English and continental. He was undoubtedly a genuine and original experimental philosopher, simple-minded, and somewhat too modest as to his personal claims. He was very conversant with classics, mathematics, and modern languages, an intelligent agriculturist, an active magistrate, a humane and benevolent man, and a firm believer in Christianity.

[Dixon's Literary Life of W. Brownrigg, 1801.] G. T. B.

**BROWNSWORD, JOHN** (1540?-1589), poet, was a native of Cheshire, and received his education partly at Oxford and partly at Cambridge, where it is said he graduated. He became master of the grammar school of Macclesfield, where he died on 15 April 1589. The inscription on a tablet erected to his memory in the parish church by his friend Thomas Newton describes him as 'Alpha poetarum, Coryphæus grammaticorum, Flos pædagogôn.' He wrote 'Progymnasmata quædam Poetica, sparsim collecta et in lucem edita studio et industria Thomæ Newton Cestreshyrii,' London, 1589, 1590, 4to.

[Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 131; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), i. 551; Brydges's Censura Literaria (1805-9), ix. 43; Ormerod's Cheshire, iii. 287, 366, 367; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. ii. 45; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 1110, 1710.] T. C.

**BROXHOLME, NOEL, M.D.** (1689?-1748), physician, was, according to Dr. Stukeley, a native of Stamford, Lincolnshire, of humble origin. Born in or about 1689, he was admitted on the foundation at Westminster in 1700, and in 1704 was elected to Trinity College, Cambridge. He proceeded, however, to Christ Church, Oxford, where he was nominated student 23 July 1705, and graduated B.A. 20 May 1709, M.A. 18 April 1711. In the former year, 1709, he had commenced his medical studies, under Dr. Mead, at St. Thomas's Hospital, and in 1715 was elected to one of the first of the Radcliffe travelling fellowships. Upon his return he removed to University College, as a member of which he took his degrees in physic by accumulation, proceeding M.D. 8 July 1723. Broxholme then began practice in London, was admitted a candidate of the College of Physicians 23 Dec. 1723, a fellow 22 March 1724-5, was censor in 1726, and delivered the Harveian oration in 1731. This, which was printed the same year in quarto, is remarkable for its elegant yet unaffected Latinity. He was one of the six physicians appointed to St. George's Hospital at the first general board held 19 Oct. 1733, and in the following year was made first physician to the Prince of Wales, 'with salary annexed,' an office which he resigned in 1739. At Lord Hervey's suggestion he was the first physician summoned to assist Dr. Tessier in Queen Caroline's last illness. Broxholme had married 7 May 1730, at Knightsbridge Chapel, Amy, widow of William Dowdeswell of Pull Court, Worcestershire, and daughter of Anthony Hammond, F.R.S., the wit and poet. He died at his country residence, Hampton, Middlesex, by his own hand, 8 July 1748, and was buried on the 13th at Hampton. By his will he bequeathed the sum of 500*l.* for the benefit of the king's scholars at Westminster 'in such manner as the two upper masters of the said school shall think fit,' and a like sum to Christ Church 'to be applied towards finishing the library.' Mrs. Broxholme survived her husband six years, dying in 1754. Reverting to our former authority, Dr. Stukeley, his countryman and fellow-student at St. Thomas's Hospital, we learn that Broxholme 'was a man of wit and gayety, lov'd poetry, was a good classic, . . . got much money in the Misissipi project in France. At length he came over and practised, but never had a great liking to it, tho' he had good encouragement.' 'He was always nervous and vapoured,' writes Horace Walpole, 'and so good-natured that he left off his practice from not being able to bear seeing so many

melancholy objects. I remember him with as much wit as ever I knew.' In 1754 there appeared 'A Collection of Receipts in Physic, being the Practice of the late eminent Dr. Bloxam [*sic*]: containing a Complete Body of Prescriptions answering to every Disease, with some in Surgery. The Second Edition.' 8vo, London.

[Family Memoirs of Rev. W. Stukeley (Surtees Society, lxxiii.), i. 46, 81, 96; Munk's Roll of College of Physicians, 2nd edition, ii. 89-90; Welch's Alumni Westmonasterienses, new edition, pp. 237, 244, 245 *n.*, 260, 537; Lord Hervey's Memoirs, ii. 493; Letters of Horace Walpole, ed. Cunningham, ii. 20, 120; Gent. Mag. iv. 628, vii. 699, ix. 328, xviii. 333; Oratio Harveiana anno mdcclv. habita, auct. R. Taylor, pp. 31-3; Wills reg. in P. C. C. 205 Strahan, 188 Pinfold; Hampton Register; Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica, iv. 163; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. xii. 303, 353, 390, 2nd ser. ii. 249-50; Nichols's Literary Anecdotes, i. 484; Life of Bp. Newton prefixed to his works, i. 27; Letters and Works of Lady M. W. Montagu, ed. Wharndcliffe and Thomas, ii. 159-60; Lists of Royal Coll. of Physicians in Brit. Mus.] G. G.

**BRUCE, ALEXANDER**, second EARL OF KINCARDINE (*d.* 1681), was the second son of Sir George Bruce of Culross, and succeeded his brother Edward in the earldom in 1663. His grandfather, Sir George Bruce, settled at Culross early in the century, and there established extensive salt and coal works, the latter partly under sea, which became the sources of great wealth to the family (Douglas, *Scottish Peerage*). What part he took in the transactions of the years preceding 1657 is uncertain, but his attachment to presbyterianism is well known (though in 1665 he thinks 'a well ordered episcopacy the best of governments'), and his political principles at that time may be in part gathered from a sentence in one of Robert Moray's letters to him: 'By monarchy you understand tyranny, but I royal government.' He was obliged before 1657 to leave Scotland, and he settled at the White Swan inn at Bremen in that year. A remarkable correspondence, extant in manuscript, which was begun in that year between him and Moray, who, under similar circumstances, had settled at Maestricht, and which was carried on until the death of Moray in 1672, was left in the hands of Mr. David Douglas of Edinburgh in 1864 by Professor Cosmo Innes, and in 1879 handed by Mr. Douglas to the Earl of Elgin. It proves Bruce to have been a man of deep personal religion, of highly refined tastes, and of very wide attainments: medicine, chemistry, classics, mathematics, mechanical appliances of every kind, especially as adapted to

his mining enterprises, divinity, heraldry, horticulture, forestry, pisciculture, mining, and the management of estates—these and other subjects of acquired knowledge are discussed with evident knowledge. He was engaged in the Greenland whale fishery, and he possessed quarries of superior stone and of marble, part of which was used at Greenwich, and part in the rebuilding of St. Paul's. After the Restoration he became, upon the introduction of Moray, its first president, one of the leading members of the Royal Society. During 1657 and 1658 Bruce was extremely ill with ague. In the latter year he left Bremen for Hamburg, where he stayed at the house of his countryman, William Grison. At this time, and for some years afterwards, he was engaged, in conjunction with the Dutch mathematician, Hugens de Zulichem, in perfecting and in pushing a new invention for making pendulum clocks more serviceable at sea (*Correspondence with Moray*). A little later he took up his residence at the Hague, where on 16 June 1659 he married the daughter of M. Somerdyck, who brought him a large fortune (*ibid.* and DOUGLAS, *Scottish Peerage*). In January 1660 he was in London, 'at the stone-cutter's house next to Wallingford House, Charing Cross,' but immediately returned to the Hague, where he remained with his father-in-law until the Restoration. In June he was again in London at Devonshire House (*Correspondence with Moray*). All being now safe in Scotland he returned to Culross, and busied himself with his coal, salt, stone, and marble works. At the same time Burnet's statement that he neglected his private affairs for public work seems to be borne out by one of Robert Moray's letters, dated 22 Aug. 1668. According to Burnet, Bruce had been of great service to Charles while abroad by advancing money. It was only natural, therefore, that he should profit by the Restoration. He was at once admitted to the privy council, where he appears to have stood alone in his opposition to Glencairn and the dominant faction by urging delay, when in 1661 the king sent a letter to the Scotch privy council intimating his intention of reintroducing episcopacy (DOUGLAS, *Peerage*). The correspondence with Moray continues, but is chiefly confined to purely private matters until August 1665, when James Sharp, who at that time was in opposition to Lauderdale (with whom, through Moray, Kincardine was closely connected), and who was doing his best to slander all connected with his party, informed the king that Kincardine had been present at an unauthorised communion at Tollialoun. Kincardine's pointed

letters of remonstrance and Sharp's evasive replies are contained in the Lauderdale MSS. The report at first appears to have lost Kincardine favour at court, but so strongly did Lauderdale and Moray bestir themselves in his interest, that Sharp himself gained great disadvantage from the attempt, and in July 1666, by way of making peace, begged the king to grant Kincardine a large share of the fines (*Correspondence with Moray*). During the Pentland rebellion, November 1666, he had command of a troop of horse. In 1667, when the treasurership was taken from Rothes and put in commission, Kincardine was one of the commissioners, and was also appointed extraordinary lord of session. His business knowledge and acquaintance with home and foreign trade were of great advantage to his colleagues. Always anxious for good government, he actively assisted in the conciliatory measures upon which Lauderdale was at that time engaged with regard to the covenanters, though he often strongly urged that toleration should be 'given, not taken' (*Lauderdale MSS.*) In 1672, when Lauderdale began his career of persecution, Kincardine was almost the only one of his former adherents who stayed by him, relying upon his engagement to return to milder measures. One of the chief grievances brought against Lauderdale was that the right of pre-emption of various articles had been bestowed upon his friends to the public loss, and Kincardine helped his cause by abandoning that of salt, which he had held for a considerable time (*Lauderdale MSS.*). In January 1674 he was for a short while Lauderdale's deputy at Whitehall, during the absence of Lord Halton. During this year, however, he found it impossible to continue to support the duke; his last letter to him is dated 4 July. In compliance with Lauderdale's urgent request, Charles now ordered Kincardine to retire to Scotland. In 1675, according to Mackenzie, who, however, is the only evidence for this, he was expected to succeed Lauderdale as secretary, and came up to London; but through the intrigues of the duchess, who induced Lauderdale to believe that he was coming only to support the threatened impeachment by the House of Commons, and on account of his intimacy with Gilbert Burnet, then in disfavour, he was once more obliged to return to Scotland, where he exerted himself on behalf of the covenanters. For example, he did his best to obtain a just trial for Kirkton, one of the hill preachers, and, in consequence of a letter of complaint from Lauderdale's party, was, by an autograph letter of the king, dated 12 July 1676, dismissed from the Scotch

privy council. He appears after this to have taken no further part in politics. In 1678, however, he exerted himself to save the life of Mitchell, who some years previously had made an attempt upon James Sharp, and who was now murdered through the perjury of Rothes, Sharp, and others, and he endeavoured in vain to save Lauderdale from sharing in the guilt of this crime, which was afterwards the chief cause of the duke's fall (BURNET). In May of that year, when in London, he was 'scraped out of the English council' (*Lauderdale MSS.*) In February 1680 he is spoken of as being 'desperately sick,' and according to Burnet (i. 514) appears to have died in 1681.

[Burnet; Lauderdale MSS. in British Museum; Mackenzie's Memoirs; Wodrow's Church Hist.]  
O. A.

BRUCE, ARCHIBALD (1746-1816), theological writer, was born at Broomhall, Stirlingshire, and, after studying at the university of Glasgow, was ordained, in 1768, minister of the Associate (Anti-burgher) congregation of Whitburn. In 1786 he was appointed professor of divinity by the General Associate Synod, and continued to hold that office till 1806. Being dissatisfied with the action of his synod, he left it and formed, along with three others, the 'Constitutional Associate Presbytery;' this led to a sentence of deposition being passed on him by the former body. He died 28 Feb. 1816. He was a man of great theological learning, of earnest piety, and at the same time of a lively imagination, as his writings showed. The chief of these were—1. 'The Kirkiad, or the Golden Age of the Church of Scotland,' a satirical poem, 1774. 2. 'Free Thoughts on the Toleration of Popery,' 1780. 3. 'Annus Secularis,' the centenary of the revolution 1788, a long dissertation on religious festivals. 4. 'Queries,' on the commemoration of the revolution, 1797. 5. 'The Catechism modernized,' 1791, a cutting satire on lay patronage, and its effects, in the form of a parody on the Westminster Assembly's Shorter Catechism. 6. 'Reflexions on the Freedom of Writing,' 1794, à propos of a proclamation against seditious publications, bearing the motto 'What Britons dare to think, he dares to tell.' 7. A poem ridiculing the pretensions of the pope, 1797. 8. 'Lectures to Students,' 1797. 9. 'Life of James Hog of Carnock,' 1798. 10. 'Dissertation on the Supremacy of the Civil Power in Matters of Religion,' 1798. 11. 'Poems, serious and amusing, by a reverend divine,' 1812. 12. 'Life of Alex. Morus, a celebrated divine in Geneva and Holland,' 1813.

13. 'A Treatise on Earthquakes' (posthumous).

[McKerrow's History of the Secession Church; notice of Mr. Bruce by Rev. Thos. McCrie, D.D., in Scots Magazine, April 1816; collected edition of Bruce's works in Library of New College, Edinburgh.] W. G. B.

BRUCE, DAVID (1324-1371), DAVID II, king of Scotland, the only son of Robert the Bruce, by his second wife, Elizabeth de Burgh, born at Dunfermline on 5 March 1324, amidst the rejoicing natural to the long-wished-for birth of a male heir, came too late to receive his mother's or his father's care, and disappointed the expectations of the nation. Elizabeth died in November 1327, having borne a second son, John, who died in infancy. One of the last acts of his father was the treaty of Northampton in 1328 with Edward III, by which it was agreed that a marriage should as soon as possible be celebrated between the infant David and Joanna, the sister of the king of England, a child scarcely older than himself. Her dowry was to be 2,000*l.* a year from lands in Scotland, and she was to be delivered to the King of Scots or his commissioners at Berwick on 15 Jan. 1328. The marriage was solemnised on 12 July of that year in presence of the Earl of Moray and Sir James Douglas, as Bruce himself was too ill to attend. Within less than a year he died, on 9 June 1329, and David peacefully succeeded to his father's throne. His coronation was delayed till 24 Nov. 1331, when he was crowned, and first of the Scottish kings anointed by the bishop of St. Andrews, in accordance with the provisions of a bull Bruce had procured from Pope John XXII, too late for his own use (13 June 1329). According to the customs of chivalry he was knighted by Randolph, the regent, and then knighted the regent's son, the Earl of Angus, and others. Details of his marriage and coronation preserved in the Exchequer records show that no expense was spared to give the ceremonies the importance desirable at the commencement of a new race of independent kings. His reign nearly coincides with that of Edward III, who succeeded to the English throne two years before, and outlived David by seven years. The personal character of the two sovereigns reversed that of their fathers. David was a weak successor of the Bruce; Edward inherited the martial and administrative talents of his grandfather, instead of the feeble nature of Edward II.

The life of David naturally divides itself into five parts of unequal length, and as to two of which our information is very limited:—

I. From his coronation in 1331 to the victory of Edward Baliol at Halidon Hill in 1333.

II. His residence in France from 1334 to his return to Scotland in 1341.

III. His personal reign in Scotland from 1341 to his capture at Neville's Cross in 1346.

IV. His captivity in England from 1346 till his release by the treaty of Berwick in 1357.

V. The second period of his personal reign from 1357 to his death in 1371.

After the death of Robert the Bruce, Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, governed the kingdom with vigour for three years; but his death, not free from suspicion of poison, in July 1332, exposed Scotland to the peril of a disputed regency. The estates met at Perth, and after long discussion chose, on 2 Aug., Donald, earl of Mar, the nephew of Bruce.

The choice was unfortunate, and there is reason to suppose the prudence of Bruce had foreseen the incapacity of Mar when he preferred Douglas in the succession to the regency, which the youth of David made inevitably long. But Douglas had by this time fallen in the Moorish war in Spain. Encouraged by the divisions amongst the Scottish nobles, and secretly aided by Edward III., Edward the son of John Baliol, with many barons who had lost their Scotch estates by espousing the English side, made a descent on the coast of Fife. The non-fulfilment of one of the conditions of the treaty of Northampton, by which these estates were to be restored, gave a pretext for renewing the war. News of Baliol's landing at Kinghorn was brought to the parliament at Perth the day of the regent's election, and Baliol, losing no time, met the regent and barons at the Muir of Dupplin, near Perth, on 11 Aug., nine days after he landed. Though greatly superior in numbers, the regent was totally routed. He himself, along with Thomas, earl of Moray, the son of Randolph, the earl of Monteith, and many other nobles, were slain. In September Baliol was crowned at Scone. His captive, the Earl of Fife, placed the crown on his head; but he had not yet conquered the country. Perth was almost immediately retaken by David's adherents, and Baliol was defeated at Annan in Dumfries by John Randolph, now Earl of Moray, and forced to leave Scotland. In 1333 Edward III. came with a great force to assist Baliol, and routed at Halidon Hill, on 20 July, the Scotch army led by Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, who succeeded to the regency after the death of Mar. Berwick capitulated, and Edward became master of Scotland south of the Forth. On 10 Feb. 1334 Baliol, at an as-

sembly held at Edinburgh, surrendered Berwick absolutely to the English king, and, as security for an annual payment of 2,000*l.*, promised to put into his hands all the castles of south-eastern Scotland—Jedburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Dumfries, Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow. Edward, like his grandfather, made a new ordinance for the Scottish government, but his officers never obtained complete possession of their posts. Meantime David and the queen had taken refuge at Dumbarton, one of the fortresses which held out under its brave governor Malcolm Fleming; but, Scotland being deemed an unsafe residence, he took advantage of a ship which Philip VI., the French king, sent for him, and along with Joanna and his sisters landed at Boulogne on 14 May 1334.

The royal exiles were splendidly received at Paris. Château Gaillard, the castle built by Cœur de Lion on the Seine close to the town of Andelys, was assigned for their residence, where they were maintained by Philip, though Froissart's statement that little came from Scotland to support them is disproved by the exchequer records, which show that besides provisions 4,333*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* was remitted between May 1334 and January 1340.

The course of events in Scotland during the next seven years is outside the life of David. A new race of patriotic leaders—Murray of Bothwell, Robert the Steward, Douglas the Knight of Liddesdale—worthily sustained the fame of Robert Bruce, Douglas, and Randolph. At first they carried on the war with varying success, but ultimately they freed the country and retook all the castles. The greater attraction of a French campaign prevented Edward from ever using his whole strength against the northern kingdom. Not much is known of David's residence in France. He was of an age too young to take an active part in affairs, but not too young to learn the lessons of the extravagant and vain though splendid pomp of chivalry which distinguished the court of Philip VI. One characteristic scene at which he was present is described by Froissart—the meeting of the armies of the French and English kings about the end of October 1339. Three years previously a fleet, fitted out by David Bruce with the aid of the French king, made a diversion in favour of the Scotch, plundered the Channel islands, and seized many ships near the Isle of Wight. Edward retaliated by claiming the crown of France in October 1337, and, after two years of preparation, in September 1339 he crossed the Flemish border. At Vironfosse the two hosts came face to face. The English under



Edward were arrayed in three divisions, in all about 44,000. The French had the same number of divisions, but in each 15,000 men-at-arms and 20,000 foot. Though Edward was supported by the nobles of Germany, Brabant, and Flanders, besides his English vassals, Philip surpassed him in the rank as well as numbers of his followers; for besides the full array of France, dukes, earls, and viscounts, too long a list for even Froissart to rehearse, he was supported by three kings—John of Bohemia, the king of Navarre, and David king of Scotland. 'It was a great beauty to behold the banners and standards waving in the wynde, and horses barded, and knights and squyres richly armed.' But no blood was shed in this first act of the war of a hundred years, which was to make the French and English, as it appeared, eternal enemies, and the French and Scots perpetual allies. Philip's counsellors were divided, but the view prevailed that it was better to allow the English king to waste his means in the maintenance of so great an army in a foreign country. The advice of Robert of Sicily, derived from astrology, that the French would be beaten in any engagement if Edward was present, also operated on the superstitious monarch. A feint of an attack caused by the starting of a hare between the camps, which led the Earl of Haynault to make fourteen knights, called in ridicule the Knights of the Hare, was an incident whose memory was perpetuated by those who thought it cowardly on the part of Philip with superior forces to decline battle on his own soil. The recollection of this scene and the victories of Crecy and Poitiers were inducements to David in later years to cast in his lot with the English king instead of with his national and natural allies.

In 1341 the brilliant successes in Scotland of Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, Robert the Steward of Scotland, and Sir William Douglas the Knight of Liddesdale, who in the preceding year had recovered one by one the castles north of and including Edinburgh, made it safe for David to return, and on 4 May he landed with his wife at Inverbervie near Montrose. Charters were issued under his name and seal at a council held at Aberdeen in February 1342, and though only thirteen, he assumed the personal government, which he retained until his capture at Neville's Cross in 1346. During the first two years after his return David was much at Aberdeen and Kildrummy, where his aunt, sister of Robert Bruce, who had married successively Gratney, earl of Mar, Sir Christopher Seton, and Sir Andrew Murray, lived.

In the course of 1342 he passed through Fife, attending the justice-eyres at Cupar and Edinburgh, to the Marches, and joined the Earl of Moray in a descent on the English border, during which Penrith was burnt, but nothing of consequence was accomplished. On his return north he visited Haddington, Ayr, and Kilwinning, Kirkintilloch, Inverkeithing, and Scone, and stopped at Banff before his return to Kildrummy in August. It was important that he should show himself in different parts of the kingdom. Hawking and hunting and the jousts or tournaments, the favourite amusements of the age, were fully shared in by the young king, but he did not prove himself an adept in the art of war, for which these were the appropriate training.

Two deaths, for one of which he was indirectly, and for the other directly, responsible, showed that he could not attract to his throne, as his father had done, the leading men of the country.

Sir James Ramsay of Dalwolsie, having taken the castle of Roxburgh, was imprudently rewarded by the gift of the sheriffdom of Teviotdale, then held by Douglas the Knight of Liddesdale, and Douglas having treacherously got Ramsay into his power starved him to death in the castle of the Hermitage. The other victim was William Bullock, an ecclesiastic who had distinguished himself in the service of Baliol, but changing sides received the office of chamberlain from David. Suspected of treason he was by the king's order sent prisoner to the castle of Lochindorb in Moray, where he also was starved to death. Other acts of lawlessness, as the rape of a lady of the Seton family by Alan of Seton, the execution without trial of an impostor calling himself Alexander Bruce, the son of Edward Bruce, and the state of the ordinary royal revenue, which fell from 3,774*l.* in 1331 to 1,198*l.* in 1342, and had to be increased by special parliamentary grants distributed with too lavish a hand, were signs of his incapacity as an administrator. '*Tristia felicitibus succedunt*' is the brief comment of Fordun. The restoration of the king had not benefited the kingdom. A murrain which specially attacked the fowls, a forerunner of the black death, added to the general distress and feeling of impending calamity. A truce with England, which followed one between Edward and Philip of France in 1343, saved Scotland for a short time from war, but the treasonable correspondence of the Knight of Liddesdale with the English king was a bad omen for its continuance. It was terminated early in 1346, when Philip, his own truce having closed, exhorted David to

invade England. Seizing the opportunity of Edward's absence at Calais, David mustered his forces at Perth, where the defection of the Earl of Ross, who slew Ronald of the Isles at the monastery of Elcho, showed how little he was able to command his vassals. Advancing to the borders, he took the castle of Liddel, put to death Selby, its governor, and, in spite of the counsels of the Knight of Liddesdale not to proceed further with a force consisting of only 2,000 men-at-arms and some 13,000 light-armed troops, crossed the Tyne above Newcastle, and ravaged the bishopric of Durham. He was met near that town on 17 Oct. at Neville's Cross by the Archbishop of York and the northern barons, and totally routed. David himself was taken prisoner by a squire, John Copland, after a brave resistance, in which it is recorded he struck out two of his captor's teeth. The earls of Fife, Menteith, and Wigtown, the Knight of Liddesdale, and many barons shared his fate. The earls of Moray and Strathearn, the chancellor, chamberlain, and marshal of Scotland were slain; the Earl of March and Robert the Steward alone of the principal nobles effected their escape. So great was the disaster, that 'the time of the battle of Durham' is used in the accounts and chronicles as a point of time.

David, with the other captives, was led in triumph through the streets of London to the Tower, placed on a tall black charger to make him conspicuous, as John of France was after Poitiers on a white charger. The next eleven years of his life were spent in England, chiefly in or near London, and at Odham in Hampshire, varied with visits to the border or to Scotland. He was forced to bear his own charges, but the rigour of his imprisonment was soon relaxed in the hope that he would negotiate his ransom and eventually himself to England. Of David's captivity the records are almost as scanty as of his exile in France. In 1347, after taking Calais, Edward concluded a truce with France, which continued by various prorogations till 1 April 1354. Scotland was to be admitted to the truce, and in the next year the negotiations for David's ransom commenced. In October Joanna joined her husband in England. It was, however, Edward's policy to have two strings to his bow, and Baliol, whom he addressed as 'our dear cousin Edward,' while his brother-in-law was only styled Lord David de Bruce, remained nominal ruler of Scotland. In spite of his protest in March 1357 a treaty was concluded with the Scots commissioners for the ransom of David, and he was permitted on 4 Sept. to return to Scotland to procure

the sanction of the estates. Secret compacts were entered into in 1352 between Edward, David, and Lord Douglas, and between Edward and the Knight of Liddesdale. The terms of the former were purposely obscure, but indicate that in the event of David failing to persuade the estates to make peace, he engaged to act on his own account so that 'the work might be accomplished in another way.' The English commissioners were empowered to allow him to remain at Newcastle or Berwick, or even to set him at large if it would 'promote the business.' Knyghton, the English chronicler, reports that David had consented to acknowledge Edward as his feudal superior. There was no ambiguity in the agreement with the Knight of Liddesdale, who entered into a close alliance as a condition of his own release. In 1353 David had returned to England, having failed to obtain the consent of the Scotch estates to Edward's conditions, and at Newcastle conferences were renewed between the commissioners of the two countries, which resulted in a treaty on 13 July 1354, by which the ransom was fixed at 90,000 merks, payable in nine yearly instalments. Twenty hostages of noble birth were to be given for the fulfilment of the treaty, and the king himself, the nobles and bishops, as well as the principal towns, were to undertake personal obligations for its payment.

In 1355 the French king, alarmed at the project of a nine years' truce between England and Scotland, sent Eugène de Garancières with men and money to revive the war, and several border engagements followed; but early in 1356 Edward took Berwick, and obtained an absolute renunciation of the Scotch crown and kingdom from his puppet, Edward Baliol, on 21 Jan. Though he devastated the Lothians in the raid which received the name of the Burnt Candlemas, and issued a proclamation with regard to the government of Scotland, he failed to reduce even the southern district to subjection. In the north Robert the Steward maintained an independent power as regent, even during the period of the nominal reign of Baliol. At last the tedious negotiations for David's release drew near their close. At a parliament at Perth on 17 Jan. 1356-7 commissioners were appointed, and having settled the preliminaries at Berwick in August, a parliament at Edinburgh on 26 Sept. agreed to Edward's terms. The ransom was raised to 100,000 merks in ten instalments, for which the nobles, clergy, and burghs bound themselves, and commissioners from the three estates concluded the treaty at Berwick on 3 Oct. 1357.

The condition as to hostages was also made more severe. Three great lords were to be added to the twenty youths of noble birth formerly stipulated for. The truce between the two countries was to continue until the ransom was paid. It was ratified by the king and commissioners on 5 and 6 Oct., and again on 6 Nov. by a parliament at Scone, where David was present. On 25 Dec. Queen Joanna, along with the Bishop of St. Andrews and the Earl of March, received a safe-conduct to England, from which the queen never returned, dying near London on 14 Aug. 1362. David himself almost every year revisited England during the remainder of his reign, and his personal sympathies were so thoroughly English, that it required all the strength of the estates, and the desire of Edward for the stipulated ransom, to prevent a surrender of his own kingdom more ignominious than that of Baliol. Though his personal reign lasted for fourteen years after his return, it was entirely destitute of important events. Great difficulty was felt in raising from so poor a country the enormous ransom. It was not found enough that the whole wool of the kingdom should be granted at a low price to the king that he might resell it at a profit, and other severe taxes were imposed on the commons. The clergy had to contribute, and with some difficulty the pope was induced to allow a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues for three years, on condition that they were thereafter to be exempted. But not all these resources together sufficed to meet the debt which the creditor was determined to exact to the uttermost, and from time to time David, like a needy debtor, made terms for the postponement of payment. There were negotiations for this purpose in 1363-5 and 1369, when an obligation was undertaken to pay off the balance due at the rate of 4,000 merks annually, under a large additional penalty in case of failure. Edward and David had latterly devised several schemes for the extinction of the debt by another process than payment. This was the transfer at David's death of the Scottish crown to an English prince. At the parliament of Scone in 1363, David ventured to propose openly that it should recognise Lionel, duke of Clarence, Edward's second son, as his heir. An indignant refusal was accompanied with a renewed declaration of the settlement of the succession on Robert the Steward by Robert the Bruce. Throughout this part of David's reign the barons of Scotland were animated by the same spirit as that which the English had shown at Runnymede. Hatred of foreign aggression, and the weakness of the king, who

was willing to yield to it, enabled them to use the opportunity to obtain guarantees for the law and constitution which, though not in precisely the same form, had a similar intention and a similar, though less complete, result to Magna Charta. Such was the real meaning of the origin of those permanent committees of parliament for judicial business called the lords auditors, and for legislation called the lords of the articles, which first appear in 1367; the provision for the more regular administration of justice and coinage of money; the revocation of the grants of the royal revenues; the rule laid down that no attention was to be paid to the king's mandates contrary to the statutes and the common law. Foiled in their attempt to divert the order of succession, Edward and David had resort to secret intrigue. David, in November 1363, went to London and undertook a personal obligation to Edward to settle the kingdom of Scotland upon him and his issue male, failing issue male of his own body. On this condition the whole of the ransom still unpaid was released. Nominal provisions were made in the event of an English heir succeeding to the Scottish throne for the preservation of the independence of Scotland similar to those of Edward I. This agreement was carefully concealed from the Scottish people, and the public negotiations for the payment of the ransom were still continued. It was in this year, and before he went to England, that David married his second wife, Margaret, widow of Sir John Logie. It is usually said that this was an unequal marriage, into which passion rather than reason led the king; but Margaret is described by Fordun as a lady of noble birth, and she was honourably received at the court of Edward. She was a daughter of Drummond, one of the lesser barons. No such rigid bar then restricted the marriage of the royal race as in later times. A sister of David, Matilda, daughter of Robert, had married a simple esquire. Still, it was a match which could bring no political strength to David, and alienated many of the Scottish nobility. A revolt of some of these was one of its consequences. David succeeded in quelling it, and threw the Steward and his three sons into prison at the instance of Margaret Logie, to whom and her relations he made large grants of land and money. Her influence did not last long, and after her divorce in 1369 by the Scottish bishops, the exact ground of which has not been discovered, the Stewards were released. She was succeeded in the king's favour by Agnes of Dunbar. The year after this divorce, on 22 Feb. 1370, David died in Edinburgh Castle childless,

and was succeeded by Robert the Steward. David was only in his forty-seventh year, but he had reigned forty-one years, reckoning from his accession.

Fordun and Wyntoun, the writers nearest the time of David, who did not know the extent of his treason to Scotland, treat his character more favourably than modern historians. They commend his administration of justice, his bravery, even his resolute assertion of the royal authority. Wyntoun, in a curious passage which evidently relates an authentic anecdote, tells how on his return to Scotland, when he was going to his privy council,

The folk, as they were wont to do,  
Pressyt rycht rudly in thare to,  
Bot he rycht suddenly gan arrace  
Out of a mace's hand a mace,  
And said rudly how do we now?  
Stand still, or the proudest of you  
Sall on his hevyd have smyte this mace.

This apparently trivial incident gives occasion to a general reflection by the historian, expressing his view of David:

Radure in prynce is a gud thyng,  
For but radure all governyng  
Sall all tyme bot despyssed be.

In the same passage he mentions that David only brought with him from England a single page, not what we should expect if he then had the idea of bringing Scotland under English influence. Both Wyntoun and Fordun, who, it must be remembered, were Scottish churchmen (the English 'Chronicles of Lanercost,' whose monastery he plundered, take a very different view of David), incline to the side of the king as against the nobles, whose oppression he is represented as putting down. Later writers, on the other hand, note his undoubted weakness, his love of pleasure, his passion for an English mistress—Katherine Mortimer, who died during the life of Joanna, and was buried with pomp at Newbattle—his impolitic marriage with Margaret Logie, his extravagance, his jealousy, and ill-treatment of Robert the Steward, above all his sacrifice of the independence his father had established. These inconsistent views, both of which have some foundation in fact, point to a character itself inconsistent, passionate, and headstrong, capable at times of showing strength, at bottom weak, liable to be led by various influences, in the end yielding to the persistent policy and will of the English king.

[Wyntoun, Fordun, and the Liber Plyscardensis are the Scotch original authorities, but Knighton and Froissart supply several details. The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vols. i. and ii.,

and W. Burnett's learned prefaces are specially valuable for the life of David.] Æ. M.

BRUCE, DAVID (*d.* 1660), physician, was the son of Andrew Bruce, D.D., principal (from 1630 to 1647) of St. Leonard's College in St. Andrews University. He was first educated at St. Andrews, and proceeded M.A. there. Later he went to France, and studied physic at Paris and Montpellier. He intended taking a medical degree at Padua; but the plague kept him from Italy, and he finally graduated M.D. at Valence in Dauphiny on 7. May 1657. On 27 March 1660 Bruce was incorporated doctor of physic at Oxford. He was associated with his great-uncle, Sir John Wedderburne, in the office of physician to the Duke and Duchess of York. But after fulfilling, in consequence of Wedderburne's infirmities, all the duties of the post for many years, he resigned the office and travelled abroad. Subsequently he settled at Edinburgh, and was there 'in good repute for his practice.' Wood speaks of him as still living in Edinburgh in 1690. Bruce was admitted candidate of the College of Physicians on 24 Dec. 1660, and was an original member of the Royal Society.

[Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* ii. 225; Munk's *Coll. of Phys.* i. 297.] S. L.

BRUCE, EDWARD (*d.* 1318), king of Ireland, was younger brother of Robert Bruce [q. v.], king of Scotland. In 1308 Edward Bruce took part in the incursion upon the district of Galloway by King Robert, and, during the indisposition of the latter, acted as a commander of his forces in their retreat from those of the Earl of Richmond, governor in Scotland for Edward II. Edward Bruce was subsequently despatched by his brother against Galloway, which resisted his authority. He routed the English commander and his Scottish allies there, and compelled the inhabitants to swear allegiance and to furnish contributions. In this contest he succeeded by a stratagem in putting to flight the English troops. The details of this enterprise were chronicled by the poet Barbour, from the narration of one of Bruce's associates. On the banks of the Dee, Edward Bruce defeated the forces brought against him by the chiefs of Galloway, and made a prisoner of Donall, prince of the Isles. He reduced a large number of castles and strongholds in Galloway, and brought that district under the dominion of King Robert. Edward Bruce's success in Galloway was celebrated in a contemporary poem. While King Robert was engaged on an expedition against the Isle of Man, Edward Bruce gained possession of the town of Dundee. Before the end of

1313, he besieged Stirling Castle, then almost the last fortress held in Scotland for the king of England. Philip de Mowbray, governor of the castle, after a vigorous defence, entered into a treaty to surrender it to Edward Bruce in the following midsummer, if not relieved. The terms of this treaty were disapproved of by King Robert, who, however, adhered to them. The attempt of the English army to relieve Stirling Castle led, in 1314, to the battle of Bannockburn, at which Edward Bruce was one of the chief commanders, and led the right column of the Scottish army. In the following year Edward Bruce, in conjunction with Douglas, devastated Northumberland and Yorkshire, levied large contributions, and returned to Scotland with great spoil. In 1315, in a convention of the prelates, nobles, and commons of Scotland, held at Ayr, an ordinance was enacted that Edward Bruce should be recognised as king, in the event of the death of his brother Robert without male heirs. Edward Bruce is described as a valiant and experienced soldier, but rashly impetuous. He is said to have aspired to share the kingship of Scotland with his brother. This circumstance is supposed to have induced King Robert to favour an expedition against the English in Ireland, which Edward Bruce was invited to undertake by some of the native chiefs there who regarded him as descended from the same ancestors as themselves. Edward Bruce landed in Ulster in May 1315, with about six thousand men, accompanied by the Earl of Moray and other Scottish commanders. The Scots, with their Irish allies, took possession of the town of Carrickfergus, laid siege to its strong citadel, and Bruce was crowned as king of Ireland. Edward Bruce encountered and defeated on several occasions the forces of the English government in Ireland. Robert Bruce having arrived with reinforcements from Scotland, he and his brother, early in 1317, marched from Ulster to the south of Ireland. After the return of King Robert to Scotland, Edward Bruce continued at Carrickfergus as king of Ireland. Bulls were issued by Pope John XXII for the purpose of detaching the Irish clergy from the cause of Edward Bruce. The archbishops of Dublin and Cashel and other dignitaries were enjoined by the pope to warn ecclesiastics to desist from inciting the Irish people against the king of England, and public excommunications were denounced against those who persisted in that course. A reproduction of one of those papal instruments appears in the third part of 'Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland.' Barbour

alleged that Edward Bruce defeated the troops of the English in Ireland in nineteen engagements, in which he had not more than one man against five, and that he was in a 'good way' to conquer the entire land, as he had the Irish on his side, and held possession of Ulster. The poet adds, however, that Bruce's fortunes were marred by his 'outrageous' pride. In the autumn of 1318, Edward Bruce projected another descent upon Leinster. To prevent this movement, a large army was mustered by the colonists. Bruce's chief advisers counselled him against coming to an engagement with forces numerically superior to those under his command. He, however, declined to take their advice, and would not wait for reinforcements. In October a conflict took place near Dundalk, in which Bruce was slain and his forces put to flight. Bruce's corpse was found on the field, with that of John de Maupas stretched upon it. The quarters of Edward Bruce's body were set up as trophies in the chief towns of the English colony in Ireland, and his head was presented to Edward II in England. Barbour averred that the head was not Bruce's, but that of his devoted follower, Gilbert Harper, who wore his armour on the day of battle. Owing to the death of Edward Bruce new legislative arrangements were made relative to the royal succession in Scotland. An instrument is extant by which Robert Bruce confirmed a grant of land which had been made by his brother Edward as king of Ireland. The most detailed account of Edward Bruce's proceedings in Ireland is contained in Latin annals of that country appended by Camden to his 'Britannia' in 1607. A new edition of these annals, in which the oversights of Camden have been corrected by collation with the manuscript, was printed in the London Rolls Series in 1883. John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, in his poem, composed about 1375, tells little of Edward Bruce except in connection with his transactions in Ireland and death there. Many records illustrative of affairs in Ireland during the presence of the Bruces there are included among 'Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland,' published in the London Rolls Series in 1870.

[Johannis de Fordun Chronica gentis Scotorum, ed. T. Hearne 1722, W. Goodall 1775, and W. F. Skene 1871; Acts of Parliament of Scotland, 1814; Annals of Scotland, by Lord Hailes, 1819; Annals of Kingdom of Ireland, 1848; Hist. of Viceroy of Ireland, 1865; Hist. of Scotland, by P. F. Tytler 1864, and J. H. Burton 1867; Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Scotland, part ii. 1870; The Bruce.

ed. W. Skeat, 1870; Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II, ed. Stubbs, 1882-3; Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin, 1884-5.]  
J. T. G.

BRUCE, EDWARD, LORD KINLOSS and BARON BRUCE OF KINLOSS (1549?-1611), judge, born about 1549, was second son of Sir Edward Bruce of Blairhall in the county of Clackmannan, by Alison, daughter of William Reid of Aikenhead in the same county, sister of Robert Reid, bishop of Orkney, and descended from Robert de Brus, chief justice of the king's bench in 1268. His early history is from the loss of the records obscure, and the date at which he became an advocate is not known, nor when he was appointed to the office of judge of the commissary court of Edinburgh, though it is clear from the Pitmedden manuscript preserved in the Advocates' Library that he succeeded Robert Maitland, dean of Aberdeen, who had been superseded in the office of lord of session in 1576. It does not, however, appear whether the dean lost his position as commissary at that or at a subsequent date, but it is certain that Bruce was one of the commissaries in 1583. In this year he received a grant of the abbey of Kinloss in Ayrshire, to hold *in commendam* for his life, subject to an annuity payable to the abbot, and a rent of 500 merks payable to the crown. About the same date he was appointed one of the deputies of the lord-justice-general of Scotland. Four years later we find him energetically defending the right of the lords spiritual to sit in parliament, on the occasion of a petition presented by the general assembly of the Scottish church praying that they might be expelled, and in the result the petition was dismissed. The popish conspiracy of 1594 brought Bruce into considerable prominence. In 1594 Bruce was despatched, with James Colvill, laird of Ester or Easter Wemyss, to the English court to remonstrate with the queen upon the countenance which she afforded to the popish conspiracy by harbouring Bothwell, to complain of the conduct of her ambassador, Lord Zouche, in carrying on secret negotiations with him, and to ask for a subsidy to help in crushing the conspiracy. His mission was partially successful. In 1597 Bruce was appointed one of the commissioners for the levying of an aid granted by parliament to provide funds for the diplomatic service and other purposes. The same year (2 Dec.) he was made a lord of session. On 15 March 1598 Bruce was again sent to the English court to make the king's apologies for certain offences of which Elizabeth complained, 'and to prepare some other particulars con-

cerning the estate of the two borders and two realms.' Probably he was secretly instructed to sound the queen and council as to the real position of his master's chances of obtaining the succession, but if so the mission appears in that respect to have been a wholly fruitless one. Early in 1601, on the eve of the discovery of the Essex plot, James, who had for some time been in secret correspondence with the conspirators, determined to send the Earl of Mar and Edward Bruce to London, ostensibly upon a mission of no special importance, but really for the purpose of ascertaining the precise posture of affairs in the country and the prospects of the plot, with a view to possible co-operation. The envoys, however, did not start until February, and consequently did not arrive until after the execution of Essex. Accordingly the king now instructed them to obtain, if possible, a formal declaration from the queen and council that he was free of all complicity in any intrigues that had ever been set on foot against her, and particularly in the late conspiracy, and an assurance of his succession to the throne on her decease. They obtained an early audience of Sir Robert Cecil, who exacted from them a pledge (1) that the king should abandon all attempts to obtain parliamentary or other recognition of his title to the succession as the condition of holding communication with them, and (2) that all such communications should be kept perfectly secret. The result was the celebrated correspondence between James and Cecil, part of which was published by Lord Hailes in 1766, and of which another portion has since been edited for the Camden Society. Bruce accompanied James to England on his accession, was naturalised by act of parliament, and made a member of the privy council in both kingdoms. He was also (22 Feb. 1603) raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Bruce of Kinloss, and on 18 May following was appointed to the mastership of the rolls in succession to Sir Thomas Egerton. In 1605 the university of Oxford conferred upon him the degree of M.A. In 1608-9 his daughter Christiana married William Cavendish, afterwards the second earl of Devonshire, the king himself giving the bride away and making her fortune up to 10,000*l*. He died very suddenly on 14 Jan. 1610-11, in his sixty-second year, and was buried in the Rolls Chapel in Chancery Lane. His eldest son, Lord Edward Bruce, was killed in a duel with Sir Edward Sackville, afterwards earl of Dorset, near Bergen-op-Zoom in 1613. His heart was discovered embalmed in a silver case, bearing his name and arms, in the abbey

church of Culross in Perthshire in 1808. His younger brother Thomas was created Earl of Elgin on 21 June 1633, and Baron Bruce of Whorlton in Yorkshire on 1 Aug. 1641. The third son, Robert, was created Baron Bruce of Skelton in Yorkshire, Viscount Bruce of Amphilh in Bedfordshire, and Earl of Aylesbury in Buckinghamshire on 18 March 1663-4 [see BRUCE, ROBERT, Earl of Ailesbury].

[Acts Parl. of Scotland, iii. 484, iv. 143; Letters of John Colville (Bannatyne Club), 293; Pitcairn's Trials, i. 133; Spottiswoode's Hist. of the Church of Scotland (Bannatyne Club), ii. 322, 329; Moysie's Memoirs (Bannatyne Club), 117, 137, 139; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 311-12, 491; Cal. State Papers (Scotland 1509-1603), ii. 649, 650, 652, 708, 746, 748; Birch's Memoirs, i. 175, ii. 509, ad fin.; Haydn's Book of Dignities, 413, 414; Letters of Sir Robert Cecil (Camden Society), 75; Dugdale's Chron. Ser. 100, 101; Dugdale's Orig. 335; Correspondence of James VI with Sir Robert Cecil, xxv. 38, 45-9, 51, 78; Hailes's Secret Correspondence of Sir Robert Cecil with James VI, pp. 5, 6, et passim; Ferreri's Hist. Abb. de Kinloss (Bannatyne Club), xi.; Gardiner's Hist. of England (1603-42), i. 52; Collins's Peerage (Brydges), v. 323-4; Burnet's Own Time (Oxford edition), i. 14; Court and Times of James I, i. 7, 104; Statutes of the Realm, iv. 1016; Archaeologia, xx. 516; Foss's Lives of the Judges; Brunton and Haig's Senators of the College of Justice.] J. M. R.

**BRUCE, SIR FREDERICK WILLIAM ADOLPHUS** (1814-1867), diplomatist, was the youngest of the three sons of Thomas Bruce, seventh earl of Elgin [q. v.], and his second wife Elizabeth, youngest daughter of James Townshend Oswald of Dunnikier, Fifeshire. He was born at Broomhall, Fifeshire, on 14 April 1814, and on 9 Feb. 1842 was attached to Lord Ashburton's mission to Washington, returning to England with his lordship in September of that year. On 9 Feb. 1844 he was appointed colonial secretary at Hongkong, which place he held until 1846, when on 27 June he became lieutenant-governor of Newfoundland. His next change was to Sucre, with the appointment of consul-general in the republic of Bolivia on 23 July 1847, and on 14 April 1848 he was accredited as chargé d'affaires. He was named chargé d'affaires to the Oriental republic of the Uruguay on 29 Aug. 1851, and on 3 Aug. 1853 became agent and consul-general in Egypt in the place of the Hon. C. A. Murray. On his brother, James Bruce, the eighth earl of Elgin, being appointed ambassador extraordinary to China, he accompanied him as principal secretary in April 1857. He brought home (18 Sept. 1857) the treaty with China

signed at Tientsin on 26 June 1858, and was made a C.B. on 28 Sept. His diplomatic tact was thoroughly appreciated by the home government, for he was appointed on 2 Dec. 1858 envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the emperor of China, and on 1 March following chief superintendent of British trade in that country. His mission was prevented from proceeding to Peking by the opposition made by the Chinese. The mission therefore returned to Shanghai, where it remained until the ratification of the treaty of 26 June 1858 at Peking on 24 Oct. 1860. He proceeded to Peking on 7 Nov. 1860, but withdrew to Tientsin for the winter, while arrangements were made for putting a residence in order for his reception. The mission was established at Peking on 26 March 1861, but it was not until 2 April that Sir Frederick Bruce paid a visit to Prince Kung. On the removal of Lord Lyons from Washington to Constantinople, he was selected to fill the important office of British representative at Washington on 1 March 1865. He was made a K.C.B. of the civil division on 12 Dec. 1862, and received the grand cross of the order on 17 March 1865. He was appointed umpire by the commission named under the convention of 1864, concluded between the United States of America and the United States of Colombia, for the adjustment of claims of American citizens against the Colombian government. He died at Boston in the United States on 19 Sept. 1867, when his remains were embalmed, and, being conveyed to Scotland, were interred at Dunfermline Abbey on 8 Oct. The American press spoke in eulogistic terms of his amiable personal qualities and of the able manner in which he exercised his ministerial functions. He died unmarried.

[Gent. Mag. for 1867, pt. ii. 677-8; Hertslet's Foreign Office Lists, March 1868, p. 187; Boulger's History of China, vol. iii. (1884).]

G. C. B.

**BRUCE, JAMES** (1660?-1730), Irish presbyterian minister, was the eldest son of Michael Bruce (1635-1693) [q. v.] He was called to Carrmoney, county Antrim, but preferred a settlement at Killeleagh, county Down (near Killinchy, his father's place), where he was ordained after 6 Nov. 1684. In April 1689 occurred the break of Killeleagh, when the protestants were routed and Killeleagh castle deserted by its garrison. Bruce fled to Scotland, but returned in 1691 or 1692, when Ulster was at peace. In 1696 he secured, from the presbyterian proprietors of the Killeleagh estate endowments for the presbyterian minister at Killeleagh (and three others) in the shape of a lease of lands at a

nominal rent. More important was his success in establishing at Killeleagh in 1697 a 'philosophical school' for the training of the presbyterian ministry and gentry, which proved obnoxious to the episcopalians, and was closed in 1714. In 1699 Bruce was appointed one of the synod's trustees for the management of the *regium donum*, and continued in this office till his death. His congregation was large; at his communion on 2 July 1704 there were seven successive tables, and the services began at 7 A.M. and lasted till evening. A new meeting-house was built for him, probably in 1692. In the nonsubscription controversy (1720-6) Bruce sided with the subscribers (himself signing the Westminster Confession in 1721), but was unwilling to cut off the nonsubscribers from fellowship. His presbytery (Down) was in 1725 divided into Down and Killeleagh, those (including Bruce) who were against disowning the nonsubscribers being placed in the latter. Bruce died on 17 Feb. 1730. His will (dated in February 1725) directs his burial at Killeleagh, where he was interred on 24 Feb. Tradition places the spot eastward of the episcopal church. He married, 25 Sept. 1685, Margaret (died May 1706), daughter of Lieutenant-colonel James Trail of Tullychin, near Killeleagh, by Mary, daughter of John Hamilton, brother of the first Lord Clandeboye. He had ten children, of whom three sons and three daughters survived him. His sons Michael [q.v.] and Patrick were presbyterian ministers; William [q.v.] was a publisher. From his son Patrick (1692-1732), minister successively of Drumbo, co. Down, Killallan, Renfrewshire, and Killeleagh, are lineally descended the Hervey Bruces of Downhill, baronets since 1804. Bruce published nothing. In Daniel Mussenden's manuscript volume of sermon notes is an abstract of Bruce's sermon (Prov. viii. 17) at a communion in Belfast, 20 Aug. 1704, which is strongly Calvinistic.

[McCreery's Presb. Ministers of Killeleagh, 1875, pp. 90 sq.; Porter's Seven Bruces, in N. Whig, 16 April 1886; Reid's Hist. Presb. Ch. in Ireland (Killen), 1867, ii. 477, 519; [Kirkpatrick's] Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians, 1713, p. 506; Bruce's appendix to Towgood's Diss. Gent. Letters, 1816, p. 359; Disciple (Belfast), April 1883, p. 100; Belfast Funeral Register (presbyterian); manuscript extracts from Minutes of General Synod; Mussenden's manuscript sermon notes, 1704-20, in the possession of a descendant of Bruce.] A. G.

BRUCE, JAMES (1730-1794), African traveller, son of David Bruce of Kinnaird and Marion Graham of Airth, was born at

Kinnaird, Stirlingshire, on 14 Dec. 1730. He was educated at Harrow, and 'inclined to the profession of a clergyman,' 'for which,' his master assured his father, 'he has sufficient gravity.' He nevertheless complied with his father's wish that he should study law, until it became evident that a pursuit involving an intimate knowledge of Roman as well as Scotch jurisprudence was too distasteful to him to be prosecuted to any good purpose. He had in the meantime invigorated his originally delicate constitution by exercise and sport; and now, athletic, daring, and six feet four, seemed made for a life of travel and adventure. While soliciting permission to settle as a trader in India, his ideas received a new direction from his marriage with Adriana Allan, the orphan daughter of a wine merchant in Portugal. To gratify her mother he took a share in the business; but his wife's death in 1754, after a union of only nine months, destroyed his interest in this calling, and to detach himself gradually from it he visited Spain and Portugal under pretext of inspecting the vintage. Two incidents arising out of this excursion aided to determine his subsequent career. Having formed the project of examining the manuscripts in the Escorial, he was led to study Arabic, which incidentally directed his attention to the ancient classical language of Abyssinia; and, having observed the unprotected condition of Ferrol, he submitted, upon the outbreak of hostilities with Spain, a proposition to the English government for an attack upon the place. The scheme, though not carried into effect, gained him the notice of Lord Halifax, and the offer of the consulate at Algiers, with a commission to examine the remains of ancient architecture described but not delineated by Dr. Shaw. According to his own statement, this proposal was accompanied by the promise of a baronetcy when his mission should be completed, and the pledge that he should be assisted by a deputy to attend to consular business while he was engaged in archaeological research. Some hints as to the possibility of his extending his explorations to the Nile took the strongest hold upon his imagination, and to reach its source now became the main purpose of his life. To qualify himself yet further for his undertaking, he spent six months in Italy studying antiquities, and obtained the services of an accomplished draughtsman, a young Bolognese named Luigi Balugani. Before engaging him he had visited Pæstum, and made the first accurate drawings ever taken of the ruins, a fortunate step for his own reputation, as it refuted the charge subsequently brought against him of entire



dependence upon Balugani and appropriation of the latter's work. He arrived at Algiers on 15 March 1763.

The Algerine consulate was a post of danger and difficulty at all times, and Baba Ali, the dey to whom Bruce was accredited, though not devoid of a certain barbaric magnanimity, was even more ferocious and impracticable than the generality. The injudicious recall of Bruce's predecessor at the dey's demand had greatly encouraged the latter's insolence. Bruce's presents were judged insufficient, and with great public spirit headvanced more than 200*l.* from his own pocket, 'rather than, in my time, his majesty should lose the affections of this people.' These affectionate corsairs, in fact, were not without grounds of complaint. Blank passports, intended, when duly filled up, to exempt English ships from capture as belonging to a friendly power, had fallen into the hands of the French, who, to damage their enemy's credit, had sold them to nations at war with Algiers. The English, finding their passes thus invalidated, had issued written papers, which the Algerines could not read, and of course disregarded. Bruce had need of all his courage and address. The two years and a quarter during which he held office passed in a series of disputes with the Algerine ruler, which frequently involved him in great danger, but in which he usually triumphed by his undeviating firmness. At length, in August 1765, finding that no assistant was likely to be given him, he resigned his appointment, and departed on an archæological tour through Barbary, fortified by the protection of the old dey, who secretly admired his spirit. With the aid of his draughtsman and a camera obscura, he made a great number of most elaborate and beautiful drawings of the remains of Roman magnificence extant in the now uninhabited desert. These drawings, which were exhibited at the Institute of British Architects in 1837, are partly in the possession of his descendants, and partly in the royal collection at Windsor. Colonel Playfair finds them to be for the most part virtually in duplicate, but taken from slightly different points of view; one copy probably by Bruce, the other, distinguished by the introduction of conventional ornaments, probably by Balugani. Colonel Playfair's own elaborate work has superseded the imperfect account published by Bruce himself, but his researches have impressed him with the fullest conviction of the accuracy and conscientiousness of his predecessor, in whose delineations he has discovered only one error. The most important ruins visited and sketched by Bruce were those at Tebessa, Spaitla, Tamugas, Tisdrus, and Cirta. After more than

a year's travel through Barbary, at the close of which he underwent great danger from famine and pestilence at Bengazi, Bruce embarked at Ptolemeta for Candia, was shipwrecked, cast helpless on the African coast, beaten and plundered by the Arabs, and contracted an ague from his immersion, which he could never entirely shake off. His drawings had fortunately been placed in safety at Smyrna. Having, after a considerable delay at Bengazi, made his way to Crete, and partially got rid of his ague and fever, he proceeded with indomitable spirit to Syria, sketched the ruins of Palmyra and Baalbec, and, after hesitating whether he should not go to Tartary to observe the transit of Venus, arrived in Egypt in July 1768. Having conciliated Ali Bey, the chief of the Mameluke rulers of Egypt, by his real skill in medicine and supposed knowledge of astrology, and thus obtained recommendatory letters to the sheriff of Mecca, the naib of Masuah, Ras Michael the Abyssinian prime minister, and other chieftains and potentates, and being also provided with a monition to the Greeks in Abyssinia from their patriarch in Egypt, Bruce sailed up the Nile to Assouan, visited the ruins of Karnak and Luxor, and embarked at Cosseir for a voyage on the Red Sea. He proceeded to the Straits of Babelmandeb, retraced his course to Jidda, and crossed from thence to Masuah, the port of Abyssinia, where he landed on 19 Sept. 1769. The place, inhabited by a mongrel breed of African savages and Turkish janissaries, was little better than a den of assassins. It had, however one honest inhabitant, Achmet, the nephew of the naib or governor, who took Bruce's part and saved his life, powerfully aided by the fame of a salute which his countrymen had fired in his honour when he quitted Jidda, and by his credentials to the Abyssinian ras, whose wrath the naib had already provoked, and whom he feared to offend further. Bruce ultimately quitted the Red Sea coast on 15 Nov., bound for Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia. He reached his destination on 14 Feb. 1770, after a toilsome march, in which he experienced great difficulties from scantiness of provisions, from the transport of his heavy instruments, and from altercations with petty chiefs on the road. In his march he witnessed the barbarous Abyssinian custom of eating raw meat cut from the living animal, which he brought such undeserved discredit upon himself by relating; and visited the ruins of Axum, his imperfect description of which is more justly open to criticism. It was nearly 150 years since any European had visited Abyssinia, except Poncet, the French surgeon, towards

the end of the seventeenth century, and three Franciscan monks who had found their way about 1750, but had published no account of their travels, and probably never returned.

The name Abyssinia is derived from an Arabic word signifying confusion; and the term—intended to denote the mixture of races in the population of the country—was, in Bruce's time as now, accurately descriptive of its political condition. Although the throne was still filled by a reputed descendant of Solomon, the prestige of royalty had well-nigh disappeared, and the country was virtually divided among a number of provincial governors, whose revolts against the nominal sovereign and contentions among themselves kept it in a state of utter anarchy. At the time of Bruce's arrival the post of *ras* or vizier was filled by the aged Michael, governor of Tigré, the Warwick of Abyssinia, who, having assassinated one king and poisoned another, was at the age of seventy-two ruling in the name of a third. It was Bruce's business to conciliate this cruel but straightforward and highly intelligent personage, as well as the titular king and royal family, and Fasil, the chieftain in whose jurisdiction lay the springs of the Blue Nile, which Bruce, mistaking for the actual source of the river, had made the goal of his efforts. This individual happened to be in rebellion at the time, which increased the difficulties of the situation. But Bruce, by physical strength and adroitness in manly exercises, by presence of mind, by long experience of the East, by his very foibles of excessive self-assertion and warmth of temper, was fitted beyond most men to overawe a barbarous people. When he arrived at Gondar, King Tecla Haimanout and Ras Michael were engaged in a military expedition, and the Greeks and Moors to whom he had letters of introduction were likewise absent. Fortunately for him several persons of distinction were sick of small-pox, which procured him access to the queen mother; and perhaps still more fortunately he was not at first allowed to prescribe for them, greater confidence being reposed in a cross and a picture of the Virgin Mary. The speedy death of two of the patients insured him his own way with the remainder, and their recovery won him the gratitude of the queen mother and of Michael's wife, the young and beautiful Ozoro Esther. The favour thus gained was confirmed by his feat of firing a tallow candle through a table, which Salt found talked of forty years afterwards. Bruce received an office about the king's person, and, according to his own statement, was made governor of the district of Ras-el-Feel. This circumstance was contradicted by Dofter

Esther, a priest, from whom Salt subsequently obtained information, and who cannot have been actuated by any animosity to Bruce, as the general tenor of his communications was highly favourable to him. The appointment, however, may not have been generally known in Abyssinia, or Bruce himself, who at the time could not speak Amharic, may have been under a misapprehension as to the extent of his authority. In the spring of 1770 he accompanied the king and Michael on an expedition into Maitsha, which gave him an opportunity of obtaining from the king the investiture of the district of Geesh, where the fountains of the Blue Nile are situated, and of propitiating the rebel chief, Fasil, by sending medicine to one of his generals. The expedition was unsuccessful; the king and *ras* sought refuge in the latter's government of Tigré, and Bruce returned to Gondar, where he spent several months, living in the queen mother's palace under her protection, but exposed to considerable danger from the hostility of a usurper who had been elevated to the nominal throne. On 28 Oct. 1770 Bruce left Gondar to take possession of his fief, and after two days' march fell in with the army of Fasil, who had returned to his allegiance, and was favouring the king's return to Gondar. Fasil gave Bruce at first a very ambiguous reception; but, overcome by his intrepid bearing, and captivated by his feats in subduing savage horses and shooting kites upon the wing, altered his demeanour entirely, accepted Bruce as his feudatory, naturalised him among his Galla followers, and dismissed him with a favourite horse of his own, and instructions to drive the animal before him ready saddled and bridled wherever he went. The steed certainly brought the party security, for every one fled at the sight of him, and Bruce was finally obliged to mount. Thus sped, he arrived at the village of Geesh, and struck upon the mighty Nile, 'not four yards over, and not above four inches deep,' and here his guide pointed out to him 'the hillock of green sod' which he has made so famous. Trampling down the flowers which mantled the hillside, and receiving two severe falls in his eager haste, Bruce 'stood in rapture over the principal fountain.' 'It is easier to guess than to describe the situation of my mind at that moment—standing on that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and inquiry of both ancients and moderns for the course of near three thousand years.'

Bruce, however, was mistaken. He had not reached the source of the true Nile, but only that of its most considerable tributary. With a frankness which does him honour, he virtually admits the fact by pointing out

that, if the branch by whose spring he stood at Geesh did not encounter the larger stream of the White Nile, it would be lost in the sands. He maintains, indeed, that the Blue Nile is the Nile of the ancients, who bequeathed the problem of its source to us; but this is inconsistent with the fact that the expedition sent by Nero evidently ascended not the Blue Nile but the White. He was also in error—less excusable because in a certain measure wilful—in regarding himself as the first European who had reached these fountains. Pedro Paez the Jesuit had undoubtedly done so in 1615, and Bruce's unhandsome attempt to throw doubt on the fact only proves that love of fame is not literally the last infirmity of noble minds, but may bring much more unlovely symptoms in its train. There is a sense, however, in which Bruce may be more justly esteemed the discoverer of the fount of the Blue Nile than Paez, who stumbled upon it by accident, and, absorbed by missionary zeal, thought little of the exploit to which Bruce had dedicated his life.

During Bruce's absence from Gondar, King Tecla Haimanout had recovered his capital. Twenty thousand of Ras Michael's Tigré warriors occupied the city, and Bruce was in time to witness the vengeance of the victors. For weeks Gondar reeked with massacre, and swarmed with hyænas lured by the scent of carrion. Bruce's remonstrances were regarded as childish weakness. His draughtsman, Balugani, died, an event which he himself misdates by a year, and he ardently longed to quit the country. With much difficulty he obtained permission, but the general anarchy prevented his departure. The queen mother had always been unfriendly to Ras Michael. Two leading provincial governors, Gusho and Powussen, espoused her cause, and interposed their troops between Michael in the capital and his province of Tigré. After much indecisive fighting in the spring of 1771, the royal army was cut off from its supplies, and became completely disorganised in its retreat upon Gondar. The old ras, victor in forty-three battles, arrayed himself in cloth of gold, and sat calmly in his house awaiting his fate. He was carried away prisoner to a remote province, but was yet to rise again and rule Tigré seven years until his death. The king, though not dethroned, remained in virtual captivity, but was destined to experience many more changes of fortune ere he died a monk. Bruce spent a miserable autumn, prostrated with fever, harassed with debt, and in constant danger of his life from the wild Galla. On 26 Dec. 1771 he finally quitted Gondar, amid the benedictions and

tears of his many friends, bearing with other treasures the chronicles of the Abyssinian kings and the apocryphal book of Enoch in the Ethiopic version, in which alone it is preserved. The next stage of his journey was to be Sennaar, the capital of Nubia, which he reached after four months' march through a densely wooded country infested with wild beasts, narrowly escaping assassination at the hands of the treacherous sheikh of Atbara. After five months' disagreeable detention at Sennaar among 'a horrid people, whose only occupations seem war and treason,' he struck into the desert, and after incurring dreadful perils, most graphically described, from hunger, thirst, robbers, the simoom, and moving pillars of sand, on 29 Nov. 1772 reached Assouan, the frontier town of Egypt. He had been compelled to leave his journals, drawings, and instruments behind him in the desert, but they were recovered, and in March 1773 he brought the hard-won treasures safely to Marseilles.

Bruce spent a year and a half on the continent, enjoying the compliments of the French savants, recruiting his constitution at the baths of Poretta, and calling to account an Italian marquis who had presumed during his absence to marry a lady to whom he had been engaged. On his arrival in England he at first received great attention, but a reaction against him soon set in. People were scandalised by his stories, especially such as were really in no way improbable. As Sir Francis Head puts it, the devourers of putrid venison could not digest the devourers of raw beef. Bruce's dictatorial manner and disdain of self-vindication also told against him. 'Mr. Bruce's grand air, gigantic height, and forbidding brow awed everybody into silence,' says Fanny Burney in her lively sketch of him at this time in a letter to Samuel Crisp, adding, 'He is the tallest man you ever saw gratis.' No honour was conferred upon him, except the personal notice of the king. Deeply wounded, he retired to his patrimonial estate in Scotland, which had greatly increased in value from the discovery of coal; he postponed the publication of his travels, and might have finally abandoned it but for the depression of spirits caused by the death of his second wife in 1785. The need of occupation and the instances of his friend, Daines Barrington, incited him to composition, and five massive, ill-arranged, ill-digested, but most fascinating volumes made their appearance in 1790. They included a full narrative of his travels from the beginning; a valuable history of Abyssinia, 'neglecting,' however, according to Murray, 'very interesting traits of character and manners that appear in the

original chronicles ; ' and disquisitions on the history and religion of Egypt, Indian trade, the invention of the alphabet, and other subjects, evincing that the great traveller was not a great scholar or a judicious critic. With all their faults, few books of equal compass are equally entertaining ; and few such monuments exist of the energy and enterprise of a single traveller. Yet all their merits and all the popularity they speedily obtained among general readers did not effect the reversal of the verdict already passed upon Bruce by literary coteries. With sorrow and scorn he left the vindication of his name to posterity. He shot, entertained visitors, played with his children, and, ' having grown exceedingly heavy and lusty, rode slowly over his estate to his collieries, mounted on a charger of great power and size.' Occasionally he would assume Abyssinian costume, and sit meditating upon the past and the departed, especially, it is surmised, his beautiful protectress, Ozoro Esther. At last, on 27 April 1794, hastening to the head of his staircase to hand a lady to her carriage, he missed his footing, pitched on his head, and never spoke again.

Bruce's character is depicted with incomparable liveliness by himself. It is that of a brave, magnanimous, and merciful man, endowed with excellent abilities, though not with first-rate intellectual powers, but swayed to an undue degree by self-esteem and the thirst for fame. The exaggeration of these qualities, without which even his enterprise would have shrunk from his perils, made him uncandid to those whom he regarded as rivals, and brought imputations, not wholly undeserved, upon his veracity. As regards the bulk and general tenor of his narrative, his truthfulness has been sufficiently established ; but vanity and the passion for the picturesque led him to embellish minor particulars, and perhaps in some few instances to invent them. The circumstances under which his work was produced were highly unfavourable to strict accuracy. Instead of addressing himself to his task immediately upon his return, with the incidents of his travels fresh in his mind and his journals open before him, Bruce delayed for twelve years, and then dictated to an amanuensis, indolently omitting to refer to the original journals, and hence frequently making a lamentable confusion of facts and dates, which only came to light upon the examination of his original manuscripts. ' In the latter part of his days,' says his biographer, Murray, ' he seems to have viewed the numerous adventures of his active life as in a dream, not in their natural state as to time

and place, but under the pleasing and arbitrary change of memory melting into imagination.' These inaccuracies of detail, however, relating exclusively to things personal to Bruce himself, in no way impair the truth and value of his splendid picture of Abyssinia ; nor do they mar the effect of his own great figure as the representative of British frankness and manliness amid the weltering chaos of African cruelty, treachery, and superstition. His method of composition, moreover, if unfavourable to the strictly historical, was advantageous to the other literary qualities of his work. Fresh from the author's lips, the tale comes with more vividness than if it had been compiled from journals ; and scenes, characters, and situations are represented with more warmth and distinctness. Bruce's character portraits are masterly ; and although the long conversations he records are evidently highly idealised, the essential truth is probably conveyed with as much precision as could have been attained by a verbatim report. Not the least of his gifts is an eminently robust and racy humour. He will always remain the poet, and his work the epic, of African travel.

[The principal authority for Bruce's life is his own *Travels*, which have appeared in three editions, in 1790, 1805, and 1813. He left an unfinished autobiography, part of which is printed in the later editions of the *Travels*. They are also accompanied by a biography by the editor, Alexander Murray ; an exceedingly well-written and in the main a very satisfactory book. Some slight coldness towards Bruce's memory may be explained by the uneasy relations between Murray and Bruce's son, who quarrelled with him during the progress of the work. Sir Francis Head's delightful volume in the Family Library goes into the other extreme. It is a mere compilation from the *Travels*, but executed *con amore* by a kindred spirit, and highly original in manner if not in matter. Crichton's memoir in Jardine's *Naturalists' Library* is an audacious plagiarism from Head. Bruce's *Travels* in Barbary have been most fully illustrated by Colonel Playfair (*Travels in the Footsteps of Bruce*, 1877). See also the *Travels of Lord Valentia* and Salt, Bruce's principal detractors ; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. i. ; *Madame d'Arblay's Memoir of Dr. Burney*, i. 298-329 ; *Beloe's Sexagenarian*, ii. 45-9 ; and the chapter on Alexander Murray in Archibald Constable and his *Literary Correspondents*, vol. i. The excellent article in the *Penny Cyclopædia* is by André Vieusseux.] R. G.

BRUCE, JAMES (1765?-1806), essayist, was born in the county of Forfar, in or about 1765. After an honourable career at the university of St. Andrews, he went thence to Emmanuel College, Cambridge. He graduated B.A. in 1789, and took orders

in the English church. About 1800 he was again in Scotland, where for a short time he officiated as a clergyman in the Scottish episcopal church. Towards the end of this period, in 1803, was published his only separate literary work, 'The Regard which is due to the Memory of Good Men,' a sermon preached at Dundee on the death of George Teaman.

In 1803 he came to London to devote himself to literature, and was soon a prolific contributor to the 'British Critic' and the 'Anti-Jacobin Magazine and Review,' the latter a weekly journal started almost contemporaneously with, and conducted on the same principles as, its more famous namesake the 'Anti-Jacobin' of Canning celebrity. A large proportion of the articles published in this review from 1803 to 1806 are from Bruce's pen. These articles, written with considerable ability, are chiefly on theological and literary subjects. The former are characterised by a keen spirit of partisanship, and are aimed especially against the Calvinistic and evangelical parties in the church. His contempt for the whole tendency of the thought of revolutionary France was most hearty, and helped to keep up the 'Anti-Jacobin' tradition. For a list of the titles of the most important, see Anderson's 'Scottish Nation.'

Bruce's life in London was obscure, and probably unfortunate. He was found dead in the passage of the house in which he lodged in Fetter Lane, 24 March 1806.

[Anderson's *Scottish Nation*; Irving's *Book of Scotsmen*; *Annual Register*, 1806, p. 524.]  
A. M.-L.

**BRUCE, JAMES (1808-1861)**, journalist and author, was born at Aberdeen in 1808. He began his journalistic career in his native town, and there he published, in 1840, 'The Black Kalendar of Aberdeen,' an account of the most remarkable trials before the criminal courts of that city, and of the cases sent up from that district to the high court of justiciary, from 1745 to 1830, with personal details concerning the prisoners. In the following year appeared his 'Lives of Eminent Men of Aberdeen,' which contains, among other biographies, those of John Barbour, Bishop Elphinstone, chancellor of Scotland under James III, Jamieson the painter, and the poet Beattie.

While resident in Cupar, and editor of the 'Fifeshire Journal,' he published in 1845, under the name of 'Table Talk,' a series of short papers on miscellaneous subjects, which show a minute acquaintance with the byways and obscure corners of history and literature,

and, two years later, a descriptive 'Guide to the Edinburgh and Northern Railway.'

In 1847 Bruce was appointed commissioner to the 'Scotsman' newspaper to make inquiries into the destitution in the highlands. The results of his observations during a three months' tour appeared in the 'Scotsman' from January to March 1847, and were afterwards published in the form of a pamphlet, bearing the title of 'Letters on the Present Condition of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.' The emigration of great numbers seems to him an immediate necessity, in order to narrow the field of operation before attempting relief. He advocates also the establishment of a compulsory poor law, and the joining of potato patches into small farms; and he pleads earnestly for the spread of education to rouse the people from their lethargy to a sense of new wants. On the whole, though he blames the neglect and selfishness of the proprietors, and quotes the verdict of one of the witnesses he examined, that 'the ruin of the poor people in Skye is that there are whole miles of the country with nothing but sheep and gentlemen upon them,' yet he finds the real cause of the distress in the indolence and lack of energy of the highlanders themselves. He was afterwards employed by the 'Scotsman' on another commission, to report on the moral and sanitary condition of Edinburgh.

Bruce subsequently undertook in succession the editorship of the 'Madras Athenæum,' the 'Newcastle Chronicle,' and, during the latter years of his life, the Belfast 'Northern Whig.' He was an occasional contributor to the 'Athenæum,' and at the time of his death he was engaged on a series of papers for the 'Cornhill Magazine.' His restless mind was ever finding interests too much out of the beaten track to allow him to be sufficiently absorbed in the events of the day; and his success as a journalist was, therefore, hardly proportionate to his abilities.

The two best known of Bruce's books are 'Classic and Historic Portraits' (1853), and 'Scenes and Sights in the East' (1856). The former is a series of sketches descriptive of 'the personal appearance, the dress, the private habits and tastes of some of the most distinguished persons whose names figure in history, interspersed but sparingly with criticism on their moral and intellectual character.' 'Scenes and Sights in the East' is not a continuous book of travels, but a collection of picturesque views of life and scenery in Southern India and Egypt, with quaint observations on manners and men. Bruce died at Belfast, 19 Aug. 1861.

[Scotsman, 22 Aug. 1861; Belfast Northern Whig, 21 Aug. 1861; Athenæum, 24 Aug. 1861.] A. M.-L.

BRUCE, JAMES, eighth EARL OF ELGIN and twelfth EARL OF KINCARDINE (1811-1863), governor-general of India, second son of the seventh earl of Elgin [q. v.], was educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, where in 1832 he took a first class in classics, and was shortly afterwards elected a fellow of Merton. It is a curious coincidence that one of the examiners on the latter occasion was Sir Edmund Head, who many years afterwards succeeded Elgin as governor-general of Canada. Among Elgin's contemporaries at Christ Church were Lord Dalhousie and Lord Canning, his two immediate predecessors in the office of governor-general of India, the fifth Duke of Newcastle, the first Lord Herbert of Lea, and Mr. Gladstone. In a contest for the Eldon law scholarship he was defeated by Roundell Palmer, first Earl of Selborne. In April 1841 he married a daughter of Mr. C. L. Cumming Bruce, and at the general election in July of the same year he was elected member for Southampton as a liberal-conservative. When parliament met, he seconded the amendment to the address, which, being carried by a large majority, caused the resignation of Lord Melbourne's government. His election for Southampton was, however, declared void on petition. Shortly afterwards, on the death of his father, his elder brother having died in the previous year, he succeeded to the Scotch earldom, and ceased to be a member of the House of Commons. In March 1842 he was appointed governor of Jamaica.

Jamaica, at the time of Elgin's appointment, was in some respects in a depressed condition. The landed proprietary, which was mainly represented in the island by paid agents, had suffered considerably from the abolition of the slave trade. The finances required careful management, and the moral and intellectual condition of the negro population was very low. In all these matters progress had been made under the administration of Elgin's distinguished predecessor, Sir Charles Metcalfe; but much still remained to be accomplished, especially in the matter of educating the negroes. In this, and in the important object of encouraging the application of mechanical contrivances to agriculture, Elgin's efforts were very successful, and his administration generally was so satisfactory that very shortly after leaving Jamaica he was offered by the whig government, which had acceded to office in 1846, the important post of governor-general of Canada. His first wife had died shortly after his arrival in Jamaica, and in 1847 he married

Lady Louisa Mary Lambton, daughter of the first Earl of Durham.

In Canada, as in Jamaica, Elgin again succeeded to an office which very recently had been filled by Metcalfe, but the difficulties of the position were far greater than those which had met him in the West Indian colony. The rebellion which had taken place in Lower Canada in 1837 and 1838 had left behind it feelings of bitter animosity between the British party, which was most numerous in the upper province, and the French Canadians, who preponderated in Lower Canada. Pursuant to the recommendations made in Lord Durham's celebrated report, Upper and Lower Canada had been united under a single government, and under Sir Charles Bagot, Metcalfe's predecessor as governor-general, constitutional government had been established. During the earlier part of Metcalfe's government the French Canadians and the party that sympathised with them had been in office; but a difference of opinion between Metcalfe and his council as to his power to make appointments, even to his personal staff, without the assent of the council, had led to the resignation of the majority of the council, and had been followed by the dissolution of the assembly and an election which gave a small majority to the British party. Elgin found this party in power, but before he had been a year in office another general election gave a majority to the other side, and during the remainder of his stay in Canada his ministry was composed of persons belonging to what may be called the liberal party, the chief element in that ministry being French Canadian. From the first Elgin had very serious difficulties to contend with. The famine in Ireland, which commenced in the first year of his government, flooded Canada with diseased and starving emigrants, whose support had in the first instance to be borne by the Canadians; the Free Trade Act of 1846 inflicted heavy losses upon Canadian millowners and merchants; and last, but not least, the British party regarded with the keenest resentment the admission into the government of the country of persons some of whom they looked upon as rebels. This resentment, on the occasion of a bill being passed granting compensation for losses incurred in Lower Canada during the rebellion, culminated in riots and outrages of a grave character. The measure in question was the outcome of the report of a commission appointed by Metcalfe's conservative government in 1845. It was denounced both in Canada and in England, and in the latter country, among other persons, by Mr. Gladstone, as a measure for

rewarding rebels for rebellion, and on the occasion of the governor-general giving his assent to it, his carriage, as he left the House of Parliament, was pelted with stones, and the House of Parliament was burnt to the ground. A few days later, on his going into Montreal to receive an address which had been passed by the House of Assembly condemning the recent outrages and expressing confidence in his administration, he was again attacked by the mob, some of his staff were struck by stones, and it was only by rapid driving that he escaped unhurt. The result of these disturbances was that Montreal was abandoned as the seat of government, and for some years the sittings of the legislature were held alternately at Toronto and Quebec. Later on the situation was embarrassed by a cry for annexation to the United States, caused mainly by the commercial depression consequent upon free trade and the absence of a reciprocity treaty with the States. The latter was at last concluded in 1854, after negotiations conducted by Elgin in person. Another source of considerable anxiety at this period was the practice in vogue among certain English statesmen of denouncing the colonies as a needless burden upon the mother country. But all these difficulties were gradually overcome, and when Elgin relinquished the government at the end of 1854, it was generally recognised that his administration had been a complete success.

For two years after leaving Canada Elgin abstained from taking any active part in public affairs. On the breaking up of Lord Aberdeen's government in the spring of 1855, he was offered by Lord Palmerston the chancellorship of the Duchy of Lancaster with a seat in the cabinet; but wishing to maintain an independent position in parliament, while according a general support to the government of the day, he declined the offer.

In 1857, on differences arising with China in connection with the seizure of the *Iorcha Arrow*, Elgin was sent as envoy to China. On reaching Singapore he was met by letters from Lord Canning informing him of the spread of the Indian mutiny, and urging him to send troops to Calcutta from the force which was to accompany him to China. With this requisition he at once complied, sending in fact the whole of the force, but he proceeded himself to Hongkong in the expectation that the troops would speedily follow. Finding that this expectation was not likely to be fulfilled, and that the French ambassador, who was to be associated with him in his mission, had been delayed, he repaired to Calcutta in H.M.S. *Shannon*, which he left with Lord Canning for the protection of that

city. Later in the year he returned to China, fresh troops having been sent out to replace those which had been diverted to India. Canton was speedily taken, and some months later a treaty was made at Tientsin, providing among other matters for the appointment of a British minister, for additional facilities for British trade, for protection to protestants and to Roman catholics, and for a war indemnity. He subsequently proceeded to Japan, where he made a treaty which opened certain ports to British trade, and admitted foreigners into the country.

On his return to England in the spring of 1859 Elgin, who was made G.C.B. the year before, was again offered office by Lord Palmerston, and accepted that of postmaster-general. He was elected lord rector of Glasgow University, and received the freedom of the city of London. In the following year he was again sent to China, the emperor having failed to ratify the treaty of Tientsin, and committed other unfriendly acts. On the voyage out the steamer in which Elgin was a passenger was wrecked in Galle harbour. The mission was not accomplished without fighting. The military opposition was slight, but the Chinese resorted to treachery, and after having, as was supposed, accepted the terms offered by the two envoys (Baron Gros, on the part of the French, was again associated with Elgin), carried off some officers and soldiers whom Elgin had sent with a letter to the Chinese plenipotentiary, and also the 'Times' correspondent, Mr. Bowly [q.v.], who had accompanied them. The latter and one or two other members of the party were murdered. In retribution for this treacherous act, the summer palace, the favourite residence of the emperor at Peking, was destroyed. A few days later the treaty of Tientsin was formally ratified, and a convention was concluded, containing certain additional stipulations favourable to the British government. Visiting Java on his voyage home, Elgin returned to England on 11 April 1861, after an absence of about a year.

Elgin had hardly been a month in England when he was offered the appointment of viceroy and governor-general of India, which Lord Canning was about to vacate. It was the last public situation which he was destined to fill, and he appears to have accepted it with some forebodings. In a speech which he made to his neighbours at Dunfermline shortly before his departure, he observed that 'the vast amount of labour devolving upon the governor-general of India, the insalubrity of the climate, and the advance of years, all tended to render the prospect of their again meeting remote and uncertain.'

He left England at the end of January 1862, arriving at Calcutta on 12 March. During the twenty months which followed, he devoted himself with unremitting industry to the business of his high office, bringing to bear upon it experience acquired in other and widely different spheres of duty, but fully conscious of the necessity of careful study of the new set of facts with which he was brought into contact. 'The first virtue,' he said to one of his colleagues, 'which you and I have to practise here at present is self-denial. We must, for a time at least, walk in paths traced out for us by others.' The first eleven months were spent in Calcutta, where, without encountering any serious illness, he suffered a good deal of discomfort from the heat. In February 1863 he moved to Simla, halting at Benares, Agra, Delhi, and other places, and holding durbars, at which he made the acquaintance of numerous native chiefs and nobles. Spending the summer at Simla, on 26 Sept. he started for Sealkote, en route to Peshawur, with the intention of then proceeding to Lahore, where, in pursuance of the Indian Councils Act, passed two years before, the legislative council was to assemble. The earlier part of the route lay over the Himalayas and the upper valleys of the Beas, the Ravi, and the Chenab rivers. In the course of it he crossed the twig bridge over the river Chandra, an affluent of the Chenab. The crossing of this bridge, constructed as it was of a rude texture of birch branches, much rent and battered by the wear and tear of the rainy season, involved very great physical exertion, and brought on a fatal attack of heart complaint, to which he succumbed at Dharmasala on 20 Nov. 1863. Lady Elgin and his youngest daughter were with him. A very interesting account of his last days, written by his brother-in-law, A. P. Stanley, dean of Westminster, is given in Mr. Walrond's memoir.

Of Elgin's character as a public man, the most prominent features were the thoroughly practical manner in which he habitually dealt with public questions; his readiness to assume responsibility, and the strong sense of duty which enabled him to suppress personal considerations whenever they appeared to conflict with the public interests. Of the two last-mentioned qualities striking evidence was furnished by his prompt resolve to send the troops destined for China to the aid of the Indian government. Of the first an example was afforded at an early period in his official life. Shortly after his arrival in Jamaica he came into collision with the home government on a question of taxation, regarding which the legislation of the local assembly

was disapproved in England. Fully recognising the advantages of free trade, and the principles upon which the free-trade policy was based, he was not prepared to admit that those principles, however sound in the abstract, ought to be suddenly enforced in a colony just emerging from grave financial difficulties, and by a temperate representation he induced the government to recall an order which would otherwise have caused serious embarrassment. A few years later, in Canada, influenced by similar considerations, he brought about, not without delay and difficulty, and mainly by his own persistent advocacy, the reciprocity treaty with the United States. He was charged in some quarters with having shown timidity in dealing with the disturbances at Montreal, but the charge was discredited by successive governments at home, whose confidence in his judgment and firmness was to the last unimpaired. The vigour and diplomatic ability displayed by him in China in getting his own way, both with the Chinese authorities and with his French colleague, were very remarkable. In China and in India, where he was brought into contact with Englishmen and other Europeans settled among Asiatic populations, he seems to have formed a strong, and some persons thought an exaggerated, impression of the tendency of Europeans to ill-use the inferior races, his letters, both public and private, containing frequent and indignant allusions to this subject.

In India his tenure of office was too short to admit of any trustworthy estimate being formed of his capacity to administer with success a system so different from those to which he had been accustomed in his previous career; but, had his life been spared, he would probably have taken a high place on the roll of Indian administrators. In private life he was much beloved. His letters show that he was a man of warm affections, eminently domestic, with very decided convictions on the subject of religion. He was a full and facile writer, and a fluent and effective speaker, with a style remarkably clear, abounding in illustrations from the varied stores of a well-furnished and retentive memory.

[Letters and Journals of James, eighth earl of Elgin, ed. Theodore Walrond, 1872; Kaye's Life of Lord Metcalfe, 1858; personal information.]

A. J. A.

**BRUCE, SIR JAMES LEWIS KNIGHT-** (1791-1866), judge, was the youngest son of John Knight of Fairlinch, Devonshire, by Margaret, daughter and afterwards heiress of William Bruce of Llanblethian, Glamorgan-



shire. He was born at Barnstaple on 15 Feb. 1791, and was educated at King Edward's grammar school, Bath, and the King's school, Sherborne. He left Sherborne in 1805, and, after spending two years with a mathematical tutor, was articled to a solicitor in Lincoln's Inn Fields. His articles having expired, he was, on 21 July 1812, admitted a student of Lincoln's Inn. On 21 Nov. 1817 he was called to the bar, and for a short time went the Welsh circuit. The increase of his chancery practice soon caused him to abandon the common law bar, and he confined himself to practising in the equity courts. In Michaelmas term 1829 he was appointed a king's counsel, and on 6 Nov. in the same year was elected a bencher of Lincoln's Inn. Upon taking silk he selected the vice-chancellor's court, where Sir Edward Sugden, afterwards Lord St. Leonards, was the leader. With him Knight had daily contests until Sugden's appointment as lord chancellor of Ireland in 1834. In politics Knight was a conservative, and in April 1831 he was returned for Bishop's Castle, a pocket borough belonging to the Earl of Powis. His parliamentary career, however, was short, for the borough was disfranchised by the Reform Bill. In 1834 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the university of Oxford. In 1835 he was one of the counsel heard at the bar of the House of Lords on behalf of the municipal corporations against the Municipal Reform Bill, and in 1851 on behalf of the deans and chapters against the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill. In 1835 and in 1837 he unsuccessfully contested the borough of Cambridge, and in September following assumed the additional surname of Bruce by royal license. Upon the abolition of the court of exchequer in equity and the transfer of its jurisdiction to the court of chancery, he was on 28 Oct. 1841 appointed by Sir Robert Peel one of the two additional vice-chancellors under 5 Vict. c. 5. He was subsequently knighted, and on 15 Jan. 1842 was sworn a member of the privy council. In Michaelmas term 1842 he undertook the further duties of chief judge in bankruptcy, and seven years later the exercise of the jurisdiction of the old court of review was entrusted to him. In 1842-3 he held the yearly office of treasurer of Lincoln's Inn, and in virtue of that office laid the foundation-stone of the new hall and library of the inn on 20 April 1843. Upon the creation of the court of appeal in chancery Lord John Russell appointed Knight-Bruce and Lord Cranworth the first lords justices on 8 Oct. 1851. In this court Knight-Bruce sat for nearly sixteen years. He died at Roehampton Priory, Surrey, on

7 Nov. 1866, within a fortnight after his retirement from the bench, which had been occasioned by the gradual failure of his sight and the shock which he had sustained by the sudden death of his wife in the previous year. He was buried in Cheriton churchyard, near Folkestone, on the 14th of the same month. At the bar he was remarkable for the rapidity with which he was always able to make himself master of the facts of any case, and for his extraordinary memory (see report of *'Hilton v. Lord Granville,'* Cr. and Ph. 284, and *Law Mag. and Review*, xxii. 281). As a judge he showed a wonderful aptitude for business and a profound knowledge of law, and so anxious was he to shorten procedure and save time in the discussion of technicalities, that in some of his decisions, which were overruled by Lord Cottenham, he anticipated reforms which were subsequently made. His language was always terse and lucid, and his judgments, especially the earlier ones, were models of composition (see the case of *'Reynell v. Sprye,'* 1 *De Gex, Macnaghten, & Gordon*, 660-711; of *'Thomas v. Roberts,'* better known as the *'Agapemone Case,'* 3 *De Gex & Smale*, 758-81; and of *'Burgess v. Burgess,'* 3 *De Gex, Macnaghten, & Gordon*, 896-905). He frequently sat on the judicial committee of the privy council, where his familiarity with the civil law and the foreign systems of jurisprudence was especially valuable. In the celebrated *'Gorham case'* he differed from the judgment of the majority of the court, which was pronounced by Lord Langdale, M.R., on 8 March 1850. On 20 Aug. 1812 he married Eliza, the daughter of Thomas Newte of Duvale, Devonshire, by whom he had several children. Two portraits were taken of him, by George Richmond, R.A., and Woolner respectively, both of which have been engraved.

[Foss (1864), ix. 151-4; *Law Mag. and Rev.* xxii. 278-93; *Law Journal*, i. 564-5, 607-8; *Solicitors' Journal*, xi. 25, 53-4, 79; *Law Times*, xlii. 21, 48, 57, 303; *Gent. Mag.* 1866, new ser. ii. 681, 818, 833-5; *Annual Register* (1866), Chron. 218-19.] G. F. R. B.

BRUCE, JOHN (1745-1826), historian, was heir male of the ancient family of Bruce of Earlsball, one of the oldest cadets of the illustrious house of Bruce; but he did not succeed to the estate of his ancestors, which was transferred by marriage into another family. He inherited from his father only the small property of Grangehill, near Kinghorn, Fifeshire, the remains of a larger estate which his family acquired by marriage with a granddaughter of the renowned Kirkcaldy of Grange. He received his education at the

university of Edinburgh, where he was appointed professor of logic. Having acquitted himself to the satisfaction of Viscount Melville in the education of his son, that nobleman obtained for him a grant of the reversion, conjointly with Sir James Hunter Blair, of the patent of king's printer and stationer for Scotland, an office which did not open to them until fifteen or sixteen years later. Through the influence of Lord Melville, Bruce was likewise appointed keeper of the state paper office, secretary for the Latin language to the Privy Council, and historiographer to the East India Company. He was M.P. for Michael or Midshall, Cornwall, from February 1809 till July 1814, and for a short time secretary to the board of control. He was a fellow of the Royal Societies of London, Edinburgh, and Göttingen. His death occurred at his seat of Nuthill, Fifeshire, on 16 April 1826.

Bruce was an accurate historian and an elegant scholar, and produced several valuable works, some of which were privately printed for confidential use by members of the government. Their titles are: 1. 'First Principles of Philosophy,' Edinburgh, 1780, 1781, 1785, 8vo. 2. 'Elements of the Science of Ethics, or the Principles of Natural Philosophy,' London, 1786, 8vo. 3. 'Historical View of Plans for the Government of British India,' 1793, 4to. 4. 'Review of the Events and Treaties which established the Balance of Power in Europe, and the Balance of Trade in favour of Great Britain,' London, 1796, 8vo. 5. 'Report on the Arrangements which were made for the internal Defence of these Kingdoms when Spain by its Armada projected the Invasion and Conquest of England,' London, 1798, 8vo, privately printed for the use of ministers at the time of Bonaparte's threatened invasion. On this report Pitt grounded his measures of the provisional cavalry and army of reserve. 6. 'Report on the Events and Circumstances which produced the Union of the Kingdoms of England and Scotland; on the effects of this great National Event on the reciprocal interests of both Kingdoms; and on the political and commercial influence of Great Britain in the Balance of Power in Europe,' 2 vols., London [1799], 8vo. These papers were collected by the desire of the fourth Duke of Portland, then secretary of state, when the question of union between Great Britain and Ireland came under the consideration of the government. 7. 'Report on the Arrangements which have been adopted in former periods, when France threatened Invasions of Britain or Ireland, to frustrate the designs of the enemy by attacks on his

foreign possessions or European ports, by annoying his coasts, and by destroying his equipments,' London [1801], 8vo, privately printed for the government. 8. 'Annals of the East India Company from their establishment by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth, 1600, to the union of the London and English East India Company, 1707-8,' 3 vols., London, 1810, 4to. 9. 'Report on the Renewal of the Company's Exclusive Privileges of Trade for twenty years from March 1794,' London, 1811, 4to. 10. 'Speech in the Committee of the House of Commons on India Affairs,' London, 1813, 8vo.

[Gent. Mag. xcvi. (ii.) 87, (new series) iv. 327; Martin's Privately Printed Books, 133, 138, 142, 149, 156; Biog. Dict. of Living Authors (1816), 42; Beloe's Anecdotes, ii. 432; Smith's Bibl. Cantiana, 85; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 293; McCulloch's Lit. Pol. Econ. 106; Lists of Members of Parliament (official return), ii. 243, 258; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.] T. C.

BRUCE, JOHN (1802-1869), antiquary, a native of London, though of a Scotch family, was educated partly at private schools in England, and partly at the grammar school of Aberdeen. Although brought up to the law, he did not practise after 1840, and from that time gave himself wholly to historical and antiquarian pursuits, to which he had already devoted much attention. He took a prominent part in the foundation of the Camden Society, held office in it as treasurer and director, and contributed to its publications: 'The Historie of the Arrivall of Edward IV,' 1838, the first volume of the society's works; 'Annals of the First Four Years of Queen Elizabeth,' 1840; 'Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester,' 1844; 'Verney Papers,' 1845; 'Letters of Queen Elizabeth and James VI,' 1849; a preface to 'Chronicon Petroburgense,' 1849; 'Letters and Papers of the Verney Family,' 1853; 'Charles I in 1646,' 1856; 'Liber Famelicus' of Sir James Whitelocke, 1858; 'Correspondence of James VI with Cecil,' 1861; a preface to 'Proceedings principally in the County of Kent . . . from the collections of Sir E. Dering,' 1861; conjointly with J. G. Nichols's 'Wills from Doctors' Commons,' 1863; an 'Inquiry into the Genuineness of a Letter dated 3 Feb. 1613,' 1864, in the 'Miscellany,' v. 7; 'Accounts and Papers relating to Mary Queen of Scots,' conjointly with A. J. Crosby, 1867; 'Journal of a Voyage . . . by Sir Kenelm Digby,' 1868; 'Notes of the Treaty of Ripon,' 1869. He was for some time treasurer and vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries, and contributed many papers to the 'Archæo-

logia,' among which his 'Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Paston Letters,' xli. 15, may be especially mentioned. He also printed two letters relating to the affairs of the society in 1852. He wrote occasionally in the 'Edinburgh Review' and other periodicals, and was for some years editor of the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' For the Berkshire Ashmolean Society he edited a volume of 'Original Letters relating to Archbishop Laud's Benefactions,' 1841, and for the Parker Society the 'Works of R. Hutchinson,' 1842, and conjointly with the Rev. T. Perowne the 'Correspondence of Archbishop Parker,' 1853. In 1857 he contributed an edition of Cowper's poems to the Aldine edition of poets. He edited the Calendars of State Papers, Domestic Series, Charles I, 1625-1639, 12 vols. published under the direction of the master of the rolls, 1858-1871, the last volume being completed by Mr. W. D. Hamilton, and in 1867 printed privately papers relating to William, first earl of Gowrie. In 1861 he was appointed by the Society of Antiquaries a trustee of Sir John Soane's Museum. He was a man of a noble simplicity of character, and was much beloved by all who worked with him. He had been a widower for some years before his death, which occurred very suddenly at London, 28 Oct. 1869. His manuscripts deposited in the British Museum are: Catalogue of State Papers in the State Paper Office and the British Museum, and class catalogues of manuscripts in the British Museum, Add. MSS. 28197-28202, and a classified list of the letters of William Cowper, Add. MS. 29716.

[The Times, 3 and 4 Nov. 1869; J. G. Nichols's Catalogue of the Works of the Camden Society, 2nd edit. 1872; Thompson Cooper's Biog. Dict., supplement; Men of the Time, ed. 1868; Notes and Queries, 4th series, iv. 443; Catalogue of Additional MSS. in the British Museum.] W. H.

**BRUCE, SIR JOHN HOPE** (1684?-1766), of Kinross, soldier and statesman, and reputed author of the ballad 'Hardyknute,' was the third son of Sir Thomas Hope, bart., of Craighall, Fife. His mother was the sole heir of Sir William Bruce, bart., of Kinross, and hence comes the name of the son, which in the family records stands as Sir John Bruce Hope. On the death of his elder brothers without heirs he succeeded to the estates, and came to be popularly known as Sir John Bruce of Kinross. Besides serving in the Swedish army, Bruce rose at home to the rank of major-general, 1754, and lieutenant-general, 1758. His public career likewise includes the go-

vernorship of the Bermudas (1721-7) and the representation of Kinross-shire in Parliament (1727-34 and 1741-47). He died aged 82 on 6 June 1766, and was buried at Kinross. His first wife was Catherine Halket of Pittferran, near Dunfermline, and her sister, Lady Wardlaw, divides with Bruce the honour of having written 'Hardyknute.' It is difficult on the evidence to decide which of the two wrote the poem—if indeed it was not their joint composition—but the best critics incline to give the credit to Bruce. Pinkerton, who wrote a sequel to the vigorous fragment, is quite decided in that view, resting his conclusion on a letter to Lord Binning, in which Bruce says he found the manuscript in a vault at Dunfermline. Percy accepts Pinkerton's argument and inference, and Irving, the most competent judge since their day, while acknowledging the difficulties of the case, is clearly inclined to agree with them. Unfortunately neither Lady Wardlaw nor Bruce left any authentic poetical composition, though Pinkerton would have little hesitation in attributing to Bruce not only 'Hardyknute' but other members of Ramsay's 'Evergreen' as well. There exists, however, testimony of various friends as to the exceptional accomplishments of Lady Wardlaw, and as to the probability, amounting almost to a certainty, that she was the sole and unaided author of the ballad [see **WARDLAW, LADY ELIZABETH**].

[Burke's Peerage; Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems; Percy's Reliques; Chalmers's Life of Allan Ramsay; Chalmers's History of Dunfermline; Irving's Scottish Poets.] T. B.

**BRUCE, MICHAEL** (1635-1693), presbyterian minister, was the first of a line of seven Bruces, presbyterian ministers in Ireland in six successive generations. He was the third and youngest son of Patrick Bruce of Newtown, Stirlingshire, by Janet, second daughter of John Jackson, merchant of Edinburgh. Robert Bruce [q. v.], who anointed Anne of Denmark at Holyrood, 17 May 1590, was his grand-uncle. Bruce graduated at Edinburgh in 1654. He is said to have begun to preach in 1656. In that year John Livingstone of Ancrum, formerly minister of Killinchy, co. Down, paid a visit to his old charge, with a view to settle there again. This he did not do, but on returning to Scotland he looked out for a likely man for Killinchy, and at length sent Bruce with a letter (dated 3 July 1657) to Captain James Moore of Ballybregah 'to be communicated to the congregation.' Bruce was ordained at Killinchy by the Down presbytery in October 1657. At the Restoration Bruce's position was very precarious, but he refused a call

to Bothkennar, Stirlingshire, in 1660, and though deprived for nonconformity by Bishop Jeremy Taylor, he continued to preach and administer the sacraments 'at different places in the parish, in kilns, barns, or woods, and often in the night.' Patrick Adair [q. v.], though he pays a high tribute to Bruce's 'integrity and good intentions,' yet intimates that he and other young ministers did more harm than good, affixing the stigma of lawlessness on the whole presbyterian party in Ulster. On 23 June 1664 he was outlawed, along with John Crookshanks of Raphoe, and ordered to give himself up to the authorities on 27 July. At length, in 1665 or 1666, Bruce returned to Scotland, not to keep quiet there, for in June 1666 his field preachings procured him a citation before the lords of the privy council in Edinburgh as 'a pretended minister and a fugitive from Ireland.' He did not answer the summons, but persisted in his 'seditious and factious doctrine and practice.' Early in June 1668 he was arrested, in his own hired house near Stirling, by Captain George Erskine, governor of Stirling Castle. He made every effort to escape, wounding one of his captors, and being himself badly wounded. He was lodged in the castle, and the privy council on 4 June directed that no one should have access to him, 'except it be physicians or chirurgeons.' On 18 June order was given to transfer him to the Edinburgh Tolbooth, and on 2 July he was charged before the council by the king's advocate. Admitting and defending his practice of preaching and baptising in houses and the fields, he was banished out of his majesty's dominions of Scotland, England, and Ireland, under the penalty of death. He signed a bond of compliance. From the print of his sermon, preached in the Tolbooth on the following Sunday, it appears that Virginia was to be the place of his exile. But an order from Whitehall (dated 9 July) directed the privy council to send him up to London 'by the first conveniency by sea.' On 13 Sept. he was conveyed to Prestonpans, and thence in the ship John to London. A royal warrant committed him to the Gatehouse at Westminster. It is said that he was to have been transported to Tangier. His wife in vain presented his petition for 'sustenance or release.' He was allowed to preach at the Gatehouse, and among his audience was Lady Castlemaine, one of Charles II's favourites. Through her influence a second petition (still extant) was more successful. The king declined to remit the sentence of banishment, but allowed Bruce to select his place of transportation. With much quickness he at once asked to be sent

to 'Killinchy in the woods.' The end was that his kinsman, the Earl of Elgin, procured for him a writ quashing all past sentences, and he got back to Killinchy with his family in April 1670. In the summer of that year his people set about building him a meeting-house (rebuilt 1714). Though Roger Boyle, who had succeeded Jeremy Taylor as bishop of Down and Connor, instituted proceedings against him and others for preaching without license, Berkeley, the lord-lieutenant, and James Margetson, the primate, intervened, and the presbyterians were left unmolested. In 1679 Bruce signed an address presented by the Down presbytery to the Irish government, disclaiming any complicity with the rising of the Scottish covenanters put down at Bothwell Bridge. He was frequently over in Scotland during this period; we find him in 1672 at Carluke, and in 1685 in Galloway. His final retreat to Scotland was in 1689, when the war broke out, and he was 'forced over from Ireland to Galloway by the Irishes.' He had several offers of a charge, but went of his own accord to Anwoth, Wigtonshire, a parish made famous by the ministry of Samuel Rutherford. The late incumbent, James Shaw, had been ousted by the people. Bruce was a member of the general assembly of 1690. He was called to Jedburgh, but decided to remain at Anwoth. Some curious stories are told of his predictions; the most remarkable is, that on 27 July 1689, the day of the battle of Killiecrankie, he was preaching at Anwoth, and declared that Claverhouse 'shall be cut short this day. I see him killed and lying a corpse.' At Anwoth he died in 1693, and was buried in the church. He was in his fifty-ninth year, and the thirty-seventh of his ministry. He married (contract dated 30 May 1659) his cousin Jean, daughter of Robert Bruce of Kinnaird, and granddaughter of the Robert Bruce mentioned above. In his second petition from the Gatehouse he speaks of his 'family of young and helpless children left behind him' in Scotland. Three of his children died young, and were buried at Killinchy. His eldest son was James [q. v.] Bruce published nothing himself, and the rough quaint sermons issued as his were taken from the notes of his hearers. 1. 'A Sermon preached by Master Michael Bruce, in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, the immediate Sabbath after he received the sentence of exile for Virginia,' 4to, n.d. (text, Ps. cxl. 12, 13). 2. 'The Rattling of the Dry Bones; or, a sermon preached in the night-time at Chapel-yard in the parish of Carluke, Clydsdale, May 1672,' 4to, n.d. (text, Ezek. xxxvii. 7, 8). 3. 'Six Dreadful Alarms in order to

the right improving of the Gospel; or the substance of a sermon, &c., 4to, n.d. (text, Matt. vii. 24; printed about 1700). 4. 'Soul Confirmation; or a sermon preached in the parish of Cambusnethen in Clyds-dail,' &c. 1709, 4to (text, Acts xiv. 22). 5. 'A Collection of Lectures and Sermons, preached mostly in the time of the late persecution,' &c., Glasgow, 1779, 8vo (edited by J. H., i.e. John Howie; reprinted as 'Sermons delivered in times of persecution in Scotland,' Edin. 1880, 8vo, with biographical notices by the Rev. James Kerr, Greenock; contains three sermons by Bruce on Gen. xlii. 25, Ps. cxix. 133, and Mark ix. 13). 6. A manuscript collection by Daniel Mussenden, merchant of Belfast, 1704, contains a sermon on Matt. xxviii. 1-4, 'preached in Scotland' by 'Mr. Mihail Bruce.'

[Hew Scott's *Fasti Eccl. Scot.*; Wodrow's *Hist.* vol. ii. and *Analecta*; Reid's *Formal Christians*, Belf. 1729, pref.; Original Letters to R. Bruce, Dublin, 1828; J. S. Reid, in *Orthod. Presbyterian*, February 1831; Grub's *Eccl. Hist. of Scotland*, 1861, ii. 247; Adam's *True Narrative* (Killen), 1866, pp. 258 sq.; Reid's *Hist. Presb. Ch. in Ireland* (Killen), 1867, ii. 219 sq.; Witherow's *Hist. and Lit. Mem. of Presbyterianism in Ireland*, 1st ser. 1879, pp. 46 sq.; Cumming-Bruce's *Fam. Records of the Bruces and the Cumyns*, 1870, pp. 362, 384; Kerr's biog. notice, 1880 ut sup.; Porter's *Seven Bruces*, in *N. Whig*, 6 April 1885; information from a descendant.] A. G.

**BRUCE, MICHAEL** (1686-1735), Irish presbyterian minister, eldest son of James Bruce, minister of Killeleagh [q. v.], born 27 July 1686, was licensed by the Down presbytery at Downpatrick on 27 Oct. 1708, after subscribing the Westminster Confession, and promising not to 'follow any divisive courses all the days of my life.' He was ordained minister of Holywood, co. Down, on 10 Oct. 1711, and acquired the reputation of a quiet, solid preacher. He was a member of the ministerial club, founded in 1705, and subsequently known as the Belfast Society. This body, of which the mainspring was John Abernethy of Antrim [q. v.], exercised a powerful influence in liberalising the presbyterian theology of Ulster. When, in 1720, the nonsubscription controversy broke out, his father, James Bruce, became a subscriber. Bruce, who broke with Calvinistic orthodoxy, became a decided nonsubscriber, and in 1723 was one of the four ministers accused by Colonel Upton at the Belfast sub-synod as 'holding principles which opened a door to let all heresy and error into the church.' In 1724 he protested against the exclusion of Thomas Nevin of Downpatrick for alleged heresy. He preached what was intended as

a healing sermon, on 5 Jan. 1725, before the sub-synod. That same year he was placed with the other nonsubscribers by the general synod of Ulster in a separate presbytery (Antrim), and in 1726 the Antrim presbytery, of which Bruce was clerk, was excluded from the general synod, and became a distinct ecclesiastical body. A subscribing congregation was soon formed at Holywood, under William Smith, and most of Bruce's hearers deserted him. Wodrow says he had only ten or twelve families left, yielding a stipend of scarcely 4*l*. To improve his position, a fortnightly evening lecture was established in First Belfast, and Bruce was appointed lecturer, at 20*l*. a year. His reputation as a minister was high, but he wrote so little that it is difficult to form a judgment of his merits. He is believed to have had a principal hand in the nonsubscribers' historical statement, 'A Narrative of the Proceedings of Seven General Synods of the Northern Presbyterians in Ireland,' &c., Belfast, 1727, 8vo (the preface is signed by Samuel Haliday, moderator, and Michael Bruce, clerk). He died 1 Dec. 1735, and was buried at Holywood, where Haliday preached his funeral sermon (Ps. xxxvii. 37) on 7 Dec. In 1716 he married Mary Ker, and had four children. Samuel Bruce [q. v.] was his son. He published only, 'The Duty of Christians to live together in religious communion, recommended in a sermon,' &c., Belfast, 1725, 8vo.

[Haliday's *Funeral Sermon*, 1735; Appendix to *Duchal's Sermon for Abernethy*, 1741, pp. 36 sq.; *Bible Christian*, 1841, p. 111; Witherow's *Hist. and Lit. Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland*, 1st series, 1879, pp. 295 sq.; Porter's *Seven Bruces*, in *N. Whig*, 16 April 1885.] A. G.

**BRUCE, MICHAEL** (1746-1767), poet, the fifth of eight children of Alexander Bruce, weaver, was born at Kinnesswood, a hamlet in the parish of Portmuck, on the eastern shore of Lochleven, Kinross-shire, on 27 March 1746. His father was an elder of the seceding church which adhered to Thomas Mair of Orwell, Kinross-shire, ejected from the anti-burgher synod for holding that 'there is a sense in which Christ died for all men.' Bruce, who was a quick and delicate boy, was early taught to read and write, and was made useful as a 'wee herd loon' in tending sheep. At the village school his great companion was William Arnot, to whose memory he wrote 'Daphnis' in May 1765. At the age of eleven he had resolved to be a minister. When he was about sixteen his father received a bequest of 200 merks Scots (1*l* 2*s* 2*d*.), which he devoted to his son's education. Bruce was enrolled

in the Greek class at Edinburgh University, under Robert Hunter, on 17 Dec. 1762. He attended three sessions at Edinburgh, not confining himself to the arts course (for in 1763 he took Hebrew along with natural philosophy), and taking pleasure in belles lettres and poetry. He acquired, as his letters show, an admirable prose style, and contributed some poems to the Literary Society. Leaving the university in 1765, he became schoolmaster at Gairney Bridge, in the parish of Cleish, Kinross-shire, on the western side of Lochleven. He had twenty-eight pupils, at the rate of 2s. a quarter, and free board with their parents in rotation. He wrote a poetical appeal to the managers for a new table, and contemplated the publication of a volume of poems. While boarding in the house of one Grieve of Classloch he fell in love with his pupil, his host's daughter Magdalene. He celebrates her in his 'Alexis' (under the name of Eumelia) and in two songs. She married David Low. Still eager for the ministry, Bruce found that the anti-burgher synod would not receive him as a student, owing to his connection with Mair. Accordingly he applied to the burgher synod, and was enrolled in the classes of John Swanston, minister at Kinross. In 1766 he looked out for a new school, and found one at Forrest Mill, near Tillicoultry, Clackmannanshire. To this period belongs his correspondence with his father's apprentice, David Pearson, who had settled at Easter Balgedie, near Kinnesswood. He fell ill, being in fact seized with consumption, but was for the time restored through the skill of John Mil-lar, M.D., to whom he addressed some grateful lines, enclosed to Pearson on 20 Nov. 1766. On 7 Dec. he mentions his 'Loch-leven' as being 'now finished.' David Arnot (with whom Bruce had kept up a literary correspondence, often in Latin) is portrayed in it as Agricola; Lælius is thought to be George Henderson, a college friend, who died in 1793. At length ill-health forced him to resign his school in the course of the winter, and he made his way home on foot. In the spring he penned his touching 'Elegy' on his own approaching death. On 5 July (6 July, ANDERSON) 1767 he was found dead in his bed. His father (of whom there is a memoir by Pearson in the Edinburgh 'Missionary Chronicle,' 1797) followed him on 19 July 1772.

During Bruce's life his ballad of 'Sir James the Ross' was printed in a newspaper. His 'Lochleven,' his 'Pastoral Song,' and his song 'Lochleven no more' (in both of which Peggy is Magdalene Grieve) appeared in the 'Edinburgh Magazine.' At the time

of his death, John Logan, his class-fellow, then tutor in the family of Sir John Sinclair, undertook to bring out a volume of his friend's poems, and for this purpose got possession of most of Bruce's manuscripts, consisting of poems and letters, and especially a quarto volume into which, in his last illness, he had transcribed his poems. Not till 1770 did Logan issue the small volume of 'Poems on several Occasions, by Michael Bruce,' Edinburgh, 12mo, prefixing a very well-written biographical preface. It contains but seventeen pieces, including some by different authors; 'the only other author ever specified by Logan was Sir John Foulis, bart., to whom the Vernal Ode is ascribed by Dr. Anderson' (GROSART). Pearson maintains that the whole contents of the volume were known to him as Bruce's except this ode, the 'Ode to the Fountain,' 'Ode to Paoli,' 'Chorus of Elysian Bards,' and 'Danish Odes.' Moreover, to Bruce's companions the volume appeared strangely defective. His father at once said, 'Where are my son's Gospel sonnets?' He went to Edinburgh for the manuscripts, and got some of the papers, but never recovered the aforesaid quarto. The chagrin hastened the old man's death. In the 'Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement' of 5 May 1774 the 'Ode to the Cuckoo,' from the 1770 book, appears as a contribution signed 'R. D.,' in the next number the piracy is exposed, and the real initials of the thief are said to be 'B. M.' A charming paper in the 'Mirror' (No. 36, Saturday, 29 May 1779, signed 'P.,' and ascribed to William Craig, one of the lords of session) drew public attention to Bruce's genius, as exhibited in the 1770 volume. Two years later Logan published 'Poems, by the Rev. Mr. Logan, one of the ministers of Leith,' 1781, 8vo. The first piece in this volume is the 'Ode to the Cuckoo,' with a few verbal changes from the 1770 issue; at the end are nine hymns, the first and fifth being revisions of hymns already in print. All these hymns and adaptations are claimed for Bruce by his brother James, who says he had heard them repeated. The Scottish kirk adopted them into its 'Paraphrases' in 1781, and from this source they have been introduced into innumerable hymn-books. With regard to the 'Ode to the Cuckoo,' on which the controversy mainly turns, there is an accumulation of evidence. Bruce writes that he had composed a 'poem about a gowk.' A copy of the ode in Bruce's handwriting is said to have been seen by Dr. Davidson of Kinross, and by Principal Baird of Edinburgh. Pearson affirms that Alexander Bruce read the poem aloud from

his son's quarto book, a few days after Michael's death. It was never seen in Logan's handwriting before 1767, the year in which he obtained Bruce's manuscripts. After publishing his own volume, Logan in 1781-2 tried to prevent by law a reprint of the 1770 book; but it was reprinted at Edinburgh for a Stirling bookseller in 1782. It was reprinted in 1784, 1796, and 1807. Against Logan it is urged that his posthumously published sermons (1790-1) show plagiarisms; and that he claimed as his own (using them as candidate for a chair at Edinburgh) a course of lectures afterwards published in his lifetime by Dr. W. Rutherford. The vindication of Bruce's authorship of the contested poems and hymns was ably undertaken by William Mackelvie, D.D., of Balgedie, in his 'Lochleven and other Poems, by Michael Bruce; with Life of the Author from original sources,' Edinburgh, 1837, 8vo, and has been further pursued by the Rev. Dr. Grosart, in his edition of Bruce's 'Works,' 1865, 8vo, with memoir and notes. On the other hand, the claim of Logan is advocated in David Laing's 'Ode to the Cuckoo, with remarks on its authorship, &c.,' 1873 (privately printed). A strong point is that the Rev. Dr. Thomas Robertson, minister of Dalmeny, writes to Baird on 22 Feb. 1791, saying that he and Logan had looked over the manuscripts of Bruce together; and the cuckoo ode is not among those he identifies as Bruce's. In the article 'Michael Bruce' in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (ninth edition, 1876, iv. 393) stress is laid on the admission of Logan's authorship of the 'Ode to the Cuckoo' by Isaac D'Israeli, Thomas Campbell, Robert Chambers, and David Laing. The writer erroneously supposes that Bruce's title to this ode was first (after Logan's claim) brought forward by Mackelvie. The letters of Pearson (29 Aug. 1795) and Joseph Birrel (31 Aug. 1795), claiming the ode for Bruce, are given by Anderson in his life of Logan (1795). Later defences of Logan's claim will be found in the 'Brit. and For. Evangelical Review,' 1877 and 1878, articles by John Small, M.A. (reprinted separately) and Rev. R. Small. It is not easy to relieve Logan of the charge of having appropriated Bruce's poem; at the same time his alterations, so far as they can be traced, appear to be improvements on the original work.

[Life, by Robert Anderson, M.D., in his *British Poets*, vol. ix. 1795, pp. 273 sq., 1029 sq., 1221 sq.; *Miller's Our Hymns, their Authors and Origin*, 1866, pp. 242 sq., 247 sq.; *Shairp, in Good Words*, November 1873; authorities cited above.] A. G.

BRUCE, PETER HENRY (1692-1757), military adventurer, was born at Detring Castle in Westphalia, his mother's home, in 1692. He was descended from the Bruces of Airth, Stirlingshire. His grandfather, John Bruce, took refuge from the Cromwellian troubles in the service of the Elector of Brandenburg, and his father was born in Prussia, and obtained a commission in a Scotch regiment in the same service. The father accompanied his regiment on its return to Scotland in 1698, and took his wife and child with him. The boy was now sent to school at Cupar in Fife for three years, after which he remained three years more with his father at Fort William. In 1704 his father took him to Germany, and left him with his mother's family, by whom he was sent to a military academy to learn fortification. Soon after his uncle Rebeur, who was colonel of a regiment serving in Flanders, took charge of him, and entered him in the Prussian service (1706). He got his commission in his sixteenth year (1708), in consequence of distinguished conduct at the siege of Lille, and he appears to have been present at a considerable number of the battles and sieges in which Prince Eugene's troops took part. In 1711 he quitted the Prussian service, and entered that of Peter the Great of Russia, on the invitation of a distant cousin of his own name, who held high rank in the Russian army at that time. He was sent with despatches to Constantinople in 1711, and his 'Memoirs' give an interesting account of that city as he saw it. His 'Memoirs' also contain many interesting anecdotes of Peter the Great and his court during the years 1711-24, for the greater part of which period Bruce appears to have lived at St. Petersburg when not following the czar on his expeditions. In 1722 he accompanied the Persian expedition led by the czar. They sailed down the Volga from Nischnei-Novgorod to Astrachan, and then coasted along the western shore of the Caspian as far as Derbent, passing through the countries of several Tartar tribes, of whose manners and habits he gives a very good account.

After this expedition he at last succeeded in obtaining leave of absence for a year, and quitted Russia in 1724, determined never to see it again. He now returned to Cupar after an absence of twenty years, and settling down on a small estate left him by his grand-uncle, he married, and turned farmer for sixteen years, during which time he had several children. In 1740, desiring to increase his income, he again took military service, and was sent by the British government to the Bahamas to carry out some fortifications there. Five years later he again returned

to England, and was immediately employed in the north, fortifying Berwick and other towns against the Pretender. Here his 'Memoirs' abruptly break off; but we learn from the 'advertisement' prefixed to the edition of 1782, that he retired the same year (1745) to his house in the country, where he died in 1757. His 'Memoirs,' his only literary work, were originally written, as he tells us, in German, his native language, and were translated by him into English in 1755. They were printed at London in 1782 for his widow, and are favourably noticed in the 'Monthly Review' for that year. They are pleasantly written, and show very close and intelligent observation.

[Bruce's Memoirs; Monthly Review, 1782.]  
G. V. B.

**BRUCE, ROBERT DE I** (*d.* 1094?), was an ancestor of the king of Scotland who made the name of Bruce or Brus famous. The family is a singular example of direct male descent in the Norman baronage, and it is necessary to distinguish with care the different individuals who bore the same surname, and during eight generations the christian name of Robert. The surname has been traced by some genealogists beyond Normandy to a Norse follower of its conqueror Rollo, a descendant of whose brother, Einar, earl of Orkney, called Brusi (which means in old Norse a goat), is said to have accompanied Rollo and built a castle in the diocese of Coutances. A later Brusi, son of Sigurd the Stout, was Earl of Orkney, and died 1031. But the genealogy cannot be accepted. The name is certainly territorial, and is most probably derived from the lands and castle of Brix or Bruis, of which a few remains in the shape of vaults and foundations can still be traced between Cherbourg and Vallonges. More than one de Bruce came with the Conqueror to England, and the contingent of 'li sires de Bréaux' is stated at two hundred men (*LELAND, Collectanea*, i. 202). Their services were rewarded by forty-three manors in the East and West, and fifty-one in the North Riding of Yorkshire—upwards of 40,000 acres of land, which fell to the lot of Robert de Bruce I, the head of the family. Of the Yorkshire manors the chief was Skelton in Cleveland, not far from Whitby, the seat of the elder English branch of the Bruces after the younger migrated to Scotland and became lords of Annandale.

[Orkneyinga Saga; Ord's History of Cleveland, p. 198; Domesday, Yorkshire, 332 b, 333, and Kelham's Illustrations, p. 121; Dugdale's Baronage, i. 447. Registrum Honoris de Richmond, p. 98, gives the seal of Robert.] Æ. M.

**BRUCE, ROBERT DE II** (1078?-1141), was son of Robert I, and companion of David I of Scotland at the court of Henry I. He received from David I a grant of Annandale, then called Strath Annet, by a charter c. 1124 (*A. P. Scot.* i. 92, from the original in *Brit. Mus. Cartæ Antiquæ*, xviii. 45). It was bounded by the lands of Dunegal, of Strathnith (Nithsdale), and those of Ranulf de Meschines, earl of Chester, in Cumberland, and embraced the largest part of the county of Dumfries. Like David, a benefactor of the church, Robert de Bruce founded a monastery of canons regular at Gisburn in Cleveland, with the consent of his wife Agnes and Adam his eldest son. The church of Middleburgh, with certain lands attached to it, was given by him to the monks of Whitby as a cell of Gisburn, and his manors of Appleton and Hornby to the monks of St. Mary at York. Along with Bernard de Baliol of Barnard Castle he tried to make terms between David and the English barons before the battle of the Standard in 1138; but failing in this attempt he renounced his Scotch fief of Annandale, and, notwithstanding his affection for David, fought with zeal on the side of Stephen. He died in 1141, and left by Agnes, daughter of Fulk Pagnel of Carlton, two sons. The elder, Adam, succeeded to Skelton and his other English lands, which continued in the family till 1271, when, on the death of Peter Bruce, constable of Scarborough, without issue, they were parted between his four sisters. His second son, Robert de Bruce III, saved the Scotch fief of Annandale either by joining David I, if a tradition that he was taken prisoner by his father at the battle of the Standard can be relied on, or by obtaining its subsequent restoration from David or Malcolm IV.

[Ælfred de Rievaulx's Descriptio de bello apud Standardum juxta Albertonam; Dugdale's Monasticon, i. 388-412, and ii. 147.] Æ. M.

**BRUCE, ROBERT DE III** (*d.* 1138-1189?), second son of Robert II, and so called Le Meschin or the Cadet, was the founder of the Scottish branch. He held the Annandale fief, with Lochmaben as its chief messuage, for the service of a hundred knights during the reigns of David I, Malcolm IV, and William the Lion, who confirmed it by a charter in 1166. He paid escuage for the manor of Hert in the bishopric of Durham in 1170, which he is said to have received from his father to supply him with wheat, which did not grow in Annandale. The date of his death is uncertain, but he must have survived the year 1189, when he settled a long-pending dispute with the see of Glasgow by an agree-



ment with Bishop Jocelyn, under which he mortified the churches of Moffat and Kirkpatrick, and granted the patronage of Drivesdale, Hoddam, and Castlemilk, in return apparently for a cession by the bishop of his claim to certain lands in Annandale.

[Charter of William the Lion in Ayloffe's Charters; Madox's History of Exchequer; Registrum Glasguense, pp. 64-5; Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, i. No. 197.]

Æ. M.

**BRUCE, ROBERT DE IV** (*d.* before 1191), son of Robert III, was married in 1183 to Isabel, daughter of William the Lion, by a daughter of Robert Avenel, when he was given the manor of Haltwhistle in Tyndale as her dowry. He must have survived his father, if at all, only a short time, as his widow married Robert de Ros in 1191, and the date of his father's death being uncertain it may be doubted whether he succeeded to Annandale. He was succeeded by William de Bruce, his brother, in that fief, who was the only exception to the line of Roberts. William held Annandale along with the English manors of Hert and Haltwhistle till his death in 1215.

[Dugdale's Baronage, i. 449; Graham's Lochmaben, pp. 16 and 17.]

Æ. M.

**BRUCE, ROBERT DE V** (*d.* 1245), son of William de Bruce, married Isabel, second daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon, younger brother of William the Lion, and thus founded the claim of his descendants to the crown. In 1215-16 he obtained from King John a confirmation of a grant of a market and fair at Hartlepool. He was a witness at York in 1221 of Alexander II's charter of jointure to his wife Joanna, sister of Henry III. During this reign his own great estate and royal connection by marriage made the lord of Annandale one of the chief barons of southern Scotland. Like his ancestors he was liberal to the church, confirming and increasing their grants. He died in 1245, and was buried at the abbey of Saltre in Huntingdonshire.

[Rymer's Fœdera, i. 252; Dugdale's Baronage, i. 449; Monasticon, ii. 151. Several charters by or to him are amongst the Duchy of Lancaster Charters, and notes of them are printed, Calendars of Documents relating to Scotland, i. Nos. 1680-5.]

Æ. M.

**BRUCE, ROBERT DE VI** (1210-1295), sometimes called the *COMPETITOR*, from his claim to the crown against John Baliol [*q.v.*], succeeded to the lordship of Annandale on his father's death in 1245, and on that of his mother in 1251 to ten knights' fees in Eng-

land, her share of the earldom of Huntingdon. He married, the year before his father died, Isabel, daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester. His active career was distributed between the two kingdoms, in each of which he was a powerful subject.

In 1238 Alexander II, on the eve of an expedition to the Western Isles, despairing of issue, recognised the claim of Bruce to the succession; but the birth of Alexander III in 1241 frustrated his hopes. In 1250 he acted as one of the justices of Henry III, but during the next seven years he appears to have transferred his field of action to Scotland. On the death of Alexander II in 1255 he was one of the fifteen regents named in the convocation of Roxburgh to act during the minority of the young king, and he formed the head of the party favourable to the English alliance cemented by the king's marriage to Margaret, daughter of Henry III. That king appointed him sheriff of Cumberland and governor of Carlisle. Between 1257 and 1271 he again frequently served on the English king's bench, and in 1268 he was appointed *capitalis justiciarius*, being the first chief justice of England, with a salary of 100 marks. In 1260 he accompanied the king and queen of Scotland to London. In the Barons' war he fought for Henry, and was taken prisoner at Lewes in 1264, but was released after the victory of Evesham (1265) turned the tide in favour of the king, when he resumed his office as sheriff of Cumberland. On the accession of Edward I he was not reappointed to the bench, and appears again to have returned to Scotland. He was present at the convention of Scone, 5 Feb. 1283-4, by which the right of succession of Margaret, the Maid of Norway, was recognised; but on the death of Alexander III in 1286 a powerful party of nobles met at Turnberry Castle, belonging to his son Robert, earl of Carrick, in right of his wife, and pledged themselves to support each other and vindicate the claims of whoever should gain the kingdom by right of blood, according to the ancient customs of Scotland. They assumed as allies Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and Thomas de Clare, to whom authority was given to proceed with arms against any one who broke the conditions of the bond, 20 Sept. 1286 (*Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, edited by Rev. J. Stevenson, i. 22). The nobles who joined in this league were Patrick, earl of Dunbar, his three sons, and his son-in-law James the Steward of Scotland, and his brother John, Walter Stewart earl of Menteith, Angus, son of Donald lord of the Isles, his son Alexander, and the two Bruces, the lord of Annandale,

and his son, the Earl of Carrick. They united the chief influence of the south and west of Scotland against the party of John de Baliol, lord of Galloway, and the Comyns. A period of civil war ensued, during which Robert de Bruce, lord of Annandale, asserted his title to the crown. Unable to secure his aim, Bruce took part in the negotiations at Salisbury, which resulted in the treaty of Brightham in 1290, with the view of uniting Scotland to England, subject to guarantees for its independence by the marriage of Margaret to Prince Edward. The death of Margaret reopened the question of the succession, and one of the regents, William Fraser, bishop of St. Andrews, made the appeal to Edward I as arbiter, which led to the famous competition at Norham in 1291-2, decided in favour of John de Baliol on 17 Nov. 1292. According to Sir F. Palgrave, Bruce had also some years before appealed to Edward, but the documents adduced to prove this are without date, and the ascription of at least one of them to Bruce is conjectural. The course of litigation at Norham, where Bruce, as well as Baliol, recognised Edward's title as lord paramount to decide the cause, and the grounds upon which the claim of Bruce was rejected, have been stated in the life of Baliol [q. v.] A protest by Bruce amongst the documents carried off by Edward from Scotland, afterwards delivered to Baliol (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 116), and an agreement for mutual defence between Bruce and Florence, count of Holland, another of the competitors, entered into on 14 June 1292 (*Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland*, edited by Rev. J. Stevenson, i. 318), show that Bruce was not disposed to acquiesce in the adverse decision. His great age prevented him from any active measures to overturn it, and he resigned his rights and claims in favour of his son, the Earl of Carrick. He retired to his castle of Lochmaben, where he died on Good Friday, 1294-1295, at the age of eighty-five, and was interred at Gisburn in Cleveland, the family burial-place, where his stately tomb may still be seen. His character is well drawn in Walter of Hemingburgh: 'Toto tempore vitæ suæ gloriosus extitit; facetus, dives, et largus, et habundavit in omnibus in vita et in morte.' He had three sons: Robert, earl of Carrick, Barnard, and John.

[Dugdale's Barons, i. 450; Rymer's Fœdera, i. 698; Documents illustrating the History of Scotland, ed. Sir F. Palgrave; Ord's History of Cleveland; Foss's Judges of England, ii. 269.]  
Æ. M.

**BRUCE, ROBERT DE VII, EARL OF CARRICK** (1253-1304), son of the Competitor,

Robert de Bruce VI, is said to have accompanied Edward, afterwards Edward I, in the crusade of 1269. On his return he married Marjory, countess of Carrick, and became by the courtesy of Scotland Earl of Carrick.

A romantic story handed down by the Scottish historians, that Bruce was carried off by the heiress when hunting near her castle of Turnberry, is probably an invention to excuse his marriage with a royal ward without the king's consent. In 1278 he did homage to Edward on behalf of Alexander III for his English fiefs. In 1281 he borrowed 40*l.* from his old comrade Edward I, a debt which played a part in the fortunes of his son. He was present at Scone in 1284, when the right of succession of the Maid of Norway was recognised, but took part with his father and the other nobles in the league of Turnberry, on 20 Sept. 1286, intended to defeat it. Like his father, however, he joined in the treaty of Brightham (14 March 1290), rendered abortive by Margaret's death. The agreement between Florence, count of Holland, and his father on 14 June 1292, to which the earl was a party, shows that Bruce anticipated an adverse decision. About this time he went to Norway with his eldest daughter Isabel, possibly on account of her marriage to King Eirik, the widower of Margaret, the daughter of Alexander III, which took place on 15 Nov. 1293, but also perhaps to avoid attendance at Baliol's parliament, to which he was summoned. It may have been with the same motive that after the death of his wife in 1292 he resigned the earldom of Carrick to his son, afterwards king (*A. P. Scot.* i. 449 *a b*). On the death of his father he did homage to Edward for his English fiefs on 4 June 1295. On 6 Oct. following he was given the custody of the castle of Carlisle during the king's pleasure, and three days after he took before the bishop of Durham and barons of the exchequer an oath to hold it faithfully and render it to no one but the king. When Baliol attempted to assert his independence, as was natural, his rivals the Bruces sided with Edward, and in 1296, after that monarch had taken Dunbar, Bruce the elder, according to the Scotch chroniclers, claimed the fulfilment of a promise, by which he was to be made king of Scotland. The answer, in Norman-French, of Edward, as given by Wyntoun (B. viii. 1927) and Fordun, though it has been doubted, suits his character:—

Ne avons ren autres chos a fere  
Que a vous reamgs (i.e. reaulmes) ganere

Hawe I nought ellys to do nowe  
But wyn a kynryk to gyve yhowe?

Baliol, in revenge for Bruce's aid to Edward, seized Annandale, and gave it, with the castle of Lochmaben, to John Comyn; but his possession was brief, for Clifford, the English warden, retook it in the same year. The elder Bruce retired from Scotland and lived on his English estates till his death in 1304, when he was buried at Holmcultram in Cumberland. Besides his eldest son Robert the king, he left Edward, lord of Galloway [see BRUCE, EDWARD], killed at Dundalk in 1318; Thomas and Alexander, taken in Galloway, and executed at Carlisle by Edward's order in 1307; and Nigel, who suffered the same fate at Berwick in 1306. His daughters, Isabel, Mary, Christian, Matilda, and Margaret, all married Scotch nobles or landed men in the life of their brother, whose hands were strengthened by these alliances in his contest for the crown. A sixth daughter Elizabeth, and a seventh whose name is unknown, are of doubtful authenticity.

[Rymer's *Fœdera*, ii. 266, 471, 558, 605, 612; Stevenson's Documents illustrative of History of Scotland. See Index under Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, but the references after 1295 are to his son Robert, afterwards king; Acts Parl. Scot. i. 424 a, 441 a, 447 b, 448 a. There are many errors in the early Scottish writers as to the Bruce genealogy, and the repetition of the same name led to frequent confusion of different persons; but these are now corrected by the more accurate examination of the records due to Chalmers's *Caledonia*, Lord Hailes, and Kerr in his *History of the Reign of Robert the Bruce*.] Æ. M.

**BRUCE, ROBERT DE VIII (1274-1329)**, king of Scotland, son of Robert de Bruce VII, earl of Carrick, and Marjory, daughter and heiress of Nigel, second earl of Carrick, by Marjory, daughter of Walter the Steward of Scotland, born on 11 July 1274, was descended on the father's side from a Norman baron who came with William the Conqueror to England; and on his mother's from the Celtic chiefs of Galloway, as the names of her grandfather Duncan, created earl of Carrick by William the Lion, and her father, Niel or Nigel, show. Soon after the death of her first husband, Adam de Kilconquhar, in 1271, his mother married Robert de Bruce (VII), son of the Competitor Robert de Bruce (VI), who assumed, according to Scottish custom, the title of Earl of Carrick. On the decision of the disputed succession in 1292 in favour of Baliol, and the death of his wife in the same year, the earl resigned that title to his son, and three years later acquiring, through the death of his father, the lordship of Annandale, he was afterwards known as Domi-

nus de Annandale, while his son, the future king, was styled Earl of Carrick until his coronation in 1306. On 4 June 1295 Edward I records by a writ under his privy seal that Robert, son and heir of Robert de Bruce, senior, now deceased, had done homage for lands held of the king, and this Robert, earl of Carrick, is by another writ nominating him keeper of the castle of Carlisle called Lord of Annandale on 6 Oct. 1295, having resigned the earldom three years before. The deed of resignation, dated at Berwick on Sunday after the feast of St. Leonard (6 Nov.) 1292, was presented to Baliol at the parliament of Stirling on 3 Aug. 1293. As it was necessary that sasine of the lands should be taken by the king before he could receive the homage of the new vassal, the sheriff of Ayr was directed to take it and ascertain their extent, after which Bruce was to return and do homage. It is uncertain whether homage was ever rendered, for the disputes between Baliol and Edward had commenced, and from the first both the young Bruce and his father took Edward's side. On 24 Aug. 1296, along with the Earls of March and Angus, Robert de Brus 'le veil' (the elder) and Robert de Brus 'le jovene' (the younger), earl of Carrick, took the oaths of homage and fealty to Edward at Berwick (*Ragman Rolls*, 176 a). A series of writs in favour of the earl shows one means by which their support was gained. A debt due by him to Edward, perhaps the old debt contracted by his father in 1281, was respited on 23 July 1293, and again on 11 Feb. and 15 Oct. 1296. By the second letter of respite it appears that the earl was about to proceed to Scotland, and by the third that he had rendered such good service that the king granted him the delay needed to admit of easy payment. His father had meantime been made keeper of the castle of Carlisle, and Baliol had retaliated by seizing Annandale, which he conferred on John Comyn, earl of Buchan. In the same year Baliol's renunciation of allegiance to the English king led to the brief campaign in which Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling were taken, and on 2 Jan. 1296 the abject Baliol surrendered at Kincardine or Brechin his crown and realm to Edward. In the following year the Earl of Carrick, with other Scottish nobles, received a summons to accompany Edward to Flanders as his direct vassals. The Scotch, like many English barons, declined to obey a summons in excess of feudal obligation, and Wallace, during Edward's absence abroad, having raised the standard of revolt, Bruce, although, according to Hemingford, he had sworn alle-

giance to Edward at Carlisle on the host and the sword of Thomas à Becket, joined for a brief space the army of the popular leader. Urgent letters had been sent to him to aid the Earl of Warenne, Edward's commander, then advancing towards Scotland, with as many men as he could muster, and at least a thousand foot from Kyle, Cunningham, Cumnock, and Carrick. Instead of complying, in June 1297, along with Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, James the Steward of Scotland, and Sir William Douglas, he laid waste the country of the adherents of Edward. Warenne, an inactive general, sent in advance Henry de Percy and Robert de Clifford, who succeeded on 9 July 1297 in making terms with Bruce and his friends by the treaty called the capitulation of Irvine. The Scottish barons were not to be called to serve beyond the sea against their will, and were to be pardoned for their recent violence, while they in turn came into the peace, or, in other words, acknowledged their allegiance to Edward. The Bishop of Glasgow, the Steward, and Alexander de Lindesay became sureties for Bruce until he should deliver his daughter Marjory as hostage for his fidelity, which might well be doubted. The treaty appears to have been confirmed by Bruce at Berwick early in August. Wallace was at this time in the forest of Selkirk, along with Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, gathering together the Scottish commons, who, with less division of interest than the nobles, were determined to deliver their country from the English. On 11 Sept. he defeated Earl Warenne and Cressingham the treasurer at Stirling Bridge. Dundee and other castles surrendered in consequence of this victory, and the English evacuated Berwick. Wallace and Sir Andrew Murray, son of the elder Sir Andrew, assuming the title of leaders of the Scottish army in the name of John (i.e. Baliol), by God's grace illustrious king of Scotland, with consent of the community carried the war into Northumberland and Cumberland. At this time Baliol, and not Bruce, was the name under which the standard of Scottish independence was borne, but its bearer was Wallace, and its defenders the Scottish commons. In 1298, Edward returning from Flanders conducted in person the Scottish war with larger forces and better generalship, and his defeat of Wallace at Falkirk on 22 July wrested from the Scotch the fruits of the victory of Stirling Bridge. At this time Bruce again sided with his countrymen. Annandale was wasted and Lochmaben Castle taken by Clifford, and Bruce himself, to use the words of the contemporary Hemingford, 'when he heard of the

king's coming fled from his face and burnt the castle of Ayr, which he held.' Edward's campaign was a single victory, not a conquest. Pressing affairs, especially the contest with his own subjects, whose desire for the confirmation of the charters he was reluctant to concede, recalled him to England, and he was obliged to trust the settlement of Scotland to the nobles, to whom he assigned earldoms and baronies, or, as the chronicler expresses it, the hope of them. Annandale and Galloway and certain earldoms, a term which includes Carrick, he assigned to no one, that he might not irritate those earls who had only recently seceded and had not finally cast in their lot with their countrymen. As regards Bruce this conciliatory policy, so characteristic of Edward until the time for conciliation was past, had its effect, and from 1298 to 1304 he was at least not actively engaged against the English king. A truce was effected by the mediation of Philip IV of France in 1298. Baliol being now the pensioned prisoner of Edward, and Wallace an exile, a regency was appointed, which consisted of William of Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, John Comyn the younger, and Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, with whom for a time John de Soulis was conjoined. The only document which names Bruce is a letter of 13 Nov. 1299, by which the regents propose to Edward a suspension of hostilities on both sides. Comyn was the active regent representing the interest of Baliol and his own, as heir through his mother Ada, Baliol's sister. In 1300 the truce was renewed till Whitsunday 1301, and though Edward made an abortive attempt to resume the war on 26 Jan. 1302, the truce was again, at the instance of the French king, prolonged till November. It was during this period of intermittent war and truce, for in 1300 Edward took Caerlaverock, and in 1301 wintered at Linlithgow, that Pope Boniface VIII intervened in the dispute as to the succession to the Scottish crown, and claimed a right to decide it as lord paramount. On 27 June 1300 he despatched a bull to Edward demanding the withdrawal of his troops and the release of the Scotch ecclesiastics in his custody, which was presented by Archbishop Winchelsey to Edward at New Abbey in Galloway in October. Edward immediately summoned a parliament at Lincoln on 20 Jan. 1301, when the memorable answer denying the pope's claim to interfere in the temporal affairs of England, and asserting the feudal dependence of Scotland, was drawn up and confirmed by the seals of seven earls and ninety-seven barons for themselves and the whole community. Langtoft,

a contemporary, states that Bruce was present at this parliament.

At the Broadgate lay the Bruce, erle was he that day.

But his name is not in the list of those summoned, or of those who agreed to the reply to the pope. It is improbable that he was there or actively engaged in the controversy which was carried on by a memorial presented to the pope on behalf of Edward in favour of the English supremacy, and replies by the Scotch in the '*Processus Baldredi contra figmenta Regis Angliæ*,' drawn by Baldred de Bisset, rector of Kinghorn, one of the Scottish commissioners at Rome. It was the policy of Bruce at this time to remain in the background, but events were hastening which brought him forward as the first actor on the stage. Scottish history at this juncture was involved with the relations of the English king to the court of France and the see of Rome. Edward made up his quarrel with Philip the Fair, whose sister Margaret he married in 1299, and with whom an alliance was completed on 20 May 1303. Gascony was restored to France, and Scotland, up to this time supported by the French king, was abandoned. The pope also, anxious to stir up Edward against Philip, with whom he had a nearer and more dangerous controversy as to the rights of church and state, though unsuccessful in his object, temporised to gain it, and withdrew his protection from the Scotch. Edward, who had reconciled his own subjects by tardy concessions, to procure the necessary supplies of men and money for the invasion of Scotland, commenced the war in earnest in 1303. In September of the previous year he ordered Sir John de Segrave to make a foray by Stirling and Kirkintilloch, but it was delayed till the following spring, and on 24 Feb. Segrave was defeated by Comyn, the regent, at Roslin. Edward himself then took the command, and in a brilliant campaign traversed the whole country from the border to Elgin, perhaps to Caithness, reducing every place of strength and wintering at Dunfermline. On 24 July of the following year (1304) the capitulation of Stirling, the only castle which held out, completed his conquest. The evidence is slight, but sufficient to show that in this campaign Bruce still supported Edward. On 3 March Edward writes to Bruce: 'If you complete that which you have begun, we shall hold the war ended by your deed and all the land of Scotland gained,' and on the 5th of the same month to his son, referring to the Earl of Carrick and the other good people who

were advancing to the parts near Stirling to pursue his enemies; on the 30th to the earl himself, a letter sent by John de Bottetourt [q. v.], who was to receive supplies for his service; and on 15 April there is an urgent letter requesting him to spare no pains to cause the siege engines he was preparing with stones and timber to be forwarded, and on no account to delay because of the want of lead.

But while Bruce was thus openly supporting Edward, a secret alliance into which he entered with Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, the friend of Wallace, proves he had other designs, and though its terms are general, it was the first overt act which committed Bruce to the cause called patriotic in Scotland and treason in England. On 11 June, more than a month before the fall of Stirling, the earl and the bishop met at Cambuskenneth and subscribed a bond which bound them to support each other against all adversaries at all times and in all affairs, and to undertake nothing of difficulty without communication. When Lamberton was taken prisoner in 1306 he admitted the genuineness of the document, and his connection with Bruce was one charge preferred against him by Edward before the pope. Lamberton is an important link in the history of the war of independence, bringing into contact its first period under Wallace with its second under Bruce, and proving the continuity of the resistance to Edward though the leaders were different. In 1305 Wallace was betrayed and carried prisoner to London, where he was executed as a traitor, though he denied with truth that he had ever taken any oath to Edward. He was the only victim at this time. Towards the nobles and the country generally a contrary course was pursued. The one thing unpardonable was stubborn resistance, and the king evidently thought that clemency and organised government would reconcile Scotland to his rule. With this view, in a parliament held at London in Lent 1305, Edward ordered that the community of Scotland should meet at Perth on the day after the Ascension to elect representatives to come to London to a parliament to be held three weeks after the feast of St. John the Baptist (24 June) to treat of the secure custody of Scotland. His advisers in this were the Bishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Carrick (Bruce), Sir John Segrave, his lieutenant in Lothian, and Sir John de Landale, the chamberlain of Scotland. Representatives were accordingly chosen, and the English parliament to which they were summoned finally met on 16 Sept. Bruce was not one of

the representatives, but other Scotch nobles were specially summoned, and he is assumed to have been of their number. An ordinance, on the model of similar ordinances for Wales and Ireland, was drawn up for the government of Scotland, by which John de Bretagne, the king's nephew, was named his lieutenant in Scotland; Sir William de Beacote, chancellor; and Sir John de Landale, chamberlain. Two justices were appointed for Lothian, Galloway, the district between the Forth and the mountains, and the district beyond the mountains respectively. Sheriffs—either Scotchmen or Englishmen—removable at the discretion of the lieutenant and chamberlain, were named for the counties. Coroners were to be also appointed, unless those who held the office were deemed sufficient. The custody of the castles was committed to certain persons, and as regards the castle of Kildrummy in Aberdeenshire, he was to place it in charge of a person for whom he should answer. This shows, it has been said, how much Bruce was favoured; but it is perhaps rather a proof of the attitude of half confidence, half distrust in Edward's dealings with him during the earlier period of his career, and for which the warrant was soon to appear. The provision of the ordinance as regards the laws was to prohibit the use of the customs of the Scots and of the Britons (Brets), the Celts of the highlands and Galloway. It is not known how long Bruce remained in London. On 10 Feb. 1306 he suddenly appeared in Dumfries, and in the church of the Friars Minor slew John Comyn, the late regent, and his uncle Robert. The English contemporary writers and the Scotch, the earliest of whom (Barbour) wrote at least half a century later, assign a different train of incidents as leading to this act of violence. They agree that its proximate cause was the refusal of Comyn to join Bruce in opposing Edward, but the former ascribe the treachery to Bruce, who, concealing his designs, had lured Comyn to a place where he could fear no danger, while the latter relate that Comyn had revealed to Edward the scheme of Bruce to which he had been privy—having formed a similar bond with him to that of Lamberton—and so palliate the act of Bruce by the plea of self-defence. Records fail us, and both classes of historians wrote with a bias which has descended to most modern writers, according to the side of the border to which they belong. The hereditary enmity of the families of Bruce and Comyn, and the place of the deed, support the English view, which, in the absence of further evidence, must be accepted as more probable. Hailes suggests that the death of Comyn was due

to hot words and a chance medley, but Bruce's subsequent conduct proves a design which can scarcely have been devised on the spot, though its execution may have been hastened by the death of Comyn, his possible rival for the crown. Bruce had now abandoned his former indecision, and acted with a promptness which proved he knew his opponent and the hazards on which he staked his life. He had seen the head of Wallace on London Bridge, and at Westminster the stone of destiny, on which the Scottish kings had been crowned at Scone. Which was to be his fate? It was in his favour that he numbered only about half the years of the greatest of the Plantagenets, but against him that the Scottish nobles were still divided into factions, though the popular feeling created by Wallace was gaining ground, while the church, in the persons of its two chiefs—the Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow—was on his side. What determined the issue was that in Scotland a great noble now placed himself at the head of the people, while in England the sceptre and the sword, to which Edward clung with the tenacity of a dying man, were about to pass into the hands of a son incapable of wielding them. After the death of Comyn, Bruce, collecting his adherents chiefly in the south-west of Scotland, passed from Lochmaben to Glasgow and thence to Scone, where, on 27 March 1306, he was crowned by the Bishop of St. Andrews, the Bishops of Glasgow and Moray being also present, and the Earls of Lennox, Athole, and Errol. Two days later Isabella, countess of Buchan, sister of Duncan, earl of Fife, claimed the right of her family, the Macduffs, Celtic chiefs of Fife, to place the king upon the throne, and the ceremony was repeated with a circumstance likely to conciliate the Celtic highlanders. Though crowned Bruce had still to win his kingdom, and his first efforts were failures. On 19 June he was defeated at Methven near Perth by the Earl of Pembroke, and forced to seek safety in the mountains, first of Athole and then of Breadalbane, where on 11 Aug., at Dalry in Strathfillan, Lord Lorne, the husband of an aunt of Comyn, surprised and dispersed his followers, notwithstanding his personal prowess. His wife and other ladies of his family were sent to Kildrummy for safety, and her saying, whether historical or not, proved true, that he had been a summer but would not be a winter king. It is a curious circumstance that this lady, the sister of De Burgh, earl of Ulster, whom he married after the death of his first wife, Isabella, daughter of Donald, earl of Mar,

appears to have been a lukewarm supporter of her husband. After wandering as a fugitive in the west highlands, Bruce took refuge in Rachine, an island on the Antrim coast. Meanwhile Edward, despite his years, having heard at Winchester of the death of Comyn and rising of Bruce, came north with all the speed his health allowed, and displayed an energy which showed he knew he had to cope not with a single foe but a nation. In April, at Westminster, he knighted his son Edward and three hundred others to serve in the wars, and swore by God and the Swan that he would take vengeance on Bruce, and devote the remainder of his life to the crusades. The prince added that he would not sleep two nights in one place till he reached Scotland. Before he started, and in the course of his journey, Edward made grants of the Scotch estates of Bruce and his adherents. Annandale was given to the Earl of Hereford. A parliament was summoned to meet at Carlisle on 12 March, when a bull was published excommunicating Bruce, along with another releasing Edward from his obligations to observe the charters. The attempt to crush the liberty of Scotland went hand in hand with an endeavour to violate the nascent constitution of England. Edward's constant aim was to reduce the whole island to a centralised empire under a single head, untrammelled by the bonds of a constitutional monarchy. His oaths and vows were unavailing, and he died at Burgh-on-the-Sands on 7 July 1307, without touching the soil of Scotland. Before his death he showed what his vengeance would have been. Elizabeth the wife, Marjory the daughter, and Christina the sister of Bruce were surprised in the sanctuary of St. Duthac at Tain and sent prisoners to England, where they remained till after Bannockburn. The Countess of Buchan and Mary, another of his sisters, were confined in cages, the one at Berwick, the other at Roxburgh. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow and the Abbot of Scone were sent to England and suspended from their benefices; but the pope declined to bestow them on Edward's nominees. Nigel, Bruce's youngest brother, was beheaded at Berwick; Christopher Seton, his brother-in-law, at Dumfries; Alexander Seton at New-castle. The Earl of Athole was sent to London and, being a cousin of the king, hanged on a gallows thirty feet higher than the pole on which the head of Wallace still stood and that of Sir Simon Fraser, executed at this time. The other brothers of Bruce, Thomas and Alexander dean of Glasgow, having been taken in Galloway, were sent to Edward at Carlisle and there executed,

their heads being exposed on the gates and the tower. A little before this, John, a brother of William Wallace, was captured and sent to London, where he met his brother's fate. There were many victims of minor note. But, says the chronicler of Lanercost, the number of those who wished Bruce to be confirmed in the kingdom increased daily, notwithstanding this severity. He might have said because of it, for now every class, nobles and gentry, clergy and commons, with only one or two exceptions, as the Earl of Strathearn and Randolph, Bruce's nephew, saw what Edward meant. Life and limb, land and liberty, were all in peril, and common danger taught the necessity, not felt in the time of Wallace, of making common cause.

Edward's hatred of Scotland passed beyond the grave. On his tomb, by his order, was inscribed 'Edwardus Primus, Scotorum Malleus: Pactum serva.' One of his last requests was that his bones should be carried with the army whenever the Scotch rebelled, and only reinterred after they were subdued. This dying wish was disregarded by his weak heir, who wasted in the pomp of his funeral, followed by the dissipations of a youthful court, the critical moment of the war, fancying that, with Bruce an exile and his chief supporters in prison or on the gallows, it was over before it had really begun. Bruce meanwhile, like Alfred, was learning in adversity. The spider, according to the well-known story, taught him perseverance. After spending the winter in Rachine he ventured in early spring to Arran in Scotland, and thence to Carrick, his own country, where he had many brave adventures and hair-breadth escapes, which should be read in the verses of Barbour or the tales of Scott. Scarcely certain history, they represent the popular conception of his character in the next and succeeding generations. On 10 May he defeated the Earl of Pembroke at Loudon Hill, but failed to take Ayr. Edward, in the end of August, roused himself; but a march to and back from Cumnock without an action was the whole inglorious campaign. His favour for Piers Gaveston and consequent quarrels with the chief barons of England, as well as his approaching marriage to Isabella, daughter of Philip the Fair, led him to quit Scotland. In his absence Bruce and his brother Edward reduced Galloway, and Bruce, leaving his brother in the south, transferred his own operations to Aberdeenshire. It was rumoured that Edward would have made peace on condition of getting aid against his own barons. The feeble conduct of the war on the English side, and frequent

changes of generals, indicate distracted counsels, which in part account for the uninterrupted success that now attended Bruce's arms.

In the end of 1307, and again in May 1308, unless the chroniclers have made two expeditions of one, he overran Buchan, and on 22 May defeated its earl, one of his chief Scotch opponents, at Inverury—a soldier's medicine for the illness his hardships had brought on. Fifty years after, when Barbour wrote, men still talked of the 'harrying of Buchan.' In the same year Edward Bruce again conquered the Galwegians, and Sir James Douglas took Randolph, the king's nephew, prisoner, who afterwards atoned for this apostasy to the national cause by good service. Bruce next turned to Argyll, where the lord of Lorne, his principal opponent in the west, met the same fate as the Earl of Buchan, his troops being defeated at the pass of Brander, and Dunstaffnage taken.

In March 1309 a truce with England was made through the mediation of Philip of France and the pope, and Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, was released by Edward and allowed to return home, after receiving homage and pledges, which gave hope that he would act in Edward's interest. Further negotiations were carried on for the whole of the following year; but mutual surprises and breaches of the truce rendered it certain that the war was only interrupted.

On 24 Feb. 1310, at a general council in Dundee, the clergy solemnly recognised Bruce as rightful king of Scotland. It was a sign of the progress he had made that all the bishops joined in this declaration.

In the autumn of this year Edward, with a large force, made an expedition into Scotland as far as Linlithgow; but Bruce evaded him, and he returned without any material success, though a famine followed the ravages of his troops. A second projected expedition in 1311 did not take place. The next three years were signalised by the reduction of the castles still held by the English in Scotland. Linlithgow had been surprised by the stratagem of a peasant called Binney, in the end of 1310; Dumbarton was surrendered by Sir John Menteith in October 1311; Perth was taken by Bruce himself on 8 Jan. 1312. It marked his position that he concluded on 29 Oct. at Inverness with Hakon V a confirmation of the treaty of 1266 between Alexander III and Magnus IV, by which the Norwegian king ceded to Scotland the Isle of Man, the Suclays, and all the other islands 'on the west and south of the great Haf,' except the isles of Orkney and Shetland (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 481). Encouraged

by his success, he made a raid into the north of England. On his return he reduced Butel in Galloway, Dumfries, and Dalswinton, and threatened Berwick, where Edward himself was. In March 1313 Douglas surprised Roxburgh, and Randolph Edinburgh; in May Bruce made another English raid, failed to take Carlisle, but subdued the Isle of Man. Edward Bruce had about the same time taken Rutherglen and Dundee, and laid siege to Stirling, whose governor, Mowbray, agreed to surrender if not relieved before 24 June 1314. All the castles were dismantled or destroyed; for experience had shown they were the points which the English invaders were able longest to hold. By the close of 1313 Berwick, the key to the borders, and Stirling, the key to the highlands, alone remained in English hands. The disputes between Edward and his barons were now in some degree allayed by the institution of the lords ordainers and the execution of his favourite Gaveston, and it was felt if Scotland was not to be lost a great effort must be made. Accordingly, on 11 June, the whole available forces of England, with a contingent from Ireland, numbering in all about 100,000 men, of whom 50,000 were archers and 40,000 cavalry, were mustered at Berwick, the Earls of Lancaster, Warenne, Arundel, and Warwick alone of the great feudatories declining to attend in person, but sending the bare contingent to which their feudal obligations bound them. They at once marched to the relief of Stirling, and punctual to the day reached Falkirk on 22 June. A preliminary skirmish on Sunday with the advanced guard, which attempted to throw itself into the town, was distinguished by the personal combat of Bruce, who, raising himself in his stirrups from the pony he rode, felled Henry de Bohun with a single blow of his battleaxe. When blamed for exposing himself to danger, he turned the subject by lamenting that the axe was broken.

It was the first stroke of the battle, with a direct effect on its issue as well as in history and drama. Bruce's troops were one-third of the English, but his generalship reduced the inequality. He had chosen and knew his ground—the New Park, between the village of St. Ninian and the Bannock Burn, a petty stream, yet sufficient to produce marshes dangerous for horses, while the rising ground on his right gave points of observation of the advance of the English. He divided his troops into four divisions, of which his brother Edward commanded the right, Randolph the centre, Douglas the left; Bruce himself with the reserve planted his standard at the Bore



Stone (still remaining on this spot), and a good point to survey the field. The camp followers were stationed on the Gillies' Hill, ready at the critical moment to appear as a reinforcement. The plain on the right, over which the cavalry, to avoid the marshy ground, had to pass, was prepared with concealed pits and spikes. But what made the battle famous in the annals of the military art as in those of Scotland was that the Scottish troops, taught by Wallace's tactics, fought on foot—not in single line, but in battalions, apparently of round form, with their weapons pointed outwards to receive on any side the charge of the enemy. A momentary success of the English archers commenced the battle. It was reversed by a well-directed charge on their flank of a small body of light horse under the marshal Sir Robert Keith. The Scottish bowmen followed up this advantage, and the engagement then became general between the English heavy-armed horsemen, crowded into too narrow a space, and the whole Scottish force, Bruce with the reserve uniting with the three divisions and receiving the attack with their spears, which the chronicler describes as a single dense wood. The rear of the English either was unable to come up or was entangled in the broken ranks of the van or first line, and at a critical moment the camp followers, who had been hidden behind the Gillies' Hill, crossed its crest as if a new army. A panic ensued. Edward and his immediate followers sought safety in flight, and the rout became general—one knight, Sir Giles d'Argentine, alone had courage to continue the onset, and fell bravely. The number of the English suffocated or drowned in the Bannock or the Forth was calculated at 30,000. Edward, pursued by Douglas, with difficulty reached Dunbar, and thence by sea Bamfborough.

No battle of the middle ages has been more minutely recorded, but space forbids further detail. A Carmelite friar, Barton, brought to celebrate the victory, was made by his captors to recount the defeat of the English. The Chronicle of Lanercost gives the narrative of an eye-witness. Barbour, who fifty years after enlarged the description, had known some who fought, and subsequent inquiries confirm the accuracy of his plain but vivid verse. It was a day never forgotten by those who took part in it, and to be remembered by distant posterity. It decided the independence of Scotland, and, like Morgarten and Courtray, it was the beginning of the end of feudal warfare. The knights in armour, whose personal prowess often gained the field, gave place to the common

soldiers, disciplined, marshalled, and led by skilful generals, as the arbiters of the destiny of nations. In the career of Bruce it was the turning point. The effects of the victory were permanent, and it was never reversed. Many English kings invaded Scotland, but none after Edward I conquered it.

The most important result as regards Bruce was the settlement of the succession at the parliament of Ayr on 26 April 1315. By a unanimous resolution the crown was settled on Robert and the heirs male of his body, whom failing, his brother Edward and the heirs male of his body, whom failing, on Robert's daughter Marjory and her heirs, upon condition that she married with his consent, or, after his death, with the consent of the estates. Provision was made for a regency in case of a minority by the king's nephew, Randolph, earl of Moray. In the event of a failure in the whole line of the Bruces, Randolph was to act as a guardian of the kingdom until the estates determined the right of succession. The bishops and prelates were declared to have jurisdiction to enforce the Act of Settlement. Soon after it passed Marjory married Walter the hereditary Steward of Scotland. Their son, Robert II, was the first king of the race of Stewart, succeeding after the long reign of his uncle, David II, son of Bruce by his second marriage, who was not yet born. This settlement showed the prudence of Bruce, and the anxiety of the Scottish nation to avoid at all hazards another disputed succession, or the appeal to external authority in case it should occur. Edward Bruce, described in the act as '*virstrenuus et in actis bellicis pro defensione juris et libertatis regni Scotiæ quamplurimum expertus*,' had stood by his brother in the struggle for independence, and deserved the preference which ancient, though not unbroken custom, gave to the nearest male over a nearer female heir. But his active and ambitious spirit was not satisfied with the hope of succeeding to the Scottish crown. The defeat of Edward at Bannockburn, and his incapacity as a leader, encouraged the Irish Celts to attempt to throw off the English yoke. 'All the kings of lesser Scotland (Scotia Minor) have drawn their blood from greater Scotland (Scotia Major, i.e. Ireland), and retain in some degree our language and customs,' wrote Donald O'Neil, a Celtic chief of Ulster, to the pope, and it was natural that they should summon to their aid the victor of Bannockburn. Robert declined the offer of the Irish crown for himself, but in May 1315 Edward Bruce landed at Carrickfergus with 6,000 men. The brilliant campaign of this year, which for a

moment made it seem possible that the line of Bruce might supplant that of Plantagenet, ending disastrously in the death of Edward Bruce at Dundalk, belongs chiefly to his life, and not to that of Robert. But in the spring of 1317 Robert Bruce, who had in the previous year subdued the Hebrides, and taken his old enemy John of Lorne, went to his brother's assistance. His engagement when surprised by the English at Slane in Louth is said by Barbour to have been the greatest of the nineteen victories of the Irish war. The odds were eight to one, and Edward, who marched in the van, had hurried on out of sight of his brother's troops, so that the honour was undivided, and Robert reproached Edward for neglect of good generalship. The Scotch army after this met with little resistance in its progress to the south of Ireland. Limerick was taken, but Dublin saved by its inhabitants committing it to the flames. An incident too slight to have been invented marks the humanity of Bruce in the midst of the horrors of war. Hearing a woman cry in the pangs of childbirth, he halted his troops and made provision for her delivery.

For certis, I trow there is na man  
That he ne will rew a woman than,

is Barbour's expression of the speech or thought of the gentle heart of the brave warrior. The arrival of Roger Mortimer as deputy infused new vigour into the English, and the Bruces, their success too rapid to be permanent, were forced to retreat to Ulster. Before the disaster of Dundalk Robert returned to Scotland, where the English had taken advantage of his absence to resume the war. The eastern and midland marches had been gallantly defended by Sir James Douglas against the Earl of Arundel and Lord Neville, and Sir John Soulis had protected Galloway from an inroad of Hartcla, warden of the English march. Berwick still remained in the hands of Edward II, a source of danger, as well as a standing memorial of the former subjection of Scotland. To its reduction Bruce on his return at once addressed himself.

In the autumn of 1317, while he was engaged in preparations for the siege, two cardinals, Jocelin and Luke, arrived in England with bulls from Pope John XXII 'to his beloved son the nobleman Robert de Bruce, at present governing the kingdom of Scotland,' commanding him to consent to a truce of two years with England. They had secret instructions to excommunicate him if he disobeyed. The cardinals did not venture across the border, and their messengers were

received by Bruce with a pleasant countenance, showing due reverence to the pope and the church, but declining to receive the bulls because not addressed to him as king. They urged in vain the desire of the pope not to prejudice the dispute between England and Scotland, for Bruce had the answer ready: 'Since my father the pope and my mother the church are unwilling to prejudice either party by giving me the title of king, they ought not to prejudice me during the controversy by refusing that title, as I both hold the kingdom, receive the title from all its people, and am addressed under it by other princes.' Another attempt to proclaim the bull by Adam Newton, guardian of the Friars Minor in Berwick, had no better result. Newton saw Bruce at Ald-Camus (Old Cambus), where he was at work day and night in the construction of siege engines, and, having got a safe-conduct for himself and his papers, returned, in hopes of being allowed to deliver them. But Bruce was firm, and would not receive the bulls unless addressed to him as king, and, as he now added, until he had possession of Berwick. Newton had the daring to proclaim the truce, but on his way home he was robbed of his papers and clothes. 'It is rumoured,' he adds to his report, 'that the Lord Robert and his accomplices, who instigated the outrage, now have the papers.' Care had been taken that another mission of John XXII sent to proclaim his accession to the papal see should not enter Scotland, so that the prelates and clergy of the Scottish province remained now, as in the former period of the war, free from a divided allegiance, and the church of Scotland was virtually independent.

In March 1318 the town of Berwick, which had stood the siege during the winter, was taken by a surprise contrived by Spalding, one of the citizens, and a few days after the castle capitulated. Entrusting it to the custody of Walter the Steward, Bruce invaded and wasted the north of England. The death of his only remaining brother and his daughter rendered a new settlement of the crown expedient, and a parliament met at Scone in December. By one of its statutes Robert, son of the Steward, and Marjory, the king's daughter, were recognised as next of kin; failing next issue of the king should he succeed while a minor, Randolph, and failing him James, lord Douglas, was to be regent. Substantially this was a re-enactment of the statute of Ayr. An important declaration was added that doubts without sufficient cause had been raised in the past as to the rule of succession, and it was now defined that the crown ought not

to follow the rules of inferior fiefs, but that the male nearest in descent in the direct line, whom failing the female in the same line, whom failing the nearest male collateral, should succeed, an order sufficiently conformable to the imperial, that is the Roman law.

In this parliament Bruce established his title to be deemed as wise and practical a legislator as he had proved himself a general. The most important acts related to the national defence and the administration of justice. Every layman worth ten pounds was to be bound to provide himself with armour, and every one who had the value of a cow with a spear or bow and twenty-four arrows. A yearly weapon schaw was to be held by the sheriffs every Easter. While provision was thus made for the equipment and training of an armed nation, the excesses attendant on such a condition were restrained by a law that if any crime was committed by those coming to the army, they were to be tried before the justiciar. Stringent acts forbade the export of goods during war, or of arms at any time. As regards justice the usual proclamation was made with emphasis: 'The king wills and commands that common law and right be done to puir and riche after the auld lawes and freedoms.' The privilege of repledging, by which a person was removed from the jurisdiction of the king's officers, was restricted by the provision that it was to apply only when the accused was the liegeman of the lord or held land of him, or was in his service or of his kin, and if this was doubtful, a verdict of average was to decide. A new law was made against leasing making, a quaint Scotch term for treasonable language. 'The kynghes' statute and defendyt that none be conspirators nor fynders of taylis or of tidingis thruch the quhillkis mater of discord may spryng betwixt the kyng and his pepull,' under penalty of imprisonment at the king's will. A hortatory statute recommended the people to nourish love and friendship with each other, forbade the nobles to do injury to any of the people, and promised redress to any one injured. This was aimed at the oppressions of the feudal lords, and exhibits the side of Bruce's character which gained him the name of the good king Robert from the commons. With regard to the civil law, the feudal actions commenced by the brieves of novel disseisin and mort d'ancestor, as well as the procedure in actions of debt and damage, were carefully regulated. The unreasonable delays (essoigns) which impeded justice were no longer to be allowed. No defender was to be called on to plead until the complainer had fully stated his case. Bruce, like Cromwell, Frederick the

Great, and Napoleon, was a law-reformer. The man of action cannot tolerate the abuses by which law ceases to be justice.

A statute identical with the 'Quia Empores' of 17 Edward I is ascribed to Bruce in the Harleian and other later manuscripts, and is included in the 'Statuta Secunda Roberti Primi,' by Sir J. Skene. But while transcripts of English law were not unknown in Scotland, they are little likely to have been made by Bruce, and this statute, which by preventing subinfeudation would have completely altered the whole system of Scottish land rights, is certainly spurious. In 1319 Edward tried to cut off the trade of Scotland with Flanders, but the count and the towns of Bruges and Ypres rejected his overtures. A vigorous effort to recover Berwick was repelled by Walter Stewart, its governor, aided by the skill of Crab, a Flemish engineer, and Douglas and Randolph invaded England, when the Archbishop of York was defeated in the engagement called the Chapter of Mytton, from the number of clergy slain. This diversion and the lukewarmness, if not absolute abstention, of the Earl of Lancaster and the northern barons, led to the raising of the siege. When Bruce visited Berwick he complimented his son-in-law on the success of his defence, and raised the walls ten feet all round. The pope somewhat tardily excommunicated Bruce and his adherents for his contumacy, but the English king felt unable to continue the war, and on 21 Dec. a truce was concluded for two years.

On 6 April 1320 a Scottish parliament at Arbroath addressed a letter to the pope asserting the independence of their country and promising aid in a crusade if the pope recognised that independence. Part of this manifesto which relates to Bruce deserves to be quoted. After referring to the tyranny of Edward I, it proceeds: 'Through His favour who woundeth and maketh whole we have been preserved from so great and numberless calamities by the valour of our lord and sovereign Robert. He, like another Joshua or Judas Maccabeus, gladly endured trials, distresses, the extremities of want, and every peril to rescue his people and inheritance out of the hands of the enemy. The divine providence, that legal succession which we will constantly maintain, and our due and unanimous consent have made him our chief and king. To him in defence of our liberty we are bound to adhere, as well of right as by reason of his deserts . . . for through him salvation has been wrought to our people. . . While there exist a hundred of us we will never submit to England. We fight not for glory, wealth, or honour, but for that

liberty which no virtuous man will survive. Wherefore we most earnestly request your holiness, as His vicegerent who gives equal measure to all and with whom there is no distinction of persons or nations, that you would behold with a fatherly eye the tribulations and distresses brought upon us by the English, and that you would admonish Edward to content himself with his own dominions, esteemed in former times sufficient for seven kings, and allow us Scotsmen who dwell in a poor and remote corner, and who seek for nought but our own, to remain in peace.' A duplicate of the letter in the Register House is printed in the 'National MSS. of Scotland,' vol. i. Moved by this appeal, fearing to lose a province of the church, and knowing probably the weakness of Edward, the pope issued a bull recommending him to make peace with Scotland.

A conspiracy against Bruce, headed by Sir William Soulis, grandson of one of the competitors for the crown, at which he probably aimed, and taken part in by some of the landed gentry but none of the nobility, was betrayed by the Countess of Strathearn and easily put down, though the parliament of Scone, at which some of the offenders were condemned and executed for treason, got the name of the Black Parliament to mark its difference from the other parliaments of the reign. This, the only rising against Bruce, proves his firm hold of all classes. It was different with Edward. The party amongst his nobles who opposed him formed not a casual conspiracy but a chronic rebellion. Headed at first by Lancaster, and after his death by the queen mother and Mortimer, it made his whole reign a period of dissension which would have weakened a more powerful monarch, and told largely in favour of Scotland and Bruce. In December 1321 Lancaster entered into a correspondence with the Scotch leader Douglas, who invaded Northumberland and Durham simultaneously with the rising of Lancaster; but his defeat by Sir Andrew Hartcla at Boroughbridge on 16 March 1322, followed by his execution, put down for a time the English rebellion. Edward in premature confidence wrote to the pope that he would no longer make terms with the Scots except by force, and invaded Scotland in August, penetrating as far as Edinburgh and wasting the country with fire and sword. The prudence of Bruce, by which everything of value on the line of the invasion was removed, his own camp being fixed at Culross, north of the Forth, baffled as completely as a victory the last attempt of Edward II to subdue

Scotland. The opposite evils of want of food and intemperance forced him to withdraw, and the sarcasm of Earl Warenne on a bull taken at Tranent, 'Caro cara fuit,' indicates at once the disaffection of his barons and his own contemptible generalship. In the autumn Bruce, at the head of a very large force, estimated at 80,000, retaliated by invading Yorkshire, defeating Edward near Biland Abbey, where John de Bretagne, earl of Richmond, and Henry de Sully, Butler of France, and many other prisoners were taken. The English king narrowly escaped being himself captured at York. The commencement of 1323 afforded still stronger evidence of Edward's incapacity to rule his own subjects. Sir Andrew Hartcla, although created Earl of Carlisle and rewarded with a large pension and the wardenship of the marches, met Bruce and entered into a secret treaty to maintain him and his heirs in possession of Scotland. On the discovery of this, Hartcla was tried and executed on 2 March 1323, and the Earl of Kent appointed warden in his place. But though able so far to assert his authority, the defeat at Biland had taught Edward that he could not cope with Bruce, and in March 1323 a truce gave time for negotiations at Newcastle and Thorpe, where, on 30 May, a peace for thirteen years was concluded, which was ratified by Bruce as king of Scotland at Berwick on 7 June. The continued favour shown by Edward to the Despensers, which had been the cause of Lancaster's rebellion, led to a new conspiracy in the family of the ill-fated king. His queen Isabella, and Roger Mortimer her paramour, carried it on in the name of his son, and in 1325 his brother, the Earl of Kent, joined it. Edward, deserted by almost all his barons, was taken prisoner in 1326, deposed early in the following year, and murdered on 21 Sept.

Bruce naturally took advantage of the distracted state of England to strengthen his title to the Scottish crown. In 1323 the skilful diplomacy of Randolph obtained from the pope the recognition of the title of king of Scotland by a promise to aid in a crusade, and three years later, by the treaty of Corbeil, the French king made a similar acknowledgment. At a parliament held at Cambuskenneth in 1326 the young prince David, born two years before, was solemnly recognised as heir to the crown, which in case of his death was to go to Robert the son of Marjory and the Steward. This is the first Scottish parliament in which there is clear evidence of representatives of the burghs, and the grant made by it to Bruce for his life of a tenth of the rents of the lands, as

well wood and domain lands as other lands, and both within and without burgh, supplies one reason for their presence. The clergy probably made a grant in a separate assembly of their own. Although the peace between England and Scotland was ratified by Edward III on 8 March 1327, both sides made preparations for the renewal of the war, so that it is difficult to support the accusations of breach of faith against either. On 18 May Edward contracted with John of Hainault for a large force of mercenary cavalry, a sign that he was unable to rely on his own feudal levy.

On 15 June Randolph and Douglas crossed the border with 20,000 men, and Edward with more than double that number advanced to Durham. The Hainault mercenaries could not be relied on to co-operate with the English troops, and their dissensions, of which Froissart has left a lively picture, had probably much to do with the English discomfiture. A series of manœuvres and counter-maneuvres on the Tyne and Wear showed that neither side was willing to try the issue of a battle. Randolph declined a challenge to leave a favourable position on the north of the Wear and fight on the open ground at Stanhope Park. Douglas with a small band made a daring night attack on Edward's camp on 4 Aug., when his chaplain was slain and the young king with difficulty escaped. The Scotch under cover of night abandoned their camp and retreated homewards, and on 15 Aug. Edward disbanded his army at York, dismissing the Hainaulters, who had been found too costly or too dangerous allies.

Bruce himself now assumed the command, but his sudden attack on the eastern marches failed. Alnwick repulsed an assault of Douglas, and Randolph and Bruce were not more successful in the siege of Norham. While still engaged in it he was approached by English commissioners with overtures of peace. The preliminaries were debated at Newcastle, and at a parliament in York on 8 Feb. 1328 the most essential article was accepted. It was agreed that Scotland, 'according to its ancient bounds in the days of Alexander III, should remain to Robert king of Scots and his heirs and successors free and divided from the kingdom of England, without any subjection, right of service, claim, or demand, and that all writs executed at any time to the contrary should be held void.'

The parliament of Northampton in April 1328 concluded the final treaty by which (1) peace was made between the two kingdoms; (2) the coronation-stone of Scône was

to be restored; (3) the English king promised to ask the pope to recall all spiritual processes against the Scots; (4) the Scots agreed to pay thirty thousand marks; (5, 6, and 7) ecclesiastical property which had changed hands in the course of the war was to be restored, but not lay fiefs, with an exception in favour of three barons, Lord Wake, the Earl of Buchan, and Henry de Percy; (8) Johanna, Edward's sister, was to be given in marriage to David, the son and heir of Bruce, and to receive a jointure of 2,000*l.* a year; (9) the party failing to observe the articles of the treaty was to pay 2,000*l.* of silver to the papal treasury.

On 12 July 1328 the marriage of the infant prince and bride was celebrated at Berwick. The English and Edward, when he attained his independence from the guardianship of the queen mother and Mortimer, denounced this treaty as shameful, and ascribed it to the departure of the Hainaulters, the treachery of Mortimer, and the bribery used by the Scots. But it was the necessary result of the situation at the commencement of his reign, and the bloody war of two centuries failed to reverse its main provisions. Scotland remained an independent monarchy. The chief author of its independence barely survived the accomplishment of his work. On 7 June 1329 Bruce died at Cardross of leprosy, a disease contracted during the hard life of his earlier struggles. There are frequent, and towards the close increasing, references to his physical sufferings, which made his moral courage more conspicuous. He was buried by his wife, who had died in 1327, at Dunfermline, but his heart was, by a dying wish, entrusted to Douglas, to fulfil the vow he had been unable to execute in person of visiting the holy sepulchre. His great adversary Edward I had made a similar request, not so faithfully executed, and his grandson granted a passport to Douglas on 1 Sept. to proceed to the Holy Land, to aid the Christians against the Saracens, with the heart of Lord Robert, king of Scotland. The death of Douglas fighting against the Moors in Spain, and the recovery of the heart of Bruce by Sir William Keith, who brought it to Scotland and buried it along with the bones of Douglas in Melrose Abbey, may be accepted as authentic; but the words with which Douglas is said to have parted with it,

Now passe thou forth before  
As thou was went in field to bee,  
And I shall follow or else die,

are an addition to the original verses of Barbour. When the remains of Bruce were disinterred at Dunfermline in 1819, the breast-

bone was found sawn through to permit of the removal of the heart.

Some interesting particulars as to the last years of Bruce are furnished by the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland. Enfeebled by disease he had to trust the chief conduct of the war to the young leaders he had trained, Randolph and Douglas, and he spent most of his time at Cardross, which he had acquired in 1326. He employed it in enlarging the castle, repairing the park walls, and ornamenting the garden, in the amusement of hawking, and the exercise of the royal virtues of hospitality and charity. Like other kings he kept a fool. A lion was his favourite pet, shipbuilding his favourite diversion. His foresight had discerned the importance of this art to the future strength and wealth of Scotland. Before his death he made preparations for his tomb, and commissioned in Paris the marble monument, afterwards erected at Dunfermline, which was surrounded with an iron-gilt railing, covered by a painted chapel of Baltic timber. The offerings to the abbot of Dunfermline and the rector of Cardross, as well as the annual payment to the chaplains at Ayr for masses for his soul, appear also to have been by his orders.

By his first marriage with Isabella of Mar he had an only daughter, Marjory, the wife of the Steward and ancestor of the last line of Scottish kings. By his second marriage with Elizabeth de Burgh, which he contracted about 1304, he had two daughters—Matilda, who married Thomas Ysaak, a simple esquire, and Margaret, the wife of William, earl of Sutherland—as well as his late-born son and successor, David II, and another, John, who died in infancy. Of several children not born in wedlock, Sir Robert, who fell at Dupplin, Walter, who died before him, Nigel Stewart of Carrick, Margaret, wife of Robert Glen, Elizabeth, wife of Walter Oliphant, and Christian are traced in the records.

[If the character of Bruce is not understood from his acts, of which a singularly complete narrative, here condensed, has descended from so distant a time, no words could avail. Any such attempt, which might become easily mere panegyric, is better omitted, and the space left devoted to a notice of the authorities upon which this life has been based. Barbour's Bruce, the Scottish epic, is a poetical, but in the main a true, account of his whole career. Wyntoun's and Fordun's chronicles are not so full as might have been anticipated; and the former confines himself, in many important facts of the reign, to giving a reference to the Archdeacon Barbour. The English chroniclers and the Chronicle of Lanercost may be referred to with advantage. The success of Bruce and the weakness of Edward II were too conspicuous to be hidden by

any national bias. The slender historical materials for the life of Wallace leant themselves on the one side to the legendary narrative of Blind Harry, and on the other to the fictions of the English writers, such as Hemingford and Rishanger, as to the real character of Wallace and the policy of Edward; but the acts of Bruce are too fully contained in authentic records and permanent results to leave room for misinterpretation. He was not originally a Scottish patriot, and may be described, as Wallace cannot, as an English rebel; but after he once assumed the leadership of the Scottish cause he never faltered under any danger or made a false step in policy until he secured its success. The records chiefly to be consulted are in Rymer's *Fœdera*, Riley's *Placita*, the Documents illustrative of Scottish History, published by Mr. Joseph Stevenson and Mr. Bain for the Record Series; the Scottish Exchequer Rolls; and the Acts of the Scottish Parliament. Kerr's *Life and Reign of Robert the Bruce* and Lord Hailes's *Annals* are both very accurate and full collections of the facts. The *History of England down to the death of Edward I*, by Mr. Pearson, and Longman's *Reign of Edward II* are the most trustworthy modern authorities as to the war with England written by Englishmen. Tytler's and Hill Burton's *Histories of Scotland* require both to be read. As an independent historian Pauli's *Geschichte Englands* is of great value, and probably the best single account of the war of independence.] Æ. M.

BRUCE, ROBERT (1554-1631), theological writer, second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, who claimed descent from the royal family of Bruce, studied jurisprudence at Paris, and on his return practised law, and was on the way to becoming a judge. But a very remarkable inward experience constrained him to give himself to the church. He went to St. Andrews to study, and on becoming a preacher (1587) was forthwith called to be a minister in Edinburgh. On 6 Feb. 1587-8 he was chosen moderator of the general assembly—a rare and singular testimony to the wisdom, the stability, and the business capacity of one so young. In 1589, when the king went to Norway to fetch his bride, and parties in Edinburgh were somewhat excited, the king appointed Bruce an extraordinary privy-councillor, and such was his influence that he kept all quiet, and on the king's return received from his majesty a cordial letter of thanks (19 Feb. 1589-90). The queen was crowned at Holyrood and anointed by Bruce on 17 March following. He again became moderator of the general assembly 22 May 1592. His power and success as a preacher were very remarkable, and he continued to enjoy the king's favour till 1596, when, giving offence to his majesty by his opposition to certain arbitrary proceedings, he, with

others, was banished from Edinburgh. The king desired to introduce episcopal government into the church, and the disinterested character of Bruce's opposition is apparent, for had he consented, no man would have been more sure to benefit by the change. This quarrel with the king was for the time made up; but soon after a new bone of contention arose. After the Gowrie conspiracy the king ordered the ministers to give thanks for his release (6 Aug. 1600), and to specify certain grounds of thanksgiving about which some of them had doubts. Bruce and others gave thanks, but in terms more general than the king desired. After much negotiation, and many efforts of friends to get the matter settled, the king carried his point, and ordered Bruce to leave Edinburgh. The prospect of his leaving was felt profoundly by the Christian community, who hung on his lips, and enjoyed in a rare degree his eloquent and powerful preaching. But the king was inexorable, and Bruce's ministry in Edinburgh came to an end.

The last thirty years of his life were spent here and there. From 1605 to 1609 he was confined to Inverness, where he met with much harsh treatment from Lord Enzie and others, but where his preaching was a singular refreshment to his friends. In 1609 he was at Aberdeen, the atmosphere of which was very uncongenial, for it was a stronghold of the episcopalians. Sometimes he was at his patrimonial estate of Kinnaird, near Stirling, where he repaired at his own expense the parish church of Larbert, and discharged all the duties of the ministry; and occasionally at his other estate, at Monkland, near Glasgow. Wherever he had an opportunity of preaching, great crowds attended; he preached with remarkable power, and his own life being in full accord with his preaching, the influence he attained was almost without a parallel in the history of the Scottish church. In 1620 he was again banished to Inverness, and begged very hard that, owing to his infirmities and weakness, he might be allowed to remain at home. The king was obdurate, and the request was refused. In 1624 he was allowed to return to Kinnaird, where he died 13 July 1631. His remains were accompanied to the grave by four or five thousand persons of all ranks and classes, from the nobility downwards. From his very youth he had been regarded with remarkable esteem and affection, and the bitter trials that chequered the last half of his life commended him all the more to the esteem of those who were like-minded. It was this chequered mode of life, this moving about from place to place without any settled

charge, that prevented him, as the like causes prevented Richard Baxter in England, from leaving on his country so deep a mark as his character and abilities were fitted to make. Andrew Melville described him as a 'hero adorned with every virtue, a constant confessor and almost martyr to the Lord Jesus.' Livingstone, another contemporary, said, 'Mr. Robert Bruce I several times heard, and in my opinion never man spoke with greater power since the apostles' days.'

As an author Bruce is best known by his 'Way to True Peace and Rest: delivered at Edinburgh in sixteen sermons on the Lord's Supper, Hezekiah's sickness, and other select scriptures.' This book appeared in 1617, and bore the motto, significant of its author's experience, '*Dulcia non meruit, qui non gustavit amara.*' The sermons are in the Scottish dialect, and are remarkable as a singularly clear and able exposition of the scriptural doctrine of the Lord's Supper, enforced with great liveliness and power.

Bruce's conduct in his conflicts with the king and in some other matters has been placed in a somewhat less favourable light in Spottiswood's 'History of the Church of Scotland' and in Maitland's 'History of Edinburgh.' These views are controverted in Wodrow's 'Life of Bruce' and in M'Crie's 'Life of Melville.'

[Row's, Spottiswood's, and Calderwood's Histories of the Church of Scotland; Autobiography and Life of Robert Blair; Livingstone's Memorable Characteristics; Melville's Autobiography; Wodrow's Collections as to the Life of Mr. Robert Bruce; Wodrow Society's Life and Sermons of Rev. Robert Bruce, edited by Principal Cunningham, D.D.; Scott's Fasti, i. 4, 17.] W. G. B.

**BRUCE, ROBERT**, second EARL OF ELGIN and first EARL OF AILESBURY (*d.* 1685), was the only son of Thomas, third lord Bruce of Kinloss, and first earl of Elgin, and Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Chichester of Raleigh, Devonshire. While his father was still alive he was, at the Restoration, constituted, along with the Earl of Cleveland, lord-lieutenant of Bedfordshire, 26 July 1660. He was returned member for the county to the convention parliament in the same year, and also to the parliament which met in 1661. Succeeding to his father's estates and titles in December 1663, he was, on 18 March 1663-4, created Baron Bruce of Skelton in the county of York, Viscount Bruce of Ampt-hill in Bedfordshire, and Earl of Ailesbury in Buckinghamshire. On 29 March 1667 he was constituted sole lord-lieutenant of Bedfordshire, on the death of the Earl of Cleveland. The same year he was appointed

one of the commissioners for such moneys as had been raised and assigned to Charles II during his war with the Dutch. On 18 March 1678 he was sworn a privy councillor. He was also one of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, and a commissioner for executing the office of earl marischal of England, as deputy to Henry, duke of Norfolk. At the coronation of King James II he bore the sword, and on 30 July 1685 he was appointed lord chamberlain of the household. He died 20 Oct. of the same year at Ampthill, and was buried there. By his wife, Diana, daughter of Henry Grey, first earl of Stamford, he had eight sons and nine daughters. Wood says: 'He was a learned person, and otherwise well qualified, was well versed in English history and antiquities, a lover of all such that were professors of those studies, and a curious collector of manuscripts, especially of those which related to England and English antiquities.'

[Collins's Peerage, ed. 1812, v. 122-3; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, i. 515-16; Cal. State Papers, Dom. Series; Wood's Fasti (Bliss), i. 491.] T. F. H.

BRUCE, THOMAS, third EARL OF ELGIN and second EARL OF AILESBURY (1655?-1741), was sixth and eldest surviving son of Robert, second earl [q.v.] He was lord-lieutenant of Bedfordshire and Huntingdonshire, 1685-9. When the Prince of Orange landed in England, he was one of the noblemen who adhered to the cause of James, but on the king's withdrawal from Whitehall he signed the application to the Prince of Orange. He was one of those appointed to meet with the king when he was stopped by fishermen near the isle of Sheppey, to invite him to return to Whitehall. He accompanied the king in his barge to Rochester, previous to his final flight. Afterwards he returned to London, but he never took the oaths to William and Mary. When the French threatened a descent on England, in 1690, during William's absence in Ireland, an order was given, on 5 July, by Queen Mary for apprehension of the earl and of other Jacobite noblemen, but the danger having passed it was not deemed necessary to put the order into execution. In 1691 King William issued an order to enable him and his countess to make provision for paying their debts and to make leases of their estates. In May 1695 he was present at a meeting held at the Old King's Head tavern, Aldersgate Street, London, to concert measures for the restoration of King James, and was sent over to France to persuade Louis to grant a body of troops to aid in the enterprise. On account of his con-

nection with the plot he was committed to the Tower in February 1695-6. His wife, Elizabeth Seymour, sister and heiress of William, duke of Somerset, died in childbed from anxiety connected with his imprisonment. He was admitted to bail on 12 Feb. following, and obtained the king's permission to reside in Brussels, where he married Charlotte, countess of Sannu, of the house of Argenteau, in the duchy of Brabant. He died at Brussels in November 1741, in his eighty-sixth year. By his first wife he had four sons and two daughters, and by the second he had an only daughter, Charlotte Maria, who was married in 1722 to the Prince of Horne, one of the princes of the empire. One of her daughters, Elizabeth Philippina, married Prince Gustavus Adolphus of Stolberg Guedern, and was the mother of Louisa Maximiliana, the wife of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the pretender. The Earl of Elgin was succeeded by Charles, his second and only surviving son.

[Collins's Peerage, ed. 1812, v. 124-6; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, i. 516.] T. F. H.

BRUCE, THOMAS, seventh EARL OF ELGIN and eleventh EARL OF KINCARDINE (1766-1841), was born on 20 July 1766, and succeeded to his earldoms in 1771 on the death, without issue, of his elder brother, William Robert. He was educated at Harrow and Westminster, and studied at St. Andrews University and in Paris. In 1785 he entered the army (major-general 1809, lieutenant-general 1814, and general 1837). His diplomatic career began in 1790, when he was sent on a special mission to the Emperor Leopold. In 1792 he was appointed envoy at Brussels, and in 1795 envoy extraordinary at Berlin. In 1799 he was appointed to the embassy to the Ottoman Porte, and he was desirous that his mission to Constantinople should lead to a closer study and examination of the remains of Grecian art within the Turkish dominions. Acting on the advice of Sir William Hamilton, he procured at his own expense the services of the Neapolitan painter, Lusieri, and of several skilful draughtsmen and modellers. These artists were despatched to Athens in the summer of 1800, and were principally employed in making drawings of the ancient monuments, though very limited facilities were given them by the authorities. About the middle of the summer of 1801, however, all obstacles were overcome, and Elgin received a firman from the Porte which allowed his lordship's agents not only to 'fix scaffolding round the antient Temple of the Idols [the Parthenon], and to mould the ornamental sculpture and visible figures thereon



in plaster and gypsum,' but also 'to take away any pieces of stone with old inscriptions or figures thereon.' The actual removal of ancient marbles from Athens formed no part of Elgin's original plan, but the constant injuries suffered by the sculptures of the Parthenon and other monuments at the hands of the Turks induced him to undertake it. The collection thus formed by operations at Athens, and by explorations in other parts of Greece, and now known by the name of the 'Elgin Marbles,' consists of portions of the frieze, metopes, and pedimental sculptures of the Parthenon, as well as of sculptured slabs from the Athenian temple of Nike Apteros, and of various antiquities from Attica and other districts of Hellas. These sculptures and antiquities, now in our national collection, may be found enumerated and illustrated in the 'Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum' (parts vi-ix.), in Michaelis's work 'Der Parthenon,' and in other archaeological books. Part of the Elgin collection was prepared for embarkation for England in 1803, considerable difficulties having to be encountered at every stage of its transit. Elgin's vessel, the *Mentor*, was unfortunately wrecked near Cerigo with its cargo of marbles, and it was not till after the labours of three years, and the expenditure of a large sum of money, that the marbles were successfully recovered by the divers. On Elgin's departure from Turkey in 1803, he withdrew all his artists from Athens with the exception of Lusieri, who remained to direct the excavations which were still carried on, though on a much reduced scale. Additions continued to be made to the Elgin collections, and as late as 1812 eighty fresh cases of antiquities arrived in England. Elgin, who had been 'detained' in France after the rupture of the peace of Amiens, returned to England in 1806. No inconsiderable outcry was raised against his conduct in connection with the removal of the antiquities. The propriety of his official actions was called in question; he was accused of vandalism, of rapacity and dishonesty, and in addition to these accusations, which found their most exaggerated expression in Byron's 'Curse of Minerva,' an attempt was even made to minimise the artistic importance of the marbles which had been removed. Elgin accordingly thought it advisable to throw open his collections to public view, and arranged them in his own house in Park Lane, and afterwards at Burlington House, Piccadilly. Upon the supreme merits of the Parthenon sculptures all competent art critics were henceforth agreed. Canova,

when he saw them, pronounced them 'the works of the ablest artists the world has seen.' After some preliminary negotiations, a select committee of the House of Commons was appointed in 1816 to inquire into the desirability of acquiring the Elgin collection for the nation. This committee recommended its purchase for the sum of 35,000*l.*, and in July 1816 an act was passed giving effect to their proposal. The committee, after a careful examination of Elgin and other witnesses, further decided in favour of the ambassador's conduct, and of his claim to the ownership of the antiquities. The money spent by Elgin in the formation, removal, and arrangement of his collection, and the sums disbursed for the salaries and board of his artists at Athens, were estimated at no less than 74,000*l.*

Elgin was a representative peer of Scotland (1790-1807 and 1820-40), but after his return to England he took little part in public affairs. He died on 14 Nov. 1841.

[Peerages of Burke and Foster; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland (ed. Wood), i. 522 f.; Memorandum on the Earl of Elgin's Pursuits in Greece, 1810 and 1815; Report from the Select Committee on the Earl of Elgin's Collection, 1816; Ellis's *Elgin Marbles*, pp. 1-10; Edwards's *Lives of the Founders of the Brit. Mus.*, 1870, pt. i. pp. 380-96; Michaelis's *Der Parthenon*, pp. 73-87, 348-57; Michaelis's *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, pp. 132-51.] W. W.

BRUCE, SIR WILLIAM (*d.* 1710), of Kinross, architect in Scotland to Charles II, was the second son of Robert Bruce of Blairhall, by his wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield, and was born in the early part of the seventeenth century. Though too young to have played a part in the troublous reign of Charles I, no one in Scotland probably contributed more in a private capacity to bring about the restoration of the royal family, to whom he proved a firm and constant friend. He is said to have been the channel of communication between General Monk and the young king, and to have had the honour of first conveying to the latter the inclination of the former to serve him. Being a man of ability and address, he retained the friendship of the monarch, who rewarded him in the very year of the restoration with the office of clerk to the bills, a very beneficial one in those days. Eight years after, having acquired the lands of Balcashie in Fife, he was created a baronet by royal letters patent dated 21 April 1668. He soon after acquired possession of the lands of Drumeldrie, in the same county, his title to which is dated 18 April 1670, and having afterwards

acquired from the Earl of Morton the lands and barony of Kinross in that county, he was, says Douglas, 'ever after designed by that title.' His skill and taste in building led to his appointment, in 1671, as 'the king's surveyor and master of works,' and to his employment in the restoration of Holyrood House, the ancient palace of the Stuarts in Edinburgh. He designed the quadrangular edifice as it now stands. The work was not completed till 1679, and latterly not altogether under Bruce's supervision. In 1681 he was summoned as representative in parliament of the county of Kinross, by royal letters dated at Windsor on 13 Aug. in that year. In 1685 he built his own house at Kinross, a mansion which appears to have been originally intended for the residence of the Duke of York (afterwards James II), should he have eventually been excluded from succeeding to the throne. He also built Harden House in Teviotdale, and in 1698 the mansion house of Hopetoun in Linlithgowshire was commenced from his designs. It was finished four years later, and the design, 'given by Sir William Bruce, who was justly esteemed the best architect of his time in that kingdom (Scotland),' as says Colin Campbell, will be found delineated in his 'Vitruvius Britannicus.' The house, however, was at a later date considerably altered and modified, even in some particulars of the plan, by the better-known architect, William Adam [see ADAM, ROBERT].

Bruce is also said to have designed a bridge over the North Loch, a sheet of water which formerly occupied the site of the gardens now extending from the foot of the Castle Rock to Princes Street in Edinburgh; but it was never executed, and the works already enumerated (with the addition of Moncreiffe House in Perthshire, also designed by him) are the chief if not the only known proofs of their author's architectural skill. It is impossible to say that they exhibit any amount of originality or artistic genius; but these were probably little regarded in his time, when the architect's merit consisted mainly in suiting the requirements of modern life to the supposed rules of ancient construction. At the end of two centuries, however, Holyrood House is still a quaint and interesting enough structure. Bruce died at a very great age in 1710, and was succeeded by his son, who, according to Douglas, was 'also a man of parts, and, as he had got a liberal education, was looked upon as one of the finest gentlemen in the kingdom when he returned from his travels.' Neither his parts nor his education, however, prompted him to distinguish himself, and they are both useful now only

as indices of the qualities of the 'king's master of works,' his father. On his death the title went to his cousin, with whom it became extinct.

[Adam's *Vitr. Scot.*, fol., 1720-40; Campbell's *Vitr. Brit.*, fol., 1767 (vol. ii. 1717); Kincaid's *Hist. of Edinburgh*, 12mo, 1787; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, 1860; Douglas's *Baronage of Scotland*, 1798.] G. W. B.

BRUCE, WILLIAM (1702-1755), publisher and author, the youngest son of James Bruce, minister of Killeleagh [q. v.], was born in 1702. He received a collegiate education, but entered business life. In 1730 he was at Dublin in partnership with John Smith, a publisher who had been educated for the ministry. In 1737 or 1738 he became tutor to Joseph, son of Hugh Henry, a Dublin banker (M.P. for Antrim 1715). With his pupil he visited Cambridge, Oxford, and probably Glasgow, for purposes of study. About 1745 he settled permanently in Dublin, and was an elder of Wood Street, his brother Samuel's congregation. He was certainly a nonsubscriber, most probably an Arian. In 1750 the general synod at Dungannon accepted a scheme of his origination for a widows' fund, which came into operation next year. In 1759 it became necessary to reduce the annuities, but it now yields three times more than was originally calculated by Bruce. In Dublin Bruce was distinguished as a public-spirited citizen. He published a pamphlet, 'Some Facts and Observations relative to the Fate of the late Linen Bill,' &c., Dublin, 1753 (anonymous, third edition), to show that the linen manufacture of the north of Ireland was exposed to a double danger by the projected closing of the American market, and the proposed abolition of the protective duties on foreign linens and calicoes. Bruce, who was unmarried, died of fever on 11 July 1755, and was buried in the same tomb with his intimate friend and cousin, Francis Hutcheson (died July 1746), the ethical writer. Gabriel Cornwall (died 1786) wrote a joint epitaph for the two friends in Latin. Bruce kept no accounts, and died richer than he thought. All his property he bequeathed to his friend, Alexander Stewart of Ballylawn, co. Donegal, afterwards of Mount Stewart, near Newtownards, co. Down (born 1699, died 22 April 1781; father of the first marquis of Londonderry). Stewart divided the property among Bruce's relatives, in accordance with a paper of private instructions. Bruce was the author, in conjunction with John Abernethy (1680-1740) [q. v.], of 'Reasons for the Repeal of the Sacramental Test,' which appeared in five weekly num-

bers at Dublin in 1733, and was reprinted in 1751 as the first of a collection of 'Scarce and Valuable Tracts and Sermons' by Abernethy.

[Essay on the Character of the late Mr. W. Bruce in a Letter to a Friend, Dublin, 1755 (by Gabriel Cornwall, dated 11 Aug.; prefatory letter to Stewart by James Duchal, D.D.), reprinted, Monthly Rev. vols. xiii. xiv.; Armstrong's Appendix to James Martineau's Ordination Service, 1829, pp. 64, 96; Hincks's Notices of W. Bruce and Contemporaries in Chr. Teacher, January 1843 (also issued separately); Reid's Hist. Presb. Ch. in Ireland (Killen), 1867, ii. 405, iii. 234, 289 sq.] A. G.

BRUCE, WILLIAM (1757-1841), presbyterian minister, the second son of Samuel Bruce, presbyterian minister, of Wood Street, Dublin, and Rose Rainey of Magherafelt, co. Derry, was born in Dublin on 30 July 1757. He entered Trinity College, Dublin, in 1771. In 1775 he obtained a scholarship, and afterwards graduated A.B., supporting himself by private tuition. In 1776 he went to Glasgow for a session, and in 1777 to the Warrington Academy for two years. Bruce, in presbyterian matters, favoured the looser administration prevalent among his English brethren. His first settlement was at Lisburn. He was ordained on 4 Nov. 1779 by the Bangor presbytery. Bruce was long enough at Lisburn to acquire considerable reputation as a public man. His father's old congregation at Strand Street, Dublin, called him on 24 March 1782 as colleague to John Moody, D.D., on the death of Thomas Plunket, great-grandfather of the present (1886) archbishop of Dublin. Bruce took part in the volunteer movement of 1782, serving in the ranks, but declining a command. At the national convention which met in November 1783, in the Rotundo at Dublin, he sat as delegate for the county of the town of Carrickfergus, and was the last surviving member of this convention. In 1786 he received the degree of D.D. from Glasgow. His Dublin congregation was increased by the accession to it, on 25 or 29 March 1787, of the Cooke Street congregation, with its ex-minister, William Dunne, D.D. In October 1789 he was called to First Belfast, as colleague to James Crombie, D.D. (1730-1790). This call he did not accept, but on Crombie's death he was again called (11 March 1790) to First Belfast, and at the same time elected principal of the Belfast Academy. His Dublin congregation released him on 18 March. In the extra-synodical Antrim presbytery, to which his congregation belonged, he was a commanding spirit; his broad view of the liberty which may consist with presbyterian discipline is

seen in the supplement 'by a member of the presbytery of Antrim' to the Newry edition, 1816, 12mo, of Towgood's 'Dissenting Gentleman's Letters.' In practice he did not favour the presence of lay-elders in church courts. His congregation, which comprised many of the best families of Belfast, increased rapidly, and it was necessary to provide additional accommodation in his meeting-house. He had a noble presence and a rich voice. He drew up for his congregation a hymn-book in 1801 (enlarged 1818 and still in use), but while he paid great attention to congregational singing he resisted, in 1807, the introduction of an organ, not, however, on religious grounds. He broke the established silence of presbyterian interments by originating the custom of addresses at the grave. The Belfast Academy chiefly owed its reputation to him. But though Bruce, from 1802, delivered courses of lectures on history, belles lettres, and moral philosophy, his main work as principal, from 1 May 1790, when he entered on his duties, till he resigned his post in November 1822, was that of a school-master. He taught well, and ruled firmly, not forgetting the rod; early in his career the famous barring out of 12 April 1792, which roused the whole town, tried his mettle and proved his mastery. In the troubles of 1797 and 1798 Bruce enrolled himself as a private in the Belfast Merchants' Infantry; he despatched his family to Whitehaven; and regularly occupied his pulpit throughout the disturbances. Many of the liberal presbyterians had been active in urging the insurrection; hence Bruce's attitude was of signal importance. His influence with the government in 1800 was exerted to secure adequate consideration for the presbyterians at the Union. At this period Bruce's advice was much sought by the leaders of the general synod. In November 1805 there were negotiations for the readmission of his presbytery to the synod without subscription, but in May following the idea was abandoned as inopportune. Bruce penned the address presented to George IV at Dublin (1821) in the name of the whole presbyterian body. He sought no personal favours; at the death of Robert Black [q. v.] in 1817 the agency for the *regium donum* was open to him, but he forwarded the claims of another. The Widows' Fund, founded in 1751, through the exertions of his granduncle, William Bruce (1702-1755) [q. v.], was greatly improved by his efforts and judgment. Protestants of all sections welcomed his presence on the committee of the Hibernian Bible Society, an institution which he recommended in letters (signed 'Zuinglius') to the 'Newry Telegraph'

(reprinted in the 'Belfast Newsletter,' 16 Nov. 1821). He had a good deal to do with the establishment of the Lancastrian school, with which was connected a protestant but otherwise undenominational Sunday school. To provide common ground for intellectual pursuits among men of all parties, he had founded (23 Oct. 1801) the Literary Society, a centre of culture in the days when Belfast took to itself the title of the Ulster Athens.

Bruce eschewed personal controversy. He had always owned himself a unitarian, in the broad sense attached to the term at its first introduction into English literature by Firmin and Emlyn; when used in the restricted sense of the modern Socinians, such as Lindsey and Belsham, he sensitively repudiated all connection with that school (see his letter in *Mon. Rep.* 1813, pp. 515-17). Finding his position 'misrepresented by the violence of party zeal,' Bruce, in 1824, issued his volume on the Bible and christian doctrine. The book marks an era. Unitarianism in Ireland had long been a floating opinion; it now became the badge of a party. In the preface (dated 17 March) Bruce claimed that his views were 'making extensive though silent progress through the general synod of Ulster.' This was accepted by trinitarians as a gage of battle; the general synod at Moneymore, on 2 July, agreed to an overture giving 'a public contradiction to said assertion.' Bruce joined the seceders of 1829 in the formation of the Unitarian Society for the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge (9 April 1831), though he would have preferred as its designation the colourless name, 'A Tract Society.' By 1834 he had retired from public duty, and was suffering from a decay of sight, which ended in blindness. In November 1836 he removed to Dublin with his daughter Maria. Here he died on 27 Feb. 1841. He married, on 25 Jan. 1788, Susanna Hutton (died 22 Feb. 1819, aged 56), and had twelve children, of whom six survived him. Several portraits of Bruce exist; the earliest is in a large picture (1804) by Robinson, containing portraits of Dr. and Mrs. Bruce and others, now in the council-room of the Belfast chamber of commerce; a three-quarter length, by Thompson, is in the Linenhall Library, Belfast, and has been engraved in mezzotint (1819) by Hodgetts; a fine painting of head and bust is in the possession of a grandson, James Bruce, D.L., of Thorndale; an engraving by Adcock from a miniature by Hawksett was executed for the 'Christian Moderator,' 1827. He published: 1. 'The Christian Soldier,' 1803, 12mo, a sermon. 2. 'Literary Essays on the Influence of Political Revolutions on the Pro-

gress of Religion and Learning; and on the Advantages of Classical Education,' Belfast, 1811, 4to, 2nd edition 1818, 4to (originally published in the 'Transactions of the Belfast Literary Society,' 1809 and 1811). 3. 'A Treatise on the Being and Attributes of God; with an Appendix on the Immateriality of the Soul,' Belfast, 1818, 8vo (begun in 1808, and finished November 1813). 4. 'Sermons on the Study of the Bible, and on the Doctrines of Christianity,' Belfast, 1824, 2nd edition 1826, 8vo (not till the second edition did he rank his doctrines as 'anti-trinitarian'; his Arianism is evidently of a transitional type; in later life he was anxious to have it known that he had not altered his views, and on 27 Sept. 1839 he signed a paper stating that 'the sentiments, principles, and opinions' contained in this volume of sermons 'coincide exactly with those which I entertain'). 5. 'The State of Society in the Age of Homer,' Belfast, 1827, 8vo. 6. 'Brief Notes on the Gospels and Acts,' Belfast, 1835, 12mo. 7. 'A Paraphrase, with Brief Notes on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans,' Belfast, 1836, 12mo. 8. 'A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistles and Apocalypse,' Liverpool, 1836, 12mo. 9. 'A Brief Commentary on the New Testament,' Belfast, 1836, 12mo. Besides these he contributed papers, scientific and historical, &c., to the 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,' 'Belfast Literary Society,' 'Dublin University Magazine,' and other periodicals. Among these articles may be noticed a series of twenty-three historical papers on the 'Progress of Nonsubscription to Creeds,' contributed to the 'Christian Moderator,' 1826-8; these are of value as giving extracts from original documents. His 'Memoir of James VI,' in 'Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy,' 1828, gives copies of original letters, and information respecting his ancestor, Rev. Robert Bruce of Kinnaird.

[Armstrong's Appendix to Ordination Service, James Martineau, 1829, pp. 75-7, 89; Porter's Funeral Sermon, The Christian's Hope in Death, 1841; Bible Christian, 1831, pp. 47, 239, 289, 1834, p. 389, 1841, pp. 111 sq.; Chr. Reformer, 1821, pp. 218 sq., 1859, p. 318; Reid's Hist. Presb. Ch. in Ireland (Killen), 1867, iii. 389, 444 sq.; Witherow's Hist. and Lit. Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland, 2nd ser. 1880, pp. 187 sq.; Benn's Hist. of Belfast, 1877, p. 453, vol. ii. 1880, pp. 48, 172; Belf. Newsletter, 26 Feb. 1819; Minutes of Gen. Synod, 1824, p. 31; Irish Unit. Mag. 1847, p. 357; Disciple (Belf.), 1883, pp. 84, 93 sq.; C. Porter's Seven Bruces, in Northern Whig, 20 May 1885; manuscript extracts from Minutes of Gen. Synod, 1780; manuscript Minutes of Antrim Presbytery, First Presb. Ch., Belfast, and Unit. Soc. Belfast; tombstones at Holywood.]

**BRUCE, WILLIAM (1790-1868)**, Irish presbyterian minister and professor, was born at Belfast 16 Nov. 1790, the second son of William Bruce (1757-1841) [q. v.] He was educated first at the Belfast Academy under his father; entered Trinity College, Dublin, on 2 July 1804, where he obtained a scholarship and graduated A.B. on 20 July 1809. Meantime he attended a session (1808-1809) at Edinburgh, where he studied moral philosophy, church history, &c., under Dugald Stewart, Hugh Meiklejohn, and others. His theological studies were directed by the Antrim presbytery, by which body he was licensed on 25 June 1811. On 19 Jan. 1812 he was called to First Belfast as colleague to his father, and ordained 3 March. He had few of his father's gifts, but his quiet firmness and amiability gave him a hold on the affections of his people. Theologically he followed closely in his father's steps. It is believed that he edited the Belfast edition, 1819, 8vo, of 'Sermons on the Christian Doctrine,' by Richard Price, D.D. (originally published 1787), which contain a mild assertion of a modified Arianism, as a middle way between Calvinism and Socinianism. In 1821 Bruce came forward as a candidate for the vacant classical and Hebrew chair in the Belfast Academical Institution. Two-thirds of the Arian vote went against Bruce, in consequence of the hostility hitherto shown to the institution by his family; but Sir Robert Bateson, the episcopalian leader, and Edward Reid of Ramelton, moderator of the general synod, made efforts for Bruce, and he was elected on 27 Oct. by a large majority. The appointment conciliated a section which had stood aloof from the institution on the ground that it had sympathised with unconstitutional principles in 1798, and ultimately the government grant, which had been withdrawn on that account, was renewed (27 Feb. 1829). Bruce, still keeping his congregation, held the chair with solid repute till the establishment of the Queen's College (opened November 1849) reduced the Academical Institution to the rank of a high school. The Hebrew chair was separated from that of classics in 1825, when Thomas Dix Hincks, LL.D., another Arian, was appointed to fill it. Bruce took no active share in the polemics of his time. An early and anonymous publication on the Trinity sufficiently defines his position. In later life he headed the conservative minority in the Antrim presbytery, maintaining that nonsubscribing principles not only allowed but required a presbytery to satisfy itself as to the Christian faith of candidates for the ministry. The discussion was conducted with much acrimony (not on Bruce's

part), and ended in the withdrawal of five congregations, since recognised by the government as a distinct ecclesiastical body, the northern presbytery of Antrim, of which, at its first meeting, 4 April 1862, Bruce was elected moderator. In the same year the jubilee of his ordination was marked by the placing of stained glass windows in his meeting-house. He retired from active duty on 21 April 1867. From 1832 he had as colleague John Scott Porter, who remained sole pastor [see BRUCE, WILLIAM, 1757-1841]. He continued his services to many of the charities and public bodies of the town. He studied agriculture, and carefully planted his own grounds at The Farm. His last sermon was at a communion in Larne on 28 April 1867. He died 25 Oct. 1868, and was buried at Holywood 28 Oct. On 20 May 1823 he married Jane Elizabeth (died 27 Nov. 1878, aged 79), only child of William Smith of Barbadoes and Catherine Wentworth. By her he had four sons and six daughters; his first-born died in infancy; William died 7 Nov. 1868, aged 43; Samuel died 6 March 1871, aged 44.

He published: 1. 'Observations on the Doctrine of the Trinity, occasioned by the Rev. James Carlile's book, entitled "Jesus Christ, the Great God our Saviour,"' Belfast, 1823, 8vo, anonymous; Carlile was minister of the Scots Church, Mary's Abbey, Dublin (died March 1854). 2. 'On the Right and Exercise of Private Judgment,' Belfast, 1860, 8vo (sermon, Acts iv. 19, 20, on 8 July). 3. 'Address delivered to the First Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast, on Sunday, 12 Jan. 1862, in reference to the recent proceedings in the Presbytery of Antrim,' Belfast, 1862, 12mo. 4. 'On Christian Liberty; its Extent and Limitation,' Belfast, 1862, 12mo (sermon, 1 Cor. viii. 9, on 5 Oct., the day of the opening of his church after the erection of memorial window).

[J. S. Porter's Funeral Sermon, *The New Heaven and New Earth*, 1868; Reid's Hist. Presb. Ch. in Ireland (Killen), 1867, iii. 445; J. L. Porter's Life and Times of H. Cooke, 1871, p. 62 sq.; Belfast Newsletter, 1821; Benn's Hist. of Belfast, 1880, ii. 108; Chr. Unitarian, 1862; Nonsubscriber, 1862; Chr. Life, 4 Dec. 1878; C. Porter's Seven Bruces, in Northern Whig, 25 May 1885; manuscript Minutes Antrim Presbytery, Northern Presbytery; Minutes and Baptismal Register, First Presb. Ch. Belfast; tombstones at Holywood; private information.] A. G.

**BRUCKNER, JOHN (1726-1804)**, Lutheran divine, was born on 31 Dec. 1726 at Kadzand, a small island of Zeeland, near the Belgian frontier. He was educated for the ministry, chiefly at the university of Franeker, where he studied Greek under

Valckenaer; and held a charge at Leyden. In 1752 a business journey to Holland was made by Mr. Columbine, elder of the Norwich church of Walloons, or French-speaking Flemings, founded early in the reign of Elizabeth, and holding the church of St. Mary the Less on lease from the corporation from March 1637. Columbine was directed to seek a fit successor to Valloton, late pastor of the Walloon church. On his introduction, Bruckner, who could preach in Latin, Dutch, French, and English, settled in Norwich in 1753. In addition to his duties at St. Mary the Less, he succeeded Dr. van Sarn, about 1766, as pastor of the Dutch church, to whose use the choir of St. John the Baptist (the nave being used as the civic hall under the name of St. Andrew's Hall) had been permanently secured from 1661. This charge was scarcely more than nominal, and that of the French church gradually became little else. In both cases there were small endowments. Bruckner held the joint charge till his death, and was the last regular minister of either church. He made a good income by teaching French. Mrs. Opie was among his pupils. He was a good musician and organist, and a clever draughtsman, as is attested by his portrait of his favourite dog; for he kept a horse and pointer, being fond of outdoor sports. The Norwich literary circle owed much to his culture and learning. He died by his own hand, while suffering from mental depression, on Saturday, 12 May 1804. He was buried at Guist, near Foulsham, Norfolk. He had married in 1782 Miss Cooper of Guist, a former pupil, who predeceased him. Opie painted his portrait, which was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1800. In Mrs. Opie's 'Life' a curious story is told about the expression of the eyes in the portrait reminding a visitor of the countenance of a person who had committed suicide. One of Mrs. Opie's 'Lays' is about this portrait. Bruckner wrote: 1. 'Théorie du Système Animal,' Leyden, 1767 (anon.; in chaps. vii. and x. there is an anticipation of Malthusian views). 2. 'A Philosophical Survey of the Animal Creation; an Essay wherein the general devastation and carnage that reign among different classes of animals are considered in a new point of view, and the vast increase of life and enjoyment derived to the whole from this necessity is clearly demonstrated,' Lond. 1768 (anon.; a translation of the foregoing). 3. 'Criticisms on the Diversions of Purley. By John Cassander,' 1790, 8vo (the name Cassander was suggested by his birthplace, and, according to Parr, recommended itself to him as a 'peacemaker between the grammatical disputants;,' George

Cassander (1515-1566) being a catholic divine who laboured for union between catholics and protestants. Horne Tooke replied in his edition of 1798). 4. 'Thoughts on Public Worship,' 1792, 8vo (in reply to Gilbert Wakefield's 'Enquiry into the Expediency and Propriety of Public or Social Worship,' 1791. In his preface Bruckner promises a continuation). He began a didactic poem in French verse, intended to popularise the views of his 'Théorie.' Four pathetic lines on his own wrinkled and 'lugubre' countenance are given in Mrs. Opie's 'Life.'

[Norfolk Tour, 1829, ii. 1074 (based on article by W. Taylor in the Monthly Mag.); Van der Aa's Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden (errs respecting the date of death); Brightwell's Life of Amelia Opie, 1854, p. 29 seq.; Biblioth. Parriana, 1827, p. 268.] A. G.

**BRUDENELL, JAMES THOMAS**, seventh EARL OF CARDIGAN (1797-1868), general, the only son of Robert, sixth earl of Cardigan, was born at Hambleden, Buckinghamshire, on 16 Oct. 1797. From his childhood he was spoilt; for he, as well as his seven sisters, possessed the proverbial good looks of the Brudenell family. He spent two years at Christ Church, Oxford, and when he came of age, in 1818, was returned to parliament by his father's cousin, the first marquis of Ailesbury, as M.P. for Marlborough. He entered the army, and purchased a cornetcy in the 8th hussars in May 1824, when he was twenty-seven years of age. He made up for his delay by lavish expenditure in purchasing his grades, and became lieutenant in January 1825, captain in June 1826, major in August 1830, lieutenant-colonel in December 1830, and lieutenant-colonel of the 15th hussars in 1832. In 1829 he resigned his seat for Marlborough on account of a difference with the Marquis of Ailesbury on the subject of catholic emancipation, and at once purchased a seat for Fowey. In 1832 he fought a most expensive election for North Northamptonshire, and was returned with Lord Milton for his colleague. Lord Brudenell found himself soon hemmed in by troubles among his officers. They had a natural feeling against the lord who had bought himself into his command, and his unconciliating temper caused perpetual quarrels. At last, in 1833, he illegally ordered one of his officers, Captain Wathen, into custody at Cork. Wathen so thoroughly justified himself before a court-martial that Brudenell had a hint to resign the command of the 15th hussars. His father, however, who was an old friend of William IV, obtained for him the command of the 11th hussars, which he assumed in

India in 1836. The regiment was at once ordered home, and on its arrival in 1837 Brudenell found that his father was dead, and that he had succeeded to the earldom and 40,000*l.* a year.

As Lord Cardigan he was not more successful in getting on with his officers than he had been as Lord Brudenell. Yet he was liberal with his money, and as he spent 10,000*l.* a year on the regiment, the 11th hussars soon became the smartest cavalry regiment in the service, and was selected later by Queen Victoria to bear the title of Prince Albert's Own Hussars. The regiment on its return from India was stationed at Canterbury, and there occurred what became notorious as the 'Black Bottle' affair. In May 1840 Cardigan ordered a Captain Reynolds under arrest for placing wine on the mess-table in a black bottle instead of a decanter. He shortly afterwards met at Brighton another captain of the regiment, also named Reynolds, and ordered him under arrest for impertinence. A garbled account of this transaction appeared in the 'Morning Chronicle,' signed 'H. T.' Cardigan found out that the writer was one Captain Harvey Tuckett, and at once challenged him. The duel took place on Wimbledon Common on 12 Sept. 1840, and at the second shot Captain Tuckett was wounded. This duel created immense excitement, and public feeling ran strongly against Cardigan, who demanded his right to be tried by his peers. On 16 Feb. 1841 Lord Denman presided as lord steward, Sir John Campbell, the attorney-general, prosecuted, and Sir William Follett led for the defence. The trial lasted only one day; the prosecution had omitted to prove the identity of Captain Tuckett with Harvey Garnier Phipps Tuckett, and Cardigan was declared by all the peers present 'not guilty upon my honour,' except the Duke of Cleveland, who said 'not guilty legally upon my honour.' Cardigan retained the command of his regiment till his promotion to the rank of major-general, 20 June 1854. He lived the ordinary life of a wealthy nobleman until the Crimean war broke out in 1854. He was then sent out in command of a cavalry brigade in Major-general Lord Lucan's division. Lord Lucan and Cardigan, whose sister Lord Lucan had married, were old enemies. Cardigan declared that he understood his command to be independent of Lucan's control, and their hostility appeared both at Varna and the day before the battle of the Alma. When the cavalry division encamped outside Balaclava, Lord Lucan lived in camp with the men and shared their privations, while Cardigan had his luxurious yacht in the harbour, and

dined and slept on board. At the attack on Balaclava, when the Russians had been driven back by the 93rd Highlanders, and charged in flank by the heavy cavalry, an order was sent down by Captain Nolan, aide-de-camp to Major-general Airey, that the light brigade was to charge along the southern line of heights and drive the enemy from the Turkish batteries. The order was easy of execution; Lord Lucan must have known along which line the light brigade was to charge, and Captain Nolan knew perfectly whither to lead the troopers. But Cardigan could see nothing from his station, and believed he was to charge straight along the valley in front of him. Lord Lucan did not inform him of his error, and Captain Nolan was unfortunately killed just as he perceived the erroneous direction the brigade was taking and while trying to set it right. Straight down the valley between the Russian batteries along one line of hills, and the captured Turkish batteries on the other, and right at the Russian batteries in his front, Cardigan galloped many yards in front of his men. He was first among the Russian guns, receiving but one slight wound in the leg, and then rode slowly out of the *mélée*. Unfortunately for his reputation, although he was the first man among the Russian guns, he was not the last to leave them. Officers and men stood about looking for their general and waiting for orders, and then rode away from the guns in tens and twenties, in twos and threes. Cardigan had played the part of a hero, but not of a general. Great was the excitement in camp after the charge. Lord Kaglan was profoundly displeased; some blamed Lord Lucan, some Cardigan, others General Airey, who had only written the order, and others Captain Nolan. In truth, no blame could be fixed on any one. Cardigan faithfully obeyed the order he had misunderstood. His subsequent conduct was unfortunately indiscreet. He returned to England in January 1855, and was treated as a hero. His portrait was in every shop window, and his biography in every newspaper. He was invited to a banquet by the lord mayor at the Mansion House on 6 Feb., and boasted of his prowess after the dinner. He was made inspector-general of cavalry in 1855, which post he held for the usual term of five years, was made K.C.B., a commander of the Legion of Honour, and knight of the second class of the order of the Medjidie, and was promoted lieutenant-general in 1861. He was made colonel of the 5th dragoon guards in 1859, which he exchanged for the colonelcy of his old regiment, the 11th hussars, in August 1860. Not satisfied with all these

honours he always insisted on being regarded as a hero, and in 1863 applied for a criminal information for libel against Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. Somerset J. G. Calthorpe, Lord Raglan's nephew and aide-de-camp, for a statement in his 'Letters from Headquarters,' that after the charge of Balaclava 'unfortunately Lord Cardigan was not present when most required;' but he was nonsuited. After the trial he lived quietly at Deene Park, his seat in Northamptonshire, where he died from injuries caused by a fall from his horse on 28 March 1868. He left no children, and his titles devolved on his second cousin, the second marquis of Ailesbury. Cardigan was the author of 'Cavalry Brigade Movements,' 4to, 1861.

[There is no life published of Lord Cardigan, and for a general sketch of his life reference must be made to the Times obituary notice, &c. An account of his trial before the House of Lords was published in 1841, and there is a useful analysis in Townsend's *Modern State Trials*, i. 209 (1850). For his behaviour at Balaclava see above all Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, vol. v.; the Report of the Proceedings in the Queen's Bench taken by Lieut.-gen. the Earl of Cardigan on applying for a criminal information for libel against Lieut.-col. the Hon. S. J. G. Calthorpe, 1863, and a curiously abusive little work, *Was Lord Cardigan a Hero at Balaclava?* by George Ryan, 1855.] H. M. S.

**BRUDENELL, ROBERT** (1461-1531), judge, was descended from William Brudenell, who was settled at Dodington and Adderbury in Oxfordshire, and Aynhoe, Northamptonshire, in the reign of Henry III, and from an Edmund Brudenell who was attorney-general to Richard II. Robert, born in 1461, was the second son of Edmund Brudenell of Agmondesham, Buckinghamshire, by his second wife, Philippa, daughter of Philip Englefield of Englefield and Finchingfield in Essex, who brought him considerable property in Buckinghamshire. Robert was educated at Cambridge and 'bred to the law,' and, though his name occurs in the year-books as arguing at the bar no earlier than Hilary term 1490, he was in the commission of oyer and terminer for Buckingham in 1489. He sat in parliament in 1503, and was one of the commissioners for Leicestershire for raising the subsidy granted by parliament in that year. In Michaelmas term 1504 (not 1505, as Dugdale has it in the 'Chronica Series') he, with nine others, was raised to the rank of serjeant-at-law, and the new serjeants held their inaugural feast at Lambeth Palace. On 25 Oct. of the year following he was appointed king's serjeant, and on the death of

Sir Robert Read he, on 28 April 1507, was made a justice of the king's bench. On the accession of King Henry VIII Brudenell was transferred to the court of common pleas, in which court he sat as a puisne judge for twelve years. In 1515 he was a commissioner of sewers for Norfolk, Cambridge, and Leicestershire. On 13 April 1521 he was appointed chief justice of the common pleas, and held this office till he died. On being appointed to the chief justiceship he revisited Cambridge, and the university, with which he seems to have maintained his connection, made him a present. On another occasion it presented him and his wife with a pair of gloves. In 1529 he was appointed a commissioner to survey the castles, forests, and other possessions in Leicestershire belonging to the duchy of Lancaster, and to inquire into encroachments. He died 30 Jan. 1531, and was buried in the south aisle of the church of Dene in Northamptonshire, in an alabaster tomb between his two wives. There is a full-length effigy of him in his judge's robes with the inscription: 'Of your charity pray for the souls of Sir Robert Brudenell, knight, late chief justice of the king's common bench, at Westminster, and of Margaret and Philippa his wives.' He was of a literary turn, contributing among other pieces a description of Stanton to *Leland (Itin. i. 13, 15, 18, 84, 85, 89, viii. 110)*. In the course of his life he acquired very considerable estates, chiefly in Leicestershire, with which he was connected as early as 1503, and founded a chantry at Billisden in 1511, and also elsewhere. His land in Leicestershire was situated at Stanton Wyville, and was acquired through his first wife, Margaret, widow of William Wyville of Stanton, and sister and coheiress of Thomas Entwysell, high sheriff of Lancaster and Warwick in 1483, who, with his wife, Katherine (the heiress of the Wyville family), being childless, alienated the manor to Brudenell. He also, at the end of Henry VII's reign, purchased the lordship of Cranoe in the same county from John Cockain. His second wife was Philippa Powre of Bechampton. By his first wife he had issue four sons, Thomas, Anthony, Robert, and Edmund, and a daughter, Lucia; by his second wife none. Of his children only the two eldest had issue, the former founding the family of the Brudenells of Deene, the latter that of the Brudenells of Stanton Wyville or Brudenell. That he had other lands besides those in Leicestershire is plain from the fact that he settled the manor of Deene on his eldest son, upon his marriage in 1520 with Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir William Fitzwilliam, and that to his son



Anthony he gave the lordship of Glapthorpe in Northamptonshire. His great-grandson was one of the first baronets created, and was made a baron in 1628, and earl of Cardigan in 1661. Among his descendants were George, fourth earl, who was created Duke of Montagu in 1776, a title which expired on his death in 1790 [see MONTAGU, GEORGE BRUDENELL]; and James Thomas, seventh earl [q. v.] The Brudenells of Deene became extinct in 1780. The arms of Brudenell were a chevron gules between three morions azure.

[Foss's Lives of the Judges; Dugdale's Origines, 113; Nichols's Leicestershire, ii. 554, 808; Vincent's Visitation of Northamptonshire; Wright's Rutland (Leland), iv. pt. 2, 192; Parl. Rolls, vi. 539; Letters Hen. VIII, Brewer, vol. ii. No. 495; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. i. 43, 528; Baker's MS. xxiv. 67; Brydges's Northamptonshire, ii. 301; Churton's Lives of Smyth and Sutton, 229, 305, 441; Lipscomb's Buckinghamshire; Campbell's Reign of Henry VII, ii. 479.]

J. A. H.

BRUEN, JOHN (1560-1625), puritan layman, was the son of a Cheshire squire whose family had long been settled at Bruen Stapleford, and is believed to have given its name to the township. There had been a succession from the middle of the thirteenth century. The elder John Bruen of Bruen Stapleford was thrice married. His union with Anne, the sister of Sir John Done, was childless, but his second wife brought him fourteen children, of whom Katharine, afterwards the wife of William Brettargh, and John, who, although not the eldest born, became by survivorship his heir, were remarkable for the fervour of their puritanism. John was in his tender years sent to his uncle Dutton of Dutton, where for three years he was taught by the schoolmaster James Roe. The Dutton family had by charter the control of the minstrels of the county. Young Bruen became an expert dancer. 'At that time,' he said, 'the holy Sabbaths of the Lord were wholly spent, in all places about us, in May-games and May-poles, pipings and dancings, for it was a rare thing to hear of a preacher, or to have one sermon in a year.' When about seventeen he and his brother Thomas were sent as gentlemen-commoners to St. Alban Hall, Oxford, where they remained about two years. He left the university in 1579, and in the following year was married by his parents to a daughter of Mr. Hardware, who had been twice mayor of Chester. Bruen at this time keenly enjoyed the pleasures of the chase, and, in conjunction with Ralph Done, 'kept fourteen couple of great mouthed dogs.' On the death of his father in 1587 his means were reduced; he cast off his dogs, killed the

game, and disparked the land. His children were brought up strictly, and his choice of servants fell upon the sober and pious. One of these, Robert Pashfield, or 'Old Robert,' though unable to read or write, had acquired so exact a knowledge of the Bible, that he could 'almost always' tell the book and chapter where any particular sentence was to be found. The old man had a leathern girdle, which served him as a *memoria technica*, and was marked into portions for the several books of the Bible, and with points and knots for the smaller divisions. Bruen in summer rose between three and four, and in winter at five, and read prayers twice a day. His own seasons for prayer were seven times daily. He removed the stained glass in Tarvin Church, and defaced the sculptured images. On the Sunday he walked from his house, a mile distant, to the church, and was followed by the greater part of his servants, and called upon such of his tenants as lived on the way, so that when he reached the church it was at the head of a goodly procession. He rarely went home to dinner after morning prayers, but continued in the church till after the evening service. He maintained a preacher at his own house, and afterwards for the parish. Bruen's house became celebrated, and a number of 'gentlemen of rank became desirous of sojourning under his roof for their better information in the way of God, and the more effectual reclaiming of themselves and their families.' Perkins, the puritan divine, called Bruen Stapleford, 'for the practice and power of religion, the very topsail of all England.' His wife died suddenly, and after a time he married the 'very amiable and beautiful' Ann Fox, whom he first met at a religious meeting in Manchester. For a year they dwelt at her mother's house at Rhodes, near Manchester. He then returned to Stapleford, and again his house became the abode of many scions of gentility. Bruen's second wife died after ten years of married life, and the widower broke up his household with its twenty-one boarders and retired to Chester, where he cleared the debt of his estate, saw some of his children settled, and maintained the poor of his parish by the produce of two mills in Stapleford, whither he returned with his third wife, Margaret. He had an implicit belief in special providences, 'judgments,' witchcraft, &c. He kept a hospitable house, and was kind and charitable to the poor of his neighbourhood and of Chester. He refused to drink healths even at the high sheriff's feast. Towards the end of his life his prayers were twice accompanied by 'ravishing sights.' He died after an illness, which was seen to be mortal, in 1625,

at the age of 65. There is a portrait of him in Clark's 'Marrow of Ecclesiastical History.' This has been re-engraved by Richardson. Among the Harleian MSS. is a compilation by him entitled 'A godly profitable collection of divers sentences out of Holy Scripture, and variety of matter out of several divine authors.' These are commonly called his cards, and are fifty-two in number. The same collection contains the petition of his son, Calvin Bruen, of Chester, mercer, respecting the treatment he received for visiting Prynne when he was taken through Chester to imprisonment at Carnarvon Castle. The life of John Bruen was not eventful, and he is chiefly notable as an embodiment of the puritan ideal of a pious layman.

[A Faithful Remonstrance of the Holy Life and Happy Death of John Bruen, by William Hinde, London, 1641 (of this scarce book an abridgment by William Coddington was printed at Chester in 1799; Hinde's original manuscript was presented to the Chetham Society); Clark's Marrow of Ecclesiastical History, pt. ii. p. 80, 1675; Morton's Monuments of Fathers, 1706; Fuller's Worthies; Assheton's Journal, p. xv (Chetham Society); Ormerod's Cheshire, ii. 318.]

W. E. A. A.

**BRUERNE, RICHARD** (1519?-1565), professor of Hebrew, fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, and of Eton, received the degree of B.D. in 1547, and the next year was appointed professor of Hebrew in the university of Oxford. While holding this office he was one of the witnesses on behalf of Bishop Gardiner in 1551, being then about thirty-two years of age (FOX), and was present at the disputation held with Cranmer at Oxford in 1554 (STRYPE). In 1553 he received the canonry at Christ Church formerly held by Peter Martyr. His learning is celebrated by Leland, who, in his 'Cygnea Cantio,' l. 633, calls him 'Hebræi radius chori,' and Bishop Cox, though one of the party opposed to him, says in a letter to Peter Martyr, 'Richard Bruerne, an excellent Hebraist, is in possession of your prebend' (*Zurich Letters*). In May 1557 he was installed canon of Windsor. During 1556 his Hebrew lectures were taken by Peter de Soto, and others appear to have lectured in his place during the next two years. This may have been simply because he was engaged elsewhere (WOOD). On the other hand, the cessation of his lectures may have been enforced on account of his misconduct. He is said to have been guilty of gross immorality, and consequently to have been obliged to resign his professorship some time before March 1559, the date of a letter in which Jewel tells Martyr of his resignation

and its cause (JEWEL, *Works*). Nevertheless, the fellows of Eton, acting without the consent of the queen, elected him as provost on 25 July 1561, granting him at the same time the usual leave of absence. The independence of their action and the unfitness of their choice roused much indignation, and Bishop Grindal wrote to Cecil that 'such a sorte of hedge priestes' should not be allowed to act in despite of the royal prerogative (*State Papers*, Eliz. Domestic, xix. 18, 30; LYTE). Archbishop Parker was accordingly directed to hold a visitation of the college, and to inquire into the election of the provost, 'of whom there is disperst very evil fame.' The visitation was held on 9 Sept., and though Bruerne at first objected to the commission, alleging that it had expired, he finally resigned the provostship, receiving 10*l.* from the funds of the college to make up for his disappointment (LYTE). The next year he supplicated for the degree of D.D. at Oxford, but was refused. He died in April 1565, and was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. At the time of his death he was 'receiver' of Christ Church, and Dr. Sampson, the dean, told Parker that he left a large sum of money to be accounted for (*Parker Correspondence*).

[Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* (ed. Bliss), i. 87, 125, 161; Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (ed. 1846), vi. 130, 213; Strype's *Memorials of Cranmer*, ii. 1090; Life of Parker, i. 205-7; Leland's *Cygnea Cantio* (ed. 1658), p. 22; Jewel's *Works*, iv. 1199 (Parker Society); *Zurich Letters*, i. 7 (Parker Soc.); *Parker Correspondence*, 240 (Parker Soc.); *State Papers*, Eliz. Domestic, xix. 18, 30; Lyte's *History of Eton College*, 170-2; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* 132; Le Neve's *Fasti* (ed. Hardy).]

W. H.

**BRUGIS, THOMAS** (fl. 1640?), surgeon, was born probably between 1610 and 1620, since he practised for seven years as a surgeon during the civil wars. He does not record upon which side he served. He obtained the degree of doctor of physic, though from what university does not appear, and settled at Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, where he describes himself as curing '(by God's help) all sorts of agues in young and old, and all manner of old sores that are curable by art.'

Brugis wrote 'The Marrow of Physicke,' London, 1640, 4to; and 'Vade Mecum, or a Companion for a Chirurgeon,' of which the first edition appeared, London, 1651, 12mo, and the seventh 1689, in the same size. The popularity of this little book shows that it must have been useful, but there is nothing original in this or in the earlier work. Perhaps the only notable thing in the 'Vade

Mecum' is a small contribution to forensic medicine, in the shape of rules for the reports which a surgeon might have to make before a coroner's inquest. Even this is partly taken from Ambroise Paré; but we know of nothing like it in any earlier English book.

[Brugis's Works.]

J. F. P.

BRÜHL, JOHN MAURICE, COUNT OF (1736-1809), diplomatist and astronomer, was the son of F. W. Graf von Brühl of Martinskirchen, who died in 1760, and nephew of Heinrich von Brühl, Saxon prime minister 1748-63. Born at Wiederau in Electoral Saxony on 20 Dec. 1736, he studied at Leipzig, and there formed a close friendship with Christian Gellert, who corresponded with him for some years (see GELLERT's *Sämmtl. Schriften*, ii. 71, viii. 24-115, Leipzig, 1784). At Paris, in 1755, Brühl, then in his nineteenth year, took an active part in Saxon diplomacy; was summoned to Warsaw in 1759; named, through his uncle's influence, chamberlain and commandant in Thuringia, and in 1764 appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of St. James's. Save for one journey homeward in 1785, he never afterwards left England, but died at his house in Old Burlington Street on 9 June 1809, aged 72. He married, first, in 1767, Alicia Maria, dowager countess of Egremont, who died on 1 June 1794, leaving him a son and daughter; secondly, in 1796, Maria, daughter of General Christopher Chowne, who died in 1835. From 1788 he belonged to the Saxon privy council, and was a knight of the White Eagle.

He loved astronomy with passion, and effectually promoted its interests. Through his influence Von Zach, who entered his family as tutor shortly after his arrival in London in November 1783, became an astronomer. With a Hadley's sextant and a chronometer by Emery, they together determined, in 1785, the latitudes and longitudes of Brussels, Frankfort, Dresden, and Paris. Brühl built (probably in 1787) a small observatory at his villa at Harefield, and set up there, about 1794, a two-foot astronomical circle by Ramsden, one of the first instruments of the kind made in England. He was intimate with Herschel, and diligent in transmitting the news of his and others' discoveries abroad through the medium of Bode's 'Jahrbuch.' Perhaps the most signal benefit conferred by him upon science was his zealous advancement of chronometry, and patronage of Mudge and Emery. The realisation of their improvements in watchmaking was largely due to his help (see Mudge's letters to him, 1772-87, included in *A Description*

*of the Timekeeper*, London, 1799). He devoted, moreover, considerable attention to political economy, and made a tour through the remoter parts of England early in 1783 for the purpose of investigating the state of trade and agriculture. He wrote: 1. 'Recherches sur divers Objets de l'Économie Politique,' Dresden, 1781. 2. 'Three Registers of a Pocket Chronometer,' London, 1785. 3. 'Latitudes and Longitudes of several Places ascertained,' London, 1786. 4. 'Nouveau Journal du Chronomètre,' fol., London, 1790. 5. 'On the Investigation of Astronomical Circles,' London, 1794, translated, with additions, by Von Zach in Hindenberg's 'Archiv der reinen und angewandten Mathematik,' i. 257, Leipzig, 1795. 6. 'A Register of Mr. Mudge's Timekeepers,' London, 1794. Contributions by him are to be found in Bode's 'Astronomisches Jahrbuch' for 1790-4, 1797-9, and in suppl. vols. i. ii. iii., as well as in Canzler and Meissner's 'Quartal-Schrift' (including essays on English finance), Leipzig, 1783-5. Appended to T. Mudge junior's 'Reply to Dr. Maskelyne' (1792) there is by him 'A short Explanation of the most proper Methods of calculating a mean Daily Rate;' and he furnished Bergasse with a preface for his 'Betrachtungen über den thierischen Magnetismus,' Dresden, 1790.

[Ersch und Gruber's Allgem. Encycl. xiii. 204; Von Zach's Allgem. geogr. Ephemeriden, iv. 184, Weimar, 1799; J. G. Meusel's Gelehrtes Teutschland, i. 457 (5te Ausgabe), Lemgo, 1796; Gent. Mag. lxxix. 186; Poggendorff's Biog.-Lit. Handwörterbuch; Lalande's Bibl. Astr. p. 630.] A. M. C.

BRUMMELL, GEORGE BRYAN (1778-1840), generally called BEAU BRUMMELL, is said to have been grandson of William Brummell (d. 1770), a confidential servant of Mr. Charles Monson, brother of the first Lord Monson. William Brummell occupied a house in Bury Street (*Notes and Queries*, 1st series, ii. 264), where apartments were taken by Charles Jenkinson, first earl of Liverpool. The beau's father, also William Brummell, an intelligent boy, acted for some time as Mr. Jenkinson's amanuensis; was in 1763 appointed to a clerkship in the treasury, and during the whole administration from 1770 to 1782 was private secretary to Lord North, by whose favour he received several lucrative appointments (*Gent. Mag.* lxiv. 285). He further increased his means by his marriage with Miss Richardson, daughter of the keeper of the lottery office. The younger William Brummell died in 1794, leaving 65,000*l.* to be divided equally among

his three children, two sons and a daughter (*ib.*) George Bryan Brummell, the younger son, was born 7 June 1778, and baptised at Westminster. In 1790 he was sent to Eton, and while there developed the traits by which he became famous—social aplomb, readiness of repartee, and fastidious neatness in dress. He was very popular, and was known even then as 'Buck Brummell.' In 1794 he was entered at Oriel College, Oxford, but he had no inclination for study, and left the university the same year, about the time of his father's death.

Even while at Eton Brummell appears to have been noticed by the Prince of Wales, who on 17 May 1794 presented him to a cornetcy in his own regiment, the 10th hussars. On the marriage of the prince in 1795 Brummell was in personal attendance. He was promoted captain in 1796, and in 1798 retired from the service. He soon after came into his property of about 30,000*l.*, and arranged with great elegance his bachelor establishment at No. 4 Chesterfield Street, Mayfair. He had the art of making friends, and had not neglected his opportunities at Eton and Oxford. The friendship of the regent now gave him an assured position. He soon became acknowledged absolute monarch of the mode, having for subject in this domain even his friend the prince, who, it is said, on one occasion 'began to blubber when told that Brummell did not like the cut of his coat' (MOORE, *Memoirs, Journals, &c.*, i. 272). The prince frequently came to Chesterfield Street to see the beau dress, and 'staid on to a dinner prolonged to orgie far into the night.' Brummell was very popular with the Duke and Duchess of York, was a frequent visitor at Oatlands, and had acquaintance with all the leaders of society: Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire, Lady Hester Stanhope, Lord Byron, Duke of Bedford, Lord Alvanley, Moore. By no means a fop, Brummell was never extravagant in his dress, which was characterised rather by a studied moderation. He was ready enough with his tongue, and had a gift for quaint turns of expression, but the anecdotes told of him seem to indicate cool, impudent self-possession rather than wit. He wrote lively and graceful letters, and was able to find voice in sentimental verse for passing adorations. With the prince he at last had a quarrel, accounts of the cause of which vary; probably it was some more than ordinary license of a satiric tongue. It was a quarrel of equals. Brummell held his own in society until gambling losses forced him to flee the country. On 16 May 1816 he retired to Calais, and there, with such poor means as could now be obtained, he recklessly renewed

his old course of life. The Duke of Wellington and many of his old friends visited him when passing through the town. He received much assistance from England, but was soon in another coil of debt. In 1821 his former friend, now king, visited Calais on his way to Hanover, but no interview took place, and no help was proffered. On 10 Sept. 1830 he was appointed British consul at Caen, a sinecure abolished by his own advice in 1832. His creditors now closed around him, and he was cast into prison (May 1835), where degradation and suffering seem to have broken his spirit. He was soon after released and supplied by his friends with a small income. In 1837 he began to show signs of imbecility; he held phantom receptions of the beauties and magnates of the old days. Soon all care of his person went, and from carelessness and disease his habits became so loathsome that an attendant could hardly be found for him. Admission was at last obtained for him into the asylum of the Bon Sauveur, Caen, where he died 30 March 1840.

[Jesse's *Life of G. Brummell, Esq.*, 1844 (new edit. 1885); Raikes's *Journal*, 1858; Fitzgerald's *Life of George IV*, 1881; Gronow's *Reminiscences and Anecdotes*; *Revue des Deux Mondes*, August 1844; Barbey d'Aurevilly's *Du Dandysme et de G. Brummell*, Caen, 1845. Bulwer's *Pelham* embodies suggestions from the life of Brummell, and the character of Trebeck in Lister's novel *Granby*, 1826, is said to be a direct portrait.]

W. H.-H.

BRUNÆUS, THOMAS (*d.* 1380). [See under BROME, THOMAS.]

BRUNDISH, JOHN JELLIAND (*d.* 1786), poetical writer, was son of the Rev. John Brundish of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk. He was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, and was senior wrangler, senior classical medallist, and first Smith's prizeman in 1773. Only two other individuals ever obtained all the highest honours in the same year, namely, Kaye, of Christ's, in 1804; and Alderson, of Caius, in 1809. Brundish was taxor at Cambridge in 1777, took holy orders, but remained in college and proceeded to the degree of M.A. in 1776. He died in college in February 1786. He is the author of 'An Elegy on a Family Tomb,' Cambridge, 1783, 4to, accompanied by an Italian metrical version by a friend of the author. The original English is reprinted in the 'European Magazine' for January 1786, p. 49.

[New Monthly Mag. July 1817, pp. 522, 523; Cantabrigiensis Graduati (1787), 59; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus. under 'Elegy;' MS. Addit. 19166, f. 205; European Mag. ix. 49, 210\*.]

T. C.

**BRUNEL, ISAMBARD KINGDOM** (1806-1859), civil engineer, the only son of Sir Marc I. Brunel [q. v.], was born on 9 April 1806 at Portsmouth. He was educated first at private schools, and later in the college of Henri Quatre at Paris, then celebrated for its staff of mathematical teachers. At a very early age he evinced decided talent for drawing, and when only fourteen employed himself in making an accurate plan of Hove, near Brighton, where he was then at school. After two years spent at Paris he returned to England for his practical training. In 1823 he entered his father's office, and at the age of seventeen took part in his operations at the Thames Tunnel, where he was afterwards appointed resident engineer, and there gained personal experience of all kinds of work. Brunel rendered his father great assistance in meeting the various disasters which occurred in the course of the tunneling operations. At an anxious time, in September 1826, he was actively engaged on the works for ninety-six consecutive hours, with a few snatches of sleep in the tunnel. On the occasion of the first great irruption of the river, Brunel, to save the life of a workman in danger of drowning, lowered himself into the shaft, then half full of water, and succeeded in bringing the man to the surface.

One of Brunel's first great independent designs, executed in 1829, was for a suspension bridge across the river Avon, from Durham Downs, Clifton, to the Leigh Woods. His first plan was, on the advice of Telford, rejected; but a second design, sent in in 1831, was pronounced to be the most mathematically exact of all those tendered (among which was one by Telford himself), and was accepted. Brunel was appointed engineer, and the works were begun in 1836, but owing to lack of funds were not completed in his lifetime. After his death the bridge was erected nearly in accordance with his original designs, with chains taken from the old Hungerford suspension bridge, constructed by himself between the years 1841 and 1845, and removed in 1862 to make room for the Charing Cross railway bridge. Brunel was appointed engineer to the Bristol Docks, in which he afterwards carried out extensive improvements. In 1831 he designed the Monkwearmouth Docks, and, in later years similar works at Plymouth, Briton Ferry, Brentford, and Milford Haven. In March 1833 Brunel was appointed engineer to the Great Western railway, and in that capacity carried into effect his plans for the broad-gauge railway, a system which became the subject of much controversy among the engineers of the day. His work on this line established for

him a high reputation in his profession. The viaducts at Hanwell and Chippenham, the Maidenhead and other masonry bridges, the Box tunnel, and the iron structures of the Chepstow and Saltash bridges on the Great Western line and its extensions, all exhibit boldness of conception, taste in design, and great skill in the use of material. He obtained a high reputation for his evidence given before the parliamentary committees on schemes of which he was engineer. He was employed to construct two railways in Italy, and to advise upon the Victorian lines in Australia and the Eastern Bengal railway. He adopted the system of atmospheric propulsion on the South Devon railway in 1844, but it resulted in failure. The last and greatest of his railway works was the Royal Albert bridge of the Cornwall railway, crossing the river Tamar at Saltash. It has two spans of 455 feet each, and a central pier built on the rock 80 feet below high-water mark. It was opened in 1859.

Brunel's greatest fame was obtained in the construction of ocean-going steamships of dimensions larger than any previously known. The object was in each case to enable them to carry coal sufficient for at least the outward voyage. In 1836 the largest steam vessel afloat did not exceed 208 feet in length. The Great Western, constructed by him, far surpassed any other existing steamship in size, measuring 236 feet in length by 35 in breadth, with a displacement of 2,300 tons. She made her first voyage in 1838, and achieved a great success. She was the first steamship employed in a regular ocean service between this country and America, and accomplished the voyage in the then unprecedented time of fifteen days. In the construction of this vessel Brunel had the assistance of Mr. Paterson of Bristol as shipwright, and Messrs. Maudslay & Field as makers of the engines. A series of observations upon screw propulsion, made in the course of experimental voyages in the *Archimedes*, convinced him of the practicability of applying the system to large steamships. In 1841 Brunel was commissioned by the admiralty to conduct experiments which led to the adoption of the screw propeller in the navy in 1845. The Great Britain, an iron ship of dimensions far exceeding those of any vessel of the period, first designed by him for paddles, was the first large vessel in which the screw propeller was used. She made her first voyage from Liverpool to New York in 1845, and abundantly demonstrated her excellence of design and strength of hull, especially when she was stranded on the coast of Ireland in 1846, and remained there a whole winter. After the launch of these vessels

Brunel was, in 1851, appointed consulting engineer to the Australian Steam Navigation Company, and in this capacity recommended the construction of steamships of 5,000 tons burden, capable of making the voyage to Australia with only one stoppage for coaling. His suggestion was not then adopted. Brunel's crowning effort in shipbuilding was in the design of the *Great Eastern*, the largest steamship yet built. The scheme for this vessel was adopted by the directors of the Eastern Steam Navigation Company in 1852. Brunel was appointed their engineer. The work was begun in December 1853, and the *Great Eastern* entered the water on 31 Jan. 1858. The delays and casualties attending her launch must be attributed to the novel and gigantic character of the undertaking and the imperfect calculations then applied to the problems of friction. The experience of the *Great Eastern* proved the accuracy of Brunel's designs, and she affords a good example of the double-skin system of construction, a device unknown in previous shipbuilding. In many other respects the ship was admirably constructed, and remains a strong and efficient vessel to this day, although she has been subjected to the severest strains in the work of laying submarine cables. Financially she has been a failure, except as a cable-carrying ship. She was popular when carrying troops in 1861, and when taking passengers to America; but as a single and exceptional ship has been commercially unsuccessful. Brunel was restive under restraint on invention, and was a persistent and outspoken opponent of the patent laws. In addition to the works already mentioned, Brunel devoted much attention to the improvement of large guns, and designed a floating gun-carriage for the attack on Cronstadt in the Russian war in 1854. He also designed and superintended the construction of the hospital buildings at Renkioi on the Dardanelles in 1855. The labour and anxiety involved in the building and launch of the *Great Eastern* proved too much for Brunel's physical powers, and he broke down on the day of her start on the trial trip. He was present, on 5 Sept. 1859, at the trial of the engines the day before she left the Thames, but his health had been failing him for some time, and on this occasion he was seized with an attack of paralysis. Ten days later, on 15 Sept. 1859, he died. He was buried in Kensal Green cemetery on 20 Sept. At a meeting held in the following November, under the presidency of Lord Shelburne, it was resolved to erect a public monument to Brunel, and a statue was made by the late Baron Marochetti. A window was also erected by his family to his memory in the

nave of Westminster Abbey. Brunel's personal character was universally esteemed. Though undemonstrative and overworked, he found time for many acts of generosity. Where his professional work was concerned he exhibited an almost excessive indifference to public opinion. He was a profound student of engineering science, and possessed, besides high mathematical knowledge and readiness in applying it, great natural mechanical skill. Brunel's special objects of study were problems connected with railway traction and steam navigation. He devoted two years to completing the experiments of his father for testing the application of compressed carbonic acid gas as a motive power for engines. He was a zealous promoter of the Great Exhibition of 1851. He was a member of the building committee, and chairman and reporter of the section of civil engineering. Brunel was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in June 1830, and became a member of most of the leading scientific societies in London, and of many abroad. He joined the Institution of Civil Engineers as an associate in January 1829, became a member in 1837, was elected on the council 1845, and from 1850 to the time of his death held the position of vice-president. He declined the office of president in 1858 from ill-health. He frequently took part in discussions, but contributed no papers to the proceedings. Brunel received the degree of Hon. D.C.L. from the university of Oxford in 1857. In July 1836 he married, and he left a widow, two sons and a daughter surviving him.

[Proceedings of Inst. of Civil Engineers, vol. xix. memoir; Smiles's *Life of Stephenson*, p. 370; *Encycl. Metropolitana*; *Encycl. Britan.* 9th edit.; *Life of I. K. Brunel*, by his Son, 1870.] R. H.

**Brunel, Sir Marc Isambard** (1769–1849), civil engineer, was born on 25 April 1769 at Haqueville, near Gisors, in Normandy, where members of his family had farmed land for generations. He was destined by his parents for the church, and when only eight years old was sent to the college of Gisors to begin the necessary classical studies, for which, however, he showed no inclination at any time. He already at that age evinced a marked taste for mechanical pursuits and for drawing. At eleven years of age he was sent to the seminary of St. Nicaise at Rouen, connected with the ecclesiastical college in that city, and there determined to qualify himself for the navy. After some time devoted to the study of drawing and hydrography, he obtained, through the influence of the minister of marine—the *Maréchal de Castries*—a nomination to the

corvette named after that minister. In this vessel Brunel sailed on a cruise to the West Indies, and continued to serve for six years. At starting he constructed a quadrant so accurate that he was able to use it throughout his naval career. In 1792 his ship was paid off, and early in 1793 he returned to Paris, which he soon had to leave in consequence of his open expressions of loyalist opinions. After some time spent at Rouen in considerable danger, he obtained a passport for America, sailed from France on 7 July, and landed in New York on 6 Sept. 1793. Here he first definitely adopted the profession of civil engineer and architect, and obtained his first engagement on the survey of a large tract of land near Lake Ontario. His next engagement was on the survey of a line for a canal to connect the river Hudson with Lake Champlain. The superintendence of these operations was first placed in the hands of another French refugee, but Brunel displayed such capacity as the difficulties of the undertaking increased, that the command was resigned to him. Brunel now obtained various commissions, and he competed successfully against several professional architects in designs for the new House of Assembly at Washington. His plan, however, was ultimately set aside on grounds of economy. His was also the selected design for the Bowery Theatre, New York, which he himself constructed. It was burnt down in 1821.

Brunel was now appointed chief engineer of New York, and in that capacity was employed to erect an arsenal and cannon foundry, in which he introduced much new and ingenious machinery for casting and boring ordnance; and shortly afterwards furnished plans for the defences of the channel between Staten Island and Long Island. He had for some time been engaged in elaborating an idea for the application of machinery to the manufacture of ships' blocks on a large scale, and he determined upon visiting England with the object of submitting his plans to the British government. Accordingly he sailed from America on 20 Jan. 1799, and landed in England in the following March. Shortly after arriving in this country he was married to Miss Sophia Kingdom, a lady whose acquaintance he had made in France previous to his departure for America. In May 1799 Brunel took out his first patent for a writing and drawing machine similar in principle to the pantagraph, and about the same time he invented a machine for winding cotton thread, which was largely adopted in cotton factories, but of which he neglected to secure the benefit by patent. He also in-

vented various other ingenious machines of minor importance, which brought little profit to himself beyond the testimony they afforded of his mechanical skill. In the construction of the 'block machinery' he was fortunate enough to secure the co-operation of Henry Maudslay, and having completed his drawings and working models, Brunel in 1801 took out a patent for his invention. He had introductions to Lord Spencer at the admiralty, and through him the plans were made known to Sir Samuel Bentham, then inspector-general of naval works, who forwarded to the authorities Brunel's application for the substitution of his machinery for the more expensive manual labour then in use. After long negotiations and delay the government ultimately, in May 1803, adopted his proposals, and he was directed to erect his machinery at Portsmouth dockyard. In spite of many hindrances, the machinery was completed in 1806. The saving of labour and expense effected by the adoption of Brunel's ingenious mechanism was enormous. The system consisted of forty-three machines executing the various processes in the block manufacture, and by its aid operations which by the old method had required the uncertain labour of over one hundred men, could be carried out with precision by ten. The blocks were better made than they had ever been before, and the estimated saving to the country in the first year after the machinery was in full working order was about 24,000*l*. Brunel had incurred great expense in carrying out his plans, but his claims received tardy recognition from the government. In compensation, and as a reward for his invention, he ultimately received a sum of 17,000*l*. Between the years 1805 and 1812 Brunel was occupied in perfecting various machines for sawing, cutting, and bending timber, as well as one for cutting staves, and in 1810 he took out a patent for 'improvements in obtaining motive power' by means of an ingenious air-engine, but this invention appears to have had no practical results. About this time he erected sawmills of his own at Battersea, where many valuable operations in the working of wood by machinery were for the first time introduced. In 1811 he was employed by the government to erect sawmills and other machinery of his own invention at Woolwich.

In the following year he was entrusted with an order for carrying out improvements on a large scale in the dockyard at Chatham, by which immense saving was effected in the time and labour required for the transport and working of timber, and in which an iron railway laid on longitudinal sleepers was introduced by Brunel for the conveyance

of the timber from one part of the yard to another. He also devised and erected machinery for the manufacture of shoes, which were adopted by government for use in the army; but the peace of 1815 involved him in heavy pecuniary loss on his contracts.

In 1812 Brunel made his first experiments in steam navigation on the Thames with a double-acting marine engine, and interested himself greatly in establishing a line of steamers to ply between London and Margate. Two years later he prevailed upon the navy board to accept his proposals for towing vessels of war to sea by the aid of steam-tugs, and made at his own expense a number of experiments directed towards the construction of steam vessels of suitable size, capable of heading heavy seas, and carrying all necessary gear. But the navy board, after nearly six months' deliberation, revoked their acceptance and repudiated the indemnity which they had promised Brunel for the expenses he had incurred, on the ground that the attempt was 'too chimerical to be seriously entertained.' About this time Brunel took out patents for several inventions of minor importance, which might have brought considerable profit to him had his commercial faculties and opportunities been proportionate to his scientific ability. In 1816 he invented an ingenious knitting machine, and two years later patented two preparations of tinfoil for purposes of ornamentation, which had an extensive application. In 1819 he took out a patent for improvements in stereotype plates for printing, and negotiations were entered into with the proprietors of the 'Times' and the 'Courier' for the adoption of his invention. An agreement was concluded with the 'Times,' but was subsequently abandoned. In 1820 he was invited to furnish designs for a bridge over the Seine at Rouen, and in the same year he prepared plans for a timber bridge of 880 feet span to be thrown across the Neva at St. Petersburg; but neither of these projects was carried into execution. His designs, however, for bridges to be erected in the island of Bourbon, to withstand the violent hurricanes which prevail there, were accepted by the French government and carried into effect.

In 1814 Brunel's sawmills at Battersea were nearly destroyed by fire. From this time, owing to financial mismanagement, the prosperity of the undertaking steadily declined, until, in 1821, a crisis occurred, and he was thrown into prison for debt. After some months spent in the king's bench he obtained from the government, at the instance of many influential friends, a grant of 5,000*l.* for the

discharge of his debts, and was then liberated. During the next four years Brunel designed sawmills for the islands of Trinidad and Berbice. He effected improvements in marine steam-engines and paddle-wheels. In 1823 he supplied plans for swing-bridges for the docks at Liverpool, where three years later he introduced the floating landing-piers which have since been so largely extended. His opinion was taken on many of the engineering projects of the day; while he at this time was perseveringly engaged in experiments, in which he sacrificed much time and money, for the production of a new motive power from the vapour of gases liquefied at a low temperature. He constructed and patented a machine to carry out this principle, but it had no practical success, and the plan was ultimately abandoned.

Brunel's energies were now almost exclusively devoted to the construction of the Thames tunnel. It is said to have originated in a plan proposed by him in 1818 for establishing between the banks of the Neva communication independent of the floating ice. In 1824, under the auspices of the Duke of Wellington, a company was formed to carry out the scheme proposed by Brunel for boring a tunnel under the Thames from Rotherhithe to Wapping. He suggested the excavation of a passage of a size to admit a double archway of full dimensions at once, without the preliminary construction of a driftway; and he utilised for this purpose an apparatus for which he had taken out a patent in 1818. This consisted of a large shield covering the total area to be excavated, and composed of twelve separate frames, comprising together thirty-six cells, in which the miners worked independently of one another; the whole machine capable of being forced forward by screw power as the work advanced. The operations were begun at Rotherhithe on 16 Feb. 1825, and, in the face of the enormous difficulties that were encountered, were not finally completed till the end of 1842. Panics and strikes took place among the workmen. In 1827 an irruption of the river occurred, which was stopped by bags of clay. In 1828 there was another irruption, and in August of that year the works were stopped, and the tunnel remained bricked up for seven years. After the resumption of the undertaking there were, in August and November 1837 and March 1838, three more irruptions, and it was not till March 1843 that the tunnel was opened to the public. Brunel met these disasters with characteristic fertility of resource, and persevered in the work with untiring energy. But the strain upon his mind produced an attack of partial paralysis,



from which, however, he recovered sufficiently to take part in the opening ceremony.

After this, with the exception of a plan for stacking timber in dockyards, which he submitted to the admiralty, Brunel undertook no more professional work. In 1845 he was again attacked by paralysis, but lingered on for four years. He died on 12 Dec. 1849, in his eighty-first year, and on the 17th of the same month was buried in Kensal Green cemetery.

Brunel was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in March 1814, and in 1832 was made a vice-president under the presidency of the Duke of Sussex. In 1841, shortly before the completion of the Thames tunnel, he was knighted. He was a corresponding member of the French Institute, and received in 1829 the order of the Légion d'Honneur. He was also elected a member of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Stockholm, and of various other scientific societies abroad. In 1823 he became a member of the Institute of Civil Engineers, and constantly attended their meetings, and gave accounts of the progress of his works. He served some years on the council, and aided the advancement of the society by every means in his power. In 1839 he was awarded the Telford silver medal for his account of the 'shield' employed in the construction of the Thames tunnel. His communications to the society will be found in the published 'Proceedings,' vols. i. ii. iii. xiii. xvii.

[Proceedings Inst. Civil Engineers, x. 78, and i. 5, 23, 33, 41, 46, 48, 85, ii. 29, 80, iii. xiii. xvii.; Beamish's Memoir of the Life of Sir Marc I. Brunel.] R. H.

**BRUNING, ANTHONY** (1716-1776), jesuit, eldest son of George Bruning of East Meon and Foxfield, Hampshire, by his first wife, Mary, daughter of Christopher Bryon of Sussex, was born on 7 Dec. 1716. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1733; became a professed father in 1751; laboured for some years on the English mission; and was afterwards appointed professor of philosophy at Liège, where he died on 8 Aug. 1776. He wrote manuscript treatises, 'De Gratia,' 'De Deo,' and 'De Trinitate.'

[Oliver's Collections S. J. 62; Foley's Records S. J. v. 816, vii. 99; Backer's Bibl. des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus (1869), 913.] T. C.

**BRUNING, GEORGE** (1738-1802), jesuit, was the youngest son of George Bruning of East Meon and Foxfield, Hampshire, by his second wife, Anne, daughter of Thomas May of Ramsdale in the same county. He was born in Hampshire on 19 Sept. 1738;

entered the Society of Jesus in 1756; served the mission of Southend, Soberton, Hampshire, for some years; and afterwards lived at East Hendred, Berkshire, the seat of Thomas John Eyston, who had married his half-sister, Mary Bruning. Retiring to Isleworth, he died there on 3 June 1802. Bruning published: 1. 'The Divine Economy of Christ,' London, 1791, 8vo. 2. 'Remarks on the Rev. Joseph Berington's Examination of Events termed miraculous, as reported in Letters from Italy, addressed to the public,' London, 1796, 12mo.

[Oliver's Collections S. J. 62; Foley's Records S. J. v. 817, vii. 100; Backer's Bibl. des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus (1869), 913.] T. C.

**BRUNNE, ROBERT DE, or MANNYNG.** [See MANNYNG.]

**BRUNNING, BENJAMIN** (fl. 1664), nonconformist divine, son of the Rev. John Brunning, rector of Semer in Suffolk, was baptised on 8 Oct. 1623. He received his academical education at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he was admitted to a fellowship on 5 May 1645. He was ejected in 1662, and became a nonconformist minister at Ipswich. The following is the account given of him by Calamy (*Ejected Ministers*, ii. 645): 'Mr. Benjamin Brunning was fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge; one of great usefulness there, and of a general reputation in the university for his wit and learning. He was a man of large and deep thoughts, and his province required it; he having the most judicious persons in the town and country, both ministers and people, for his audience.' He was author of the following sermons: 1. 'A Sermon preached at an Election of Parliament Men, in a Critical Time,' on James iii. 17, 1660, 4to. 2. 'Against Impositions and Conformity, from the Second Commandment.'

[Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire, iii. 321n; Addit. MS. 5863 f. 177, 19165 f. 227; Palmer's Non-conformists' Memorial, iii. 271.] T. C.

**BRUNTON, ELIZABETH.** [See YATES.]

**BRUNTON, GEORGE** (1799-1836), Scottish lawyer and journalist, was born on 31 Jan. 1799, and was educated at the Canon-gate High School, Edinburgh. He was admitted a solicitor in 1831; and in the following year, with Mr. David Haig, brought out 'An Historical Account of the Senators of the College of Justice, from its Institution in MDCXXXII,' 8vo, Edinburgh and London, 1832. This volume, which was at first

undertaken as a republication of the 'Catalogue of the Lords of Session,' prepared by Lord Hailes in 1767, with a continuation to the time of its issue, became a collection of short biographies. Brunton was a frequent contributor to periodicals, and an advanced liberal. He established in 1834 a weekly Saturday newspaper called 'The Patriot,' which was dropped upon his death (*Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, November 1836). Brunton died on 2 June 1836, at Paris, whither he had gone in search of health.

[*Edinburgh Almanac*, 1831-7; *Caledonian Mercury*, 11 June 1836; *Gent. Mag.* July 1836; *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, November 1836; *Irving's Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen*, 1881.]

A. H. G.

**BRUNTON, MISS LOUISA.** [See CRAVEN.]

**BRUNTON, MARY (1778-1818)**, novelist, was daughter of Colonel Thomas Balfour of Elwick. Her mother was the daughter of Colonel Ligonier. Mary Balfour was born in the island of Barra, Orkney, on 1 Nov. 1778. Her early education was irregular, but the girl learned music, French, and Italian. From her sixteenth to her twentieth year she managed her father's household. About 1798 she married the Rev. Alexander Brunton, and settled in the parsonage of Bolton, near Haddington. The young couple studied together philosophy and history. In 1803 they went to live in Edinburgh. In 1810 Mrs. Brunton's first novel, 'Self-Control,' was published; it was dedicated to Joanna Baillie, and the circumstance led to a pleasant and lifelong intercourse. The book had a marked success. A second novel, 'Discipline,' appeared in December 1814. In a letter to her brother, while acknowledging that she loved 'money dearly,' she declares that her great purpose had been 'to procure admission for the religion of a sound mind and of the Bible where it cannot find access in any other form.' The repairing of the Tron Church in 1815 gave Dr. Brunton and his wife an opportunity for a visit to London and to the south-west of England. She now projected a series of domestic tales, and made considerable progress with one called 'Emmeline.' But after giving birth to a stillborn son on 7 Dec., she was attacked by fever, and died 19 Dec. 1818. A life of Mrs. Brunton, with selections from her correspondence, her two novels, the unfinished story of 'Emmeline,' and some other literary remains, were published by her husband in 1819. 'Self-Control' and 'Discipline' were republished in Bentley's *Standard Novels* in 1832, and in cheap editions

in 1837 and 1852. A French translation of 'Self-Control' appeared in Paris in 1829.

ALEXANDER BRUNTON, Mrs. Brunton's biographer, was born at Edinburgh in 1772, and became minister of Bolton in 1797, of the New Greyfriars, Edinburgh, in 1803, and of the Tron Church in 1809. He was professor of oriental languages in the university of Edinburgh, and died 9 Feb. 1854. His works are: 'Sermons and Lectures,' Edinburgh, 1818; 'Persian Grammar,' Edinburgh, 1822.

[The Biographical Memoir mentioned above; Quérard's *La Littérature Française Contemporaine*, Paris, 1846, t. 11, 461; *Blackwood's Magazine*, v. 183.] W. E. A. A.

**BRUNTON, WILLIAM (1777-1851)**, engineer and inventor, was eldest son of Robert Brunton, a watch and clock maker at Dalkeith, where he was born on 26 May 1777. He studied mechanics in his father's shop and engineering under his grandfather, who was a colliery viewer in the neighbourhood. In 1790 he commenced work in the fitting shops of the New Lanark cotton mills belonging to David Dale and Sir Richard Arkwright; but after five years, being attracted by the fame of the great works at Soho, he migrated to the south, and obtained employment in 1796 with Boulton and Watt. He remained at Soho until he was made foreman and superintendent of the engine manufactory. Leaving Soho in 1818 he joined Mr. Jessop's Butterley Works, and being deputed to represent his master in many important missions he made the acquaintance of John Rennie, Thomas Telford, and other eminent engineers. In 1815 he became a partner in and the mechanical manager of the Eagle Foundry, Birmingham, where he remained ten years, during which time he designed and executed a great variety of important works. From 1825 to 1835 he appears to have been practising in London as a civil engineer, but quitting the metropolis at the latter date he took a share in the Cwm Avon Tin Works, Glamorganshire, where he erected copper smelting furnaces and rolling mills. He became connected with the Maesteg Works in the same county, and with a brewery at Neath in 1838; here a total failure ensued, and the savings of his life were lost. After this he occasionally reappeared in his profession, but was never again fully embarked in business. He was a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, but the date of his admission has not been found. As a mechanical engineer his works were various and important; many of them were in the adaptation of original and ingenious modes of reducing and manufacturing metals, and the improvement of the machinery connected

therewith. In the introduction of steam navigation he had a large share; he made some of the original engines used on the Humber and the Trent, and some of the earliest on the Mersey, including those for the vessel which first plied on the Liverpool ferries in 1814. He fitted out the *Sir Francis Drake* at Plymouth in 1824, the first steamer that ever took a man-of-war in tow. His calciner was used on the works of most of the tin mines in Cornwall, as well as at the silver ore works in Mexico, and his fan regulator was also found to be a most useful invention. At the Butterley works he applied the principle of a rapid rotation of the mould in casting iron pipes, and incurred great expense in securing a patent, only to find that a foreigner, who used the same process in casting terra cotta, had recited in his specifications that the same mode might be applied to metals. The most novel and ingenious of his inventions was the walking machine called the Steam Horse, which he made at Butterley in 1813, and which worked with a load up a gradient of 1 in 36 during all the winter of 1814 at the Newbottle colliery. Early in 1815, through some carelessness, this machine exploded, and most unfortunately killed thirteen persons (Wood, *Treatise on Rail Roads*, 1825, pp. 131-5, with a plate).

In the course of his career he obtained many patents, but derived little remuneration from them, although several of them came into general use. Latterly he turned his attention to the subject of improved ventilation for collieries, and sent models of his inventions to the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park. He was intimate with all the engineers of the older school, and was almost the last of that celebrated set of men. He died at the residence of his son, William Brutton, at Camborne, Cornwall, 5 Oct. 1851, having married, 30 Oct. 1810, Anne Elizabeth Button, adopted daughter of John and Rebecca Dickinson of Summer Hill, Birmingham. She died at Eaglesbush, Neath, Glamorganshire, 1845, leaving sons, who have become well known as engineers.

[Minutes of Proceedings of Institution of Civil Engineers, xi. 95-99 (1852).] G. C. B.

**BRUNYARD, WILLIAM** (A. 1850), Dominican friar, described as the author of a 'Summa Theologiæ,' and of certain 'Distinctiones' and 'Determinaciones,' is probably, as Echard suggested (*Script. Ord. Domin.* i. 634 b), identical with the better known John de Bromyard [q. v.]

[Boston ap. Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.*, præf., pp. xxxiii, xl; Bale's *Cat. Script. Brit.* v. 77, pp. 429 seq. (see also Bale's Notebook in the Bodleian Library, Selden MS. supr. 64, f. 53); Pits's *Comm. de Script. Brit.* p. 479.] R. L. P.

**BRUDINE, ANTHONY** (A. 1672), Irish Franciscan, was a native of the county of Clare. He became a Recollect friar and jubilate lecturer of divinity in the Irish convent of the Holy Conception of the Blessed Virgin at Prague. He wrote: 1. '*Ecodomia Minoriticæ Scholæ Salamonis, Johannis Duns Scoti, sive Universæ Theologiæ Scholasticæ Manualis Summa*,' Prague, 1663, 8vo. 2. '*Corolla Ecodomiæ Minoriticæ Scholæ Salamonis, Doctoris subtilis; sive pars altera Manualis Summæ totius Theologiæ Speculativæ*,' Prague, 1664, 8vo. 3. '*Propugnaculum Catholicæ Veritatis, Pars prima Historica, in quinque libros distributa*,' Prague, 1668, 4to. In the fifth book he violently attacks Thomas Carve's '*Lyra*,' or annals of Ireland, in a chapter headed '*De Carve seu Carrani erroribus et imposturis*.' This provoked from Carve the '*Enchiridion Apologeticum*,' Nuremberg, 1670, 12mo. In answer to this a tract called the '*Anatomicum Examen Enchiridii*' was published at Prague in 1671, but whether this was written by Friar Cornelius O'Mollony, a relative of Bruodine's, or by Bruodine himself under that name, as Carve believed, is uncertain [see CARVE, THOMAS]. 4. '*Armamentarium Theologicum*,' Prague, 4to. He is probably identical with the Antonius Prodinus whose '*Descriptio Regni Hiberniæ, Sanctorum Insulæ, et de prima origine miseriarum & motuum in Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, regnante Carolo primo rege*' was printed at Rome, 1721, 4to, under the editorship of the exiled son of Phelim O'Neill.

[Ware's *Writers of Ireland* (Harris), 160, 161; Kerney's Pref. to reprint of Carve's *Itinerarium* (1859), pp. ix, x; Lowndes's *Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 295, 383, 1979; *Bibl. Grenvilliana*, i. 119, 575; *Cat. Lib. Impress. in Bibl. Col. Trin. Dubl.* (1864), i. 490, 491.] T. C.

**BRUTTON, NICHOLAS** (1780-1843), lieutenant-colonel, descended from the old Devonshire family of Brutton or Bruteton, entered the army as ensign in the 75th foot in 1795, proceeded to India, served at the battle of Seedasseer in 1799, through the Mysore campaign as aide-de-camp to Colonel Hart, and led one of the storming parties at Seringapatam on 4 May 1799, when he was severely wounded. He served through the campaign in Canara; at the siege and assault of Jamalabad, and under Lord Lake through the campaigns of 1804-5. At Bhurt-pore he led a storming party, and was again severely wounded. He exchanged into the 8th hussars, served in the Sikh country in 1809 under General St. Leger, and as brigade-major to General Wood in the Pindaree campaign, 1812.

On the breaking out of the Nepal war he proceeded as brevet-major in command of three troops of the 8th hussars, and led the assault on the fort of Kalunga at the head of one hundred dismounted troopers, and was again severely wounded. He served as brigade-major at the siege and capture of Hatt-rass, and in the Pindarree campaign of 1817 was promoted to a majority in the 8th hussars, and on the return of that regiment to Europe, in 1821, exchanged into the 11th hussars, with which regiment he served at the siege and capture of Bhurtপুর. In 1830 he succeeded to the lieutenant-colonelcy and commanded the 11th hussars until 1837, when he sold out, and was succeeded by the Earl of Cardigan.

Brutton was present at the siege and capture of the six strongest fortresses in India. On leaving the 11th hussars he was presented by the officers with a splendid piece of plate in testimony of their regard. He had a pension for his wounds of 100*l.* a year, and died in retirement at Bordeaux on 26 March 1843.

[War Office Records; United Service Magazine, mclxxiv. May 1843.] F. B. G.

BRWYNLLYS, BEDO (*d.* 1450-1480), a Welsh poet, so named from his birthplace, Brwynllys in Herefordshire. Many poems by him, chiefly odes, are preserved in the Welsh School MSS. now in the British Museum, and several short passages are printed in Davies's '*Flores Poetarum Britannicorum*.' Brwynllys made the first collection of the poems of Dafydd ab Gwilym, but his collection is said to have been lost in the ruin of Raglan Castle, where it was preserved.

[Williams's Dict. of Eminent Welshmen; Welsh School MSS., British Museum.] A. M.

BRYAN, AUGUSTINE (*d.* 1726), classical scholar, received his education at Trinity College, Cambridge (B.A. 1711, M.A. 1716); was instituted to the rectory of Piddlehinton, Dorsetshire, on 16 Jan. 1722; and died on 6 April 1726. He published a sermon on the election of the lord mayor in 1718, and just before his death he had finished the printing of a splendid edition of Plutarch's '*Lives*,' which was completed by Moses du Soul, and published under the title of '*Plutarchi Chæronensis Vitæ Parallelæ, cum singulis aliquot Græcæ et Latine. Ad-duntur variantes Lectiones ex MSS. Codd. Veteres et Novæ, Doctorum Virorum Notæ et Emendationes, et Indices accuratissimi*,' 5 vols., London, 1723-9, 4to. This excellent edition is adorned with the heads of the illustrious persons engraved from gems. The Greek text is printed from the Paris edition of 1624, with a few corrections, and

the Latin translation is also chiefly adopted from that edition.

[Hutchins's Dorsetshire, 2nd edit. ii. 352, 353; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. iv. 286; Nichols's Illustr. of Lit. iv. 375, viii. 629; Political State of Great Britain, xxxi. 344; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 1890; Graduatii Cantabrigienses (1787), 60.] T. C.

BRYAN, SIR FRANCIS (*d.* 1550), poet, translator, soldier, and diplomatist, was the son of Sir Thomas Bryan, and grandson of Sir Thomas Bryan, chief justice of the common pleas from 1471 till his death in 1500 (Foss, *Judges*). His father was knighted by Henry VII in 1497, was 'knight of the body' at the opening of Henry VIII's reign, and repeatedly served on the commission of the peace for Buckinghamshire, where the family property was settled. Francis Bryan's mother was Margaret, daughter of Humphry Bouchier, and sister of John Bouchier, lord Berners [q. v.] Lady Bryan was for a time governess to the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, and died in 1551-2 (cf. MADDEN, *Expenses of the Princess Mary*, 216). Anne Boleyn is stated to have been his cousin; but we have been unable to discover the exact genealogical connection. Bryan's prominence in politics was mainly due to the lasting affection which Henry VIII conceived for him in early youth.

Bryan is believed to have been educated at Oxford. In April 1513 he received his first official appointment, that of captain of the Margaret Bonaventure, a ship in the retinue of Sir Thomas Howard, afterwards duke of Norfolk, the newly appointed admiral. In the court entertainments held at Richmond (19 April 1515), at Eltham (Christmas 1516), and at Greenwich (7 July 1517), Bryan took a prominent part, and received very rich apparel from the king on each occasion (BREWER, *Henry VIII*, ii. pt. ii. pp. 1503-5, 1510). He became the king's cupbearer in 1516. In December 1518 he was acting as 'master of the Toyles,' and storing Greenwich Park with 'quick deer.' In 1520 he attended Henry VIII at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and took part in the jousts there under the captaincy of the Earl of Devonshire; and on 29 Sept. he received a pension from the king of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* as a servant and 'a cipherer.' He served in Brittany under the Earl of Surrey in July 1522, and was knighted by his commander for his hardiness and courage (HALL, *Chronicle*). He was one of the sheriffs of Essex and Hertfordshire in 1523, and accompanied Wolsey on his visit to Calais (9 July 1527), where he remained some days. A year later he escorted the papal envoy Campeggio, on his way to England from Orleans, to Calais. In November 1528 Bryan was

sent to Rome by Henry to obtain the papal sanction for his divorce from Catherine. Bryan was especially instructed to induce the pope to withdraw from his friendship with the emperor, and to discover the instructions originally given to Campeggio. Much to his disappointment, Bryan failed in his mission. Soon after leaving England he had written to his cousin, Anne Boleyn, encouraging her to look forward to the immediate removal of all obstacles between her and the title of queen; but he subsequently (5 May 1529) had to confess to the king that nothing would serve to gain the pope's consent to Catherine's divorce. On 10 May 1533 Bryan, with Sir Thomas Gage and Lord Vaux, presented to Queen Catherine at Amptill the summons bidding her appear before Archbishop Cranmer's court at Dunstable, to show cause why the divorce should not proceed; but the queen, who felt the presence of Bryan, a relative of Anne Boleyn, a new insult, informed the messengers that she did not acknowledge the court's competency. In 1531 Bryan was sent as ambassador to France, whither he was soon followed by Sir Nicholas Carew, his sister's husband, and at the time as zealous a champion of Anne Boleyn as himself. Between May and August 1533 Bryan was travelling with the Duke of Norfolk in France seeking to prevent an alliance or even a meeting between the pope and the king of France, and he was engaged in similar negotiations, together with Bishop Gardiner and Sir John Wallop, in December 1535.

Bryan during all these years remained the king's permanent favourite. Throughout the reign almost all Henry's amusements were shared in by him, and he acquired on that account an unrivalled reputation for dissoluteness. Undoubtedly Bryan retained his place in the king's affection by very questionable means. When the influence of the Boleyn family was declining, Bryan entered upon a convenient quarrel with Lord Rochford, which enabled the king to break with his brother-in-law by openly declaring himself on his favourite's side. In May 1536 Anne Boleyn was charged with the offences for which she suffered on the scaffold, and Cromwell—no doubt without the knowledge of Henry VIII.—at first suspected Bryan of being one of the queen's accomplices. When the charges were being formulated, Cromwell, who had no liking for Bryan, hastily sent for him from the country; but no further steps were taken against him, and there is no ground for believing the suspicion to have been well founded. It is clear that Bryan was very anxious to secure the queen's conviction (FROUDE, ii. 385, quotes from Cotton MS. E.

ix. the deposition of the abbot of Woburn relating to an important conversation with Bryan on this subject), and he had the baseness to undertake the office of conveying to Jane Seymour, Anne's successor, the news of Anne Boleyn's condemnation (15 May 1536). A pension vacated by one of Anne's accomplices was promptly bestowed on Bryan by the king. Cromwell, in writing of this circumstance to Gardiner and Wallop, calls Bryan 'the vicar of hell'—a popular nickname which his cruel indifference to the fate of his cousin Anne Boleyn proves that he well deserved. Bryan conspicuously aided the government in repressing the rebellion known as the Pilgrimage of Grace in October of the same year. On 15 Oct. 1537 he played a prominent part at the christening of Prince Edward. In Dec. 1539 he was one of the king's household deputed to meet Anne of Cleves near Calais on her way to England, and Hall, the chronicler, notes the splendour of his dress. He was M.P. for Buckinghamshire, 1542 and 1544. At the funeral of Henry VIII., on 14 Feb. 1546-7, Bryan was assigned a chief place as 'master of the henchmen.'

As a member of the privy council Bryan took part in public affairs until the close of Henry VIII's reign, and at the beginning of Edward VI's reign he was given a large share of the lands which the dissolution of the monasteries had handed over to the crown. He fought, as a captain of light horse, under the Duke of Somerset at Musselburgh 27 Sept. 1547, when he was created a knight banneret. Soon afterwards Bryan rendered the government a very curious service. In 1548 James Butler, ninth earl of Ormonde, an Irish noble, whose powerful influence was obnoxious to the government at Dublin, although there were no valid grounds for suspecting his loyalty, died in London of poison under very suspicious circumstances. Thereupon his widow, Joan, daughter and heiress of James FitzJohn Fitzgerald, eleventh earl of Desmond, sought to marry her relative, Gerald Fitzgerald, the heir of the fifteenth earl of Desmond. To prevent this marriage, which would have united the leading representatives of the two chief Irish noble houses, Bryan was induced to prefer a suit to the lady himself. He had previously married (after 1517) Philippa, a rich heiress and widow of Sir John Fortescue (MORANT, *Essex*, ii. 117); but Bryan's first wife died some time after 1534, and in 1548 he married the widowed countess. He was immediately nominated lord marshal of Ireland, and arrived in Dublin with his wife in November 1548. Sir Edward Bellingham, the haughty lord-deputy, resented his appointment, but Bryan's marriage gave him the com-

mand of the Butler influence, and Bellingham was unable to injure him. On Bellingham's departure from Ireland on 16 Dec. 1549 the Irish council recognised Bryan's powerful position by electing him lord-justice, pending the arrival of a new deputy. But on 2 Feb. 1549-50 Bryan died suddenly at Clonmel. A post-mortem examination was ordered to determine the cause of death, but the doctors came to no more satisfactory conclusion than that he died of grief, a conclusion unsupported by external evidence. Sir John Allen, the Irish chancellor, who was present at Bryan's death and at the autopsy, states that 'he departed very godly.' Roger Ascham, in the 'Scholemaster,' 1568, writes: 'Some men being never so old and spent by yeares will still be full of youthfull conditions, as was Syr F. Bryan, and evermore wold have bene' (ed. Mayor, p. 129).

Bryan, like many other of Henry VIII's courtiers, interested himself deeply in literature. He is probably the 'Brian' to whom Erasmus frequently refers in his correspondence as one of his admirers in England, and he was the intimate friend of the poets Wyatt and Surrey. Like them he wrote poetry, but although Bryan had once a high reputation as a poet, his poetry is now unfortunately undiscoverable. He was an anonymous contributor to the 'Songes and Sonettes written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Howard, late earl of Surrey, and others,' 1557, usually known as 'Tottel's Miscellany;' but it is impossible to distinguish his work there from that of the other anonymous writers. Of the high esteem in which his poetry was held in the sixteenth century there is abundant evidence. Wyatt dedicated a bitter satire to Bryan on the contemptible practices of court life; and while rallying him on his restless activity in politics, speaks of his fine literary taste. Drayton, in his 'Heroicall Epistle' of the Earl of Surrey to the Lady Geraldine (first published in 1629, but written much earlier), refers to

sacred Bryan (whom the Muses kept,  
And in his cradle rockt him while he slept);

the poet represents Bryan as honouring Surrey 'in sacred verses most divinely pen'd.' Similarly Drayton, in his 'Letter . . . of Poets and Poesie,' is as enthusiastic in praise of Bryan as of Surrey and Wyatt, and distinctly states that he was a chief author

Of those small poems which the title beare  
Of songs and sonnets—

a reference to 'Tottel's Miscellany. Francis Meres, in his 'Palladis Tamia,' 1598, describes Bryan with many other famous poets as 'the most passionate among us to bewail and bemoan the complexities of love.'

Bryan was also a student of foreign languages and literature. It is clear that his uncle, John Bouchier, lord Berners [q. v.], consulted him about much of his literary work. It was at Bryan's desire that Lord Berners undertook his translation of Guevara's 'Marcus Aurelius' (1534). Guevara, the founder of Euphuism, was apparently Bryan's favourite author. Not content with suggesting and editing his uncle's translation of one of the famous Spanish writer's books, he himself translated another through the French. It first appeared anonymously in 1548 under the title of 'A Dispraise of the Life of a Courtier and a Commendacion of the Life of a Labouring Man,' London (by Berthelet), August 1548. In this form the work is of excessive rarity. In 1575 'T. Tymme, minister,' reprinted the book as 'A Looking-glasse for the Courte, composed in the Castilion tongue by the Lorde Anthony of Guevarra, Bishop of Mondonent and Cronicler to the Emperor Charles, and out of Castilion drawne into Frenche by Anthony Alaygre, and out of the Frenche tongue into Englishe by Sir Frauncis Briant, Knight, one of the priuie chamber in the raygn of K. Henry the eyght.' The editor added a poem in praise of the English translator. A great many of Bryan's letters are printed in Brewer and Gairdner's 'Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.' Three interesting manuscript letters are in the British Museum (Cotton MS. Vitell. B. x. 73, 77; and Harl. MS. 296, f. 18).

[Nott's edition of Surrey and Wyatt's Poems; Brewer and Gairdner's Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, 1509-35; Rymer's *Federa*, xiv. 380; Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII*, ed. Gairdner, 1884, vol. ii.; *Archæologia*, xxvi. 426 et seq.; *Chronicle of Calais* (Camden Soc.); Collins's *Peerage*, ed. Brydges, ix. 98; Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, i. 71, 265; Metcalfe's *Book of Knights*, 29, 220; Hunter's *MS. Chorus Vatun* (Add. MS. 24490, ff. 104-5); Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*; Cal. State Papers (Foreign), 1509-35; Cal. State Papers (Irish), 1509-73; Hazlitt's *Bibliographical Handbook*; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 169-70; Bagwell's *Ireland under the Tudors* (1885).]  
S. L.

BRYAN, JOHN (d. 1545), logician, was born in London, and educated at Eton, whence he was elected, in 1510, to King's College, Cambridge (B.A. 1515, M.A. 1518). He gained the reputation of being one of the most learned men of his time in the Greek and Latin tongues. For two years he was ordinary reader of logic in the public schools, and in his lectures he wholly disregarded the knotty subtleties of the realists and nominalists who then disturbed the university with their frivolous altercations. This dis-

pleased many, but recommended him to the notice of Erasmus, who highly extols his learning. He was instituted to the rectory of Shellow-Bowells, Essex, in 1523, and died about October 1545. He wrote a history of France, but it does not appear to have been published.

[Add. MS. 5814, f. 156; Newcourt's Repertorium, ii. 522; Knight's Life of Erasmus, 146; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 87.] T. C.

BRYAN, JOHN, D.D. (d. 1676), ejected minister, was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and held the rectory of Barford, near Warwick, worth 140*l.* a year, but left it to go to Coventry, as vicar of Trinity Church, in 1644. The living was worth 80*l.*, to which the city agreed to add 20*l.* Bryan was appointed by 'power of the parliament,' and was not cordially welcomed by the vestry. In 1646 Bryan, assisted by Obadiah Grew, D.D. [q. v.], vicar of St. Michael's, held a public disputation on infant baptism in Trinity Church with Hanserd Knollys, the baptist. Though Coventry was a stronghold of puritanism, it was not so well content as were some of its preachers to witness the subversion of the monarchy. Bryan, at the end of 1646, touched upon this dissatisfaction with the course which events were taking in a sermon which was printed. The vestry in 1647 agreed to raise his stipend. In 1652 and 1654 his services were sought by 'the town of Shrewsbury,' and the churchwardens bestirred themselves to keep him. But the citizens were remiss in discharging their very moderate promises for the support of their clergy. Nevertheless, the puritan preachers remained at their posts until the Act of Uniformity ejected them in 1662. Bryan took very much the same view as Baxter on the question of conformity. To ministerial conformity he had ten objections, but he was willing to practise lay conformity and did so. Bishop Hacket tried to overcome his scruples, and offered him a month to consider, beyond the time allowed by the act; but Bryan gave up his vicarage, and was succeeded by Nathaniel Wanley, of the 'Wonders of the Little World' (1678). Bryan continued to preach whenever and wherever he had liberty to do so; and in conjunction with Grew he founded a presbyterian congregation, which met, from 1672, in licensed rooms. Bryan also made himself very useful in educating students for the ministry, and though the dissenting academy as a recognised institution dates from Richard Frankland (whose academy at Rathmel was opened in 1670), yet Calamy tells us of Bryan that 'there went out of his house more worthy ministers into the church of God than out of many colleges in the university in that

time.' Bryan was a student to the last, very ready in controversy, and occasionally an extempore preacher. He was fond of George Herbert's poems, and himself wrote verse. A tithe of his income he distributed in charity. He died at an advanced age on 4 March 1675-6. His funeral sermon, by Wanley, is a very generous tribute to his merits.

He left three sons: (1) John, M.A., vicar of Holy Cross (the abbey church), Shrewsbury, 1652; minister of St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, 27 March 1659; ejected 1662; minister of the presbyterian congregation meeting in High Street, Shrewsbury; died on 31 Aug. 1699; buried in St. Chad's churchyard. (2) Samuel, fellow of Peterhouse, vicar of Allesley, Warwickshire; ejected in 1662; imprisoned six months in Warwick gaol for preaching at Birmingham; household chaplain at Belfast Castle to Arthur, first earl of Donegal (who left him 50*l.* a year for four years, besides his salary, in his will, dated 17 March 1674); died out of his mind, according to Calamy. (3) Noah, fellow of Peterhouse; ejected from a living at Stafford in 1662; according to Calamy, became chaplain to the Earl of Donegal, and died about 1667, but it seems likely that Calamy has confused him with his brother.

Bryan was succeeded as presbyterian minister at Coventry by his brother Gervase (or Jarvis), appointed to the rectory of Old Swinford, Worcestershire, in 1655; ejected 1662; lived at Birmingham till 1675, died at Coventry on 27 Dec. 1689, and was buried in Trinity Church. The liberty to meet in licensed rooms was withdrawn in 1682; but in 1687, after James's declaration for liberty of conscience, Grew and Gervase Bryan reassembled their congregation in St. Nicholas Hall, commonly called Leather Hall. Bryan published: 1. 'The Vertuous Daughter,' 1640, 4to (sermon, Prov. xxxi. 29, at St. Mary's, Warwick, at funeral, on 14 April 1636, of Cicely, daughter of Sir Thomas Puckering; at end is 'her epitaph by the author' in verse). 2. 'A Discovery of the probable Sin causing this great Judgement of Rain and Waters, viz. our Discontentment with our present Government, and inordinate desire of our King,' 1647, 4to (sermon, 1 Sam. xii. 16-20, at Coventry, on 23 Dec. 1646, being the day of public humiliation; dedication issued 'from my study in Coventry' on 26 Dec. 1646). 3. 'The Warwickshire Ministers' Testimony to the Truth of Jesus Christ, and to the Solemn League and Covenant; as also against the errors, heresies, and blasphemies of these times, and the toleration of them; sent in a letter to the Ministers of London, subscribers of the former

testimony,' 1648, 4to (signed by Bryan, Grew, and John Herring as ministers of Coventry). 4. 'A Publick Disputation sundry dayes at Killingworth [Kenilworth] in Warwickshire between John Bryan, &c. and John Onley, pastor of a church at Lawford, upon this question, Whether the parishes of this nation generally be true churches. Wherein are nine arguments alleged in proof of the affirmative of the question, with the answer of I. O. thereunto, together with Dr. B.'s reply, &c.' 1655, 4to (this discussion was criticised in 'Animadversions upon a Disputation, &c.' 1658, 4to, by J. Ley, prebendary of Chester). 5. 'Dwelling with God, the interest and duty of believers, opened in eight sermons,' 1670, 8vo (epistle to the reader by Richard Baxter). 6. Prefatory letter to 'Sermon,' 2 Cor. v. 20, by S. Gardner, 1672, 4to. 7. 'Harvest-Home: being the summe of certain sermons upon Job 5, 26, one whereof was preached at the funeral of Mr. Ob. Musson, an aged godly minister of the Gospel, in the Royally licensed rooms in Coventry; the other since continued upon the subject. By J. B., D.D., late pastor of the Holy Trinity in that ancient and honourable city. The first part being a preparation of the corn for the sickle. The latter will be the reaping, shocking and inn-ing of that corn which is so fitted,' London, printed for the author, 1674, 4to (this little volume of verse is very scarce; the British Museum has two copies, both with author's corrections; 'Ob.' on the title-page is corrected to 'Rich.' [Richard Musson was ejected from the rectory of Church Langton, Leicestershire]; the preface says the author has presumed to send his book 'to some of his noble and most worthy friends;' he introduces, from 1 Pet. i. 4, three perhaps unique words:—  
a kingdom that

Is apthartal [aphthartal MS. corr.], amiantal, Amarantall—).

[Calamy's Account, 1713, pp. 546, 629, 735, 743, 771; Continuation, 1723, pp. 850, 893; Monthly Repos. 1819, p. 600; Sibree and Caston's Independency in Warwickshire, 1855, pp. 27, 29 seq.; Benn's Hist. of Belfast, 1877, pp. 719 seq.; Wanley's MS. Diary in British Museum; manuscript extracts from corporation records, Coventry, also from burial register and churchwardens' accounts of Trinity parish, per Rev. F. M. Beaumont; Cole's MS. Athenæ Cantab.]  
A. G.

**BRYAN, MARGARET** (fl. 1815), natural philosopher, a beautiful and talented schoolmistress, was the wife of a Mr. Bryan. In 1797 she published in 4to, by subscription, a 'Compendious System of Astronomy,' with a portrait of herself and two daughters as a frontispiece, the whole engraved by Nutter

from a miniature by Samuel Shelley. Mrs. Bryan dedicated her book to her pupils. The lectures of which the book consisted had been praised by Charles Hutton, then at Woolwich (Preface, p. xi). An 8vo edition of the work was issued later. In 1806 Mrs. Bryan published, also by subscription, and in 4to, 'Lectures on Natural Philosophy' (thirteen lectures on hydrostatics, optics, pneumatics, acoustics), with a portrait of the authoress, engraved by Heath, after a painting by T. Kearsley; and there is a notice in it that 'Mrs. Bryan educates young ladies at Bryan House, Blackheath.' In 1815 Mrs. Bryan produced an 'Astronomical and Geographical Class Book for Schools,' a thin 8vo.

'Conversations on Chemistry,' published anonymously in 1806, is also ascribed to her by Watt (*Bibl. Brit.*) and in the 'Biog. Dict. of Living Authors' (1816). Mrs. Bryan's school appears to have been situated at one time at Blackheath, at another at 27 Lower Cadogan Place, near Hyde Park Corner, and lastly at Margate.

[Mrs. Bryan's Works.]

J. H.

**BRYAN, MATTHEW** (d. 1699), Jacobite preacher, son of Robert Bryan of Limington, Somerset, sometime minister of St. Mary's, Newington, Surrey, was born at Limington, became a semi-commoner of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1665, and left the university without taking a degree in arts. After holding a benefice in the diocese of Bath and Wells for about ten years, he was appointed to his father's old living, St. Mary's, Newington, and to the afternoon lectureship at St. Michael's, Crooked Lane. His living was sequestered for debt in 1684. A sermon preached by him at Newington and at St. Michael's (26 Oct. and 2 Nov. of the same year) on 2 Cor. v. 11 was said to contain reflections on the king's courts of justice, and an accusation was laid against him before the dean of arches. In order to vindicate himself he printed this sermon, which certainly does not appear to contain any such reflections, with a dedication, dated 10 Dec. 1684, to Dr. Peter Mew, bishop of Winchester, formerly his diocesan in Somerset. The archbishop was satisfied that the charge against him was groundless, and it was quashed accordingly. In July 1685 Bryan accumulated the degrees of civil law at Oxford. Refusing to take the oaths on the accession of William and Mary, he lost his preferment, and became the minister of a Jacobite congregation meeting in St. Dunstan's Court, Fleet Street. This brought him into trouble several times. On 1 Jan. 1693 his meeting was discovered, the names of his congregation, consisting of about a hundred



persons, were taken, and he was arrested. He died on 10 March 1699, and was buried in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. His works are: 'The Certainty of the future Judgment' (the sermon referred to above), 1685; 'A Persuasion to the stricter Observance of the Lord's Day,' a sermon, 1686; 'St. Paul's Triumph in his Sufferings,' a sermon, 1692. In the dedication of this discourse he describes himself as M. B. Indignus ἐν τῇ θλίψει ἀδελφὸς καὶ συγκαινωνός, probably in reference to his sufferings as a Jacobite preacher, the sermon itself being on Eph. iv. 1. He also wrote two copies of verses printed in Ellis Walker's translation of the 'Encheiridion' of Epictetus into English verse, 1702, and republished Sir Humphrey Lynd's 'Account of Bertram the Priest,' 1686.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 602, iv. 779, Life, cxiv; Luttrell's Relation, ii. 398, iii. 1; Cox's Literature of the Sabbath, ii. 81; Bryan's Certainty of the future Judgment and his St. Paul's Triumph.] W. H.

**BRYAN, MICHAEL** (1757-1821), connoisseur, was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne on 9 April 1757, and was educated at the grammar school of that town under Dr. Moyce. In 1781 he first visited London, whence he accompanied his elder brother to Flanders, where he became acquainted with, and afterwards married, the sister of the Earl of Shrewsbury. In Flanders he continued to reside, with the exception of occasional visits to England, until 1790, when he finally left the Low Countries and settled in London. In 1793 or 1794 Bryan again went to the continent in search of fine pictures. Among other places he visited Holland, and remained there until an order arrived from the French government to stop all the English then resident there. He was, among many others, detained at Rotterdam. It was here that he met M. L'Abord. In 1798 Bryan was applied to by L'Abord for his advice and assistance in disposing of the Italian part of the Orleans collection of pictures. He communicated the circumstance to the Duke of Bridgewater, and his grace authorised him to treat for their purchase. After a negotiation of three weeks, the duke, with the Marquis of Stafford, then Lord Gower, and the Earl of Carlisle, became the purchasers, at the price of 43,500*l*. In 1801 Bryan obtained, through the medium of the Duke of Bridgewater, the king's permission to visit Paris for the purpose of selecting from the cabinet of M. Robit such objects of art as he might deem worthy of bringing to England. Among other fine pictures, he brought from Paris two by Murillo, the one representing the infant Christ as the Good Shepherd, and

the other the infant St. John with a lamb. In 1804 Bryan left the picture world, and retired to his brother's in Yorkshire, where he remained until 1811. In 1812 Bryan again visited London, and commenced his 'Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers,' 2 vols. 4to. The first part appeared in May 1813, and concluded in 1816. New editions appeared in 1849; in 1886 (edited by R. E. Graves), 2 vols.; in 1893-5 (edited by R. E. Graves and Walter Armstrong), 2 vols.; and in 1903-5 (revised and enlarged by C. N. Williamson), 5 vols. In 1818 Bryan engaged in some picture speculations, which proved a failure. On 14 Feb. 1821 he had a paralytic stroke, and died on 21 March.

[Literary Gazette, 1821, p. 187; Magazine of the Fine Arts, i. 27.] L. F.

**BRYANT, HENRY** (1721-1799), botanist, was born in 1721, educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, graduated B.A. in 1749, and proceeded M.A. in 1753. He entered the church, but took up botany about 1764, after the death of his wife. He is said to have been a man of great acuteness and attainments in mathematics. From Norwich he was presented to the vicarage of Langham in 1758, removing afterwards to Heydon, and thence to the rectory of Colby, where he died on 4 June 1799. He was a brother of Charles Bryant, author of 'Flora dietetica,' &c., who died shortly before him. He was the author of 'A particular Enquiry into the Cause of that Disease in Wheat commonly called Brand,' Norwich, 1784, 8vo.

[Sir J. E. Smith in Trans. Linn. Soc. vii. (1804), 297-300; Gent. Mag. lxi. (1799), pt. i. 532.] B. D. J.

**BRYANT, JACOB** (1715-1804), antiquary, was born in 1715 at Plymouth, where his father was an officer in the customs, but before his seventh year was removed to Chatham. The Rev. Samuel Thornton of Luddesdon, near Rochester, was his first schoolmaster, and in 1730 he was at Eton. Elected to King's College, Cambridge, in 1736, he took his degrees, B.A. in 1740, M.A. in 1744, and he became a fellow of his college. He was first private tutor to Sir Thomas Stapylton, and then to the Marquis of Blandford, afterwards duke of Marlborough, and his brother, Lord Charles Spencer. In 1756 he was appointed secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, master-general of ordnance, and went with him to Germany, where the latter died while commander-in-chief. At the same time Bryant held an office in the ordnance department worth 1,400*l*. a year. Mr. Hetherington made him his executor with a legacy of 3,000*l*, and

the Marlborough family allowed him 1,000*l.* a year, gave him rooms at Blenheim, and the use of the famous library. He twice refused the mastership of the Charterhouse, although once actually elected. His first work was 'Observations and Enquiries relating to various parts of Ancient History, . . . the Wind Euroclydon, the island Melite, the Shepherd Kings,' &c. (Cambridge, 1767, 4*to*), in which he attacked the opinions of Bochart, Beza, Grotius, and Bentley. He next published the work with which his name is chiefly associated, 'A New System or an Analysis of Ancient Mythology,' with plates, London, 1774, two vols. 4*to*; second edition, 1775, 4*to*; and vol. iii. 1776, 4*to*. His research is remarkable, but he had no knowledge of oriental languages, and his system of etymology was puerile and misleading. The third edition, in six vols. 8*vo*, was published in 1807. John Wesley published an abbreviation of the first two vols. of the 4*to* edition. Richardson, assisted by Sir William Jones, was Bryant's chief opponent in the preface to his 'Persian Dictionary.' In an anonymous pamphlet, 'An Apology,' &c., of which only a few copies were printed for literary friends, Bryant sustained his opinions, whereupon Richardson revised the dissertation on languages prefixed to the dictionary, and added a second part: 'Further Remarks on the New Analysis of Ancient Mythology,' &c., Oxford, 1778, 8*vo*. Bryant also wrote a pamphlet in answer to Wyttenbach, his Amsterdam antagonist, about the same time. His account of the Apamean medal being disputed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' he defended himself by publishing 'A Vindication of the Apamean Medal, and of the Inscription Nør,' London, 1775, 4*to*. Eckhel, the great medallist, upheld his views, but Daines Barrington and others strongly opposed him at the Society of Antiquaries (*Archæologia*, ii.). In 1775, four years after the death of his friend, Mr. Robert Wood, he edited, 'with his improved thoughts,' 'An Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer, with a Comparative View of the Troade,' London, 4*to*. The first edition, of seven copies only, was a superb folio, privately printed in 1769. Bryant published in 1777, without his name, 'Vindiciæ Flavianæ: a Vindication of the Testimony of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ,' London, 8*vo*; second edition, with author's name, London, 1780, 8*vo*. This work converted even Dr. Priestley to his opinions. In 1778 he published 'A Farther Illustration of the Analysis . . .,' pp. 100, 8*vo* (no place). He next published 'An Address to Dr. Priestley . . . upon Philosophical Necessity,' London, 1780, 8*vo*, to which Priestley printed a re-

joinder the same year. When Tyrwhitt issued his work 'The Poems supposed to have been written at Bristol by Thomas Rowley and others,' Bryant, assisted by Dr. Glynn of King's College, Cambridge, followed with his 'Observations on the Poems of Thomas Rowley in which the Authenticity of those Poems is ascertained,' 2 vols., London, 1781, 8*vo*, a work that did not add to his reputation. In 1783, at the expense of the Duke of Marlborough, the splendid folio work on the Marlborough gems, 'Gemmarum Antiquarum Delectus,' was privately printed, with exquisite engravings by Bartolozzi. The first volume was written in Latin by Bryant, and translated into French by Dr. Maty; the second by Dr. Cole, prebendary of Westminster, and the French by Dr. Dutens. In 1785 a paper 'On the Zingara or Gypsy Language' was read by Bryant to the Royal Society, and printed in the seventh volume of 'Archæologia.' He next published, without his name, 'A Treatise on the Authenticity of the Scriptures,' London, 1791, 8*vo*; second edition, with author's name, Cambridge, 1793, 8*vo*; third edition, Cambridge, 1810, 8*vo*. This work was written at the instigation of the Dowager Countess Pembroke, daughter of his patron, and the profits were given to the hospital for smallpox and inoculation. Then followed 'Observations on a controverted passage in Justyn Martyr; also upon the Worship of Angels,' London, 1793, 4*to*; 'Observations upon the Plagues inflicted upon the Egyptians,' with maps, London, 1794, 8*vo*, pp. 440. Professor Dalzel's publication in 1794 of M. Chevalier's 'Description of the Plain of Troy' elicited Bryant's fearless work, 'Observations upon a Treatise . . . (on) the Plain of Troy,' Eton, 1795, 4*to*, and 'A Dissertation concerning the War of Troy' (? 1796), 4*to*, pp. 196; second edition, corrected, with his name, London, 1799, 4*to*. Bryant contended that no such war was ever undertaken, and no such city as the Phrygian Troy ever existed; but he won no converts, and was attacked on all sides by such men as Dr. Vincent, Gilbert Wakefield, Falconer, and Morritt. In 1799 he published 'An Expostulation addressed to the British Critic,' Eton, 4*to*, mistaking his antagonist Vincent for Wakefield, and for the first time losing his temper and using strong and unjustifiable language. His next work, 'The Sentiments of Philo-Judæus concerning the Logos or Word of God,' Cambridge, 1797, 8*vo*, pp. 290, is full of fanciful speculation which detracted from his fame. In addition to these numerous works he published a treatise against the doctrines of Thomas Paine, and a disquisition 'On the Land of Goshen,' written about 1767, was published in Mr.

Bowyer's 'Miscellaneous Tracts,' 1785, 4to; and his literary labours closed with 'Observations upon some Passages in Scripture' (relating to Balaam, Joshua, Samson, and Jonah), London, 1803, 4to. It is apparent, however, from the preface to Faber's 'Mysteries of the Cabiri,' 1803, 8vo, that Bryant had written a kind of supplement to his 'Analysis of Ancient Mythology,' a work on the Gods of Greece and Rome, which, in a letter to Faber, he said, 'may possibly be published after his death,' but his executors have never produced the work. Some of his humorous poems are found in periodicals of his time, but are of little interest except as examples of elegant Latin and Greek verse.

Bryant, who was never married, had resided a long time before his death at Cypenham, in Farnham Royal, near Windsor. There the king and queen often visited him, and the former passed hours alone with him enjoying his conversation. A few months before his end came he said to his nephew, 'All I have written was with one view to the promulgation of truth, and all I have contended for I myself have believed.' While reaching a book from a shelf he hurt his leg, mortification set in, and he died 14 Nov. 1804. His remains were interred in his own parish church, beneath the seat he had occupied there, and a monument was erected to his memory near the same.

In person he was a delicately formed man of low stature; late in life he was of sedentary habits, but in his younger days he was very agile and fond of field sports, and once by swimming saved the life of Barnard, afterwards provost of Eton. To the last he was attached to his dogs, and kept thirteen spaniels at a time. He was temperate, courteous, and generous. His conversation was very pleasing and instructive, with a vein of quiet humour. There are many pleasant anecdotes of him in Madame d'Arblay's 'Diary and Letters.' In his lifetime his curious collection of Caxtons went to the Marquis of Blandford, and many valuable books were sent from his library to King George III. The classical part of his library was bequeathed to King's College, Cambridge; 2,000*l.* to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, 1,000*l.* to superannuated collagers of Eton School, 500*l.* to the poor of Farnham Royal, &c.

The English portrait prefixed to the octavo edition of his work on ancient mythology is from a drawing by the Rev. J. Bearblock, taken in 1801. All literary authorities, and his monument, give the year of his birth as above, but in the Eton register-book he is entered as '12 years old in 1730.'

[Bryant's Works; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. i. 672,

iii. 7, 42, 84, 148, 515, iv. 348, 608, 667, v. 231, viii. 112, 129, 216, 249, 427, 508, 531, 540, 552, 614, 685, ix. 198, 290, 577, 714; Nichols's Lit. Illust. ii. 661, iii. 132, 218, 772, vi. 36, 249, 670, vii. 401, 404, 469; Gent. Mag. xlviii. 210, 625; New Monthly Mag. i. 327; Archaeologia, iv. 315, 331, 347, vii. 387; Cole's MSS., Brit. Mus. vols. xx. xxiii.; Martin's Privately Printed Books, 85; Mme. d'Arblay's Diary, 1846, iii. 117, 228, 323, 375, 401.] J. W.-G.

BRYCE, SIR ALEXANDER (d. 1832), major-general and colonel-commandant royal engineers, entered the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, as a cadet on 7 Oct. 1782, and passed out as a second lieutenant, royal artillery, on 25 Aug. 1787. In the autumn of that year he was employed with Captain (afterwards Major-general) W. Mudge in carrying out General Roy's system of triangulation for connecting the meridians of Greenwich and Paris, and in the measurement of a 'base of verification' in Romney Marsh, particulars of which will be found in 'Phil. Trans.' 1790. Bryce was transferred from the royal artillery to the royal engineers in March 1789, and became a captain in the latter corps in 1794. After serving some years in North America and the Mediterranean, he found himself senior engineer officer with the army sent to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby, in which position he was present at the landing, in the battles before Alexandria, and at the surrender of Cairo, and directed the siege operations at Aboukir, Fort Marabout, and Alexandria. For his services in Egypt he received the brevet rank of major and permission to wear the insignia of the Ottoman order of the Crescent. Subsequently, as colonel, he served some years in Sicily. In the descent on Calabria he commanded a detachment of Sir John Stuart's army that captured Damanti, and was commanding engineer in the expedition to the bay of Naples in 1809 and in the defence of Sicily against Murat (BUNBURY, *Narrative*). In 1814 he received the rank of brigadier-general, and was appointed president of a commission to report on the restoration of the fortresses in the Netherlands. He became a major-general in 1825, colonel commandant Royal Engineers in 1829, and in 1830 inspector-general of fortifications. Bryce, who was much esteemed in private life as well as professionally, died, after a few hours' illness, at his residence, Hanover Terrace, Regent's Park, on 4 Oct. 1832.

[Kane's List of Officers R. Art. (Woolwich, 1869); Phil. Trans. 1790; Annual Army Lists; Wilson's Expedition to Egypt (London, 1802); Bunbury's Narrative of certain Passages in the

late War (London, 1852), pp. 329 et seq.; Papers on subjects connected with the corps of R. Engineers, iii. 411; *Gent. Mag.* (cii.) ii. 474.]

H. M. C.

**BRYCE, DAVID** (1803-1876), architect, born on 3 April 1803, was the son of a builder in good business in Edinburgh. Educated at the high school there, the aptitude for drawing which he early displayed induced his father to devote him to the profession of architecture, and to give him a thorough practical training in his own office, from which he passed to that of William Burn, then the leading architect in Edinburgh, whose partner he soon afterwards became. The partnership was dissolved on Burn's removal to London in 1844, and Bryce succeeded to a very large and increasing practice, to which he devoted himself with the enthusiasm of an artistic temperament and untiring energy and perseverance. In the course of a busy and successful career, which was actively continued almost down to his death, he attained the foremost place in his profession in Scotland, and designed important works in most of the principal towns of that country. Bryce worked in all styles, and at first chiefly in the so-called Palladian and Italian Renaissance, but he soon devoted himself more exclusively to the Gothic, particularly that variety of it known as Scottish Baronial, of which he became latterly the most distinguished and the ablest exponent. It was in this style that his greatest successes were achieved, particularly in the erection and alteration of mansion houses throughout the country, of which at least fifty testify to his sound judgment in planning, as well as to his appreciation of its opportunities for picturesque effects. The best of his public buildings in this style are probably Fettes College and the Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh; while the buildings of the Bank of Scotland, which so largely contribute to the beauty of the outline of the Old Town of Edinburgh, exhibit him at his best in the Italian style. His fame is, however, mainly due to his ability in reviving the picturesque French Gothic, now naturalised in Scotland under the name of Baronial; and, to quote from the annual report of the Royal Scottish Academy in the year of his death, 'there is no doubt that his name will long be honourably associated with much that is best and most characteristic in the domestic architecture of later times.' Bryce was a man of varied accomplishments, and, though somewhat rough in manner, of a genial and warm nature, which procured him the esteem of a large circle of friends. In the year 1835 he was elected an associate of the

Royal Scottish Academy, and in the following year became an academician. He was also a fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects, of the Architectural Institute of Scotland, of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and officiated for several years as grand architect to the Grand Lodge of Masons in Scotland. At his death, which occurred on 7 May 1876, after a short illness from bronchitis, he left many important works in course of erection, which have since been completed under the superintendence of his nephew, who had been for some years his partner, and who succeeded to his business. He died unmarried. Bryce attained a large and lucrative practice long before the days of competitions, and he is only known to have produced one competitive design—for the Albert Memorial in Edinburgh. His idea was to erect a sort of peel tower or keep in the castle, containing a large vaulted chamber, in which a statue of the prince should be placed. Perhaps if he had been the successful candidate he might have added another attraction to the town he has done so much to adorn. A full list of his works is given in the 'Builder,' 27 May 1876, p. 508.

[*Builder*, vol. xxxiv. (1876); *Architect*, vol. xv. (1876); *Scotsman* (12 May 1876); Forty-ninth Annual Report of Council of the Royal Scottish Academy (1876).] G. W. B.

**BRYCE, JAMES**, the elder (1767-1857), divine, was born at Airdrie in Lanarkshire 5 Dec. 1767. He was the son of John Bryce, descended from a family of small landowners settled at Dechmont in that county, and of Robina Allan, whose family, originally possessed of considerable property near Airdrie, had lost most of it in the troubles of the seventeenth century, in which they had espoused the covenanting cause.

The son, educated at Glasgow University, was in 1795 ordained minister of the Anti-burgher Secession Church at Wick, Caithness. He was accused before the synod of latitudinarianism because he had minimised the difference between his own and other denominations of christians, had condemned the extreme assumption of power by the clergy, and had argued that the dogmatic creeds of the church received too much respect as compared with the scriptures. He was suspended for two years, and when restored to his functions, feeling some indignation at the intolerant spirit which then reigned in Scotland, he accepted an invitation to visit Ireland, where he ultimately settled in 1805 as minister of the anti-burgher congregation at Killaig in county Londonderry. At this time the ministers of the anti-burgher and burgher bodies in Ulster had been offered a share in

the *regium donum*, an annual endowment paid by the lord-lieutenant to the presbyterian ministers (abolished in 1869). This had been distributed as a free gift without conditions; it was now for political reasons proposed greatly to increase its amount, but to require the recipient to first take the oath of allegiance, and to give the lord-lieutenant an absolute veto on its bestowal. The ministers of Bryce's denomination vehemently denounced these terms, but when they found that the stipend could not be otherwise obtained, they submitted and took it. He alone stood firm, holding that the requirements were dishonouring to Christ as the supreme head of the church, and tended to enslave a minister of religion and to degrade his office. Although separated thereby from his fellow-ministers, and unsupported by the parent church in Scotland, he maintained his principles, and thus, as others gradually gathered round him, became the founder of a branch of the presbyterian church which took the name of the Associate Presbytery of Ireland. This body was ultimately united with the Scottish united presbyterian church, which had by that time come to adopt similar views of spiritual independence. Mr. Bryce was a man of originality and literary culture, but he published little except several statements of his case and position in the question just described. He died at Killaig, at the age of ninety, 24 April 1857, having preached twice on the sabbath preceding his death.

[Information from the family.]

BRYCE, JAMES, the younger (1806-1877), schoolmaster and geologist, was the third son of James Bryce (1767-1857) [q.v.] and of Catherine Annan of Auchtermuchty in Fifeshire, and was born at Killaig, near Coleraine, 22 Oct. 1806. He was educated first by his father and eldest brother (the Rev. Dr. Bryce, still living), and afterwards at the university of Glasgow, where he graduated B.A. in 1828, having highly distinguished himself in classical studies. He had intended to study for the bar, but, finding this beyond his means, adopted the profession of teaching, and became mathematical master in the Belfast Academy, a foundation school of considerable note in Ulster. In 1836 he married Margaret, daughter of James Young of Abbeyville, county Antrim, and in 1846 was appointed to the high school of Glasgow, the ancient public grammar school of that city, and held this office till his resignation in 1874. He was a brilliant and successful teacher both of mathematics and geography, but his special interest lay in the study of natural history. He devoted himself to geological researches, first in the north of Ire-

land, and afterwards in Scotland and northern England. He began in 1834 to write and publish articles on the fossils of the lias, greensand, and chalk beds in Antrim (the first appeared in the 'Philosophical Magazine' for that year), and these having attracted the notice of Sir R. Murchison and Sir C. Lyell led to his election as a fellow of the Geological Societies of London and Dublin. His more important papers (among which may be found the first complete investigation and description of the structure of the Giant's Causeway) appeared in the 'Transactions' of the London society, others in the 'Proceedings' of the Natural History Society of Belfast and of the Philosophical Society of Glasgow, of which he was more than once president. He also wrote 'A Treatise on Algebra,' which went through several editions, an introduction to 'Mathematical Astronomy and Geography,' 'A Cyclopædia of Geography,' and a book on 'Arran and the other Clyde Islands,' with special reference to their geology and antiquities. He was a warm advocate of the more general introduction into schools of the teaching of natural history as well as natural science, and set the example of giving teaching voluntarily in these subjects, for which there was in his day no regular provision in the high schools of Scotland. In 1858 he received from his university, in the reform of which he had borne a leading part, the honorary degree of LL.D. After resigning his post at Glasgow, he settled in Edinburgh, and published his later contributions to geology in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.' He was a keen and accurate observer, and, having an ardent love of nature and great physical activity, continued his field work in the highlands of Scotland with unflagging zeal to the end of his life. While examining a remarkable mass of eruptive granite at Inverfarigaig, on the shores of Loch Ness, he disturbed some loose stones by the strokes of his hammer, and caused the blocks above to fall on him, killing him instantaneously, 11 July 1877. He was then past seventy, but in the full enjoyment of his mental as well as physical powers.

[Information from the family.]

BRYDALL, JOHN (b. 1635?), law-writer, son of John Brydall, of Jesus College, Cambridge, and of St. Alban's Hall, Oxford, and of the Rolls, a captain in the regiment of foot raised for the king's service by the Inns of Court, and a famous master of pike-exercise, was a native of Somerset. He entered Queen's College, Oxford, as a commoner in 1651, proceeded B.A., entered Lincoln's Inn, and became secretary to Sir Harbottle

Grimston, master of the rolls. He published thirty-six treatises, chiefly on law, among which are: 1. 'Speculum Juris Anglicani, or a View of the Laws of England,' 1673. 2. 'Jus Sigilli, or the Law of England touching the Four Principal Seals,' 1673. 3. 'Jus Imaginis, or the Law of England relating to the Nobility and Gentry,' 1673, 1675. 4. 'Jus Criminis, or the Law touching certain Pleas of the Crown,' 1676. 5. 'Camera Regis, or a Short View of London . . . collected out of Law and History,' 1677. 6. 'Decus et Tutamen, or a Prospect of the Laws of England,' 1679. 7. 'A Letter to a Friend,' on the royal authority, 1679. 8. 'The Clergy vindicated,' 1679. 9. 'Summus Angliæ Seneschallus, a Survey of the Lord High Steward,' 1680. 10. 'Jura Coronæ, His Majesty's Royal Rights asserted against Papal Usurpations . . .,' 1680. 11. 'A Letter to a Friend on Sovereignty,' 1681. 12. 'A New Year's Gift for the Anti-Prerogative Men . . . wherein . . . is discussed . . . the Earl of Danbigh's pardon,' 1682. 13. 'An Appeal to the Conscience of a Fanatick,' 14. 'Ars transferendi, or a sure Guide to the Conveyancer,' 1697. 15. 'Non Compos Mentis, or the Law relating to Natural Fools, Mad Folks, and Lunatic Persons,' 1700. 16. 'Lex Spuriorum, or the Law relating to Bastardy,' 1703. 17. 'A Declaration of the Divers Preheminences . . . allowed . . . unto the Firstborn among His Majesty's Subjects the Temporal Lords in Parliament,' 1704. He also left thirty other treatises in manuscript. He gave several of his own law treatises and some books to the libraries of Lincoln's Inn and the Middle Temple.

[Wood's Athenæ (ed. Bliss), iv. 519; Collier's Hist. Dict. vol. i.; Chalmers's Biog. Dict. vii. 211; Cat. of the Tracts of Law . . . by John Brydall (1711), ap. Rawlinson MSS. 4to. 3. 367; Marvin's Legal Bibliography, 145; Sweet's Law Catalogue (1883), 39.] W. H.

**BRYDGES, GREY**, fifth LORD CHANDOS (1579?-1621), born about 1579, was son of William, fourth lord, by Mary, daughter of Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower [see BRYDGES, SIR JOHN]. His father died on 18 Nov. 1602, his mother on 23 Oct. 1624 (LYSONS, *Environs*, iii. 450). He was M.P. for Cricklade, 1597. He and his family were friendly with the Earl of Essex. A cousin, Elizabeth, daughter of his uncle Giles, third lord, has been identified with the fair Mrs. Bridges to whom Essex showed so much attention as to offend the queen (*Sidney Papers*). His father visited Essex at Essex House on the Sunday morning (8 Feb. 1600-1) of Essex's insurrection, but he was not deemed by the

government far enough implicated in the conspiracy to prevent his sitting on the commission appointed to try the earl. His son, Grey Brydges, was, however, suspected of immediate complicity, and was sent to the Fleet prison with Cuffe and others after the insurrection (LODGE, *Illustrations*, iii. 120), but he was soon released. He succeeded his father in the barony (18 Nov. 1602), attended James I's parliament (19 March 1603-4), was made knight of the Bath when Prince Charles was created duke of York (January 1604-5), visited Oxford with James I and was granted the degree of M.A. (30 Aug. 1605), and attended Prince Henry's funeral in 1612. In all the court masques and tournaments Chandos took an active part. It was reported at court on 9 Sept. 1613 that a duel was to be fought by Chandos and the king's favourite, Lord Hay, afterwards Viscount Doncaster and Earl of Carlisle. On 2 July 1609 he was appointed keeper of Ditton Park, Buckinghamshire, for life. In 1610 he was appointed one of the officers under Sir Edward Cecil in command of an expedition to the Low Countries (*News from Cleveland*, 1611). The emperor's forces were besieging Juliers, and the English had combined with Holland and France to protect the town. Lord Herbert of Cherbury was Chandos's companion through this campaign. Chandos lodged at Juliers with Sir Horace Vere, but does not seem to have taken much part in the fighting (LORD HERBERT, *Autobiography*, ed. S. Lee, pages 112-13). On 27 April 1612 Lord Salisbury (Sir Robert Cecil) stayed with Chandos at Ditton on his journey to Bath, where he died on 24 May following. On 23 July of the same year Chandos visited Spa for his health. On 14 July 1616 there was some talk of making him president of Wales, and on 8 Nov. 1617 he was appointed to receive the Muscovite ambassadors then in England. His health was still failing, and after a trial in 1618 of the waters of Newenham Mills in Warwickshire, he returned to Spa, where he died suddenly on 10 Aug. 1621. His body was brought to Sudeley and there buried. Lucy, countess of Bedford, writing on 30 Aug. 1621, states that his death was hastened by the Spa waters. An elegy was written by Sir John Beaumont. A few years before his death he married Anne, daughter of Ferdinando Stanley, earl of Derby, by whom he had two sons, George and William. His widow afterwards became the second wife of the infamous Earl of Castlehaven.

Chandos lived sumptuously at Sudeley Castle; thrice a week his house was open to his neighbours; he was lavish in his gene-

rosity to the poor, and came up to London with an extraordinarily elaborate retinue. His liberality gained for him the title of 'king of the Cotswolds.' There are very many references in the 'State Papers' to a family quarrel which Chandos inherited from his father, and which reflects little credit on his character. His first cousin, Elizabeth, to whom reference has already been made, appears to have claimed Sudeley and other parts of the Chandos property as the daughter and coheir of Giles, the third lord. In his father's lifetime Grey Brydges assaulted the lady's representative at a conference held to settle the dispute (June 1602). In the following October it was proposed that Grey should marry Elizabeth, but finally, in December, when he had become fifth lord Chandos, it was stated that the controversy had been otherwise 'compounded.' Immediately after James I's accession Elizabeth married Sir John Kennedy, one of the king's Scotch attendants. Chandos appears to have opposed the match, and it was rumoured early in 1604 that Kennedy had a wife living in Scotland. But James I wrote to Chandos (19 Feb. 1603-4) entreating him to overlook Sir John's errors because of his own love for his attendant. Elizabeth apparently left her husband and desired to have the matter legally examined, but as late as 1609 the lawfulness of the marriage had not been decided upon. Lord Chandos declined to aid his cousin, and she died deserted and in poverty in October 1617.

Horace Walpole credits Chandos with the authorship of an anonymous collection of highly interesting essays, entitled 'Horæ Subsecivæ,' 1620, published by Edward Blount [q. v.] Anthony à Wood (*Athenæ*, iii. 1196) and Bishop Kennett (*Memoirs of the Cavendish Family*, 1708) state, however, that Gilbert Cavendish, eldest son of the first earl of Devonshire, was the author of the work. From some topical references the book would appear to have been written about 1615. Several copies are extant with the name of Lord Chandos inscribed on the title-page in seventeenth-century handwriting. Wood states that Gilbert Cavendish died young, and the general style of the essays precludes the supposition that they were the production of a young man. Malone and Park, the editor of Walpole, attributed the book on this ground to William, a brother of Gilbert, but Dr. Michael Lort and Sir S. E. Brydges adhered to Horace Walpole's opinion that Grey Brydges was the author. The opposite opinion of Wood and Kennett, the earliest writers on the subject, deserves great weight, but it seems impossible

to decide the question finally with the scanty evidence at our disposal.

Grey Brydges's eldest son, GEORGE, who became sixth LORD CHANDOS, was a sturdy royalist, fought bravely at the first battle of Newbury, and afterwards in the west of England (see WASHBOURNE'S *Bibliotheca Gloucestersis*). He paid a large fine to the parliament at the close of the war, killed Henry Compton in a duel at Putney on 13 May 1652, was tried and found guilty of manslaughter after a long imprisonment, 17 May 1654. He died of smallpox in February 1654-5, and was buried at Sudeley. He married first Susan, daughter of Henry, earl of Manchester, by whom he had three daughters, and secondly Jane, daughter of John Savage, earl Rivers, by whom he had three daughters. His brother William succeeded him as seventh lord Chandos.

[State Paper Calendars (Dom.), 1600-21; Nichols's Progresses of James I; Burke's Extinct Peerage; Dugdale's Baronage; Brydges's Peers of the Reign of James I, vol. i.; Wood's Fasti (Bliss); Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. viii. 13, 5th ser. v. 303, 352; Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors (Park); Cooper Willyams's Hist. of Sudeley Castle.] S. L.

BRYDGES, SIR HARFORD JONES (1764-1847), diplomatist and author, was the son of Harford Jones of Presteign, by Winifred, daughter of Richard Hooper of the Whittern, Herefordshire, and was born on 12 Jan. 1764. In commemoration of his descent, through his maternal grandmother, from the family of Brydges of Old Colwall, Herefordshire, he assumed, by royal sign manual dated 4 May 1826, the additional name of Brydges. Early in life he entered the service of the East India Company, and, acquiring great proficiency in the oriental languages, he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Persia, where he remained four years, from 1807 to 1811. On 9 Oct. 1807 he was created a baronet. On his return from Persia he was disappointed of immediate prospect of promotion in the service of the East India Company, and resigned his connection with it. Throughout life he cherished a warm interest in the welfare both of the Persians and the natives of India. In 1833 he published 'The Dynasty of the Kajars, translated from the original Persian manuscript;' in the following year 'An Account of His Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the years 1807-11, to which is added a brief history of the Wahanby;' and in 1838 a 'Letter on the Present State of British Interests and Affairs in Persia,' addressed to the Marquis of Wellesley. In 1843 he pleaded the cause

of the amereys of Scinde in a letter to the court of directors of the East India Company, denouncing the policy of annexation and conquest. In politics a decided whig, he took an active interest in the election contests of Radnorshire, where he founded a political association known as the Grey Coat Club. On 15 June 1831 he received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the university of Oxford. In 1832 he was sworn a privy councillor, and in 1841 was appointed deputy-lieutenant of the county of Hereford. He died at his seat at Boultonbrook, near Presteign, on 17 March 1847. By his marriage with Sarah, eldest daughter of Sir Henry Gott, knight, of Newland Park, Buckinghamshire, and widow of Robert Whitcomb, of the Whittern, Herefordshire, he had one son and two daughters.

[Gent. Mag. new series, xxviii. 86; Annual Register, lxxxix. 219; Morier's Journey through Persia (1812).] T. F. H.

**BRYDGES, JAMES**, first DUKE OF CHANDOS (1673-1744), eldest son of James, eighth lord Chandos (of Sudeley), was born 6 Jan. 1673. His father was sent as ambassador at Constantinople in 1680, and died 16 Oct. 1714. The son was elected member for the city of Hereford in 1698, and sat for the same place until the accession of George I, when (19 Oct. 1714) he was created Viscount Wilton and Earl of Carnarvon. On 30 April 1719 he was created Marquis of Carnarvon and Duke of Chandos. In 1707 he was appointed paymaster-general of forces abroad, a lucrative office which he held until 1712. He employed his wealth in building a splendid house at Canons, near Edgware, and began another, of which only two 'pavilions' were finished, in Cavendish Square. The last was discontinued upon his buying the Duke of Ormonde's house in St. James's Square. Three architects were employed and the Italian painters Purgotti and Paolucci. One of 'the ablest accountants in England' was appointed to superintend the expenses, which are said to have amounted to 200,000*l*. Alexander Blackwell [q. v.] laid out the gardens. There was a magnificent chapel, in which was maintained a full choir. Handel spent two years at Canons; he composed twenty anthems for the service, and there produced his first English oratorio, 'Esther.' In December 1731 Pope published his 'Epistle to Lord Burlington,' in which occurs the famous description of Timon's villa, and Timon was at once identified with the Duke of Chandos. It was added that Chandos had made a present of 500*l*. to Pope. In the year 1732 appeared a spurious edition of the epistle, to which Hogarth prefixed a carica-

ture representing Pope bespattering the duke's coach. Pope indignantly denied the report in a letter to Gay, signed by his friend William Cleland [q. v.], and published in the newspapers of the day. He denied it also in his private correspondence to Lord Oxford, Caryll, and Aaron Hill (see ELWIN'S *Pope*, vi. 330, vii. 444, viii. 292; AARON HILL'S *Works*, i. 67; and *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, v. 375). He inserted a compliment to Chandos in the epistle on the 'Characters of Men,' first published in February 1733:—

Thus gracious Chandos is beloved at sight.

In spite of certain inapplicable details, there can be no doubt that Pope took some hints from Canons, and should have anticipated the application. There is, however, no reason to suppose that he had received any favours from Chandos. A refusal to answer the charge would have been better than a denial which rather strengthened the general belief. The point is discussed in Mr. Courthope's introduction to the 'Epistle to Burlington' (Pope, *Poetical Works*, iii. 161-6). Warburton, in the edition of 1751, stated that some of Pope's lines were fulfilled by the speedy disappearance of Canons—thus, by an odd oversight, confirming the application which he denied.

Defoe, in his 'Tour through Great Britain' (1725), describes the splendours of Canons in terms which recall Timon's villa. He says that there were 120 persons in family (though Pope tells Hill that there were not 100 servants), and says that the choir entertained them every day at dinner. A poem called 'Canons; or, the Vision' (by Gildon), was published in 1717, and another, on the same subject, by S. Humphreys, in 1728. Chandos got into difficulties by speculative investments, and in 1734 Swift, in his verses on 'the duke and the dean,' says that 'all he got by fraud is lost by stocks.' He accuses Chandos of neglecting an old friend on becoming 'beduked.' He had asked Chandos (31 Aug. 1734) to present some Irish records formerly belonging to Lord Clarendon (lord-lieutenant in 1685) to the university of Dublin. The failure of the request probably annoyed him. Swift, in his 'Characters of the Court of Queen Anne,' had called Chandos 'a very worthy gentleman, but a great complier with every court.'

In April 1721 the duke was appointed governor of the Charterhouse, and on 25 Aug. lord-lieutenant of Herefordshire and Radnorshire. He was re-appointed in 1727 on the accession of George II, but resigned the lord-lieutenancy of Herefordshire in 1742. He was chancellor of the university of St. Andrews. He was thrice married: first, on 27 Feb.



1697, to Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Lake of Canons; secondly, to Cassandra, daughter of Sir F. Willoughby; and thirdly, to Lydia Catharine, daughter of John Vanhattem, widow of Sir Thomas Davall, M.P. He died 9 Aug. 1744. He was buried under a gorgeous monument at Stanmore Parva, in the church which he had rebuilt in 1715.

The house was sold by auction for the materials on the duke's death. One William Hallet (*Gent. Mag.* lii. 45) built a house with some of them on the vaults of the old one. The staircase was re-erected in Chesterfield House, and the statue of George I helped, till 1873, to make Leicester Square hideous.

Chandos was succeeded in the dukedom by his second son, Henry, five sons having died before him. The second duke married Mary Bruce, who died 14 Aug. 1738, and in 1744 Anne Wells. The story is told that he bought her from her former husband, a brutal ostler at Newbury, who happened to be offering her for sale as the duke was passing through the town (*Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. vi. 179).

[Collins's Peerage (1779), ii. 137-9; Hawkins's History of Music, p. 832; Lysons's Environs of London, ii. 670-3; Thorne's Environs of London (1876), pp. 72-4.] L. S.

**BRYDGES, SIR JOHN**, first **BARON CHANDOS** (1490?-1556), eldest son of Sir Giles Brydges or Brugges (*d.* 1511) of Cobberley, Gloucestershire, by Isabel Baynham, is stated to have been born about 1490, but the date was probably earlier. He was descended from the Giles Bridges who married Alice, the daughter and coheiress of Sir John Chandos (*d.* 1480), the last male representative in the direct line of the ancient Chandos family. He was knighted in France in 1513; accompanied Henry VIII to Calais in October 1532, when Henry visited Francis I; was with Henry VIII at Boulogne in 1533; was appointed constable of Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire, in 1538; attended Henry VIII as a groom of the privy chamber when the king received Anne of Cleves in 1539; was at Boulogne in 1544, when he was appointed deputy-governor of the city; and in 1549 was fighting there against the French. He was a rigid catholic, and on Mary's accession became lieutenant of the Tower of London. Through the first half of Mary's reign he took an active part in public affairs. In February 1553-4 he was engaged in repressing Wyatt's rebellion, and, after vainly attempting to obtain an order from the queen to fire the Tower guns on the insurgents who had gathered on the Southwark side of the river, himself directed the gunners to begin the attack. It

was thus that Wyatt was induced to leave his position and march on London by way of Kingston. On 8 Feb. Wyatt was placed in the custody of Brydges, who handled him somewhat roughly. Brydges attended his prisoner Lady Jane Grey to the scaffold on 12 Feb., and was so charmed by her gentleness as to beg her to give him some memorial of her in writing. She granted the request by inscribing a very pathetic farewell to him in an English prayer-book, which is now in the British Museum (Harl. MS. 2342). On 18 March the Princess Elizabeth was placed in his keeping, but she was removed on 19 May in consequence of the lenience which he displayed towards her (BURNET, *Reformation*, ed. Pocock, ii. 580). On 8 April 1554 Brydges was created lord Chandos of Sudeley. Ten days later he made arrangements for the execution of Wyatt, and in the following June resigned the lieutenancy of the Tower to his brother Sir Thomas, whom Bishop Ridley and other prisoners of the time mention as frequenting Sir John's table and aiding him in his duties during the previous months of the year. In February 1554-5 Mary addressed an autograph order to Chandos to superintend the execution of Bishop Hooper at Gloucester (Wood, *Letters of Illustrious Ladies*, iii. 282-5), and on 21 March 1555-6 he is stated by Foxe to have been present at Oxford at the death of Cranmer, but the evidence of an eyewitness of the execution makes it clear that Chandos's brother Sir Thomas took his place there. Chandos died at Sudeley Castle 12 April 1556, and was buried with heraldic ceremony on 3 May in Sudeley Church (MACHYN, *Diary*, Camd. Soc. pp. 133, 356). He married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, lord Grey of Wilton, who died 29 Dec. 1559, and was buried (3 Jan. 1559-1560) in Jesus Chapel, afterwards St. Faith's, in St. Paul's Cathedral. An epitaph in English verse, printed by Stow, was engraved on her tomb (Stow, *Survey*, ed. Strype, iii. 145).

EDMUND, the eldest surviving son, succeeded to the title; married Dorothy, daughter of Lord Bray; served in France in Henry VIII's reign; fought at Musselburgh under Somerset 27 Sept. 1547, when he was created a knight banneret, and at St. Quentin in 1556; became K.G. 17 June 1572, and died 11 Sept. 1573. George Gascoigne wrote a poem in praise of his eldest daughter, Katherine (*Percy Ballads*, 1765, ii. 150). GILES, son of Edmund, born in 1547, became third lord Chandos; was M.P. for Gloucestershire in 1572; entertained Queen Elizabeth in 1592 at Sudeley, where the queen had visited his wife 4 Aug. 1574; married Lady Frances Clinton, and died 21 Feb. 1593-4. His wife

lived till 1623, and was buried at Cheyneys. Giles died without issue, and was succeeded as fourth lord Chandos by his brother William, the father of Grey Brydges [q. v.]

SIR THOMAS BRYDGES, the first lord Chandos's brother, and his successor in the lieutenancy of the Tower, was in 1548 steward of the hundred of Chadlington and of the royal manors of Burford and Minster Lovell, and keeper of the forest of Whichwood and of the parks of Longley and Cornbury. Edward VI granted him many abbey lands. He resided at Cornbury, and was buried at Chadlington in 1559. His son Thomas was drowned off London Bridge on 10 Aug. 1553 (MACHYN, *Diary*, p. 41; STOW, *Chronicle*). RICHARD, another brother of the first lord Chandos, was knighted at Mary's coronation (2 Oct. 1553); was sheriff of Berkshire in 1555-6, and, as one of the commissioners for the trial of Julius or Josceline Palmer at Newbury (16 July 1556), made 'a gentle offer' to the prisoner of meat, drink, books, and 10*l.* yearly if he would live with him and renounce his errors. Palmer declined the offer, and suffered at the stake. Sir Richard died in September 1558.

[Dugdale's Baronage; Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, ed. Brewer and Gairdner; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1547-90; Sir S. E. Brydges's *Stemmata Illustrata*, p. 99; Cooper Willyams's *History of Sudeley Castle*, 1790; *Chronicle of Calais* (Camd. Soc.), pp. 42, 176, 177; Machyn's *Diary* (Camd. Soc.), passim; *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, pp. 18, 53, 57, 76; Wriothesley's *Chron.* (Camd. Soc.); Froude's *History of England*; Nichols's *Progresses of Eliz. i.* 543, iii. 136.] S. L.

BRYDGES, SIR SAMUEL EGERTON (1762-1837), editor of early English literature and genealogist, was born at the manor-house of Wootton, situated between Canterbury and Dover, on 30 Nov. 1762, and was the second son of Edward Brydges (or Bridges) of Wootton, by Jemima, daughter of William Egerton, LL.D., prebendary of Canterbury and chancellor of Hereford. He was educated at Maidstone School, at the King's School, Canterbury, and (from October 1780 till Christmas 1782) at Queens' College, Cambridge. On leaving the university he was entered of the Middle Temple, and was called to the bar in November 1787. He never, however, practised, and retired in 1792 to Denton Court, a seat which he had purchased near his birthplace in Kent. From his boyhood Brydges had had a passion for reading, and had sacrificed his degree at college by 'giving himself up to English poetry.' His first literary venture was made in March 1785, when he published a volume of poems,

among which the earliest pieces are some sonnets dated 1782. A fourth and much enlarged edition of his miscellaneous poetry appeared in 1807. The volume of 1785 was coldly received, and Brydges continued to be much disheartened, even though his novels, 'Mary de Clifford' (1792) and 'Arthur Fitzalbin' (1798), obtained some popularity. He was by nature shy and proud, yet morbidly sensitive and egotistic, and being tormented by an extraordinary thirst for literary fame, he was unhappily led to mistake his delight in reading great works of literature for an evidence of his capacity to produce similar works himself. From the extremely naive self-portraiture of his rambling but interesting 'Autobiography,' there can be no doubt that he imagined himself a poet and a man of genius. His poetry, however, is of the most mediocre description, recalling the duller efforts of Bowles or Thomas Warton. Of his useful labours as a bibliographer and editor he is inclined to speak with contempt: 'These were unworthy pursuits . . . they overlaid the fire of my bosom . . . they suppressed in me that self-confidence without which nothing great can be done, and bound my enthusiastic spirits in chains. The fire smouldered within, and made me discontented and unhappy.' Indulging in this *amabilis insania*, he easily persuaded himself that his failure as an author was due to the misdirection of his own energies, and especially to the jealous machinations of enemies hostile to his fame. At Denton he got on badly with his neighbours, 'the book-hating squires,' and was embarrassed in his money affairs; yet his life there between the years 1797 and 1810 was not altogether unhappy, and was productive of much literary work. He produced, among other books, an edition of Edward Phillips's 'Theatrum Poetarum Anglicanorum' (1800), with large additions; and began in 1806 a new and augmented edition of Collins's 'Peirage of England,' a work which was eventually published in 1812 in nine volumes, 8vo. In 1805-9 he published the ten volumes of his 'Censura Literaria, containing Titles, Abstracts, and Opinions of old English Books, with original Disquisitions, Articles of Biography, and other Literary Antiquities.'

In 1789 Brydges's taste for genealogy was turned to practical account, for in October of that year he persuaded his elder brother, the Rev. Edward Tymewell Brydges, to put forward his claim to the barony of Chandos. The case came on for hearing before the committee of privileges of the House of Lords on 1 June 1790, and more than twenty-six hearings took place at intervals. New evi-

dence was brought forward from time to time, and the matter was not finally settled till June 1803, when a majority of the lords resolved that the claim to the title and dignity of Baron Chandos had not been made out. Brydges, who was the moving spirit on the claimant's side, was greatly mortified, and never ceased to maintain in his writings that the claim was just. He inserted a special account of the Chandos case in his edition of Collins's 'Peerage,' and in 1831 wrote his 'Lex Terræ, a Discussion of the Law of England regarding Claims of inheritable Rights of Peerage,' to prove that by the common law he was not bound to abide by the peers' decision, which did not take from him the right to resort to a legal trial by jury. The Brydges, however, never actually appealed to the law courts, though Egerton, after the death of his brother, was accustomed to style himself 'Per legem terræ, Baron Chandos of Sudeley.' The Chandos case was in 1834 made the subject of a thorough investigation by Mr. G. F. Beltz, Lancaster herald, who in his book relating to it conclusively proves that the claim was not well founded. John Brydges, first baron Chandos [q. v.] (created by patent in 1554), had three sons, Edmund, Charles, and Anthony. After his death the barony descended to his eldest son, Edmund, and then to the heirs male of Edmund. On the failure of that line, the barony passed to the heirs male of Charles, second son of the first Lord Chandos, and this line became extinct in 1789. Edward Tymewell Brydges, who then came forward, claimed the barony as the descendant of Anthony, the third son of the first baron Chandos. He traced back his descent through the Bridges of Wootton to a certain Edward Bridges of Maidstone (baptised 25 March 1603), who was, according to the claimant's contention, the grandson of Anthony Brydges, the third son of the original Baron Chandos. The connection of Edward Bridges of Maidstone with Anthony Brydges was, however, strenuously denied by the claimant's opponents, and was certainly not satisfactorily proved by him. The counsel for the crown showed, moreover, that there were good grounds for believing that the claimant was really descended from an obscure family of yeomen of the name of Bridges who had lived at Harbledown, near Canterbury, and who were quite unconnected with the Chandos family. It was further suggested by the crown—and, according to Mr. Beltz, not without good reason—that there had been foul play with parish registers and other documents in order to support the claim. No distinct attempt, however, seems to have been made to bring

home the charge of falsification to any particular person. In 1808, five years after the decision of the Chandos case, Egerton Brydges accepted with considerable gratification the knighthood of the Swedish order of St. Joachim. He henceforward wrote after his name the letters K.J., styling himself 'Sir,' though of course without heraldic propriety. He was not created an English baronet till 1814.

In October 1810 Brydges removed from Denton to Lee Priory at Ickham, near Canterbury, the residence of his eldest son. In 1812 he was elected M.P. for Maidstone, and sat in parliament till 1818. He seldom spoke in the house, though he took an active part in connection with the poor laws and the Copyright Bill. During this period he managed to find time for a good deal of literary work. In 1813 a private printing press had been established at Lee Priory by a compositor and a pressman (Johnson and Warwick). Brydges engaged to provide 'copy' gratuitously, and the printers undertook to pay all expenses, making what profits they could. The editions of the various works issued from the press were purposely limited to a small number of copies, and were sold by the printers to book-collectors at high prices. In spite of these arrangements, considerable expenses were incurred by Brydges and his son, though the press was not finally given up till about December 1822. A list of the books printed at Lee Priory Press will be found in Lowndes's 'Bibliographer's Manual' (vi. 218-25). By the works—chiefly reprints—produced at the press under his editorship, Brydges justly claims to have rendered a service to the students of old English literature, particularly literature of the Elizabethan period. Among his productions were many rare and interesting tracts, especially poetical, which had hitherto been unknown, or only accessible to rich collectors, 'such as poems of Nicholas Breton and William Browne, Raleigh and Margaret, duchess of Newcastle, Davison's "Rhapsody," Robert Greene's "Groatsworth of Wit," Lord Brook's "Life of Sir Philip Sydney," and the Duchess of Newcastle's "Autobiography."'

Brydges's chief bibliographical works at this period of his life were the four volumes of the 'British Bibliographer' (1810-14), in which he was assisted by Mr. J. Haslewood, and the 'Restituta, or Titles, Extracts, and Characters of Old Books in English Literature revived' (4 vols. 1814-16). He also compiled 'Excerpta Tudoriana, or Extracts from Elizabethan Literature with a critical Preface' (2 vols. 1814-18), and wrote a series of original essays called 'The Sylvan

Wanderer' (2 vols. 1813-17), and a poem called 'Bertram.'

From June 1818 Brydges lived entirely abroad till the time of his death, with the sole exception of a visit to England from June 1826 to October 1828. In his 'Recollections of Foreign Travel' (2 vols. 1825) he has given an account of his movements and opinions till about November 1824. He lived principally at Geneva, apparently in greater peace of mind, and was still actively engaged in writing. Among his bibliographical works of this period are his 'Res Literariæ' (3 vols. Naples, Rome, Geneva, 1821-2), his 'Polyanthea Librorum Vetustiorum,' Geneva, 1822, and 'Cimelia,' Geneva, 1823. Later on, in 1831, he published the 'Lake of Geneva,' a blank verse poem in seven books; the 'Anglo-Genevan Critical Journal' for 1831; 'Lex Terræ' (1831), and his book entitled 'The Autobiography, Times, Opinions, and Contemporaries of Sir Egerton Brydges' (2 vols. 1834). He died at Campagne, Gros Jean, near Geneva, on 8 Sept. 1837.

Brydges was twice married: first to Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. William Dejovas Byrche, of the Black Friars, Canterbury, by whom he had two sons and three daughters; and secondly to Mary, daughter of the Rev. William Robinson, rector of Burfield, Berkshire, by whom he had several sons and daughters. His eldest son, Thomas Barrett Brydges (of Lee Priory), entered the army, and died before his father, who was succeeded in his title by his second son (by his first wife), John William Egerton Brydges, who served in the Peninsular war, and died 15 Feb. 1858, aged 87. He was unmarried, and his half-brother, F. Hanley Head Brydges, became the third baronet (*Ann. Reg.* 1858, c. 389; *Gent. Mag.* March 1858, p. 342).

[Brydges's Autobiography, 2 vols. 1834 (each vol. contains a portrait of the author); Collins's Peerage of England (ed. Brydges), vi. 704-40; Beltz's A Review of the Chandos Peerage Case (1834); *Gent. Mag.* November 1837. For the titles of Brydges's very numerous writings, several of which are necessarily excluded from this article, see Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, i. and vi. (Appendix), 218-25, and the *Brit. Mus. Cat.*] W. W.

**BRYDON, WILLIAM** (1811-1873), a surgeon in the Bengal army, was descended from a Scotch border family, one member of which had distinguished himself as provost of Dumfries during a siege of that town, while another, who farmed his own land, had horsed a troop of cavalry for the Pretender. He was born in London 9 Oct. 1811, and entered the service of the East India Company as an assistant-surgeon in October 1835. After

serving in India with various regiments, British and native, in the course of which service he was sent on escort duty, first with the commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Fane, and a few months afterwards with the governor-general, Lord Auckland, to the court of Ranjit Singh at Lahore, he was despatched in 1839 in medical charge of a regiment of native infantry to Afghanistan.

On the fatal retreat from Cabul, Brydon, with five other British officers, managed to escape as far as Fattahabad. In the neighbourhood of this place his companions were all slain, and he alone, wounded, and well-nigh exhausted by hunger and fatigue, reached Jellalabad, then held by a British and native force under the command of Sir Robert Sale. He served in the subsequent defence of Jellalabad, and, returning to Cabul with Sir George Pollock's army of retribution, accompanied it back to India. Fifteen years later the mutiny of the Bengal army found Brydon at Lucknow, where it was his lot again to serve with a beleaguered garrison, and where he was severely wounded in the course of the siege. In a general order issued by Lord Canning on the defence of Lucknow, Brydon was referred to in terms of special laudation. In the following year he was appointed a companion of the Bath, and retired from the Indian service in 1859. The latter years of his life were passed in Scotland, where in 1862 he joined the Highland rifles militia regiment, now called the 3rd battalion Seaforth (Duke of Albany's) Highlanders. He died at Westfield, in the county of Ross, on 20 March 1873.

[Kaye's History of the War in Afghanistan, 3rd edit. 1874, p. 389; *Calcutta Gazette*, 8 Dec. 1857; family papers.] A. J. A.

**BRYDONE, PATRICK** (1736-1818), traveller and author, son of Robert Brydone (1687?-1761), minister of Coldingham, by his wife Elizabeth (d. 1764), daughter of John Dysart, his predecessor at Coldingham, was born, probably at Coldingham, on 5 Jan. 1736. He 'received an excellent education at one of the universities,' and appears to have been for a short time in the army. The study of electricity, to which the discoveries of Dr. Franklin had recently attracted attention, occupied him as a young man, and he travelled through Switzerland, making experiments in electricity. In 1767, soon after his return, he went abroad again with Mr. Beckford of Somerly and two others as travelling preceptor. In 1770 he made a tour with these gentlemen through Sicily and Malta, the former island being but little

known to travellers of that time. This tour forms the subject of his book, 'A Tour through Sicily and Malta, in a Series of Letters to William Beckford, Esq., of Somerly in Suffolk,' published in 1773. It was favourably reviewed (*Monthly Review*, xlix.), and so well received by the reading public, that it went through seven or eight editions in England in his lifetime, and was also translated into French and German (*Brit. Mus. Cat.*) In Italy, nine years after its publication, Count Borch published a volume of 'Letters to serve as Supplement to the Voyage in Sicily and Malta of Mr. Brydone.' And the writer of his biography in the 'Annual Biography' says: 'It may be fairly doubted, after the lapse of near fifty eventful years, whether there be any publication of a similar kind so deserving of notice as the one now under consideration.' Having returned to England in 1771, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in the end of 1772 or beginning of 1773 (*Phil. Trans.*) He was also a F.R.S. of Edinburgh and a F.S.A. Besides his book, he wrote occasional papers, chiefly on electricity, which were published in the 'Philosophical Transactions.' He held the comptrollership of the stamp office from 1779 till death. His later years were spent in retirement, and he died, on 19 June 1818, at Lennel House, Berwickshire.

[*Annual Biog.* iv. 85-111; *Gent. Mag.* lxxxviii. pt. i. p. 643; *Hew Scott's Fasti*, ii. 431.]

G. V. B.

**BRYDSON, THOMAS** (1806-1855), poet, was born in Glasgow in 1806. After completing courses of study at the universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh he became a licentiate of the established church of Scotland. He officiated as assistant successively in the Middle Church, Greenock, in Oban, and in Kilmalcolm, and in 1839 was ordained minister of Lavern Chapel, near Paisley. In 1842 he was presented to the parish of Kilmalcolm, where he remained till his death, which, after some years of impaired health, took place suddenly, 28 Jan. 1855. He was the author of two volumes of verse, the one, under the title of 'Poems,' published in 1829, and the other, entitled 'Pictures of the Past,' in 1832. He also contributed to the 'Edinburgh Literary Journal,' the 'Republic of Letters,' a Glasgow publication, and several of the London annuals. His verses manifest true appreciation of the varied beauties of pastoral scenery, and, though simple and unpretentious, have the charm of sincerity.

[*Greenock Advertiser*, 30 Jan. 1855; *Rogers's Modern Scottish Minstrel*, iv. 172; *Grant-Wilson's Poets and Poetry of Scotland*, ii. 285.]

T. F. H.

**BRYER, HENRY** (d. 1799), engraver, was a pupil of William Wynne Ryland, in partnership with whom he for some years carried on an extensive printselling business in Cornhill; but, owing chiefly to Ryland's extravagance, the firm became bankrupt. In 1762 Bryer gained the Society of Arts premium for a large plate representing 'Mars and Venus discovered by Vulcan.' He exhibited at the Society of Artists between 1765 and 1774, and engraved several plates after Angelica Kauffmann. In 1778, when living in St. Martin's Lane, Bryer published 'Aglaia bound by Cupid,' from the original picture by Angelica Kauffmann.

[*Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists* (1878); *MS. notes in British Museum.*] L. F.

**BRYERWOOD, EDWARD.** [See **BRERWOOD.**]

**BRYGHTWELL** or **BRYTHWELL**, THOMAS, D.D. (d. 1390), fellow of Merton College, Oxford, is chiefly known in connection with the proceedings against Wycliffe's followers taken at the council of Blackfriars in London in 1382. He appeared before the council at its second session, 12 June, in company with Rygge, the chancellor of the university, to answer, as it seems, certain charges which were to be brought against Rygge by Peter Stokes, the archbishop's agent at Oxford. The charge in which Bryghtwell was implicated was one of favouring Repyngdon, a notorious Wycliffite; but his action was in all probability due rather to jealousy of the archbishop's intrusion into academical affairs than to personal sympathy with Repyngdon's opinions. Bryghtwell gave his assent to the condemnation of Wycliffe's doctrine as declared by the council, and does not appear to have again exposed himself to any similar accusation. Indeed, in this very year (1382) he was appointed dean of the college of Newark at Leicester (*NICHOLS, History of the County of Leicester*, i. 338). In 1386 he was granted the prebend of Holborn in St. Paul's Cathedral (*LE NEVE, Fasti*, ed. Hardy, ii. 392), and perhaps before this date he possessed the prebend of Leicester St. Margaret in Lincoln Cathedral, which he held at the time of his death (*NICHOLS*, i. 561). Nor had he at all relinquished his connection with Oxford; he was elected chancellor of the university in May 1388 (*WOOD, Fasti Oxon.* p. 33; cf. *ANSTEX, Munimenta Academica*, ii. 795) in succession to his old friend Robert Rygge, and retained the office in the following year. He died in 1390.

[*Wood's Hist. and Antiq. of the Univ. of Oxford*, i. 493; *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, ed. Shirley, pp. 288, 297-308.] R. L. P.

**BRYNE, ALBERTUS** (1621?-1677?), organist and composer, was born about the year 1621, and was educated by John Tomkins, organist of St. Paul's. It was probably on the death of the latter that Bryne succeeded him as organist of the cathedral, a post he seems to have held throughout the reign of Charles I. At the restoration Bryne petitioned Charles II for the post of organist at Whitehall Chapel. In this document he stated that 'yo<sup>r</sup> Ma<sup>ties</sup> late Royall ffather of blessed memory was pleased in his life time to make choyce of yo<sup>r</sup> peticon<sup>r</sup> to bee Organist of the Cathedrall Church of S<sup>t</sup> Paule, London, in which said place hee was by yo<sup>r</sup> said late Royall ffather confirmed when yo<sup>r</sup> pet<sup>r</sup> was but about the age of 17 yeares, And since then hath soe industriously practised that science that hee hath very much augmented his skill and knowledge therein.' This petition seems to have been answered by his being reinstated as organist at St. Paul's, where he remained until the fire of London. After this Bryne was organist of Westminster Abbey. There are no records of these appointments extant at either the cathedral or the abbey, but it is believed that Bryne remained organist at the latter church until 1669, when he was succeeded by Dr. John Blow [q.v.] It has been erroneously stated that he then died, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. He was organist and fourth fellow of Dulwich college, 1671-77, and organist of All Hallows Barking, in 1676. A morning and evening service (in G major) by Bryne is found in several manuscript collections; the words of anthems are in Clifford's 'Divine Services and Anthems usually sung in His Majesties Chappell,' and in the Oxford Music School Collection are several dances, &c., by him, besides two 'grounds,' one for the organ, and the other for the organ or harpsichord. The Christ Church Collection contains a copy of his service, and an instrumental saraband and air. His name is sometimes spelt Brian, Bryan, Brine, or Breyn.

[Harl. MS. 7338; Bingley's Musical Biography, i. 187; Clifford's Divine Services, &c. (1664 ed.); Bodl. Lib., Wood, 19 D (4), No. 106; Catalogues of Music School and Ch. Ch. Collections; State Papers (Chas. II. Dom. ii. 91); private information.] W. B. S.

**BRYNKNELL.** [See BRINKNELL.]

**BRYSKETT, LODOWICK** or **LEWIS** (fl. 1571-1611), poet, translator, and Irish official, is stated to have been the son of 'a natural Italian,' but of his early life nothing definite is known. He was generally believed to have relations in Florence, where he cer-

tainly had many correspondents. He matriculated as a pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, 27 April 1559, but left the university without proceeding to a degree. On 7 April 1571 Burghley was informed that Bryskett was temporarily filling the office of clerk of the council in Ireland under Sir Henry Sidney. Before 1572 he had become the intimate friend of Sir Henry Sidney's son, Philip Sidney, and he was young Sidney's companion on a three years' continental tour through Germany, Italy, and Poland (1572-1575). In 1577 he became clerk of the chancery for the faculties in Ireland, an office in which he was succeeded by Spenser. Afterwards (1582) he received from Lord Grey de Wilton the appointment of secretary of the Munster council. About the same time he made the acquaintance of the poet Spenser, Lord Grey's secretary, and Spenser relieved the tedium of official life by teaching his new friend Greek. Bryskett remained in Munster for many years. In 1594 he sought to be reappointed clerk of the Irish council, but failing to obtain that post he was granted the 'clerkship of the casualties' in the following year. In 1600 Sir Robert Cecil wrote to Sir George Carew in his behalf, and described him as 'an ancient servitor of the realm of Ireland, and now employed by her majesty beyond the seas.' He had an interest in the abbey of Bridgetown, which Cecil asked Carew to secure to him. In 1606 he was reputed to hold large estates in Dublin, Cavan, and Cork. He is stated to have been alive in 1611.

Bryskett is more interesting as the friend of Sidney and Spenser than as an Irish official. His chief original literary work was a translation from the Italian of Baptista Giraldo's philosophical treatise, which he entitled, 'A Discourse of Civill Life, containing the Ethike Part of Morall Philosophie.' It was not published till 1606, but was certainly written full twenty years earlier. (There are two editions, both dated 1606—one printed for W. Aspley and the other for Ed. Blount.) The book is dedicated to Lord Grey, and opens with an introduction which is of unique interest in English literature. Bryskett describes a party of friends met at his cottage near Dublin, among whom were Dr. Long, archbishop of Armagh, Captain Christopher Carleil, Captain Thomas Norris, Captain Warham St. Leger, and Mr. Edmund Spenser, 'once your lordship's secretary.' In the course of conversation Bryskett says that he envies 'the happinesse of the Italians' who have popularised moral philosophy by translating and explaining Plato and Aristotle in their own language.

He expresses a wish that English writers would follow the Italian example. Addressing Spenser, Bryskett entreats the poet to turn his great knowledge of philosophy to such account, and as a beginning to give them a philosophical lecture on the spot. Spenser declines to comply with the request on the ground that he had already undertaken the 'Faerie Queene,' 'a work tending to the same effect;' and finally the poet invites Bryskett to read to the company his own translation of Giraldo, which Bryskett willingly consents to do. Bryskett includes in the published work a few remarks made by Spenser in the course of the reading on various philosophical problems discussed in the book.

Soon after Sidney's death, in 1586, Spenser collected a series of elegies under the title of 'Astrophel.' To this collection, which was published with 'Colin Clout come home again' in 1595, Bryskett contributed two elegies. One of his poems is entitled 'A Pastorall Æclogue,' and is signed with his initials; the other is called 'The Mourning Muse of Thestylis.' These two pieces were entered in the Stationers' Register as 'The Mourning Muses of Lod. Bryskett vpon the deathe of the most noble sir Philip Sydney, knight,' and licensed to the printer, John Wolfe, on 22 Aug. 1587. But they do not appear to have been published separately.

In Spenser's collected sonnets, 'Amoretti and Epithalamion' (1595), the one numbered 33 is addressed to Bryskett. Spenser here apologises to his friend for his delay in completing the 'Faerie Queene.'

[Sir Robert Cecil's Letters (Camd. Soc.), 160 and note; Fox Bourne's Life of Sir Philip Sidney; Todd's Spenser; Ritson's English Poets; Spenser's Works (ed. Grosart), 1882; Cole MS. Athenæ Cantab.; Cal. Irish State Papers.]

S. L.

**BRYSON, ALEXANDER, M.D.** (1802-1869), medical writer, began his professional studies at Edinburgh and continued them at Glasgow, where he took his doctor's degree and was admitted a member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons. He also became a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London. He entered the navy as assistant-surgeon in 1827, and was promoted to the rank of surgeon in 1836, deputy inspector-general in 1854, and inspector-general in 1855. In January 1864, on the retirement of Sir John Liddell, he was appointed director-general of the medical department of the navy, from which post he retired on 15 April 1869. He was appointed honorary physician to the queen in 1859, and subsequently he was made a companion of the

order of the Bath. He was also a fellow of the Royal Society. His death took place at Barnes, Surrey, on 12 Dec. 1869. He was the author of a treatise on 'The Climate and Diseases of the African Station,' and of 'An Account of the Origin, Spread, and Decline of the Epidemic Fevers of Sierra Leone,' London, 1849, 8vo. For a long time he was the head of the department of naval medical statistics, and he compiled the 'Statistical Reports on the Health of the Navy.' He also contributed a valuable article 'On Medicine and Medical Statistics' to the 'Admiralty Manual of Scientific Enquiry.'

[Lancet, 18 Dec. 1869, p. 860; British Medical Journal, 18 Dec. 1869, p. 670; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Times, 15 Dec. 1869.]

T. C.

**BRYSON, JAMES** (1730?-1796), Irish presbyterian minister, son of John Bryson, who died at Holywood, co. Down, on 23 Nov. 1788, aged (according to his tombstone) 103 years, is said to have belonged to a family originally connected with co. Donegal. His first sermon was preached at Newtownards, co. Down, 26 April 1760. He was licensed by the Armagh presbytery at Clare, co. Armagh, 1 June 1762. After preaching for over a year at Banbridge in 1763-4 he was ordained minister of Lisburn by Bangor presbytery on 7 June 1764, subscribing a cautious formulary, in general approval of the Westminster Confession. He soon acquired the repute of an able preacher. A new meeting-house, built for him, was opened 18 May 1766. While it was building the use of the cathedral church was granted to his congregation between church hours. In 1773 he accepted a call to the second congregation of Belfast, stipulating that the congregation should retain its connection with the general synod, a tie which then demanded no express dogmatic bond. In 1778 he was elected moderator of the general synod which met at Lurgan. Bryson was a freemason, and frequently preached before lodges, both in his own and other meeting-houses, and in churches of the establishment. His printed sermon of 24 June 1782 was preached before 'the Orange Lodge of Belfast, No. 257.' The existing Orange Society, an offshoot of masonry, first appears as a distinct institution in 1795. Some scandal arose respecting Bryson's private life. It does not appear that the matter came before the church courts, but Bryson retired from the second congregation, taking with him a following. His friends set about building a small meeting-house for him in Donegal Street, and

during its erection, for about two years and eight months, he was allowed to preach in the parish church. It does not appear that his ministry continued to flourish, for on 29 Nov. 1795 he notes: 'A regiment of Highlanders present, and *very* few more.' He died on Monday, 3 Oct. 1796. His portrait was bequeathed by his last surviving daughter to the fourth congregation. He was twice married.

Bryson published 'Sermons on several important subjects,' Belfast, 1778, 8vo (dedicated to his cousin, William Bryson [q. v.] (the subscription list is of much local interest); and some other single sermons. Thirteen volumes of his manuscript sermons (vol. x. is missing) were deposited by his grandson Joseph (son of an apothecary) in the Antrim Presbytery Library, now at Queen's College, Belfast.

[Belfast Newsletter, 22 Jan. 1790, 3 Oct. 1796, 3 Jan. 1800; Witherow's Hist. and Lit. Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland, 2nd ser. 1880, pp. 141 sq.; Christian Unitarian, 1866, p. 337; Disciple (Belfast), 1883, p. 114; parish register, Belfast; memoranda on fly-leaves of Bryson's Sermons; manuscript minutes of Antrim Presbytery; tombstone at Holywood; information from Rev. C. J. M'Alester, Holywood.]

A. G.

**BRYSON, WILLIAM** (1730–1815), Irish presbyterian minister, said to have come of a Donegal family, became minister of the nonsubscribing congregation at Antrim in August 1764. Without the pulpit reputation of his cousin James [q. v.], he was a man of more influence in matters theological. He adopted Arian Christology and rejected the tenets of original sin and imputed righteousness. The ground he took was that of a strong scripturalist, and he upheld sabbath observance, eternal punishments, and Satanic agency. Bryson, though a member of the outcast Antrim presbytery, was, as his manuscripts show, a frequent preacher in neighbouring congregations of the general synod. His first publication was a funeral discourse for a distinguished minister of the synod. At the time of the rebellion in 1798 Bryson was a staunch loyalist, in this, as in other matters, following the lead of his co-presbyter, Bruce of Belfast. In September 1809 his age and infirmities rendered him desirous of resigning his pastorate, but as his people could not agree upon a successor, he did not do so till November 1810. He died on 6 May 1815, in his eighty-sixth year. He is said to have been buried at Antrim, but his name is not on the family tombstone. In the vestry of the First Presbyterian Church, Belfast, hangs a likeness of Bryson, copied by his son Patrick

from a silhouette taken in his forty-sixth year. When about that age he married a daughter of Alexander MacLaine, M.A., minister at Antrim, 1742–59, and granddaughter of John Abernethy [q. v.], by whom he had six children. His daughters kept school at Antrim for many years.

Bryson published: 1. 'The Practice of Righteousness, productive of happiness both at present and for ever,' Belfast, 1782, 8vo (funeral sermon, Isaiah xxxii. 17, at Crumlin, 28 July, for Thomas Crawford, ordained at Crumlin, 1723, or early in 1724). 2. 'The Duty of Searching the Scriptures,' &c., Belfast, 1786, 8vo (sermon, John v. 39, at ordination in Ballyclare, 9 Feb. 1785, of Futt Marshall, died 23 Oct. 1813, aged 58). 3. 'Funeral Sermon for Rev. Robert Sinclair of Larne' (said to have been published, but not known; Sinclair died on 20 Feb. 1795, aged 70).

[Belfast Newsletter, 9 May 1815; Witherow's Hist. and Lit. Memorials of Presbyterianism in Ireland, 2nd ser. 1880, pp. 256 sq.; Christian Unitarian, September 1864, p. 275; Disciple (Belfast), January 1881, pp. 14 sq., 1883, p. 39; Bryson's manuscript sermons, in the possession of the present writer; manuscript minutes of Antrim Presbytery; tombstone at Antrim; private information.]

A. G.

**BUÇ or BUCK, SIR GEORGE** (*d.* 1623), historian, poet, and master of the revels, was descended from a good family which had formerly held large estates in Yorkshire and Suffolk. For taking the side of King Richard III at the battle of Bosworth Field his ancestors were deprived of most of their possessions, and, had not a powerful member of the Howard family interceded on their behalf, would have lost everything. These facts we learn from the dedicatory epistle to King James I prefixed to 'ΔΑΦΝΙΣ ΠΟΛΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ: an Eclog treating of Crownes and of Garlandes, and to whom of right they appertaine. Addressed and consecrated to the King's Maiestie. By G. B., Knight, 1605, 4to. The dedicatory epistle is followed by an engraved genealogical table (dated 1602) of the royal line of England from Egbert to the Empress Matilda, mother of Henry II. After the epistle comes a 'Preface or Argument of this poesy,' consisting of seven leaves. The 'Eclog,' containing fifty-seven eight-line stanzas, written in the form of a dialogue between Damaetas, a woodman, and Silenus, the prophet of the shepherds, is an explanation of the nature and properties of trees. Collier, in his 'Bibliographical Catalogue' (i. 93–5), describes a copy of this poem containing a poetical inscription to Lord Ellesmere, from which inscription it would appear that Lord Ellesmere



had decided a chancery suit in Buc's favour. A second edition, with numerous alterations and a dedication to Sir John Finch, lord chief justice of the common pleas, was published in 1635 under the title of 'The Great Plantagenet. Or a Continued Succession of that Royall Name from Henry the Second to our Sacred Sovereigne King Charles. By Geo. Buck, Gent.' After the preface comes a second title-page, 'An Eclog treating of Crownes,' &c. Whoever this 'Geo. Buck, Gent.,' may have been, he did not scruple to claim the authorship of the 'Eclog,' and afterwards of the 'History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third,' written by Sir George Buc. Corser says that at the time of the publication of the 'Eclogue' the author was twenty-three years of age; but there appears to be no foundation for this statement. The 'G. Bucke' who prefixed a complimentary quatorzain to Watson's 'Εκατομυαθία' about 1582 was not improbably Sir George Buc, who was M.P. for Gattton, 1592 and 1597. There accompanied the Cadiz expedition in 1596 a gentleman adventurer, bearing the name of George Bucke, whom it would be safe to identify with Sir George Buc. In Howes's 'Stow' (1615), p. 776, col. 2, we read that 'George Bucke was despatched by the lords generals to her majestie to make relation of that which had passed in the armie since the fleetes departure from the bay of Cadiz.' The instructions given him on that occasion are contained in 'Otho,' E. ix. 319 (Cottonian MSS.) In 1601 Buc was sent to Sir Francis Vere at Middleburgh, with instructions from Sir Robert Cecil. Two copies of these instructions are in 'Cotton. MS. Galba,' D. xii. 322, and the second copy is signed 'Vera Copia, G. Buc,' in the unmistakable handwriting of Sir George Buc. On 13 July 1603, the day before the coronation, Buc was knighted by James. On 21 June 1603 he received the reversionary grant of the mastership of the revels (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Series, 1603-1610, p. 16). Collier states that in 1610 he assumed the office as successor to Edmund Tylney, who died in the October of that year (*Engl. Dram. Lit.* 2nd ed. i. 360). For some time previously he had acted as Tylney's deputy. On 21 Nov. 1606 he licensed Sharpham's 'Fleire' for publication; but on 29 June 1607 we find Tylney licensing 'Cupid's Whirligig' (ARBER, *Transcripts*, iii. 333, 354). In spite of Collier's statement (for which no authority is given) it would seem that Tylney had been superseded by Buc in the autumn of 1608, for on 4 Oct. of that year Middleton's 'A Mad World, my Masters,' was licensed for publication by Buc's deputy (*ibid.* p. 391). It is improbable that there would have been

two deputies. From Sir Henry Herbert's 'Register' we learn that Buc's office books, which would have had the deepest interest for students of the drama, were consumed by fire. Chalmers, in his 'Supplemental Apology' (198-207), gives a list of the plays licensed for publication by Buc. Among the 'State Papers,' under date 6 Sept. 1610, is a document signed by Buc, licensing three men to 'shew a strange lion brought to do strange things, as turning an ox to be roasted,' &c. There is also preserved among the 'State Papers' a letter of Buc's, dated 10 July 1615, to John Packer, secretary to Lord-chamberlain Somerset, allowing Samuel Daniel to appoint a company of youths to perform comedies and tragedies at Bristol. The writer ends by saying that he has received no stipend since 13 Dec., and begs for payment of arrears. In a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated 30 March 1620, Chamberlain writes: 'Old Sir George Buck, master of the revels, has gone mad' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Series, 1619-23, p. 364). Two years afterwards Buc had become too infirm to discharge his duties, and on 2 May 1622 a patent was made out appointing Sir John Astley master of the revels. On 22 May he was formally superseded in a privy seal (extant in the Chapter-house, Westminster), which directed that as Buc, 'by reason of sickness and indisposition of body where-with it had pleased God to visit him, was become disabled and insufficient to undergo and perform' his duties, the office had been conferred on Sir John Astley. From Sir Henry Herbert's 'Register' it appears that Buc died on 22 Sept. 1623.

Sir George Buc is the author of 'The Third Universitie of England, or a Treatise of the Foundations of all the Colledges, Avncient Schooles of Priviledge, and of Hovses of Learning and Liberall Arts, within and abovt the most famous Cittie of London,' a treatise appended to Howes's edition of Stow's 'Annales' (1615). In this work the author mentions a treatise which he had written on 'The Art of Revels,' of which no copy is now known. The 'History of the Life and Reign of Richard the Third. Composed in five Bookes,' was issued in 1646, fol., as the work of 'George Buck, Esq.' A charred fragment of a manuscript copy of this work, in the handwriting of Sir George Buc, is preserved among the Cottonian MSS. (Tib. E. x.) In this manuscript the history was described as 'gathered and written by Sir George Buc, Knight, master of the King's office of the Revels and one of the gentlemen of his majestie's privy chamber, corrected and amended in every page.' The leaf containing this passage is not now in the manuscript; but so the title is given in Smith's

'Catalogue of the Cotton. MSS.' There is preserved in the manuscript a portion of the dedication to 'the most illustrious Lord, premier cointe of this realme, erl of Arundale,' &c., dated from 'the king's office of the Revels, Peter's Hill, the . . . of . . . 1619.' An advertisement to the reader (in the manuscript copy) informs us that the 'argument and subject of this discours or story was at the first but a chapter, sc. the thirteenth chapter of the third book of a rude work of myne entitled "The Baron, or the Magazin of Honour."' No copy of 'The Baron' is known to exist. It is not improbable that many of Buc's works perished in the flames which consumed his office books, and that Tib. E. x. was scorched on that occasion. The history attempts to prove that Richard III was a virtuous prince and innocent of the crimes imputed to him, and must be regarded to some extent as an anticipation of Horace Walpole's "Historic Doubts." Early in the present century a certain Charles Yarnold announced his intention of issuing a new edition of the history 'from the original manuscript of Sir George Buck.' The manuscript referred to by Yarnold, and Yarnold's collections towards the new edition (of which only a few sheets were printed), are in the British Museum, numbered Eg. MSS. 2216-2220. Yarnold's collections are of little value, and it is certain that his manuscript is not in the handwriting of Sir George Buc. Additional MS. 27422 contains the first two books of the history. The George Buck who had the impudence to issue the work as his own dedicated the printed copy to Philip, earl of Pembroke. In 1710 Buc's history was included in the first volume of Kennet's 'Complete History of England.' Camden, in his 'Britannia' (ed. 1607, p. 668), speaks of Buc as a man of distinguished learning 'qui multa in historiis observavit et candide impertiit.' Some letters of Buc's to Sir Robert Cotton are preserved in 'Cottonian MS. Jul. Cæsar,' iii. 33, 128. Among Heber's manuscripts was sold an undated quarto, pp. 524, which was described in 'Biblioth. Heber.' (pt. xi. No. 98) as a poem of Sir George Buc. The title is 'The famous History of Saint George, England's Brave Champion. Translated into verse and enlarged . . . By G. B.' Corser gives a full description of this work, and clearly shows that it could not have been written by Buc, as it contains allusions to events which happened long after his death.

[Chalmers's Supplemental Apology, pp. 198-207; Ritson's Bibliog. Poet. pp. 146-7; Collier's English Dramatic Lit. (2nd ed.), i. 360, 402-5; Corser's Collectanea; Cottonian MSS., Galba D. xii. 322, Otho E. ix. 319, Tib. E. x.; Stow's An-

nales (ed. Howes), 1615, p. 776; Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Series, 1603-10 pp. 16, 631, 1619-1623 p. 364; Arber's Transcripts, iii. 333, 354, 391; Nichols's Progresses of James I. i. 215.]

A. H. B.

BUCCLEUCH, third DUKE OF. [See SCOTT, HENRY, 1746-1812.]

BUCER, MARTIN (1491-1551), protestant divine, was born of humble parents at Schlettstadt in Lower Alsace. The proper spelling of his name is undoubtedly Butzer: this form is employed by himself, and ordinarily by his German contemporaries, except when they latinise his name into Bucerus (cf. MELCHIOR ADAM, *Vita Buceri*, 105). In his fifteenth year he was, against his will, placed as a novice in the Dominican monastery in his native town, and he remained a monk till 1521. At Heidelberg, where he studied Greek and Hebrew, he in April 1518 had an opportunity of hearing Luther dispute on the dogma of free-will; a correspondence ensued, and Bucer began to long for emancipation. He became acquainted with several leading humanists, and was more especially patronised by Capito. Soon he thought it prudent to take refuge, first in some other sequestered spot, and then in Franz von Sickingen's castle, the Ebernburg, near Creuznach, where at this time Hutten and many other fugitives enjoyed the knight's hospitality. But through skilful aid he ultimately found no great difficulty in obtaining a papal brief, in consequence of which he was on 29 April 1521 declared free from his monastic vows, though of course he still remained a priest. In an interview at Oppenheim on 13 April 1521 he had tried to induce Luther to divert his course from the diet of Worms to the Ebernburg, but failed, and Bucer had thereupon loyally accompanied the reformer on his dangerous journey. Immediately after (possibly even before) his liberation from his vows, Bucer entered the service of the Count (afterwards Elector) Palatine Frederick (II); but he soon felt ill at ease, especially among the dissipations of Nürnberg. In May 1522 he obtained his dismissal, and entered upon the incumbency of Landstuhl, Sickingen's barony, near Kaiserslautern (Melchior Adam's account of this part of Bucer's life is confused). Soon after his establishment here he was married to Elisabeth Pallass (SCHENKEL), or Silbereisen (BAM), who had for twelve years been the inmate of a nunnery, but who made him an excellent wife. Bucer's marriage is memorable as one of the earliest marriages of ordained priests among the reformers; it was followed by Bugenhagen's in 1522, Zwingli's in 1524, and Luther's in 1525.

From Landstuhl Bucer, at Sickingen's sug-

gestion, undertook one or two journeys in the interests of the reformation, falling into peril in the Netherlands. Soon, however, he was generously dismissed by his patron, and on passing through Weissenburg in Lower Alsace accepted an invitation from Motherer, parson in that town, to fill the post of preacher at his church. Here he in a series of sermons advanced Lutheran views, and recommended the study of the German Bible. Great excitement ensued, and both Motherer and Bucer, having declined to appear before the Bishop of Speier, were excommunicated by him. Bucer hereupon made a public profession of his doctrine, but finally both he and his friend, with their wives, were obliged to fly to Strassburg, where they arrived at the end of April 1523, and at first took refuge in the house of Bucer's father, now a citizen of the town.

In Strassburg the reformation had many sympathisers, and Matthew Zell was already preaching 'the gospel' to the people in the nave of the minster. Capito, who had recently assumed a dignified ecclesiastical position in the city, still observed a hesitating attitude. Bucer's arrival and bold announcement of his marriage to the spiritual authorities therefore created much interest, and he was at first only allowed to lecture, as it were, privately in Zell's house. As a citizen's son, however, he was protected by the town council against the bishop, who demanded his surrender, and was allowed to plead his cause both by word of mouth and in writing. His lectures on the New Testament, some of which he gave in the cathedral, were numerous attended, and in December 1523 he was appointed a salaried daily lecturer on the scriptures. He was now one of the seven preachers recognised at Strassburg as the representatives of the cause of the reformation. Jacob Sturm, in the town council, and Capito, who had by this time declared for the reformation, were, with Bucer and Zell, its chief promoters. In March 1524 the bishop excommunicated several married priests, among whom, however, there is no mention of Bucer; and in the same month the guild of gardeners, whose religious views were of an advanced character, elected him priest at St. Aurelia's, a parsonage in Capito's provostship. Though much drawn to Zwingli, he continued for a time to maintain an independent attitude as to the use of images and pictures, and his view of the eucharist was not as yet wholly divergent from Luther's. But the difficulties of the Strassburg reformers increased as the city became the refuge of victims of religious persecution. Both Capito and Bucer showed hospitality to French and Italian refugees, through whom Bucer in

particular set on foot schemes for the propagation of protestantism. Less welcome to him were the anabaptists who took refuge in the city and Carlstadt, whose dispute with Luther was already notorious. In October 1524 the images were removed out of Bucer's church, and St. Aurelia's wonder-working grave was closed; and in the following month Bucer, while giving an account to Luther of the simple reformed worship in use at Strassburg, requested in the name of his brethren a more explicit statement of Luther's dogma concerning the eucharist. Probably Bucer had been alienated from the Lutheran view on this head through the influence of Rodius (Rode, of Utrecht), who visited him about this time (KÖSTLIN, i. 717; cf. BAUM, 304-5). Luther's reply was his 'Address to all Christians in Strassburg,' warning them against the errors of Carlstadt. Soon after this Bucer, with Capito and Zell, bravely attempted in a personal interview to persuade a large band of insurrectionary peasants to abstain from violence.

The hardest and most thankless task of Bucer's life began when in 1525 the conflict between Luther and Zwingli which turned mainly, though not altogether, on the eucharist, declared itself. The Strassburg preachers, who distinctly placed themselves on the side of the Swiss reformer, were roughly handled by Melancthon, and sarcastically criticised by the Erasmians, against whom Bucer did his best to defend his position. Luther, having in November declined a friendly overture from the Strassburgers, was further irritated by observations on the eucharist introduced by Bucer into his Latin translation of Luther's 'Church Postil' (1525), and Luther's follower, Bugenhagen, had a similar grievance against the same translator's version of his 'Commentary on the Psalms.' Meanwhile, the friendliness between the Strassburg and the Swiss reformers increased, Bucer also placing himself decisively on Zwingli's side against anabaptism, with certain milder phases of which his friend Capito was not altogether out of sympathy (1527). At the great Bern disputation (January 1528) he distinctly declared in favour of the Zwinglian doctrine. Soon afterwards he dedicated to the Bern town council his 'Commentary on the Gospel of St. John,' prefaced by a summary of the proceedings at the disputation. In March 1528 appeared the amplest 'Confession' ever put forth by Luther concerning the eucharist, and in June Bucer published a reply in dialogue form, in which he proposed a personal conference between the leaders of the two parties. He had already entreated Zwingli to adopt as conciliatory as possible a tone

towards Luther, but as yet no sounds except of ire came from Wittenberg. Meanwhile, Strassburg consummated her revolt from Rome by the abolition of the mass (20 Feb. 1529; see 'Rede me and be nott Wrothe,' by Roy and Barlow, *ABER'S English Reprints*, 1871, where 'Butzer' is mentioned among the chief adversaries of the mass). Bucer's activity was of great service in liturgical reform, not only at Strassburg, but also at numerous places in Suabia and Hesse.

The position of affairs in 1529 was so full of danger for the estates, including Strassburg, which had protested at Speier, that a close cohesion among them seemed imperative; this, however, it seemed clear to Philip of Hesse, Jacob Sturm, and others, must be preceded by a theological agreement, the promotion of which now became the main object of Bucer's endeavours. In these he was greatly aided by Œcolampadius. Bucer's own views were substantially Zwinglian, but his plan was if possible to formulate the cardinal doctrine of the eucharist after a fashion which, without offending against the laws of logic, might prove acceptable to both Luther and Zwingli. At last the conference was brought about which opened at Marburg in 1529 between Luther and Zwingli, with Bucer and others intervening (1 and 3 Oct. 1529). Notwithstanding Bucer's efforts and concessions (Luther is said to have welcomed him with the humorous reproach 'tu es nequam'), the one subject on which no agreement was arrived at was the crucial subject of the eucharist. Probably, however, some impression in favour of union had been made on Melancthon; and, at all events, Bucer was more than ever marked out as the man most likely to conduct further negotiations to a successful issue. That he could hold his own when he chose is shown by his celebrated 'Apologetic Letter' published shortly afterwards (1530), in answer to Erasmus. Bucer was concerned in the drawing up of the 'Confessio Tetrapolitana' presented at the diet of Augsburg in July 1530 by Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, which differed most essentially from the 'Augustana' in the article on the eucharist, though going as far as possible in the Lutheran direction (when he published it after an intentional delay, in August 1531, he accompanied it by a most conciliatory 'Apology'). An interview with Melancthon, followed by a letter to Luther, having led to no result, Bucer on 25 Sept. 1530 courageously presented himself in person before Luther at Coburg, and had the satisfaction of bringing him to express a distinct hope of reconciliation with the 'sacramentarians,' or, at all events, with

the Strassburgers. Henceforth his plan of action was so to put the desired agreement that Luther might appear to have yielded nothing (cf. KÖSTLIN, ii. 248-9). Soon afterwards Bucer journeyed in the interest of union through a series of towns in the south-west of Germany and in Switzerland, from which he returned to Strassburg in October. Here we find him seeking to facilitate a union with the Waldensian communities, but his more important scheme still remained unaccomplished. While the Wittenbergers were now hoping through him to detach the South German towns from the Swiss, the Zürichers, with the men of Bern and Constance, and even his own Strassburgers, began to suspect his intentions. Among other things which helped to hamper his endeavours was the publication at Hagenau in Alsace of Servetus's book about the Trinity (1531), which, after he had in vain attempted to suppress its circulation, and after Servetus had left Strassburg, Bucer censured in a confutation supposed to be still extant (TÖRTELIN, 236). His efforts for union were by no means furthered by the death of Zwingli at Cappel (October 1531), but an almost heavier blow for him was the death of Œcolampadius (November), although he thereby became the acknowledged head of the South German divines. At Strassburg he now presided over the weekly clerical board of the 'servants of the Word.' He used his authority to induce the Strassburgers at a meeting of the protestant estates held at Schweinfurt (April 1532) to subscribe the Augustana without abandoning the Tetrapolitana, and to accept the articles of agreement drawn up by him, with a proviso safeguarding the maintenance of their simple ritual for ten years. This step was very ill received in Switzerland and elsewhere, and he was left with few supporters of his union policy, while at this very time he was blamed at Strassburg for drawing too tight the reins of ecclesiastical discipline against the 'prophets.' He succeeded, however, both in introducing during another tour a considerable measure of uniformity among the South German and Swiss churches, and at home in bringing about the establishment of an ecclesiastical constitution through a synod (1533) which may have averted from Strassburg the fate of Münster. The errors of the church there was one among the many subjects which about this time employed his pen. The continuation of his lectures on the New Testament (published in their first edition, 1530, and second, 1536), with Capito's on the Old, was the beginning of systematic courses of higher instruction which afterwards developed into the university of Strass-

burg; and it was he who in 1538 brought John Sturm into the city which owed so much to his labours. Bucer's interests were not confined to Strassburg or Alsace, though nothing came of his efforts to further the design of a reformation in France, in which both he and Melanchthon were to some extent involved (KÖSTLIN, ii. 371, 462; cf. MICHELET, *Histoire de France* (2nd ed. 1857), viii. 406-417). Nearer at home he successfully exerted himself for the institution of the church at Augsburg (1534-5).

Meanwhile, he continued intent upon his scheme of finding a basis for a formulated agreement, or concordia, between the Lutherans and the South Germans and Swiss; and after holding a preliminary conference at Constance, he met Melanchthon at Cassel (Christmas 1534). Their meeting was cordial, but led to no definite result, and Bucer's labours continued at Augsburg and elsewhere. In April 1536, soon after his return from Basel, where he had aided in drawing up the eucharistic portion of the so-called First Helvetic Confession, he learned that Luther was prepared to discuss in person the question of a concordia. The meeting, which was to have taken place at Eisenach, was actually held at Wittenberg 22-29 May. The concession on the part of Bucer and his companions that the body in the eucharist is received by the unworthy brought matters to a conclusion; Luther saluted them as his 'dear brethren in the Lord,' and articles drawn up by Melanchthon were signed by all (or nearly all) present. Bucer's work was accomplished, though he well knew what bitterness was to follow. His 'Retractatio de Cena Domini' was in the same year appended to the new edition of his Gospel 'Commentaries.' The concordia was not approved at Zürich, and in February 1537 Bucer presented to Luther at Smalcald a statement of doctrine which had been drawn up at Basel. Though it is said (BAUM, 518) that Luther, whom a most dangerous illness obliged to take his departure to Gotha, whither Bucer afterwards followed him, committed to the latter the general care of the poor church, in the event of his own death, his 'Smalcald Articles' again went beyond the Wittenberg concordia, and Bucer's work seemed nearly lost again. A conference at Zürich in April 1538 proved to him that he had alienated the Swiss, while he only with difficulty obtained the adhesion of the South German towns, and all this in order that Luther in some of his last writings might inveigh more vehemently than ever against the 'sacramentarians.' At least, however, Melanchthon's views had been materially

modified, and the Calvinistic development of Zwinglian doctrine had been prepared. With Calvin himself Bucer first came into friendly contact at a synod held in Bern May 1537, and again during the stay of the former at Strassburg, 1538-41. There was much sympathy between them on the subject of church discipline. Among the German reformers Bucer now took a leading position. His signature is appended to the memorable opinion furnished by Luther and others in justification of resistance to the emperor on the question of religion (KÖSTLIN, ii. 411). And in a similar capacity he became involved in the scandal of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse's 'second' marriage (March 1540), which he promoted, witnessed, and even helped to defend. A far nobler, though an ineffectual work, was his share in the endeavours to bring about a reunion between the contending religions in the empire. Bucer's interview with Witzel was followed in 1540 by the meeting of princes at Hagenau, at which he and other protestant theologians attended, and of which he published an account. Another meeting at Worms was likewise broken up by the catholic side; but the most important of the series was held at Ratisbon on the occasion of the diet of 1541, where on the catholic side the legate Contarini and Julius Pflug, with Eck and Gropper, on the protestant Melanchthon, Bucer, and the Hessian Pistorius, were the leading representatives. Of this interesting and, as it seemed, not wholly fruitless meeting, Bucer likewise put forth a narrative. On his return he found the plague raging at Strassburg; among its victims were several (three?) of his children, his wife, and his faithful associate Capito. A twelvemonth later he married Capito's widow.

In 1541 and the following years Bucer was much occupied in assisting the archbishop-elect of Cologne (Hermann von Wied) in his attempt to introduce reformed doctrines and worship into his territories. With Melanchthon he drew up a 'Book of Reformation' (1543), to which Luther made objections. From this work, of which an English version was printed in London in 1547 (see STRYPE, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, II. i. 41-4), and which itself largely borrowed from a liturgy previously established in Nürnberg and Anspach, the services of the church of England are occasionally derived. Bucer defended his proceedings in the Cologne electorate in two treatises published in 1543, but the collapse of Hermann von Wied's attempt is well known. Before the catastrophe of the Smalcaldic war Bucer attended one more conference on reunion held at Ratisbon in

1546, where the main discussion was carried on between himself and the Spaniard Malvenda. After all was over, and when early in 1548 the Interim was about to be laid before the diet, he was summoned to Augsburg by the elector, Joachim II of Brandenburg, who, being desirous for peace at any price, wished to obtain an authoritative opinion in favour of the proposed settlement. He was detained in something like imprisonment for twenty-two days, but proved less pliable than had been expected, and Strassburg, though all but alone in her resolution, declined to sign the Interim. In the resistance against the necessity of accepting it which Strassburg maintained for more than a year and a half the preachers unanimously took part, with Bucer and Fagius, Capito's successor, at their head. But it gradually became evident that the city must give way, and that its spiritual leaders must take their departure. After preparing, as a species of pastoral legacy, a 'Summary of the religion taught at Strassburg during the last twenty-eight years,' Bucer, together with Fagius, applied for 'leave of absence,' and a temporary pension having been granted them, and generous provision made for Bucer's family during his peregrination, they quitted Strassburg on 6 April 1549. Bucer had been offered hospitality by Melancthon, Myconius, and Calvin, and hardly had he and his companions departed when they were invited to professorial chairs at Copenhagen; but they had already bent their course to England. With England Bucer had a connection of longstanding, having been consulted by Henry VIII about his divorce, and more lately, in partial consequence perhaps of the hospitality shown to so many English protestant fugitives at Strassburg, having been in frequent correspondence with Cranmer. The primate, who had already bestowed the regius professorship of divinity at Oxford upon Bucer's former colleague, Peter Martyr, now invited Bucer himself to England, doubtless with a view to his receiving a similar appointment at Cambridge (see *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Cranmer*, ed. J. E. Cox, Parker Society, 1846, 423-4). The travellers set sail from Calais on 23 April, and on the same day reached—hardly Cambridge, as Baum says, but—Canterbury (cf., as to Bucer's visiting Canterbury about this time, STRYPE, u.s. II. i. 123). Thence they proceeded to London, where they found Cranmer surrounded by foreign refugees (see Bucer's letter, noting the want of good preachers and teachers in England, cited by BAUM, 551). On 1 May they were most graciously received by the young king Edward VI and the great person-

ages around him, among whom the Duchess of Suffolk soon showed special favour to Bucer. In the first instance he and his companion were, by desire of the king and Somerset, employed upon a Latin version of the Scriptures, with explanations and doctrinal notes, the whole to be afterwards translated into English. Bucer also warmly interested himself in the affairs of the London congregations of French and German refugees, and corresponded with Peter Martyr, whose propositions concerning the eucharist he thought too Zwinglian (cf. the plain-spoken note in HALLAM, *Constitutional History*, 10th ed. i. 90). His opinion was constantly asked by Cranmer, notably on the controversy about ecclesiastical vestments raised by Hooper on his appointment to the see of Gloucester (see CRANMER, *Miscellaneous Writings*, 428, and note; cf. also FROUDE, *History of England*, 12mo, iv. 558-60. Bucer's conciliatory reply, 'De re vestiariâ in sacris,' is printed in 'Scripta Anglicana,' 705-10). At last the arrangements were complete which made it possible to summon Bucer and Fagius to Cambridge, the former as regius professor of divinity, the salary having been raised to 100*l.* per annum, and Madew having retired in his favour. Fagius, who had arrived at Cambridge in advance, died there on 11 Nov. in the arms of Bucer, who, though himself suffering, had followed his friend as soon as possible. He thus had to begin his new life alone. He was treated with great respect, and soon afterwards created D.D., having been specially recommended by royal letter to the university (MULLINGER, ii. 119). It was on this occasion that he delivered a species of inaugural lecture, in which he modestly preferred a seasonable plea in favour of degrees and examinations (*Scripta Anglicana*, 184-90). On 10 Jan. 1550 he opened a course of lectures on the Epistle to the Ephesians. Before the end of the winter he was joined by his wife and some of his children and servants. He was frequently visited by Parker, Haddon, Bradford, and others. He continued to be frequently consulted by Cranmer, and was specially commissioned with the revision of the first English book of common prayer, though but a small part of the improvements suggested by him was actually carried out (see the 'Censura,' &c., in *Scripta Anglicana*, 456-503, to which is prefixed the Latin version of the prayer book by Alesius, erroneously described by Strype in a passage cited in this dictionary [art. ALESIVS], which should be corrected accordingly; cf. LAURENCE, *Bampton Lectures*, 221; see *ib.* 246-247 as to the slightness of Bucer's influence upon the English liturgy. His share in the

forty-two Articles of 1553 must necessarily remain a matter of conjecture). In August 1550 he took part in a disputation on the Lutheran doctrine of justification to which he had been challenged by John Young, Andrew Perne, and Thomas Sedgwick, and which excited much bitter controversy in the university. On his return to Cambridge from a visit to Peter Martyr, he found that Young had begun a series of lectures against his teaching, and, as his opponents would not carry on the discussion in writing, sought leave for another and final disputation, with what result is not known (his account of the 'Controversy' is in *Scripta Anglicana*, 797-862; cf. MULLINGER, ii. 122).

The winter of 1550-1 found Bucer better prepared for meeting its rigour, and various special gifts were sent to him by the young king; his salary was raised, and he was told to spare himself, and not hold himself bound to lecture. He was thus encouraged to devote himself to the composition of a work desired by Edward VI as a new year's greeting—the both comprehensive and practical *'De Regno Christi'* (in *Scripta Anglicana*, 1-170. It seems to have been first published in 1557, and was soon translated into French and German). Scarcely had he completed and presented this work, and recommenced his lectures (the *'Commentary on the Epistle to the Ephesians'* published at Basel in 1561 by Trewellius only reaches the fifth chapter), when ill-health, from which he had more or less suffered since his arrival in England, again overtook him. He soon perceived that his end was at hand. The sick man's house speedily filled with friends, among them the Duchess of Suffolk, whose two young sons were studying at Cambridge under his tuition, and John Bradford tended him to the last. He died on 28 Feb. 1550-1, after expressing anxiety on his deathbed lest for lack of discipline the English church should fall into the errors which had distracted that of his native land (see N. CARR's epistle, *'De Obitu Bucer'*, in *Scripta Anglicana*, 867-76). He was buried in Great St. Mary's Church, the whole university and large numbers of burghesses, some three thousand persons in all, attending his funeral. Parker's funeral sermon and Walter Haddon's speech as public orator are in *'Scripta Anglicana'* (882-99), followed by a flow of epitaphs and other testimonies in his honour; and the utmost kindness was shown to his family.

During the visitation of the university under Queen Mary on 6 Feb. 1557, the bodies of Bucer and Fagius were exhumed, and, with an elaborate mockery of a real trial and execution, publicly burnt on Market Hill at Cam-

bridge (see the lengthy account in *Scripta Anglicana*, 915-35). But three years afterwards, in July 1560, under the same vice-chancellor (Perne), who had, it was said, unwillingly figured in this ghastly farce, the university was instructed to make amends by restoring all their honours to Bucer and Fagius (see the narrative, *ib.* 935-45). Queen Elizabeth appears to have renewed the letters patent by which her brother had granted to any descendant of Bucer the privilege of settling in England with all the rights of an English subject; and in 1593 a grandson of his, afterwards pastor at Basel, was maintained at Trinity, Cambridge, by the combined liberality of the college and the crown (MULLINGER, ii. 182).

[The worst of the charges brought against 'the dear politician and fanaticus of union,' as Bucer was called by his friend Margaret Blaurer, will be found arrayed in the dedicatory epistle prefixed to the so-called *Scripta Anglicana*, or *Tomus Anglicanus* (fol. Basel 1577), edited by Bucer's friend, and for some time regular secretary and companion, Conrad Hubert. This volume, though intended to form part of a collective edition of all his works, was not followed by any other. It contains all those of his works which were published in England, together with some of his earlier writings and various memorials of him. A complete list of his works, ninety-six in number, is given in the appendix to the extremely full and learned biography of him and his chief Strassburg associate published by the late Professor J. W. Baum under the title of *'Capito und Butzer, Strassburg's Reformatoren'*, as pt. iii. of *Hagenbach's Leben und ausgewählte Schriften der Väter und Begründer der reformierten Kirche* (Elberfeld, 1860). Among older biographical sketches Melchior Adam's, in his *Vitæ Eruditorum*, is useful; among modern, Schenkel's in *Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie*, &c. vol. i., and Herzog's in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, vol. iv. See also, for the transactions between Luther and Bucer, Köstlin's *Martin Luther* (here cited in the third German edition, 2 vols. Elberfeld, 1883); for the controversy with Erasmus, Drummond, *Life of Erasmus* (1873), ii. 322; A. Müller, *Leben des Erasmus* (1828), 349-54, and note; and *Erasmii Opera* (1703-6), x. 1573 seqq.; for the relations with Servetus, and a very remarkable examination of the development of Bucer's views concerning the Trinity, Tollin's *Michael Servet und Martin Butzer* (Berlin, 1880); for educational affairs at Strassburg, Smith's *La Vie et les Travaux de Jean Sturm* (Strassburg, 1855); for the question of Philip of Hesse's bigamy, C. von Rommel's *Geschichte von Hessen* (Cassel, 1830), iv. 230-5, and appendix, 209-19, with Köstlin; for Bucer's Cambridge life, Mullinger's *University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1535 to the Accession of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1884), and Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 101.] A. W. W.



**BUCHAN, EARLS OF.** [See COMYN, ALEXANDER, second EARL, *d.* 1289; COMYN, JOHN, third EARL, *d.* 1313?; STEWART, ALEXANDER, first EARL of the second creation, 1343?-1405?; STEWART, JOHN, first EARL of the third creation, 1381?-1424; ERSKINE, JAMES, sixth EARL of the fourth creation, *d.* 1640; ERSKINE, DAVID STEWART, eleventh EARL, 1742-1829.]

**BUCHAN, ALEXANDER PETER** (1764-1824), physician, was born at Ackworth, near Pontefract, in 1764, being the son of Dr. William Buchan, author of 'Domestic Medicine' [q.v.] He was educated at the high school and university of Edinburgh, studied anatomy and medicine also in London under the Hunters and Dr. George Fordyce, and proceeded to Leyden, where he graduated M.D. on 11 July 1793. Settling in London, he became physician to the Westminster Hospital in 1813, but resigned that office in 1818. He was re-elected in 1820, and died on 5 Dec. 1824.

Buchan's works include 'Enchiridion Syphiliticum,' 1797; 'Treatise on Sea Bathing, with Remarks on the Use of the Warm Bath,' 1801; 'Bionomia, or Opinions concerning Life and Health,' 1811; 'Symptomatology,' 1824; besides a translation of Daubenton's 'Observations on Indigestion,' 1807; an edition of Dr. Armstrong's 'Diseases of Children,' 1808; and the twenty-first edition of his father's 'Domestic Medicine,' 1813.

[Munk's Coll. Phys. (1878), iii. 5.] G. T. B.

**BUCHAN, ANDREW OF** (*d.* 1309?), bishop of Caithness, was, previous to his elevation to the bishopric, abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Cupar (Coupar) Angus, to which he had been preferred in 1272. In the Ragman roll his name appears as paying homage to Edward at the church of Perth 24 July 1291, and at Berwick-on-Tweed 28 Aug. 1296. He was nominated to the bishopric of Caithness by Pope Boniface VIII, 17 Dec. 1296 (THEINER, *Vet. Mon.* ed. 1864, No. ccclix. pp. 163-4). Spotiswood affirms that he lived as bishop thirteen years, but wrongly gives the date of his consecration as 1288. The date of his death is usually given as 1301, but this appears to be mere conjecture, and there is no evidence to show that his successor Ferquhard was bishop before 1309.

[Rental Book of Cupar-Angus, ed. Charles Rogers (Grampian Club), i. 15-29; Anderson's Orkneying Saga, lxxxv-vi.] T. F. H.

**BUCHAN or SIMPSON, ELSPETH** (1738-1791), the head of a religious sect generally known as 'Buchanites,' was the daughter of John Simpson and Margaret Gordon, who kept a wayside inn at Fatmacken, between Banff and Portsoy. She was born in 1738. In

early life she was employed in herding cows, and afterwards entered the house of a relation, by whom she was taught reading and sewing. During a visit to Greenock she made the acquaintance of Robert Buchan, a working potter, whom she married. They quarrelled and separated, and in 1781 she removed with the children to Glasgow. Having heard Hugh White, of the Relief church at Irvine, preach in Glasgow at the April sacrament of 1783, she wrote him a letter expressing her high approval of his sermons, and stating that no preacher she had ever previously listened to had so fully satisfied her spiritual needs. The result was that she removed to Irvine to enjoy the privilege of his ministry, and converted both him and his wife to the belief that she was a saint specially endowed and privileged by heaven, White's final conclusion being that she was the woman mentioned in the Revelation of St. John, while she declared him to be the man child she had brought forth. On account of his proclamation of these peculiar doctrines White was deposed from the ministry by the presbytery. In May 1784 the magistrates banished the sect from the burgh, and following the supposed guidance of the star which led the wise men to Bethlehem, they settled on the farm of New Cample, in the parish of Closeburn, Dumfriesshire. They were joined here by one or two persons in good positions in life, and their numbers ultimately reached forty-six. Mrs. Buchan, whom they named their 'spiritual mother,' professed to have the power of conferring the Holy Ghost by breathing, and also laid claim to certain prophetic gifts. They believed in the millennium as close at hand, and were persuaded that they would not taste of death, but would be taken up to meet Christ in the air. The following account of them by Robert Burns, the poet, may be accepted as strictly accurate: 'Their tenets are a strange jumble of enthusiastic jargon; among others she pretends to give them the Holy Ghost by breathing on them, which she does with postures and gestures that are scandalously indecent. They have likewise a community of goods, and live nearly an idle life, carrying on a great farce of pretended devotion in barns and woods, where they lodge and lie together, and hold likewise a community of women, as it is another of their tenets that they can commit no mortal sin' (Burns to J. Burness, August 1784). It is affirmed that Burns had an attachment to a young woman who joined the Buchanites, and that he spent a whole night and day in vainly endeavouring to persuade her to return. His song 'As I was a walking' was set to an air to which, according to him, the 'Buchanites had set



some of their nonsensical rhymes,' for the composition of hymns was one of the gifts of Mrs. Buchan. In 1785 White issued 'The Divine Dictionary,' written by himself and revised and approved by Elspeth Simpson.' The death of Mrs. Buchan in May 1791 dissipated the faith of most of her followers. White pretended that she was only in a trance, and had her buried clandestinely, but he afterwards renounced his belief in her promise to return and conduct them to the New Jerusalem. The last survivor of the sect was Andrew Innes, who died in 1848.

[Four Letters between the people called Buchanites and a teacher near Edinburgh, together with two letters from Mrs. Buchan and one from Mr. White to a clergyman in England, 1785; Train's *The Buchanites from First to Last*, 1846; Works of Robert Burns.] T. F. H.

BUCHAN, PETER (1790-1854), collector of Scottish ballads, born at Peterhead in 1790, traced his descent from the Comyns, earls of Buchan. His parents discouraged his desire to enter the navy, and an early marriage completely estranged his father. In 1814 he published an original volume of verse ('The Recreation of Leisure Hours, being Songs and Verses in the Scottish Dialect,' Peterhead, 1814), taught himself copper-plate engraving, and resolved to open a printing-office for the first time at Peterhead. Early in 1816 he went to Edinburgh with an empty purse and 'a pocketful of flattering introductory letters.' His kinsman, the Earl of Buchan, sent him to Dr. Charles Wingate at Stirling, where he learnt the art of printing in the short space of ten days. On his return to Edinburgh, a gift of 50*l*. from a friend of the Earl of Buchan enabled him to purchase the business plant of a printing-office, and on 24 March 1816 he set up his press at Peterhead. In 1819 he constructed a new press on an original plan. It was worked with the feet instead of with the hands, and printed as well from stone, copper, and wood as from ordinary type. Buchan also invented an index-machine showing the number of sheets worked off by the press, but an Edinburgh press-maker borrowed this invention, and, taking it to America, never returned it to the inventor. About 1822 Buchan temporarily removed to London, but in 1824 he resettled as a printer at Peterhead. His chief publications were of his own compilation, and the business was prosperous enough to enable Buchan to retire on his capital, and to purchase a small property near Dennyloanhead, Stirlingshire, which he called Buchanstone. A harassing and expensive lawsuit, however, with the superior landlord, who

claimed the minerals on the estate, compelled him to sell the property in 1852. For the next two years he lived in Ireland with a younger son at Stroudhill House, Leitrim. In 1854 he came to London on business, and died there suddenly on 19 Sept. He was buried at Norwood. His eldest son, Charles Forbes Buchan, D.D., became minister of Fordoun, Kincardineshire, in 1846.

Buchan owes his reputation to his success as a collector and editor of Scottish ballads, and in this work he spent large sums of money. In 1828 appeared in two volumes his 'Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland, hitherto unpublished, with explanatory notes.' The book was printed and published for him in Edinburgh. More than forty ballads were printed there for the first time, and many others were published in newly discovered versions. Scott interested himself from the first in Buchan's labours, and speaks highly of their value ('Introductory Remarks on Popular Poetry' (1830), prefixed to later editions of the *Border Minstrelsy*). In 1834 was advertised a second collection of Buchan's 'North Country Minstrelsy,' but Mr. Jerdan apparently purchased Buchan's manuscript for the Percy Society, and in 1845 James Henry Dixon edited it for that society under the title of 'Scottish Traditional Versions of Ancient Ballads.'

Buchan's other works were very numerous. The chief of them were: 1. 'Annals of Peterhead,' Peterhead, 1819, 12mo. 2. 'An Historical Account of the Ancient and Noble Families of Keiths, Earls Marischals of Scotland,' n.d., Peterhead. 3. 'Treatise proving that Brutes have souls and are immortal,' Peterhead, 1824. 4. 'The Peterhead Smugglers of the Last Century; or, William and Annie, an original melodrama, in three acts,' Edinburgh, 1834. 5. 'The Eglinton Tournament and Gentlemen Unmasked,' Glasgow, 1839 (republished as 'Britain's Boast, her Glory and her Shame; or, a Mirror for all Ranks'). 6. 'An Account of the Chivalry of the Ancients,' Glasgow, 1840. 7. 'Man—Body and Soul—as he was, as he is, and as he shall be,' 1849. Buchan was also the author of many detached poems and stories, and of anti-radical political pamphlets, and was a contributor to George Chalmers's 'Caledonia.' Two unpublished volumes of his collection of ballads passed shortly before his death to Herbert Ingram, and afterwards to Dr. Charles Mackay. They are now in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 29408-9).

[Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, iii. 691-3; Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*; Brit. Mus. Cat.; information from Dr. Charles Mackay.]

S. L.

BUCHAN, THOMAS (*d.* 1720), general of the Jacobite forces in Scotland, was descended from a family which claimed connection with the earls of Buchan, and which had been proprietors of Auchmacoy in the parish of Logie-Buchan, Aberdeenshire, as early as 1318. He was the third son of James Buchan of Auchmacoy and Margaret, daughter of Alexander Seton of Pitmedden. Entering the army at an early age he served with subordinate rank in France and Holland, and in 1682 was appointed lieutenant-colonel in the Earl of Mar's regiment of foot in Scotland. From letters of thanks addressed to him by the privy council it would appear that in 1684 and 1685 he was actively engaged against the covenanters. In 1686 he was made colonel of the regiment. While serving in Ireland in 1689 he was promoted by King James to the rank of major-general, and after the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie was appointed commander-in-chief of the Jacobite forces in Scotland. At a meeting of the highland chiefs held after his arrival from Ireland, it was resolved to continue the war with renewed vigour; and meanwhile, till the muster of the clans was completed, it was arranged that Buchan, at the head of 1,200 men, should employ himself in harassing the enemy along the lowland border. On 1 May 1690 he was surprised and totally defeated by Sir Thomas Livingstone at Cromdale, as many as four hundred of his troops being taken prisoners. The catastrophe forms the subject of the humorous ballad, 'The Haughs o' Cromdale,' the imaginary narrative of a fugitive highlander, who gives the result of the battle in the terse lines—

Quo' he, the highland army rues  
That e'er we came to Cromdale.

After being reinforced by a body of six hundred Braemar highlanders, Buchan entered Aberdeenshire, and presented so formidable an attitude to the Master of Forbes that the latter hastily fell back on Aberdeen. This was the last effective effort of Buchan in behalf of the Jacobite cause. He made no attempt to enter the city, but marched southward till threatened by the advance of General Mackay. He then retreated northwards, with the purpose of attacking Inverness; but the surrender of the Earl of Seaforth to the government rendered further active hostilities impossible. For a time he retained a number of followers with him in Lochaber, but finally dismissed them and retired, along with Sir George Barclay and other officers, to Macdonald of Glengarry. After the submission of the highland chiefs, he and other officers were, on 23 March 1692, transported to France.

Notwithstanding the failure of his efforts in behalf of the Stuarts, he retained their confidence, and did not cease to take an active interest in schemes to promote their restoration. He continued a correspondence with Mary of Modena after the death of James II, and in a letter dated 3 Sept. 1705 expressed his readiness to raise the highlands as soon as troops were sent to his assistance (Hooke's *Correspondence*, Roxburghe Club, 1870-1, i. 302). In 1707 he was commissioned by a person in the service of the Pretender to visit Inverness and report on its defences, and his letter to Hooke in June of that year reporting his visit, with plans of Inverlochy fort and Inverness, will be found in Hooke's 'Correspondence' (ii. 328). At the rising in 1715 he appears to have offered his services in the highlands, for the Marquis of Huntly, in a letter to him dated 22 Sept. 1715, commends his 'frankness to go with me in our king and country's cause,' and expresses himself as ready 'to yield to your command, conduct, and experience.' On this account he is supposed to have been present at the battle of Sheriffmuir, 13 Nov. following; but it is not improbable that circumstances prevented him joining the rebels, as had he been present he would in all likelihood have held a prominent command. He died at Ardlodie in Fyvie, and was buried in Logie-Buchan, in 1720.

[Buchan's View of the Diocese of Aberdeen, 1730, pp. 361-2; New Statist. Acc. of Scot. xii. 806-7; Smith's New History of Aberdeenshire, 903-5; Memoirs touching the Scots War carried on for their Majesties by Major-general Mackay against the Viscount Dundee, and after him Cannon, and at last Major-general Buchan, for the late King James (Bannatyne Club, 1833); Macpherson's Original Papers; Colonel Hooke's *Correspondence* (Roxburghe Club, 1870-1).]

T. F. H.

BUCHAN, WILLIAM (1729-1805), physician, was born at Ancram in Roxburghshire, where his father had a small estate, besides renting a farm. When yet a boy at school young Buchan was amateur doctor to the village; yet he was sent to Edinburgh to study divinity. But he supported himself to a considerable extent by teaching mathematics to his fellow-students, and gave up divinity for medicine, the elder Gregory showing him much countenance. After a nine years' residence at Edinburgh Buchan began practice in Yorkshire, and before long settled at Ackworth, being appointed physician to the foundling hospital, supported by parliament. Here he gained great skill in treating diseases of children; but his stay was abruptly terminated on parliament discontinuing the

vote of 60,000*l.* for foundling hospitals. After this he practised some time at Sheffield, but returned to Edinburgh about 1766, and practised for some years with success. Ferguson, the well-known popular lecturer on natural philosophy, at his death left Buchan his valuable apparatus. Buchan thereupon began to lecture on the subject, and drew large classes for some years. In 1769 appeared, at the low price of six shillings, the first edition of his 'Domestic Medicine; or the Family Physician,' the first work of its kind in this country. Its success was immediate and great. Nineteen large editions, amounting to at least eighty thousand copies, were sold in Great Britain in the author's lifetime; and the book continues to be re-edited, as well as largely copied in similar works. It was translated into all the principal European languages, including Russian, and was more universally popular on the continent and in America than even in England. The Empress of Russia sent Buchan a gold medal and a commendatory letter. It is said that Buchan sold the copyright for 700*l.*, and that the publishers made as much profit yearly by it. Having unsuccessfully sought to succeed the elder Gregory on his death, Buchan in 1778 removed to London, where he gained a considerable practice; less, however, than his fame might have brought him but for his convivial and social habits. He regularly practised at the Chapter Coffee-house, near St. Paul's, to which literary men were then wont to resort. Full of anecdote, of agreeable manners, benevolent and compassionate, he was unsuited to make or keep a fortune: a tale of woe always drew tears from his eyes and money from his pocket. About a year before his death his excellent constitution began to give way, and he died at his son's house in Percy Street, Rathbone Place, on 25 Feb. 1805, in his seventy-sixth year. He was buried in the cloisters at Westminster Abbey.

Among his minor works are 'Cautions concerning Cold Bathing and Drinking Mineral Waters,' 1786; 'Observations concerning the Prevention and Cure of the Venereal Disease,' 1796; 'Observations concerning the Diet of the Common People,' 1797; 'On the Offices and Duties of a Mother,' 1800.

[New Catalogue of Living English Authors (1799), i. 352; Gent. Mag. lxxv. pt. i. 286-8, 378-80; European Mag. xlvii. 167.] G. T. B.

BUCHANAN, ANDREW (1690-1759), of Drumpellier, lord provost of Glasgow, was descended from a branch of the old family of Buchanan of Buchanan and Leny. He

was the second of four sons of George Buchanan, maltster, Glasgow, one of the covenanters who fought at Bothwell Bridge, and Mary, daughter of Gabriel Maxwell, merchant, and was born in 1690. His name appears in M'Ure's list of the 'First Merchant Adventurers at Sea' (*View of the City of Glasgow*, p. 209), and by his trade with Virginia, where he had a tobacco plantation, he became one of the wealthiest citizens of his day. In 1735 he purchased the estate of Drumpellier, Lanarkshire, and the older portion of Drumpellier house was built by him in 1736. Adjoining Glasgow he purchased three small properties in what was then known as the 'Long Croft,' the first purchase being made in 1719, the second in 1732, and the third in 1740 (*Glasgow, Past and Present*, ii. 196). Through his grounds he opened an avenue for gentlemen's houses, which he named Virginia Street, and he planned a town house for himself called Virginia Mansion, which he did not live to complete. Along with his three brothers he founded in 1725 the Buchanan Society for the assistance of apprentices and the support of widows of the name of Buchanan. He was also one of the original partners of the Ship Bank, founded in 1750. He was elected dean of guild in 1728, and lord provost in 1740. When after the battle of Prestonpans John Hay, quartermaster of the Pretender, arrived at Glasgow with a letter demanding a loan of 15,000*l.*, Buchanan and five others were chosen commissioners to treat with him, and succeeded in obtaining a reduction to 5,500*l.* (*Memorabilia of Glasgow*, p. 361). On account of his zeal in raising new levies on behalf of the government, Buchanan made himself so obnoxious to the rebels that in December 1745 a special levy of 500*l.* was made on him under threats of plundering his house, to which he replied 'they might plunder his house if they pleased, but he would not pay one farthing' (*Scots Mag.* viii. 30). He died 20 Dec. 1759. By his wife, Marion Montgomery, he left two sons and four daughters.

[Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry, 2nd ed. pp. 186-8; Cochrane Correspondence, pp. 107, 114, 132; *Glasgow, Past and Present*, ii. 196; *Scots Mag.* viii. 30, xxi. 663.]

T. F. H.

BUCHANAN, SIR ANDREW (1807-1882), diplomatist, only son of James Buchanan of Blairvadoch, Ardsconnal, Dumbartonshire, and Janet, eldest daughter of James Sinclair, twelfth earl of Caithness, was born 7 May 1807, entered the diplomatic service 10 Oct. 1825, and was attached to the embassy at Constantinople. On 13 Nov. 1830

he was named paid attaché at Rio de Janeiro, but he did not remain long in South America, as he served temporarily with Sir Stratford Canning's special embassy to Constantinople from 31 Oct. 1831 till 18 Sept. 1832, after which he became paid attaché at Washington on 9 Nov. He was with Sir Charles Vaughan's special mission to Constantinople from March 1837 to September 1838, and then proceeded to St. Petersburg as paid attaché 6 Oct. of the same year. Few men seem to have gone through a greater number of changes in the diplomatic service; he was secretary of legation at Florence 24 Aug. 1841, and chargé d'affaires from July 1842 to October 1843, and from March to May 1844. At St. Petersburg he was secretary of legation 1844, and between that time and 1851 several times acted as chargé d'affaires. He was then rewarded for his various services by the appointment, 12 Feb. 1852, of minister plenipotentiary to the Swiss Confederation. In the following year, 9 Feb., he was named envoy extraordinary to the king of Denmark, and he acted as her majesty's representative at the conference of Copenhagen in November 1855 for the definite arrangement of the Sound dues question. He was transferred to Madrid 31 March 1858, and then to the Hague 11 Dec. 1860. He became ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Prussia 28 Oct. 1862, ambassador extraordinary to Russia 15 Sept. 1864, and ambassador to Austria from 16 Oct. 1871 to 16 Feb. 1878, when he retired on a pension. Previously to this he had been made C.B. 23 May 1857, K.C.B. 25 Feb. 1860, G.C.B. 6 July 1866, and a privy councillor 3 Feb. 1863. He was created a baronet 14 Dec. 1878, and died at Craigend Castle, Milngavie, near Glasgow, 12 Nov. 1882. He married first, 4 April 1839, Frances Katharine, daughter of the Very Rev. Edward Mellish, dean of Hereford (she died 4 Dec. 1854); and secondly, 27 May 1857, Georgiana Eliza, third daughter of Robert Walter Stuart, eleventh baron Blantyre.

[Hertslet's Foreign Office List, 1882, p. 211; Times, 15 Nov. 1882, p. 8.] G. C. B.

**BUCHANAN, CLAUDIUS, D.D.** (1766–1815), Bengal chaplain and vice-provost of the college of Fort William, was born on 12 March 1766 at Cambuslang, a village near Glasgow. His father, Alexander Buchanan, was a schoolmaster at Inverary, and here Claudius commenced his education. At the age of fourteen he became tutor in a gentleman's family, and two years later entered the university of Glasgow, where he spent the two following years, leaving the university again to engage in private tuition. He had

been intended for the ministry in the Scotch church, but at the age of twenty-one he abandoned the idea of taking holy orders, and left Scotland with the intention of travelling through Europe on foot, supporting himself by playing on the violin. In forming this wild scheme, which he carefully withheld from the knowledge of his parents, telling them that he had been engaged by a gentleman to travel on the continent with his son, he appears to have been fired by the example of Goldsmith; but Buchanan did not get beyond London, where, after undergoing great privations for some months, he eventually obtained employment, on a very small salary, in a solicitor's office. After a residence of nearly four years in London, he made the acquaintance of a young man whose conversation revived the religious feelings which he had imbibed earlier in life, and shortly afterwards he introduced himself to the Rev. John Newton, then rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, in the city, under whose influence a complete change in his character speedily took place. The intimacy with Mr. Newton led to his becoming acquainted with Mr. Henry Thornton, by whose liberality he was provided with funds, repaid a few years afterwards, which enabled him to go to Cambridge and to qualify for ordination. Entering Queens' College in 1791, Buchanan speedily formed an intimacy with Charles Simeon. Buchanan's studies at Cambridge were chiefly theological. He did not compete for university honours, but won college prizes both in mathematics and in classics. He took his degree in 1795, and in the same year was ordained a deacon of the church of England, commencing his clerical life as a curate of Mr. Newton. In the following year he was appointed to a chaplaincy in Bengal, and, having taken priest's orders, sailed for Calcutta shortly afterwards.

On his arrival at Calcutta early in 1797 Buchanan was hospitably received by the Rev. David Brown [see BROWN, DAVID, 1763–1812], then presidency chaplain, and afterwards Buchanan's chief and colleague in the college of Fort William. The provision existing at that time in India for ministering to the religious wants of the British community was extremely scanty. There was no episcopate, few chaplains, and fewer churches. Buchanan was sent to Barrackpur, where there was no church, and, there being no British regiment quartered there, very little occupation for a chaplain. He remained at Barrackpur for two years, passing much of his time in studying the scriptures in the original tongues, and also the Persian and Hindustani languages. He seems to have felt a good deal the want of congenial friends and the

effects of the depressing climate. In 1799 he was transferred to a presidency chaplaincy, and shortly afterwards was appointed vice-provost of the college established by Lord Wellesley at Fort William. One of the earliest duties which Buchanan was called upon to discharge as presidency chaplain was that of preaching a sermon before the governor-general and the principal officers of the government on the occasion of a general thanksgiving for the successes achieved in the late war in Mysore. For this sermon Buchanan received the thanks of the governor-general in council, and it was directed to be printed and circulated throughout India.

During the next few years Buchanan was much occupied with his duties as vice-provost of the college, and with the question of promoting the formation of a more adequate ecclesiastical establishment for India. Regarding the college he appears to have entertained views assigning to it a wider scope than was generally ascribed to it, although not more comprehensive than that indicated in the minute of Lord Wellesley on the establishment of the college. His opinion was that it had been founded to 'enlighten the oriental world, to give science, religion, and pure morals to Asia, and to confirm in it the British power and dominion;' and this was the aim he continually set before him. The college continued in existence for many years, but in 1807 the appointment of vice-provost was discontinued, and the staff of teachers, and also the work, were reduced within narrower limits than Lord Wellesley had contemplated. Although, as a chaplain of the company, Buchanan was in a great measure debarred from engaging directly in missionary operations, he laboured zealously and in various ways for the promotion of christianity and education among the natives of India. Out of his own means, which his emoluments as vice-provost of the college for a time rendered comparatively easy, he offered liberal money prizes to the universities and to some of the public schools of the United Kingdom for essays and poetical compositions in Greek, Latin, and English, on 'the restoration of learning in the East,' on 'the best means of civilising the subjects of the British empire in India, and of diffusing the light of the christian religion throughout the Eastern world,' and on other similar topics. The college had originally comprised a department for translating the scriptures into the languages of India, and the first version of the gospels into the Persian and Hindustani languages, which was printed in India, had issued from the college press. When this department was abolished, Buchanan, from

his private purse, paid the salary of an Armenian christian, a native of China, who was employed for three years at the missionary establishment at Serampore in translating the scriptures into Chinese. But perhaps the most important services in connection with the propagation of christianity in India in which Buchanan was engaged were his tours through the south and west of India, undertaken for the purpose of investigating the state of superstition at the most celebrated temples of the Hindus, examining the churches and libraries of the Romish, Syrian, and protestant christians, ascertaining the present state and recent history of the Eastern Jews, and discovering what persons might be fit instruments for the promotion of learning in their respective countries, and for maintaining a future correspondence on the subject of disseminating the scriptures in India (*Christian Researches in Asia*, by the Rev. CLAUDIUS BUCHANAN, D.D., ed. 1840, p. 4). The first of these tours received the sanction of the Marquis of Wellesley just before his departure from India, and an account of it and also of the second tour was embodied in the above-mentioned work, which Buchanan published shortly after his return to England in 1811. In the first tour he visited the celebrated temple of Jagannáth, some of the temples in the northern districts of Madras, Madras itself, and the missions in Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura, Ceylon, Travancore, and Cochin, from which latter place he returned to Calcutta in March 1807. At the end of that year he started on a second tour, in the course of which he revisited Ceylon and Cochin, and touched at Goa and several other places between Cochin and Bombay, whence he embarked for England in March 1808, after a residence in India of eleven years.

His account of these tours is extremely interesting, especially those parts of it which relate to his intercourse with the Syrian christians in Travancore and Cochin, and the narrative of his visit to the inquisition at Goa. The result of his visit to this part of India, in addition to the information which it enabled him to supply, was a translation of the New Testament into Malayálam, the language of the British district of Malabar and of the native states of Travancore and Cochin.

The remaining years of Buchanan's life, after his return to England in 1808, were spent in active efforts to promote the objects upon which he had been chiefly engaged while in India. He took a prominent part in the struggle in 1813 which resulted in the establishment of the Indian episcopacy.

Among other writings which he published on this subject was a volume entitled 'Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment, being a brief view of the state of the Colonies of Great Britain and of her Asiatic Empire in respect to Religious Instruction, prefaced by some considerations on the national duty of affording it.' While the contest was proceeding he was vehemently attacked in parliament as a calumniator of the Hindus, and as having given to the world an exaggerated statement of the cruelty and immorality of their superstitions; but he was defended with vigour by Mr. Wilberforce and other promoters of the new legislation. Another work which he published about this time was 'An Apology for promoting Christianity in India, containing two letters addressed to the Honorable East India Company concerning the idol Jagannáth, and a memorial presented to the Bengal Government in 1807 in defence of the Christian Missions in India. To which are now added, Remarks on the Letter addressed by the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors in reply to the Memorial—with an appendix containing various official papers, chiefly extracted from the Parliamentary Records relating to the promulgation of Christianity in India.'

Buchanan received the degree of D.D. from the university of Glasgow, and also from that of Cambridge. He died in 1815 at Broxbourne in Hertfordshire, where he was engaged in revising a Syriac translation of the New Testament. He was twice married, and left two daughters by his first wife.

[Pearson's *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D.*, 3rd ed., London, 1819; *Christian Researches in Asia*, with notices of the Translation of the Scriptures into the Oriental Languages, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D., new edition, London, 1840; *Memorandum on the Syrian Church in Malabar*, 19 Feb. 1875, India Office Records.] A. J. A.

**BUCHANAN, DAVID** (1595?–1652 ?), Scotch writer, was, Sibbald says, descended from the same family as the famous George Buchanan. This statement is confirmed by William Buchanan of Auchmar (*Historical and Genealogical Essay upon the Family and Surname of Buchanan*, 1723), who asserts that David was the second son of William Buchanan, son of the first Buchanan of Arnprior, who was second cousin to George Buchanan. A David Buchanan was admitted to St. Leonard's College at St. Andrews in 1610 (IRVING, preface to *Davidis Buchanani de Scripturis Scotis*). He appears to have resided some time in France, for in 1636 he published at Paris a work

of about seven hundred pages, entitled 'Historia Humanæ Animæ.' In 1638 he followed this up with 'L'Histoire de la Conscience, par David Buchanan,' which was probably printed also at Paris, though the place of publication is not mentioned. Between 1638 and 1644 he appears to have returned to his native land, and in 1644 issued an edition of John Knox's 'Historie of the Reformation in Scotland,' to which he prefixed a life of the author and a preface. In both the 'Historie' and the 'Life' he took unusual liberties, and interpolated in the former a great deal of original matter, apparently with the view of adapting it to the times. The preface, which professes to be a sketch of the previous history, is historically worthless. In 1645 a second edition was published at Edinburgh. In the same year he published at London 'Truth its Manifest; or a short and true Relation of divers main passages of things in some whereof the Scots are particularly concerned.' This work was an account of the conduct of the Scotch nation during the civil war. It provoked considerable ire in England, was voted by both houses of parliament false and scandalous, and ordered to be burnt by the hangman. A scurrilous refutation appeared entitled 'Manifest Truths, or an Inversion of Truths Manifest,' London, 1646. Buchanan's pamphlet, according to Baillie's letters (to William Spang, 24 April 1646), was really a collection of authentic state papers edited by him, with an introduction and a preface. Parliament, not being able to deny the authenticity of the papers, attacked the introduction, and declared the editor to be an incendiary. The next notice of him is to be found in the 'Scottish Historical Library,' London, 1702. Here Bishop Nicolson mentions that a great deal of the work in the 'Atlas of Scotland,' published in 1655, was really done by Buchanan, and that he died before he had finished all he had projected. Nicolson also says that he wrote 'several short discourses concerning the antiquities and chorography of Scotland, which in bundles of loose papers, Latin and English, are still in safe custody;' and that these 'discover their author's skill in the Hebrew and Celtic languages.' Perhaps these are what Buchanan of Auchmar refers to when he says that David wrote a large 'Etymologicon' of all the shires, cities, rivers, and mountains in Scotland, from which Sir Robert Sibbald quotes some passages in his 'History of the Shires of Stirling and Fife.' Sibbald also states, in the 'Memoirs of the College of Physicians,' that he received the greatest assistance from some manuscripts of Mr.

David Buchanan, who has written on the learned men of Scotland in excellent Latin. Here he probably refers to the manuscript entitled 'De Scriptoribus Scotis,' preserved in the university library at Edinburgh, and attributed to David Buchanan, which was for the first time edited by Dr. David Irving, and printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1837. In the appendix to this work there is inserted the last testament of a David Buchanan. Among the 'Miscellanies' of the Bannatyne Club (vol. ii.) is to be found a Latin 'Urbis Edinburgi Descriptio per Davidem Buchananum,' dated circa 1648. The date of his death can be more nearly fixed than that of his birth, for it appears to lie between 1652 and 1653. Most of the authorities agree in assigning the first year; but in a note to the 'Descriptio Edinburgi' it is stated that according to the registers of wills he must have died in 1653.

[Anderson's Scottish Nation (articles 'Buchanan,' 'David Buchanan,' 'Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch'); Bannatyne Club Publications, notes and prefaces (Descriptio Urbis Edinburgi; De Scriptoribus Scotis); Scottish Historical Library; William Buchanan's Essay on the Family and Surname of Buchanan; Baillie's Letters.] B. C. S.

**BUCHANAN, DAVID**, the elder (1745–1812), printer and publisher, a descendant of the ancient family of Buchanan of Buchanan, was born at Montrose in 1745, and studied at the university of Aberdeen, where he graduated M.A. He began the business of printing in his native town at a time when the art was practised in few of the provincial towns of Scotland, and his enterprise as a publisher was also shown by the issue of good editions of the dictionaries of Johnson, Boyer, and Ainsworth. He abridged Johnson's dictionary for the earliest pocket edition ever printed. Among his other publications special mention may be made of his miniature series of English classics, also revised and corrected by himself. He died in 1812.

[Anderson's Scottish Nation.] T. F. H.

**BUCHANAN, DAVID**, the younger (1779–1848), journalist and author, son of David Buchanan, printer and publisher [q.v.], was born at Montrose in 1779. He learned the business of his father, and, like him, also possessed intellectual tastes and sympathies. At an early period of his life he contributed to Cobbett's 'Political Register' a reply to the editor on a question of political economy. He also became a contributor to the 'Edinburgh Review' shortly after its commencement. In 1807 he published a pamphlet on the volunteer system originated by Pitt,

which attracted considerable attention. The following year he accepted an invitation to start in Edinburgh a liberal newspaper, the 'Weekly Register.' The paper did not live above a year, and on its discontinuance he transferred his services to the 'Caledonian Mercury,' which he continued to edit from 1810 to 1827, when he accepted the editorship of the 'Edinburgh Courant.' This paper he edited until his death at Glasgow, 13 Aug. 1848.

Amidst his editorial duties Buchanan found time to devote his attention to a variety of literary projects. He made political economy his special study, and in 1814 he brought out an edition of Adam Smith's works, with life, notes, and a volume of additional matter, in which some of the more important subjects treated of by Smith were examined in the light of further progress and experience. A considerable portion of the volume was afterwards utilised by him in 'Inquiry into the Taxation and Commercial Policy of Great Britain, with Observations on the Principles of Currency and of Exchangeable Value,' published in 1844. Of this book the more noticeable features are its arguments against taxes on manufactured goods, its opposition to the income-tax as inconsistent with the spirit of freedom, and its attempted refutation of Ricardo's theory of rent. Buchanan also brought out an edition of the 'Edinburgh Gazetteer,' in six volumes, contributed numerous geographical and statistical articles to the seventh edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and supplied a large portion of the letterpress for the 'Edinburgh Geographical Atlas,' published in 1835.

[Montrose Standard, 18 Aug. 1848; Anderson's Scottish Nation.] T. F. H.

**BUCHANAN, DUGALD** (1716–1768), Gaelic poet, was born at the mill of Ardoch in the valley of Strathclyde and parish of Balquhider, Perthshire, in 1716. After conducting a small school in a hamlet in his native county, he procured, in 1755, the situation of schoolmaster and catechist at Kinloch Rannoch in the parish of Fortingale, on the establishment of the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland. His accurate acquaintance with the Gaelic language enabled him to render essential service to the Rev. James Stewart of Killin in translating the New Testament. He died on 2 July 1768, and was interred at Little Leny in the parish of Callander, the burial-place of the Buchanans of Leny and Cambusmore.

His 'Laoidhibh Spioradail' (Spiritual Hymns) were first published in 1767, and

have been often reprinted in Gaelic. They have been translated into English by A. McGregor (Glasgow, 1849, 12mo), and by L. Maclean (Edinburgh, 1884, 8vo). An English translation of his 'Day of Judgment,' by J. Sinclair, appeared at Aberdeen in 1880, 8vo.

Reid says that Buchanan's poetical genius was of the first order, and that he may be called 'the Cowper of the highlands.' His poems are admitted to be equal to any in the Gaelic language for style, matter, and the harmony of their versification. 'Latha a' Bhreitheanis' (The Day of Judgment), 'An Claiheann' (The Skull), 'Am Bruadar' (The Dream), and 'An Geamhradh' (The Winter) are the most celebrated, and are read with enthusiasm by all highlanders.

Besides his 'Hymns' Buchanan left a 'Diary,' which was published at Edinburgh in 1836, with a memoir of the author prefixed.

[Memoir prefixed to *Diary*; *Beatha agus Iompachadh Dhùgaill Bochannain* (Edinb. 1844); Reid's *Bibl. Scoto-Celtica*, 63; Mackenzie's *Sar-Obair nam Bard Gaelach* (1872), 167-81; Rogers's *Modern Scottish Minstrel*, i. 323; Rogers's *Monuments and Monumental Inscriptions in Scotland*, ii. 151.] T. C.

**BUCHANAN, FRANCIS HAMILTON**, M.D. (1762-1829), a medical officer in the service of the East India Company, author of 'A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar,' of a 'History of Nepál,' and of other works on Indian subjects, was the third son of Thomas Buchanan of Spittal and Elizabeth Hamilton, heiress of Bardowie. He was born at Branziet in the parish of Callander, Perthshire, on 15 Feb. 1762. Having been educated for the medical profession, he took his degree at Edinburgh in 1783, and was shortly afterwards appointed a surgeon on board a man-of-war, but was compelled by ill-health to relinquish this appointment. Eventually, in 1794, he entered the East India Company's service as a surgeon on the Bengal establishment. Shortly after reaching India he accompanied a mission to the court of Ava, and devoted himself to botanical researches in Ava, Pegu, and the Andaman islands. On the return of the mission, being stationed at Lakkipur, near the mouth of the Brahmaputra, he wrote an admirable description of the fishes of that river, which was published in 1822. In 1800 he was deputed by Lord Wellesley, then governor-general of India, 'to travel through and report upon the countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar, investigating the state of agriculture, arts, and commerce; the religion, manners and customs; the history,

natural and civil, and antiquities in the dominions of the Rájá of Mysore, and the countries acquired by the Honorable East India Company in the late and former wars from Tippoo Sultan.' This report, which is very voluminous and cast in the form of a journal, was published in England in 1807 by order of the court of directors, in three quarto volumes. A second edition, in two octavo volumes, was published at Madras in 1870. It is full of valuable information on all the points which Buchanan was ordered to investigate, and is illustrated by explanatory engravings, but it would have been far more useful if the matter contained in it had been entirely recast and condensed previous to publication. Buchanan's tour in southern India was followed by a visit to Nepál, in company with another British mission, in 1802, which resulted in his writing a history of Nepál, and making large additions to his botanical collections. On his return he was appointed surgeon to the governor-general, and accompanied Lord Wellesley on his voyage to England in 1806. Shortly afterwards he was deputed by the court of directors to make a statistical survey of the presidency of Bengal, an enormous work upon which he was employed for seven years, and which then was only partially accomplished. The results of this survey, forwarded to the East India House in 1816, appeared in a geographical and statistical description of Dinájpur, published at Calcutta after Buchanan's death, and in 'Eastern India,' by Robert Montgomery Martin [q. v.], 3 vols. 1838. In 1814 Buchanan was appointed superintendent of the Botanical Gardens at Calcutta, but returned to England in the following year. His latter years were spent principally in Scotland, where, on the death of his eldest brother, he succeeded to the estate which had been the property of his mother, and took the additional name of Hamilton. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1826 he was appointed deputy-lieutenant of Perthshire, and made good his claims as chief of the clan Buchanan. He died on 15 June 1829. He was married and left a son.

[Buchanan's *Mysore, Canara, and Malabar* (Madras, 1870); Men whom India has known (Madras, 1871).] A. J. A.

**BUCHANAN, GEORGE** (1506-1582), historian and scholar, third son of Thomas Buchanan, a son of Buchanan of Drumnakill, a poor laird, and Agnes Heriot, was born at the farm of Mid Leowen, or the Moss, in the parish of Killearn in Stirlingshire, in February 1506. At an early age he lost his father.



Giving promise of scholarship, he was at the age of fourteen sent by his uncle, James Heriot, from the parish school of Killearn to Paris, where he studied chiefly Latin. In less than two years he was forced to come home by the death of his uncle and the poverty of his mother. His health was restored by residence in the country, and when only seventeen he served with the French troops brought by Albany to Scotland, and was present at the siege of Werk in October 1523. Campaigning hardships brought on an illness which kept him in bed for the rest of the winter. In 1524 he went to St. Andrews to attend the lectures of John Mair, or Major, a man of acute intellect, who, like Erasmus, did not embrace the reformed doctrine, but prepared the way for it. His pupils did not stop where their master did, and Buchanan ungratefully refers to him in the epigram—

Cum seateat nugis solo cognomine Major,  
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,  
Non mirum titulis quod se veracibus ornat:  
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.

Mair went to Paris in 1525, whither Buchanan, after taking his degree of B.A. at St. Andrews on 3 Oct. of that year, followed him in 1526, and was admitted B.A. in the Scottish College on 10 Oct. 1527. His elegy, '*Quam misera est conditio doctentium literas humaniores Lutetiae*,' bears the mark of personal experience. He describes the spare diet and frequent fasts, the midnight oil, the shabby dress, the perpetual round of studies. Marriage is forbidden to the scholar who can afford no dowry. Old age comes swiftly and mourns a youth wasted in studies. He ends with a farewell to the muses. In March 1528 he became M.A., and though defeated in a contest for the office of procurator of the German nation by Robert Wauchope, afterwards bishop of Armagh, on 3 June 1529, he was elected to this coveted distinction. About the same time he began to teach grammar in the college of St. Barbe, and became tutor of Gilbert, earl of Cassilis, with whom he remained for five years in Paris and its neighbourhood. While thus engaged he published a Latin version of Linacre's '*Rudiments of Latin Grammar*' at the press of Robert Stephen, which he inscribed to his pupil, and wrote his poem entitled '*Somnium*,' an imitation of Dunbar's '*Visitation of St. Francis*,' directed like it against the Franciscans. Buchanan returned to Scotland in 1536, and various gifts to him as servant (i.e. tutor) to 'Lord James' occur in the treasurer's accounts between 16 Feb. 1536 and July 1538. This 'Lord James' was not the future regent, but another of King James's natural sons, on

whom the pope conferred the abbacies of Melrose and Kelso. About this time the king gave Buchanan a commission to write a sharper satire against the friars, a dangerous task he tried to evade by the '*Palinodia*,' which pleased neither his patron nor his adversaries. The king having again applied to him he produced his '*Franciscanus et Fratres*.' Sir David Lindsay appealed to the people in the vernacular; Buchanan addressed the learned, and both struck the Roman sacerdotal system in its most vulnerable point—the morals of the clergy—and hastened the Scottish reformation. But James, who urged the literary attack for political ends, did not embrace the new doctrines, and allowed Cardinal Beaton to persecute those who did so. In 1539 five Scottish reformers were burnt and many driven into exile. Buchanan escaped from a window of his prison at St. Andrews to London, where he found Henry VIII intent on his own ends rather than on the purity of religion, burning, says Buchanan, men of opposite opinions at the same stake. Old habit and the toleration of religion in France drew him to Paris. Here his implacable enemy, Beaton, who had already tried, he says, to purchase his life from James V, was employed in an embassy, and to escape him Buchanan went to Bordeaux on the invitation of Andrew Govea, principal of the college of Guienne. The scholarship of which he gave proof in a poem addressed to Charles V on his visit to that town gained him speedy employment, and he taught Latin in the newly founded college for three years. In Bordeaux he composed four tragedies, '*Baptistes*,' '*Medea*,' '*Jephthes*,' and '*Alcestis*,' which were acted by the students, whom he desired to withdraw from the allegories then in fashion to classic models. In the '*Baptistes*' especially the virtue of liberty, the fear of God rather than of man, and the infamy of the tyrant, are the themes. 'Let each judge for himself,' he says in the prologue, 'whether this is an old or a new story.' Among the pupils who took part in acting these tragedies was Montaigne, in whose essays there are several kindly notices of his old tutor; among his colleagues Govea, Muretus, Tevius, and Tartæus; among his friends the leading lawyers and magistrates of Bordeaux. At Agen, where he and some of his brother professors spent vacation, he gained the friendship of the elder Scaliger. To this period belong his verses, which are open to the censure of a license not excusable in a censor of the morals of the clergy. The Amarrillis of his poem, '*Desiderium Lutetiae*,' was Paris, not a lady; but the hard-hearted '*Næra*' and the meretricious '*Leonora*,'

names borrowed from classical masters, are realistic, probably real. It is possible that Milton's lines,—

Were it not better done, as others use,  
To sport with Amaryllis in the shade,  
Or with the tangles of Neera's hair?—  
(*Lycidas*, 67)

glanced at Buchanan as well as at the classic elegiacs. Between 1544 and 1547 Buchanan returned to Paris and taught in the college of Cardinal le Moine, where the loss of his Bordeaux friends was compensated by the companionship of another circle of scholars, Turnebus, the great Grecian, Charles Stephen, the physician and printer of the family which gave its chief fame to the press of Paris, and Groscollius, and Gelida, less known scholars. Buchanan here became a victim of the gout, which never left him, and aggravated a temper naturally hasty. Govea, the principal at Bordeaux, was a Portuguese, and was summoned by John III of Portugal to preside over the newly founded college at Coimbra. He brought to his aid some of his learned friends, and among them Buchanan and his brother Patrick. John of Portugal, the friend of learning, though not of the Reformation, had already admitted the inquisition into his dominions, and on the death of Govea in 1548 Buchanan was accused of the use of flesh in Lent, of writing against the Franciscans, and of the remark that Augustine would have favoured those whom the Roman church condemned. Two secret witnesses reported that he thought ill of Roman doctrine, and he was immured in a monastery for some months, in the hope that seclusion and the monks might reclaim him. He occupied himself instead with translating the Psalms into Latin. On his release he was invited to remain in Portugal, but sailed for England in 1552. There he remained only a short time, and returned to Paris in the following year. At the solicitation of his friends he composed a poem on the raising of the siege of Metz, though with some reluctance, as Melinde de St. Gelais, a poet of the school of Marot, had already written on the subject. A graceful elegy on his return to France, 'Adventus in Galliam,' celebrates its praises in contrast with Portugal. After teaching a short time in the college of Boncourt he was engaged by Maréchal de Brissac, governor of the French territory on the Italian coast, as tutor for his son, Timoléon de Cossé, an office he held for five years, residing partly in Italy and partly in France. He was fortunate in his pupil, who, short as his life was, acquired credit in letters as well as a place among Brantome's great captains of France. Brissac's confidence in Buchanan was so great

that he was sometimes admitted to the council of war. During this period several of his works were first published; his 'Alcestis' and a specimen of his version of the Psalms, which Henry Stephen brought out without his consent, along with four other versions by scholars of different countries, among whom he gave Buchanan the palm, and his own Greek version. At this time he wrote new poems on the 'Taking of Calais' and the 'Epithalamium of the Dauphin and Mary Stuart.' He also studied the Bible that he might form an opinion on religious controversies. The date of his return to Scotland is not certain, but he was there in 1562, and in April Randolph writes to Cecil: 'The queen readeth daily after her dinner, instructed by a learned man, Mr. George Buchanan, somewhat of Lyvie.' He now openly embraced the doctrines of the reformed church, and at once took part in its government. He was a member of the general assembly at Edinburgh on 25 Dec. 1563, and of a commission for revising the 'Book of Discipline.' He sat in the assemblies of 1564-7, and served on their judicial committee. In that of June 1567 he was moderator, one of the few laymen who have held that office. The year before he had been appointed by Moray principal of the college of St. Leonard's, and in that, as well as the following year, his name occurs among the electors, assessors, and deputies of the rector. In the register he receives the epithet already given him by foreign scholars, 'Hujus sæculi poetarum facile princeps.' He also appears as auditor of the accounts of the quæstor for the year 1566-7, and as assessor of the dean of the faculty of arts in 1567-9. In the parliament of 1563 Buchanan was appointed one of the commissioners to inquire into the foundations of St. Andrews and other universities. No report of this committee is extant, but a sketch for it, of which a copy exists in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, is credited to Buchanan. It differs from the scheme in the 'Book of Discipline,' but, like it, aimed at an organisation of the separate colleges of St. Salvator, St. Leonard, and St. Mary, which overlapped each other. According to his plan there was to be a college of humanity, with a principal, public reader, and six regents, for the teaching of languages on the model of the academy of Geneva; a college for philosophy with a principal, a reader in medicine, and four regents; and a college of divinity, with a principal who was to read Hebrew, and a reader in law. This inadequate scheme, in which languages were given too great preponderance, was much improved by the reform projected and in part effected by

Buchanan's pupil, Andrew Melville, under a subsequent commission in 1578. While chiefly engaged in the affairs of the church and education Buchanan was employed by the privy council to translate Spanish state papers for the use of the council. He still continued to exercise his talent for Latin verses, celebrated the marriage of Mary and Darnley in 'Strenæ et Pompæ,' dedicated his version of the Psalms to the queen, composed valentines in honour of the ladies Beaton and Fleming, two of the queen's Maries, and the verses spoken by the satyrs in the masque after the baptism of the young prince at Stirling. In reward for these services he received a pension of 500*l.* a year out of the revenues of the abbey of Crossraguel; but the resistance of the savage Earl of Cassilis, son of his old pupil, made it impossible to obtain payment of this pension, his chief livelihood, without recourse both to the privy council and the courts. Buchanan was probably at St. Andrews in the months between Darnley's murder (10 Feb. 1567) and Bothwell's marriage (15 May); and when he came to Edinburgh for the June assembly (25 June) Mary was a captive in Lochleven, and Bothwell in full flight to the north. The assembly over which Buchanan presided issued a missive summoning the nobility and others to a meeting on 20 July, but transacted no other business of importance. It was only five days before the June assembly that the famous casket with the letters alleged to be written by the queen is said to have been found, and taken possession of by Morton; but there is no proof that Buchanan at this time knew their contents. On 16 Sept. 1568 the casket was delivered by Morton to Moray, who was then preparing to go to the conference at York which Queen Elizabeth had summoned. Buchanan went as the secretary of the commission. At the conference, if not before he left Scotland, he must have become cognisant of the letters. On 27 Sept. the commissioners and Buchanan started for England, with a guard of a hundred horse. Narrowly escaping being waylaid by the Earl of Westmorland, they arrived at York in the beginning of October. The real debate began on 8 Oct., when Mary's commissioners gave in her complaint. On 10 Oct. Lethington, Macgill, Balnavis, and Buchanan were sent to the English commissioners, and protesting they did not appear before them as commissioners, but only for their instruction, exhibited a portion of the contents of the casket. Lethington, who had been her secretary, and Buchanan, who had been her tutor, declared that the letters were written by the queen. It is difficult to believe that either was igno-

rant as to her handwriting. The result of this disclosure was to lead Elizabeth and Cecil to transfer the conference to Westminster. Buchanan went with the Scottish commissioners. A tortuous diplomacy delayed the production of the proofs, whose existence must now have been known to all the principal parties, but Cecil and Moray desired to use the letters so as to force Mary to a compromise rather than to close the door to it. At last, however, all reluctance was overcome, and on 6 Dec. Moray gave in the 'Book of Articles,' in which the charge against Mary was first formulated. This was long supposed to be the same document as the 'Detection' which Buchanan afterwards published. A copy recently found among Lord Hopetoun's manuscripts proves it to have been different, though many passages are in almost the same words, and the proof is the same as in the 'Detection.' Two days after, with a renewed protest, the casket and a portion of its contents were brought forward. The queen's commissioners lodged in her name an answer to the accusation, charging Moray and his party with being the real authors of the murder. Elizabeth's counsellors now gave their opinion that she ought not to admit Mary to her presence. Finally on 11 Jan. 1568-9 the commissioners on both sides, of whom Buchanan is named as one, met for the last time face to face at Hampton Court, when Mary's commissioners repeated the accusation against Moray, but declined to take the responsibility of it on themselves, and Moray offered to go to Bowton to see whether Mary would stand by her accusation, an offer which her commissioners declined. Elizabeth had already on the 10th stated her decision through Cecil, refusing to condemn either Moray or Mary, and giving the former license to return to Scotland. Mary's commissioners were some weeks later allowed to return. Such was the impotent conclusion of these long conferences. The unfairness to Mary, who was not allowed either personally or by her commissioners to see the principal documents brought forward against her, is palpable. Buchanan must bear his share in the discredit of these transactions. What that share is it is not so easy to determine. At best Buchanan's conduct must be regarded as that of a willing agent of Moray's policy. But Mary's vindicators brought against him a much graver charge—the forgery of the documents produced from the casket. His life and character as represented by the closest observers do not warrant this, nor are the best judges inclined to see his style in their composition. A letter written from London, it is supposed at the instigation of Cecil after the publication of

Buchanan's 'Detection,' expressly says that 'the book was written by him, not as of himself nor in his own name, but according to the instructions to him given by common conference of the privie counsel of Scotland, by him only for his learning penned, but by them the matter ministered,' and this, though coming from a source not beyond suspicion, appears probable. As to the letters themselves, the preponderating opinion of impartial writers now is against their genuineness, though Mr. Hosack's ingenious theory suggested by Miss Strickland that some are letters to Darnley is not more than a conjecture. The mystery cannot be said to be solved until the forger is discovered. Assuming their falsity, it is difficult to stop short of the further conclusion, that Buchanan must have shut his eyes to the inquiry which would have produced the necessary knowledge. He returned to Scotland with Moray early in January 1568-9, and at once resumed his position as principal of St. Andrews. Buchanan does not refer either in his 'Detection' or in his 'History' to the examination at St. Andrews, on 9 and 10 Aug., of Nicholas Hubert, commonly called French Paris, which attributes to Mary full knowledge of the conspiracy to murder her husband, and even of the particular mode devised for carrying it out. It cannot, however, be reasonably concluded from the omission that he disbelieved it; for it was not the method of either work to be precise in the citation of authorities, and the Latin edition of the 'Detection,' first printed in 1571, was probably written before Paris was examined, as the 'Book of Articles' on which it is founded certainly was. Before that publication events occurred which heightened if possible the virulence of the war of parties, both in Scotland and in England. On 23 Jan. 1570 the regent Moray, Buchanan's patron and friend, was shot at Linlithgow by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. Shortly before this the plot for the marriage of Mary to the Duke of Norfolk, and the rising in the north of England for her liberation, had been discovered, and Norfolk had been sent to the Tower. It was at this juncture that Buchanan produced his only writings in the vernacular. These must be regarded as party pamphlets. One was entitled 'Ane admonition direct to the tre Lordis Maintenanis of Justice and obedience to the Kingis Grace,' and the other 'Chamæleon,' a satire against Maitland of Lethington, who had now openly gone over to Mary's side. The 'Admonition' is an invective against the house of Hamilton, the principal opponents of the late regent, one of whom was his murderer, and an exhorta-

tion to the true lords to support the cause of the young king, on which the great issue of protestantism against papacy depended. The 'Chamæleon' is a curious sample of the sudden changes of this age of intrigues, as little more than a year before the satirist and the object of his satire had acted together in the accusation of Mary. Shortly after the assassination of Moray, Buchanan, by an act of council dated August 1570 (*Lord Haddington's MS.*, Advocates' Library), was appointed tutor to the king, then in his fourth year; and as it was necessary that he should reside at Stirling, where James was kept under the guardianship of the Earl of Mar, he resigned his office of principal. In the following year the 'Detection' was published in London, first in Latin and then in the Scottish dialect. In it the charges against Mary in the 'Book of Articles,' in the form of a judicial paper, are reiterated and adapted to the purposes of a polemic. The date of the English edition is fixed by a letter of Cecil of 1 Nov. 1571, which states that it is newly 'printed in Latin, and I hear is to be translated into English, with many supplements of like condition.' Next year it was reprinted in Scotch at St. Andrews by Lekprevik, and a French edition was put out, purporting to be printed 'à Edinburg, ville capitale d'Ecosse, le 13 Fevrier 1572, par moi Thomas Watters,' a fictitious name, for in reality it was published at Rochelle by a Huguenot editor. After all allowance for party spirit and the well-founded belief of the reformers that Mary was a subtle and dangerous enemy, the 'Detection' must be deemed a calumnious work, which not only sought out doubtful and trivial incidents to blacken her character, but invented others for which there was no warrant. Buchanan charges Mary with an attempt to make Darnley and Moray quarrel, in the hope of ridding herself of both; with encouraging Darnley to seduce Moray's wife; with shameless adultery with Bothwell, both in Edinburgh and at Jedburgh; with a design to poison Darnley, and with the intention, gradually formed, to murder not only Darnley but her own child. For these charges there is no evidence, and they have been silently dropped even by historians who believe her capable of any wickedness. We cannot wonder that she describes this work, when Elizabeth, with peculiar spite, sent her a copy of the 'Detection' instead of the priest she asked for, as 'a defamatory book by an atheist, Buchanan, the knowledge of whose impiety had made her request a year before that he should not be left near her son, to whom she heard he had been given as preceptor' (*Letter from Sheffield to La Mothe Fénelon*, 22 Nov.

1571, LABANOFF, iv. 5). The post of tutor suited Buchanan better than that of a political writer, and there can be little doubt that he devoted himself with diligence and zeal to the discharge of his office. Melville writes in his 'Memoirs' that Buchanan was one of James's 'four principal masters,' and 'that he held the king in great awe,' that unlike another of these masters who carried 'himself warily, as a man who had a mind to his own weal, by keeping of his majesty's favour, Mr. George was a Stoick philosopher, who looked not far before him. A man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge of Latin poesie. Much honoured in other countries, pleasant in conversation, rehearsing on all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted. He was also of good religion for a poet; but he was easily abused, and so facill that he was led with any company that he haunted for the tym, quhilk maid him factious in his old dayis; for he spoke and writ as they that were about him for the tym informed him; for he was become sliperie and careless, and followed in many things the vulgar oppinions; for he was naturally populair and extreme vengeable against any man that had offendit him, quhilk was his gratest fault.' James entertained a lively recollection of the discipline of his tutor, and when a person in high office whom he disliked came near him he used to say 'he trembled at his approach, it reminded him so of his pedagogue.' Yet his references to Buchanan are not so severe as might have been anticipated. He denounced his 'History,' indeed, as well as that of Knox, as an infamous invective, and coins for the authors the epithet 'Archibel-lonnes of Rebellion.' But on the 'De Jure Regni' he pronounces the curious judgment: 'Buchanan I reckon and rank among poets, not among divines, classical or common. If the man hath burst out here and there into some traces of excess or speech of bad temper, that must be imputed to the violence of his humour and heat of his spirit, not in any wise to the rules of treu religion rightly by him conceived before.' In his speech at Stirling to the university of Edinburgh James praised his Latin learning. 'All the world knows,' he said, 'that my master, George Buchanan, was a great master in that faculty. I follow his pronunciation, both of his Latin and Greek, and am sorry that my people of England do not the like; for certainly their pronunciation utterly fails the grace of these two learned languages.'

The retirement of Morton in 1578, and the emancipation of the king from any regency, also emancipated him from his tutors. On

3 May 1578, a new 'ordour of the keeping of the king' was framed, to which his own signature is attached. John, earl of Mar, was given the custody of his person, with an injunction that he was not to be removed from the castle of Stirling, and his instruction was still committed to 'Masteris George Buchanan and Peter Young, his present pedagoguis, or sic as sall be hereafter electit by his Hiness . . . of his said counsale to that charge, aggreing in religion with the saidis Maisteris George and Peter.' But though Buchanan still nominally held this office, to which he refers in the dedications of the 'De Jure Regni' and of his 'Historia Scotorum,' James was allowed to leave Stirling in the following year, and growing age and infirmity prevented Buchanan from acting personally as the king's tutor. His active spirit did not confine itself at any time to the education of the king. He had been rewarded for his services by the post of director of chancery in 1570, which he seems to have held only for a short time, since in the same year he was appointed to the higher office of keeper of the privy seal, which he held till 1578, when he resigned in favour of his nephew Thomas. This office gave him a seat both in the privy council and in parliament, and he acted on commissions for the digest of the laws, for the reform of the universities, and for the compilation of a Latin grammar, over which he presided, and for which he compiled a short prosody, printed in his works. He was also one of the commission appointed by parliament in 1578 to examine a book on the 'Policy of the Kirk.' In 1574 the general assembly placed under his revision, along with Peter Young, Andrew Melville, and James Lawson, Adamson's Latin version of the Book of Job, which was to be published if found agreeable to God's Word.

So busy a life probably left little time for correspondence, and few of Buchanan's letters have been preserved; but those of his correspondents are of considerable interest from their various nationalities, and the light they throw on the literary commerce of the sixteenth century. They were the leading scholars who had embraced the reformed doctrines in England and the Low Countries, France, and Switzerland. All express the greatest interest in Buchanan's writings, and request him to publish or revise them. Randolph presses him to write his own life; but all that came of this request was the brief fragment prefixed to his works, written in 1580, which unfortunately stops short at his return to Scotland. Among his friends whose letters have been preserved are Theodore Beza, Elias Vinet,

Hubert Languet, Roger Ascham, and Walter Haddon. The greatest name in the list is that of Tycho Brahe, whom Buchanan thanks for his present of his book on the new star, and mentions that ill-health has prevented him from completing his astronomical poem on the Sphere, which was only published after his death. A portrait of Buchanan, presented probably by King James to Brahe, was seen by him when he visited the astronomer at Uranienberg on the occasion of his marriage. In the beginning of 1579 Buchanan published his tract 'De Jure Regni,' the most important of his political writings. The contents of this work—in the form of a dialogue between Buchanan and Thomas Maitland, brother of Lethington—are a defence of legitimate or limited monarchy, a statement of the duty of monarchs and subjects to each other, in which he lays stress chiefly on the former, and a plea for the right of popular election of kings, and of the responsibility of bad kings, in treating which he does not shrink from upholding tyrannicide in cases of extreme wickedness. The book had an immense popularity; three editions were published in three years. Similar doctrine was then in the air of Europe. 'The three great sources of a free spirit in politics,' remarks Hallam, 'admiration of antiquity, zeal for religion, and persuasion of positive right, which animated separately La Boétie, Languet, and Hottoman, united their stream to produce the treatise of George Buchanan, a scholar, a protestant, and the subject of a very limited monarchy.' Suppressed by an act of parliament in 1584, the 'De Jure Regni' was a standard work in the hands of the men of the Long parliament, and the writer possesses a copy carefully indexed by Sir Roger Twysden. As might be expected, Buchanan's work was not allowed to pass without criticism. It was answered in his own time by his catholic countrymen, Blackwood, Wynzet, and Barclay; by the lawyers of the Restoration, Craig, Stewart, and Mackenzie; and by Sir James Turner in an unpublished work; but the English writers who have formed the theory of the constitution now accepted, Milton and Sidney, Locke, Hallam, and Mackintosh, acknowledge most of its positions as well founded. Buchanan now addressed himself to his last, and in some respects greatest work, the history of his own country. This had been in his thoughts for more than twenty years, and was mainly composed several years before. His friends had often urged him to complete it, and it was at last published in 1582. He again addressed himself to James in the dedication. 'An incurable illness having made

me unfit,' he says, 'to discharge in person the care of your instructions committed to me, I thought that sort of writing which tends to inform the mind would best supply the want of my attendance, and resolved to send to you faithful narratives from history that you might make use of trew advice in your deliberations, and imitate trew virtue in your actions.' This book was at once translated into the continental languages, and was long the chief, almost the only source from which foreigners knew the history of Scotland. Nineteen editions attest the value which succeeding generations attached to it, but it is significant that the last was published in 1762. Judged by a modern standard, the history of Buchanan is antiquated not merely on account of its Latin, but from the absence of criticism in the examination of authorities. Its different parts are of unequal merit, probably because they were composed at different times. The first three of its twenty books contain its best portions, a description of the physical characteristics of the country, and an erudite collection of passages from Greek and Latin writers relating to Britain. Buchanan proceeds, in the steps of Hector Boece, to narrate the reigns of the eighty-five kings down to Malcolm Canmore, in a manner not more deserving of credit than their portraits, painted to the order of Charles II, which hang in the gallery of Holyrood. But from Malcolm the history improves. The characters of the kings are well drawn, though the publication of the original records has enabled modern historians to present a larger and more exact picture of their reigns. From the middle of the thirteenth book to the close Buchanan's history still retains a certain value. This portion from James V to the death of Lennox, where it somewhat abruptly stops, is practically the work of a contemporary, and though it is that of a partisan who vilifies Mary, panegyrises Moray, hates all the Hamiltons, and dislikes Morton, no future historian can safely neglect the view of Scottish history which impressed such an intellect, and was the popular opinion, not merely in his own time, but for two centuries after. Of literary style Buchanan is an acknowledged master. It has even been rashly contended by his admirers that he surpassed Livy. More important than mere style is the clearness of his narrative, which dispenses with the rhetorical art, though he was capable of using it.

In September 1581, when his work was in the press, Andrew and James Melville, who had been his pupils at St. Andrews, and his cousin Thomas Buchanan, came to see him

in Edinburgh. They found him teaching his servant to read, and after they had spoken of his industry he showed them his epistle of dedication to the king. Andrew Melville pointed out some defects in it. 'Sayes he,' James Melville writes in his diary, "'I may do na mair for thinking on another mater.'" "What is that?" says Mr. Andro. "To die," quoth he, "but I leave that and many ma things for you to helpe." We went from him to the printars' wark hous, whom we fand at the end of the 17 Buik of his Cornicle, at a place quhillk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhillk might be an occasion of steying the haill werk onent the buriall of Davie. Therefor steying the printer from proceiding, we cam to Mr. George again and fund him bedfast by his custome, and asking him how he did, "Even going the way of weillfare," says he. Mr. Thomas his cusing schawes him of the hardness of that part of his Storie, that the king wald be offendit with it, and it might stey all the wark. "Tell me man," sayes he, "giff I have tauld the treuthe?" "Yes," sayes Mr. Thomas, "sir, I think sa." "I will byd his fead and all his kins then," quoth he. "Pray to God for me, and let him direct all." Sa be the printing of his Cornicle was endit that maist lerned, wyse, and godlie man endit this mortall lyff."

The history of Buchanan has not escaped severe criticism, but the most acute of his critics, Father Innes, while successful in impugning the earlier portions as wanting in research and accuracy, fails to establish the point of his attack, that the whole was written to support a republican theory of government. Buchanan did not survive the publication of this work, and the death which he had long calmly anticipated came on 29 Sept. 1582, about five months before his seventy-seventh birthday. He died poor; a sum of 100*l.* due to him from his pension of Crossraguel is the whole of his means in the inventory of his testament. He was buried in the churchyard of Grey Friars in Edinburgh, but the place of his tomb is unknown. Tradition dating from a short period after his death ascribes to him the skull preserved in the Anatomy Museum of the university, of which there is a print in Irving's life, and which certainly resembles the best authenticated portraits of him which have been preserved, that by Boinard, engraved in Beza's 'Icones,' and of which a copy is in the university of Edinburgh. On the continent his name is mentioned with respect for his learning, and the epitaph of the younger Scaliger has been often quoted. When the universities of foreign countries greeted the

college founded by his royal pupil at Edinburgh on its three hundredth anniversary, many of them recalled his memory. While his title to learning is thus beyond dispute, the rest of his character has been the subject of vehement controversy. Nor is it a character easy to read. Some points will be generally allowed. With him the love of education was not merely a virtue but a passion, early conceived and never abandoned. But he was not only a professor but a man of the world. The world in which he lived was distracted by the deepest and widest controversy in modern history; between tradition and the new learning, between absolute and constitutional government, between the romanist and the reformed doctrines and discipline. In this controversy, not only in the field of literature, but of action, Buchanan took a prominent part on the side of the reformers. He is still deemed a traitor, a slanderer, and an atheist by some, while to others he is a champion of the cause of liberty and religion, and one of its most honoured names. His character may perhaps be more justly represented as combined of strange contradictions; he was at the same time humane and vindictive, mirthful and morose, cultured and coarse, fond of truth, but full of prejudices. It is these contradictions and his great learning and literary power which make him so striking a figure in the history of Scotland and of literature.

[Irving's Life, 2nd edition, 1817, contains one of the best literary histories of the time, and portraits of Buchanan, his contemporaries, and friends. A work of much learning, it needs supplementing from records published since Irving wrote, and is now largely superseded by P. Hume Brown's Biography, 1890. The best editions of the works are those of Ruddiman, 1715, reprinted by Burman. Lugduni Batavorum, 1736, where a full bibliography of Buchanan will be found. Irving gives a list of the chief publications relating to him, p. 427; Chalmers's Life of Ruddiman contains a sketch of some value; the brief fragment of a life by Buchanan himself, often printed, should also be referred to; there is an able, but too favourable sketch of Buchanan in the North British Review, No. xlii., by Hannay; an account of his portraits is given in Drummond's monograph on the Portraits of Knox and Buchanan, 1875.] Æ. M.

BUCHANAN, GEORGE (1790?-1852), civil engineer of Edinburgh, third son of David Buchanan, a printer and publisher at Montrose (1745-1812) [q. v.], was born about 1790. His father was a Glasite and an accomplished classical scholar, who published numerous editions of the Latin classics, which were in high repute for their accuracy. George

Buchanan was educated at Edinburgh University, where he was a favourite pupil of Sir John Leslie. About 1812 he began business as a land surveyor, but his strong scientific bent soon led him to devote himself to the profession of a civil engineer. In this capacity he was engaged upon several public works of importance, in the construction of harbours and bridges, and made a considerable local reputation. In 1822, on the invitation of the directors of the School of Arts, he delivered a course of lectures on mechanical philosophy in the Freemasons' Hall, remarkable for the original and striking experiments. Buchanan afterwards gave one or two courses of lectures on natural philosophy, but his increasing business as an engineer interfered with any further educational work. In 1827 he drew up a report on the South Esk estuary at Montrose in relation to a question then in dispute concerning salmon fishing. This report attracted the attention and gained the marked commendation of Lord-justice-clerk Hope, then solicitor-general, who afterwards, as long as he remained at the bar, always gave the advice in any case involving scientific evidence to 'secure Buchanan.' Subsequently in all the important salmon-fishing questions which arose, and which embraced nearly every estuary in Scotland, Buchanan's services were enlisted, the point being generally to determine where the river ended and the sea began. When the tunnel of the Edinburgh and Granton railway was being constructed under the new town, and the adjacent buildings were considered in imminent danger, Buchanan was commissioned by the sheriff of Edinburgh to supervise the works on behalf of the city. In 1848 he began the work of erecting the huge chimney, nearly 400 feet in height, of the Edinburgh Gasworks, and carried out an exhaustive series of experiments to assure its stability. He communicated an account of this work in detail in two papers read before the Royal Scottish Society of Arts. Buchanan was the author of several scientific treatises. He published a 'Report on the Theory and Application of Leslie's Photometer' (Edinburgh, 1824, 8vo). He communicated a series of papers in 1851 to the 'Courant' newspaper upon pendulum experiments relating to the earth's rotation, and was a constant contributor to the 'Transactions of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts.' He also contributed the article on 'Furnaces' to the eighth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' He was a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, and was elected president of the Royal Scottish Society of Arts for the session

1847-8. He died of lung disease on 30 Oct. 1852. David Buchanan (1779-1848) [q. v.] and William Buchanan (1781-1863) [q. v.] were Buchanan's elder brothers.

[Scotsman, November 1852; Courant, 19 June 1851; Proceedings Roy. Scot. Soc. of Arts.]

R. H.

BUCHANAN, JAMES, D.D., LL.D. (1804-1870), preacher and theological writer, was born in 1804 at Paisley, and studied at the university of Glasgow. In 1827 he was ordained minister of Roslin, near Edinburgh, and in 1828 he was translated to the large and important charge of North Leith. In this charge he attained great fame as a preacher, being remarkable for a clear, vigorous, and flowing style, a graceful manner, a vein of thrilling tenderness, broken from time to time by passionate appeals, all in the most pronounced evangelical strain. Most of his parochial duties being discharged by assistants, he read and wrote much in his study. While at North Leith he wrote: 1. 'Comfort in Affliction,' a series of meditations, of which between 20,000 and 30,000 copies were issued. 2. 'Improvement of Affliction.' 3. 'The Office and Work of the Holy Spirit.' In 1840 Buchanan was translated to the High Church (St. Giles'), Edinburgh, and in 1843, after the disruption, he became first minister of St. Stephen's Free Church. In 1845 he was appointed professor of apologetics in the New College (Free church), Edinburgh, and in 1847, on the death of Dr. Chalmers, he was transferred to the chair of systematic theology, continuing there till his resignation in 1868. During this time he published: 4. 'On the Tracts for the Times.' 5. 'Faith in God and Modern Atheism compared,' 2 vols. 8vo, 1855. 6. 'Analogy: considered as a Guide to Truth, and applied as an Aid to Faith,' 2nd edit. 1867. 7. 'The Doctrine of Justification,' being the Cunningham Lectures for 1866. In 1844 the degree of D.D. was conferred on him by Princeton College, New Jersey, and some time after that of LL.D. by the university of Glasgow. Though not eminent for his powers of original thought, Buchanan had a remarkable faculty of collecting what was valuable in the researches and arguments of others, and presenting it in clear form and lucid language. His work on 'Faith in God' is a very valuable summary of facts and reasonings applicable to the state of the apologetic question, both in natural and revealed religion, some thirty years ago. The book on 'Analogy' follows so far the lines of Butler, but makes much wider application of the principle than Butler's purpose required. Owing to delicate



health and a retiring disposition, Buchanan did not enter much into the public business of the church. He threw himself very cordially, however, into the disruption controversy. On the question of union between the Free church and the United Presbyterian his views were against the proposal. He died in 1870.

[Disruption Worthies, 1881; College Calendar of the Free Church, 1870-1; Records of General Assembly of the Free Church, 1871.]

W. G. B.

**BUCHANAN, JOHN LAMNE** (1780-1816), author, was a native of Menteith, Perthshire, and was educated at the grammar school of Callander and the university of Glasgow. For some years he was assistant to Robert Menzies, minister of Comrie, and on his death in 1780 he went as missionary of the church of Scotland to the Western Isles. He afterwards resided in London. He was the author of 'Travels in the Western Hebrides from 1782 to 1790,' 1793; 'A Defence of the Scots Highlanders in general, and some learned characters in particular,' 1794; and a 'General View of the Fishery of Great Britain,' 1794. Having entrusted his 'Travels in the Highlands' to the editorial care of Dr. William Thomson, the latter without his knowledge inserted some severe criticisms of the Scotch clergy and others, which Buchanan in his 'General View of the Fishery of Great Britain' indignantly disclaimed.

\* [Biog. Dict. of Living Authors (1816), p. 44; Notes and Queries, 2nd series, x. 412-13.]

T. F. H.

**BUCHANAN, ROBERT** (1813-1866), socialist, was born at Ayr in 1813. He was successively a schoolmaster, a lecturer advocating the socialistic views of Robert Owen, and a journalist. Manchester was an important centre of Owenism, and Buchanan settled in that town, where his small books were published. These are: 1. 'The Religion of the Past and Present Society, founded upon a false fundamental principle inimical to the extension of real knowledge opposed to human happiness,' Manchester, 1839. 2. 'The Origin and Nature of Ghosts, Demons, and Spectral Illusions generally, fully and familiarly explained and illustrated,' Manchester, 1840; this is a sensible pamphlet, in which some of the commoner causes of hallucination are exposed. 3. 'An Exposure of the Falsehoods, Calumnies, and Misrepresentations of a Pamphlet entitled "The Abominations of Socialism Exposed," being a refutation of the charges and statements of the Rev. Joseph Barker,' Manchester, 1840; this went through two

editions. 4. 'Concise History of Modern Priestcraft, from the time of Henry VIII until the present period,' Manchester, 1840; this is a bitter attack on the church of England. A chapter is devoted to the 'persecution of the socialists,' and another sets forth the 'crimes of the clergy.' 5. 'The Past, the Present, and the Future,' Manchester, 1840. In the preface to this work the author disclaims 'pretensions to the character of poet,' but adopts blank verse, from a strong natural love of poetry and a belief in its superiority as a vehicle for instruction. 'The object of the writer is . . . to contrast the evils of the old world with advantages of the new moral world of Robert Owen.' 6. 'Socialism Vindicated' is a reply to a sermon preached by the Rev. W. J. Kidd, Manchester, 1840. Mr. Kidd was the rector of St. Matthew's, which was opposite to the 'Hall of Science' built by the Owenites in 1839. The socialists were prosecuted for having lectures on Sunday and charging for admission, contrary to the statute of Geo. III, c. 79. They were prepared to show that the 'collection' had been a voluntary one, but as their witnesses declined to take the oath there was no legal defence, and they were fined. The building was registered as the meeting-house of a society of dissenters by the name of 'Rational Religionists.' Mr. Kidd, aided by Mr. T. P. Bunting, the son of the well-known Wesleyan minister, the Rev. Jabez Bunting [q. v.], induced the stipendiary magistrate to tender to Buchanan the oaths which by statute were required from dissenting ministers. Mr. Bunting then managed to elicit from him a declaration that he did not believe in the orthodox doctrines of damnation. This was a fatal objection, and after several adjournments Buchanan was fined 50s. for refusing to take the oaths of supremacy, &c. After the decline of Owenism, Buchanan, who was a contributor to the 'Northern Star,' the organ of the chartist movement, but never joined its physical force section, removed to Glasgow, where he became editor of a newspaper, and there was born, on 6 Aug. 1841, his son Robert, who attained distinction as poet and dramatist, and died 10 June 1901. Buchanan died at this son's house at Bexhill, Sussex, 4 March 1866.

[Sutton's List of Lancashire Authors; information supplied by Mr. Abel Heywood, J.P., Manchester; Manchester Guardian, June and July 1840.]

W. E. A. A.

**BUCHANAN, ROBERT** (1785-1873), professor of logic in the university of Glasgow, was a cadet of the clan Buchanan, and a native of Callander, where he was born in

1785. At the university of Glasgow he specially distinguished himself in the philosophy classes. After completing his divinity course, he was in 1812 licensed as a preacher of the church of Scotland by the presbytery of Haddington, and in 1813 was presented to the parish of Peebles. In 1824 he was appointed assistant and successor to Professor Jardine in the chair of logic in Glasgow University, and becoming sole professor in 1827, he held the office till 1864, when he retired to Ardfillayne, Dunoon. He died on 2 March 1873. He was the author of 'Fragments of the Table Round,' 1860; 'Vow of Grentreuil, and other Poems,' 1862; 'Wallace, a Tragedy,' 1866; and 'Tragic Dramas from Scottish History,' 1868, containing 'The British Brothers,' a tragic drama, 'Gaston Phœbus,' a tragic drama, 'Edinburga,' a tragic drama, and the tragedies of 'Wallace' and 'King James the First.' He also published anonymously, in 1868, 'Canute's Birthday in Ireland, a Drama in Five Acts.' His tragedy 'Wallace' was performed twice for a charitable object at the Prince's Theatre, Glasgow, in March 1862, the principal characters being personated by students of the divinity and art classes. Though averse to independent and original speculations, he had a thorough mastery of the Scottish philosophy, and his highly cultivated taste was manifested not only in his verse, but in the correct and chaste style of his lectures. In commemoration of his services while occupant of the logic chair for forty years, the Buchanan prizes were instituted in 1866, consisting of the interest of 314*l.* for students of the logic, moral philosophy, and English literature classes. By his will he bequeathed 10,000*l.* for the founding of Buchanan bursaries in connection with the arts classes of the university.

[Hew Scott's *Fasti Eccles. Scot.* i. 237; Glasgow Herald, 3 March 1873; Ralston Inglis's *Dramatic Writers of Scotland*, pp. 24, 25, 128; Glasgow University Calendar.] T. F. H.

**BUCHANAN, ROBERT, D.D.** (1802-1875), church leader and theological writer, was born in 1802 at St. Ninian's, near Stirling, and educated at the university of Glasgow. He was licensed as a probationer by the presbytery of Dunblane, ordained in 1826 minister of Gargunnoch, and translated thence in 1829 to Salton in East Lothian, the parish of which Dr. Gilbert Burnet had been minister. In 1833, on a vacancy occurring in Tron parish, Glasgow (where Dr. Chalmers had begun his Glasgow ministry), Buchanan was called to fill the charge. He proved an earnest and like-minded minister, but owing to the calls

of public business, in which he became involved at an early period, some of his most important plans for the good of the parish had to be postponed. Later in life, when the disruption of 1843 had brought rest from public controversy, he carried most successfully into effect a project for a territorial church and schools in connection with the Free church, in the district of 'The Wynds,' probably the most degraded portion of the city of Glasgow. The ideas of Dr. Chalmers as to home mission work were there carried out with remarkable success. By-and-bye, a portion of the 'Wynds' congregation proceeded to form a new church; and, by a widely extended system of ecclesiastical colonisation, many of the most needy districts were supplied with churches and ministers, and with bands of energetic and earnest spiritual labourers.

The conflict between the church and the civil courts of Scotland began to get very serious about the year 1838. A decision in the 'Auchterarder case' having been given, in which the civil courts claimed a jurisdiction to which the evangelical majority in the church could not agree, a celebrated 'Independence resolution' was moved by Dr. Buchanan, and carried in the general assembly of 1838, in which the position was defined which the church proposed to occupy in the conflict with the civil courts, which continued for the next five years. The resolution declared the readiness of the church to defer to the civil courts in all civil matters, but its firm determination in the strength of God to maintain the jurisdiction in spiritual things which had been conferred on it by its great Head. From this time Dr. Buchanan came to stand in the front rank of his party, and till his death, thirty-seven years afterwards, he was one of the guiding spirits of the movement. In counsel, in debate, as a deputy to London, on the platform and from the press, he maintained the principles which he had announced, and strove to get them acknowledged. On 18 May 1843, when the disruption took place, he was one of the speakers on the platform at Canonmills who, standing round Dr. Chalmers, encouraged the Free church to grapple with the difficulties of her position, and to proceed energetically with the work of reconstruction.

The thirty-two years that followed were crowded with important services rendered by Buchanan to his church. Pre-eminent among these were: 1. His presiding over the sustentation fund committee from 1847 to 1875. 2. His 'History of the Ten Years' Conflict,' an elaborate work in 2 vols. 8vo,

where, with great care, the whole movement was traced from its beginning, and ample extracts given from all the authoritative documents in the case. 3. His presiding over the 'Union' committee, and guiding the long-continued negotiations and discussions as to a proposed union of the Free church, the United Presbyterian, the Reformed Presbyterian, and the Presbyterian church of England. In this case his efforts proved unsuccessful, owing to the opposition of Dr. Begg and others. In the business of the general assembly Buchanan always took a leading part. While thus active in the affairs of his church, he was a useful citizen of Glasgow, and was deeply interested in all that concerned its prosperity. He was elected a member of the first school board, and laboured unweariedly to the last day of his residence in Glasgow in that and other undertakings for the good of the city.

Buchanan promptly received from time to time whatever honours were suitable to a man in his position. In 1840 the university of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of D.D. In 1860 he was appointed moderator of the general assembly. In 1864 a presentation of four thousand guineas was made to him by his friends, in token of their appreciation of his services. And in 1875, if death had not intervened, he would have been appointed by acclamation principal of the Free Church College of Glasgow.

Though not much of a literary man, Buchanan published several volumes besides his 'History of the Ten Years' Conflict.' Among those may be mentioned his 'Clerical Furlough,' being an account of a holiday trip to the Holy Land and other countries of the East; and a commentary on the book of Ecclesiastes.

He had been appointed to conduct the services in the Scotch Free church in Rome in the spring of 1875, and with his family reached that city on 4 Feb. He was greatly interested in all the wonderful sights in Rome, and entered very cordially into the work which he had been requested to undertake. A slight but not alarming illness confined him to the house for a few days in the end of March; on the morning of the 31st it was found that during the night he had quietly expired. The body was taken to Glasgow, and a great public funeral testified to the esteem in which he was universally held.

[Robert Buchanan, D.D., an ecclesiastical biography, by Rev. N. L. Walker, 1877; Disburgh Worthies; Records of the General Assembly of the Free Church, 1875; Scott's Fasti.]

W. G. B.

**BUCHANAN, ROBERTSON** (1770-1816), civil engineer of Glasgow, was the author of 'Essays on the Economy of Fuel and Management of Heat,' 8vo, 1810; 'A Practical Treatise on Propelling Vessels by Steam,' 8vo, Glasgow, 1816; and of 'Practical Essays on Millwork and other Machinery, Mechanical and Descriptive,' 3 vols. 8vo, published in 1814; edition by Tredgold, roy. 8vo, with atlas in folio, 1841; supplement to third edition by Rennie, roy. 8vo, 1842. He also contributed various papers to the 'Philosophical Magazine' and to the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia.' He died, 22 July 1816, at the house of his uncle, Dr. Innes, of Creech St. Michael, near Taunton, in his forty-sixth year.

[Gent. Mag. vol. lxxxvi. pt. ii. p. 188.]

R. H.

**BUCHANAN, WILLIAM** (1781-1863), Scotch advocate, born in 1781 at Montrose, was the son of David Buchanan, printer and publisher (1745-1812) [q. v.], and brother of David Buchanan, editor of the 'Edinburgh Courant' (1779-1848) [q. v.], and of George Buchanan, civil engineer (1790?-1852) [q. v.] He was educated at Edinburgh University; he studied law and was called to the bar in 1806. At the outset of his career he showed a strong leaning to whig principles, but he never made politics a profession, and devoted himself simply to the bar. In 1813 he published 'Reports of certain Remarkable Cases in the Court of Session and Trials in the High Court of Justiciary.' These reports are marked by purity of diction and methodical arrangement. In 1856 he was appointed queen's advocate and solicitor of teinds, or tithes, on the death of Sir William Hamilton. He was now the oldest member of the Scottish bar, and peculiarly fitted for his office by his antiquarian bent. He published in November 1862 a 'Treatise on the Law of Scotland on the subject of Teinds,' immediately recognised by the whole profession as the standard authority on the subject. Towards the end of his career his infirmity compelled him to withdraw in a great measure from active work. In the autumn of 1863 his health began to give way, and he expired after a lingering illness on 18 Dec.

For the last forty years of his life he was one of the elders of the Glasite church. He married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. James Gregory, minister of the parish of Banchory, by whom he had numerous children.

[Gent. Mag. new ser. 1864, xvi. 392; Edinburgh Courant; Buchanan's Remarkable Cases in the Court of Session; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

B. C. S.

**BUCK, CHARLES** (1771-1815), theological writer, minister of an independent congregation, first at Sheerness and afterwards in London, was author of a well-known work, of which many editions have appeared both in England and America, entitled 'A Theological Dictionary, containing definitions of all theological and ecclesiastical terms; an impartial account of the several denominations that have subsisted in the religious world; remarkable transactions and events in ecclesiastical history, and a biographical sketch of writers in theological science.' The first edition appeared in London in 2 vols. 8vo, 1802. Buck was also author of a 'Collection of Anecdotes,' 1799, which has gone through many editions, and of several other religious works, less known. He died 11 Aug. 1815.

[Catalogue of Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; Biog. Dict. of Living Authors, 1816; Herzog and Schaff's Religious Encyclopædia, 1883.]

W. G. B.

**BUCK, SIR GEORGE.** [See **BUC, SIR GEORGE.**]

**BUCK, JOHN WILLIAM** (d. 1821), a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, was admitted as student 7 July 1813. He reported the first forty-four pages of a volume of English reports of cases in bankruptcy decided by Lord Eldon, Sir Thomas Plumer, and Sir John Leach, from Michaelmas term 1816 to Michaelmas term 1820. The volume was published in Buck's name and entitled vol. i., although no other volume appeared under the same title. The last English edition was issued in 1820. Buck died on 23 Aug. 1821.

[Marvin's Legal Bibliography; Saule's Lawyers' Reference Manual, p. 84; Gent. Mag. 1821; Lincoln's Inn Register.]

R. H.

**BUCK, SAMUEL** (1696-1779), engraver and topographical draughtsman, drew and engraved 428 views of the ruins of all the noted abbeys, castles, &c., together with four views of seats and eighty-three large general views of the chief cities and towns of England and Wales. The smaller series of abbeys, &c., were first issued in parts, each containing twenty-four views. From 1711 to 1726 Buck was his own engraver as well as draughtsman. From 1727 to 1753 he was assisted in both branches of the work by his brother, Nathaniel Buck, who died many years before him. From the title to the fifth part, issued in 1730, and dated from the 'Golden Buck in Warwick Street near Golden Square, St. James's,' we learn that their summers were devoted to making their drawings, and their winters to working up the plates at home, which were always finished within the

twelve months. The first two sets were those for Yorkshire, 1711-25, and Lincoln and Nottinghamshire, 1726 (S. Buck del. et sculp.) The earliest joint productions of the two brothers were those for Cheshire, Derby, and Lancashire, 1727, followed by those for Durham and Northumberland, 1728; Northampton, Oxford, and Warwick, 1729; Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdon, Leicester, and Rutland, 1730; Hereford, Shropshire, Stafford, and Worcester, 1731; Gloucester, Monmouthshire, and Wiltshire, 1732; Berkshire, 1732-3; Dorset, Hampshire, and Isle of Wight, 1733; Cornwall, Devon, and Somerset, 1734; Kent, 1735; two large views of Plymouth, 1736; Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Surrey, and Sussex, 1737; Essex, Norfolk, and Suffolk, 1738 (after this period the prints were dated from No. 1 Garden Court, Middle Temple); Cumberland and Westmoreland, 1739; South Wales, 1740-1; and North Wales, 1742. About sixty-three of the larger views of cities were done at the same time. Among the remaining twenty done later may be mentioned Ely, 1743; Berwick-upon-Tweed, 1745; two of Richmond in Yorkshire; and the four famous large views of London and Westminster from Bankside, all of which bear the date of 1749; the whole series terminating with a second large view of Birmingham, 1753. The whole of these views were afterwards republished in a collective form as 'Buck's Antiquities or Venerable Remains of above 400 Castles, &c., in England and Wales, with near 100 Views of Cities,' London, R. Sayer, 3 vols. folio; preceded by historical accounts and the double portraits of S. and N. Buck (J. Highmore pinx.; R. Houston sculp.), 1774. The prints were finished with the graver in a stiff manner, the backgrounds slightly etched. Samuel Buck's original drawings were sometimes hasty and slight, but many of them were elaborately finished with pen and ink and tinted. Some of these were exhibited at the Spring Gardens Exhibition in 1768, 1774, and at the Academy in 1775. Eleven of the larger drawings of cities were sold in London in 1882 and fetched high prices; among them was one of Oxford, never engraved. These last are now preserved at 53 Fleet Street, London, formerly the Golden Buck, the sign being evidently borrowed. The value and real use of Buck's labours can be perhaps better appreciated by the antiquary and the ecclesiologist than the print-collector. As a painstaking delineator of architectural remains long since destroyed Buck has never been surpassed for truthfulness of detail, often conveyed at the sacrifice

of general effect. His latter days were, like those of his fellow-draughtsman Hollar, embittered by distress, which was, however, met by liberal subscriptions collected on his behalf; but he died a few months after, at the ripe age of 83, on 17 Aug. 1779, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Clement Danes, London.

[Gent. Mag. xlix. (1779), pp. 68, 424; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of English School (1878), p. 60; London Evening Post, 20-23 March 1742.]

C. H. C.

**BUCK, ZACHARIAH** (1798-1879), organist, was born at Norwich on 10 Sept. 1798. He was a chorister of the cathedral under Dr. Beckwith, to whose son he was subsequently apprenticed. While still young, Buck was a remarkably able teacher of the pianoforte; he was assistant organist of St. Peter Mancroft from 1818 to 1821, and in 1819 succeeded the younger Beckwith as organist of the cathedral and master of the choristers, which appointments he held until his resignation in 1877. The degree of Mus.Doc. was conferred on him by the archbishop of Canterbury in 1847. Buck died on 5 Aug. 1879, at the house of his son, Dr. Henry Buck, Newport, Essex, where he was buried on the 14th of the same month. His compositions include services, anthems, and chants, none of which are remarkable. His chief claim to be remembered is his excellence as a teacher, and particularly his success in training choristers.

[History of Norfolk (1829), ii. 1281; Orchestra for September 1879; Appendix to Bemorse's Choir Chant Book; information from Mr. W. H. Husk.]

W. B. S.

**BUCKE, CHARLES** (1781-1846), dramatist and miscellaneous writer, was born at Worlington in Suffolk, 16 April 1781. For more than thirty years he prosecuted his literary labours in the midst of great poverty. Ultimately he found a liberal benefactor in Mr. Thomas Grenville, from whom, it is believed, he regularly received 5*l.* a month. He also obtained several grants from the Literary Fund. His death occurred at Pulteney Terrace, Islington, 31 July 1846.

His works are: 1. 'Amusements in Retirement, or the influence of science, literature, and the liberal arts on the manners and happiness of private life,' 1816. 2. 'The Italians, or the Fatal Accusation: a tragedy [in five acts and in verse]. With a preface containing the correspondence of the author with the committee of Drury Lane Theatre, P. Moore, Esq., M.P., and Mr. Kean,' 7th edition 1819, 8th edition 1820. This tragedy was printed previously to its representation at Drury Lane Theatre on

3 April 1819. It was accepted by the committee of Drury Lane for representation in 1817, and announced in the bills to be performed immediately, Edmund Kean to take the principal character, Albanio; but from several causes it was delayed until 15 Feb. 1819, when Miss Porter's tragedy 'Switzerland' was presented. In the latter play Kean acted so badly that Bucke withdrew 'The Italians.' The public exposure of Kean created such a sensation that 'The Italians' had a rapid sale and passed through eight editions. 3. 'The Fall of the Leaf and other poems,' 1819. 4. 'On the Beauties, Harmonies, and Sublimities of Nature, with occasional remarks on the laws, customs, manners, and opinions of various nations,' 4 vols., London, 1821, 8vo; 3 vols., 1837; New York, 1843. Originally published anonymously in 1813, under the title 'The Philosophy of Nature.' The author left this work improved and enlarged in twenty manuscript volumes. 5. 'Classical Grammar of the English Language,' 1829. 6. 'Julio Romano, or the Force of the Passions. An Epic Drama in six books,' 1830. 7. 'On the Life, Writings, and Genius of Akenside, with some account of his friends,' 1832. 8. 'The Book of Human Character,' 2 vols., 1837. 9. 'A Letter intended (one day) as a supplement to Lockhart's "Life of Sir Walter Scott,"' London, 1838, 8vo (privately printed). 10. 'The Life of John, Duke of Marlborough,' 1839. 11. 'Ruins of Ancient Cities, with general and particular accounts of their rise, fall, and present condition,' 1840.

[Gent. Mag. new ser. xxvii. 558; Addit. MS. 19167, f. 277; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. ed. Bohn, 304; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. x. 307, 4th ser. i. 267, 419, 420, 520.]

T. C.

**BUCKENHAM, ROBERT** (A. 1530), was prior of the Dominican or Black Friars at Cambridge, in which university he took the degrees of B.D. in 1524 and D.D. in 1531, when he became archdeacon of Lewes. When Latimer was preaching at Cambridge in 1529, in favour of an English bible and other religious innovations, Buckenham was one of his principal opponents, and, in answer to Latimer's sermon on the cards, preached on 'Christmas dice,' using the terms *cing* and *quater* as suggestive of the four doctors of the church and five texts of scripture, but did not succeed in silencing him (see *DEMAUS, Tyn-dale*, 431). His adherence to the papal supremacy and the old form of religion rendered it expedient for him to leave England. In 1534 he went to Edinburgh, and stayed for some time in the Black Friars convent there. In March 1535 he crossed the sea to Louvain to

assist in the prosecution of William Tyndale, the translator of the Bible into English, who was then in prison at Vilvoorde. He and another Englishman, named Harry Philippes, busied themselves in translating into Latin the English papers found in Tyndale's possession, which were useful as evidence of heresy. No further particulars of his life appear to have been recorded, except that he was the author of a book 'De Reconciliatione locorum Sacrae Scripturae,' of which a copy was in the English College at Rome. Foxe tells us that he was nicknamed 'Domine labia,' but does not mention the reason why he was so called. A Dr. William Bokenham, who was master of Gonville Hall from 1514 to 1536, has sometimes been confused with the subject of this notice, and Tanner's statement that Robert Buckenham was chancellor of the university of Cambridge is an error of the same kind, Dr. William Buckmaster having held the office of vice-chancellor in 1529.

[Cal. of State Papers of Hen. VIII, vol. vii.; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Foxe, edit. 1847, vii. 449, 771; MS. Cott. Galba B. x. f. 102; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. i. 61; Anderson's Annals of the English Bible, ii. 102, &c.; Demaus's Latimer, 68; Tanner MS. 402, Bibl. Bodl.] C. T. M.

**BUCKERIDGE** or **BUCKRIDGE**, **JOHN** (1562?–1631), bishop of Rochester and of Ely, was the son of William Buckeridge and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Keblewhite of Basildon, Berkshire, and granddaughter of John Keblewhite, uncle of Sir Thomas White, the founder of Merchant Taylors' School and of St. John's College, Oxford. He was born at Draycot Cerne, near Chippenham, Wiltshire, about 1562, and was admitted at Merchant Taylors' School in 1573, and elected thence a foundation fellow of St. John's, Oxford, in 1578. Here he took the degree of B.A. in 1583, M.A. in 1586, and B.D. and D.D. by accumulation in 1597, ultimately succeeding to the presidency of the college in 1605. While Buckeridge was still a fellow William Laud was entered at St. John's. Buckeridge became his tutor, and instilled into his pupil high-church and anti-Calvinistic doctrine, opposed to the then prevalent theological bias of the university. Buckeridge was an Anglican of the school of Andrewes, equally opposed to Romanism and puritanism, calm but unflinching in the maintenance of his views of religious truth and ecclesiastical polity. 'It proved,' writes Heylyn, 'no ordinary happiness to the scholar to be principled under such a tutor, who knew as well as any other of his time how to employ the two-edged sword of Holy Scripture, . . . brandishing it on the one side against the papists, and on

the other against the puritans and nonconformists' (HEYLYN, *Cyprianus Anglicanus*, pt. i. p. 44). Buckeridge's real merits became known to Archbishop Whitgift, and about 1596 he appointed him one of his chaplains. In this capacity he was one of those who attended the archbishop in his last sickness (February 1604), and heard his reiterated dying words, 'Pro ecclesiâ Dei, pro ecclesiâ Dei' (STRYPE, *Whitgift*, ii. 507). On leaving the university, he became rector of North Fambridge in Essex, and was appointed chaplain to Robert Devereux, the unfortunate earl of Essex, who made petition in his behalf to the then lord-keeper, Puckering, for small pieces of preferment in his gift (STRYPE, *Annals*, iv. 245; Wood, *Athena*, ii. 510). He was afterwards presented to the living of North Kilworth in Leicestershire, in which, in 1608, Laud succeeded him, though not immediately. Through Whitgift, Buckeridge was introduced to James I, and he speedily rose high in the royal favour. He was regarded by the king as one of the first pulpit divines of his day. He was now in the high road to preferment. After a long period of domination puritanism lost its influence. In Elizabeth's reign he had received a canonry at Rochester, in which capacity his name occurs in 1587. He was now appointed royal chaplain. In March 1604 he became archdeacon of Northampton; the next month he was installed prebendary of Colwall in the cathedral of Hereford; and in the November of the same year he was nominated by the king to succeed Lancelot Andrewes, on his consecration to the see of Chichester, in the well-endowed vicarage of St. Giles, Cripplegate, which he held *in commendam* after his elevation to the episcopate. The next year he was elected president of St. John's College, to which office he was admitted on 30 Jan. 1605. In April 1606 he was appointed canon of Windsor, and resigned his stall at Rochester. In September 1606 he was selected by James I, together with Bishops Andrewes and Barlow and Dr. King, afterwards bishop of London, to preach one of the sermons at Hampton Court designed to convince the learned presbyterians, Andrew and James Melville, of the scriptural authority of the episcopal form of church government, and of the royal supremacy. To Buckeridge the latter of the two subjects was assigned, which, according to Archbishop Spotiswood (*Church Hist. of Scotland*, bk. vii. p. 497; HEYLYN, u. s., p. 44), he 'handled both learnedly and soundly, to the satisfaction of all hearers,' with the exception of the presbyterians, who were 'much nettled at being equalled to the papists in matter of

rebellion against their lawful sovereigns.' On the translation of Neile from Rochester to Lichfield, Buckeridge was selected by James to succeed him. He was consecrated at Lambeth on 9 June 1611 by Archbishop Abbot, Andrewes and his predecessor, Neile, being among the assisting prelates. The headship of his college, thus vacated, was filled by his former pupil, Laud, mainly on his recommendation. He had previously introduced Laud to the notice of Bishop Neile, who had appointed him his chaplain, and thus paved the way for his future preferment. In the month of September 1613 Buckeridge was one of the prelates concerned in the infamous Essex divorce case, and pronounced, with Andrewes, Bilson, and Neile, for the nullity of the marriage, against Archbishop Abbot, Bishop King of London, and the soundest civilians.

In the fierce controversy aroused by the two books of Dr. Richard Montague, Buckeridge stood by the side of Laud, now the bishop of St. David's, in his defence. Laud employed his influence with Buckingham to secure his favour for Montague; and on the day that the house was pronouncing a formal censure on his views (2 Aug. 1625), he declared with Buckeridge and Bishop Howson of Oxford, in a joint letter to the duke, that in their opinion Montague's statements were in no way contrary to the doctrines of the church of England (LAUD, *Collected Works*, Lib. of Anglo-Cath. Theol. vol. vi. pt. i. pp. 244-6). In February 1626, when Buckingham had been induced to consent that a two days' conference should be held at York House on the incriminated books, Buckeridge, aided by White, dean of Carlisle, and Cosin, supported Montague's orthodoxy against the attacks of Bishop Morton of Lichfield and Dr. Preston, the puritan master of Emmanuel. Buckeridge's defence was able and temperate. He denied that the council of Trent had erred in any directly fundamental article of faith. A second conference was held a few days later, at which Montague defended his theses in person against Bishop Morton and Dr. Preston. On the presentation of the 'Petition of Right,' in 1628, Buckeridge advised that it should be delivered to the judges, that they might give their opinion whether anything in it encroached on the royal prerogative. If their reply was favourable, the petition might then be entered on the roll without in any way prejudicing the king's right (GARDINER, *Hist. of Engl.* vi. 64, 287).

On 26 Nov. 1628 Buckeridge preached the funeral sermon of Bishop Andrewes, his honoured friend for above thirty years, at St. Saviour's, Southwark, in which he repudiated the doctrine of the Real Presence in any

proper sense. In 1629, in conjunction with Laud, then bishop of London, he published, by the king's special command, Andrewes's 'Ninety-one Sermons,' to which his funeral sermon was appended. In April 1628 Buckeridge, 'by the power and favour' of Laud (HEYLYN), had been appointed to succeed Nicholas Felton as bishop of Ely. He died on 23 May 1631, 'leaving behind him the character of a very pious, learned, and worthy bishop.' He was buried in the parish church of Bromley, Kent, where the palace of the bishops of Rochester was then situated. Two portraits of Buckeridge as bishop are preserved in St. John's College, Oxford, one in the hall, and a second, of smaller size, representing him as an older man, in the presidents' lodgings. He bequeathed 500*l.* towards improving the stipends of the fellows and scholars of St. John's College, to the chapel of which he gave the altar furniture, hangings, and plate of his episcopal chapel at Ely. He also left a bequest to the poor of the parish of Bromley, the proceeds of which are still received. In addition to the funeral sermon on Bishop Andrewes, Buckeridge published: 1. 'A Sermon preached at Hampton Court before the King,' 23 Sept. 1606 [on the royal supremacy]. 2. 'De Potestate Papæ in rebus temporalibus sive in regibus deponendis usurpata adv. Robertum Cardinalem Bellarminum libri duo,' London, 1614, 4to. 3. 'A Sermon preached before Her Majestie at Whitehall, Mar. 22, 1617 [on Ps. xc. 6], touching prostration and kneeling in the worship of God. To which is added a discourse concerning kneeling at the communion,' London, 1618, 4to. In this, writes Heylyn (*ib.*), 'he asserted the piety and antiquity of this religious posture with such solid reasons and such clear authorities that he came off without the least opposition by that party.'

[Wood's *Athenæ*, ii. 506-10; Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 357; Taylor's *Hist. Coll. S. John Bapt. MS.*; Cosin's *Sum and Substance of the Conferences at York House*, Lib. A.-C. T. ii. 17-83; Heylyn's *Cyprianus Anglicanus*, pp. 44 sq.; Hunt's *Religious Thought in England*, i. 155-7; Gardiner's *Hist. of Engl.*] E. V.

BUCKHURST, first BARON (1536-1608). [See SACKVILLE, THOMAS.]

BUCKINGHAM, DUKES OF. [See STAFFORD, HUMPHREY, first DUKE, 1402-1460; STAFFORD, HENRY, second DUKE, 1454?-1483; STAFFORD, EDWARD, third DUKE, 1478-1521; VILLIERS, GEORGE, first DUKE of the second creation, 1592-1628; VILLIERS, GEORGE, second DUKE, 1628-1687.]

BUCKINGHAM, first MARQUIS OF (1753-1813). [See GRENVILLE, GEORGE NUGENT-TEMPLE-]

BUCKINGHAM, EARL OF. [See THOMAS OF WOODSTOCK, 1355-1397.]

BUCKINGHAM and CHANDOS, DUKES OF. [See GRENVILLE, RICHARD TEMPLE NUGENT BRYDGES CHANDOS, first DUKE, 1776-1839; GRENVILLE, RICHARD PLANTAGENET TEMPLE NUGENT BRYDGES CHANDOS, second DUKE, 1797-1861; GRENVILLE, RICHARD PLANTAGENET CAMPBELL TEMPLE NUGENT BRYDGES CHANDOS, third DUKE, 1823-1889.]

BUCKINGHAM, JAMES SILK (1786-1855), author and traveller, was the youngest child of Christopher and Thomazine Buckingham. He was born at Flushing, near Falmouth, on 25 Aug. 1786, and when only in his tenth year commenced a seafaring life. While on his third voyage he was taken prisoner by the French and for several months confined at Corunna as a prisoner of war. After passing much of his early life at sea, he turned his attention to literature. In October 1818 he established at Calcutta a newspaper called the 'Calcutta Journal.' The boldness with which he censured the abuses of the Indian government led to his expulsion from India and the suppression of the paper by the temporary governor-general, Mr. John Adam, in April 1823. The first number of this paper appeared on 2 Oct. 1818, the last on 26 April 1823. Its suppression entailed great pecuniary loss. Redress was recommended by a select committee of the House of Commons in August 1834; it was not until long afterwards that the East India Company acknowledged the injustice of the proceedings by granting him a pension of 200*l.* a year. He published accounts of the lands which he visited on his way to and from India. In January 1824 he established the 'Oriental Herald and Colonial Review,' which he conducted until it ceased to exist in December 1829. Its object was to spread information relating to our eastern possession. The 'Oriental Quarterly Review,' the first number of which appeared on 20 Jan. 1830, was intended by Buckingham to take the place of the 'Oriental Herald,' but only two numbers were published. In July 1827 he started a weekly journal of politics, literature, and news, entitled 'The Sphynx,' which had an existence of less than two years. In January 1828 he established the 'Athenæum,' the first number of which came out on 2 Jan. Buckingham was editor of this paper only for a very short time, and in the same year parted with his interest in it to John Sterling. In this year also he proposed the establishment of a London evening paper to be called 'The Argus' and to commence on 30 June 1828. Though a prospectus and a

specimen copy were issued, nothing further was done with the scheme. In December 1832 he was elected M.P. for the new borough of Sheffield in the first reformed parliament, and for that constituency he continued to sit until the dissolution in July 1837. In the House of Commons he took especial interest in social reforms, advocating the abolition of flogging in the army and navy, and of the impressment of seamen, and the adoption of means to prevent destruction of life and property at sea. He also took an active part in promoting the temperance movement, and presided over the select committee at whose instance the valuable medical evidence respecting intoxicating liquors was collected (*ibid.*)

Having retired from parliament, in October 1837 he commenced an extensive tour through America, which occupied him nearly four years. In 1843 the British and Foreign Institute in Hanover Square was founded, mainly owing to his exertions. This literary and social club, of which he was appointed resident director, excited the ridicule of 'Punch,' which persisted in calling it the 'Literary and Foreign Destitute.' It did not last much longer than four years. In 1847 and 1848 he travelled through various parts of Europe. In 1851 he became the president of the London Temperance League, which was first formed in that year, and on 1 Sept. was granted a pension of 200*l.* a year from the civil list, 'in consideration of his literary works and useful travels in various countries.' For some few years before his death he took but little active part in public life. Buckingham was a most voluminous writer; his books which relate his journeys in foreign countries contain much valuable matter, both descriptive and statistical.

As a lecturer he was, however, better known, and for many years he was in the habit of travelling through the country and delivering lectures upon the places which he had visited, and on a variety of other subjects. He was a man of great kindness of heart and liberality of opinion, a fluent speaker, and possessed of a lively imagination. Though by no means deficient in industry, and always careful to keep himself well before the public, he was capricious in his work and had too many schemes in hand at the same time. To this cause may probably be attributed his want of success in life. He died after a long illness at Stanhope Lodge, Upper Avenue Road, St. John's Wood, on 30 June 1855, in his sixty-ninth year.

His death having occurred so soon after the publication of the first two volumes of his 'Autobiography,' the third and fourth volumes, though ready for the press, were



never published. In February 1806 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. Jennings, a farmer near Penryn, who survived her husband. They had several children, Leicester Silk [q. v.] being their youngest son. An engraved portrait of Buckingham will be found in the first volume of the 'Autobiography.' The following is a list of the chief of Buckingham's published works. He also wrote some thirty-seven pamphlets on social and political subjects. 1. 'Travels in Palestine, through the countries of Bashan and Gilead,' &c., 1822, 4to. 2. 'Travels among the Arab Tribes inhabiting the East of Syria and Palestine,' &c., 1825, 4to. 3. 'Travels in Mesopotamia,' &c., 1827, 4to. 4. 'Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia,' &c., 1830, 4to. 5. 'Parliamentary Report on the Extent, Causes, and Consequences of the Prevailing Vice of Intoxication,' &c., 1834, fol. 6. 'Parliamentary Report on the Causes of the Increased Number of Shipwrecks,' &c., 1836, fol. 7. 'Evils and Remedies of the Present System of Popular Elections,' &c., 1841, 12mo. 8. 'America: Historical, Descriptive, and Statistic, including a Journey through the Northern or Free States,' 3 vols., 1841, 8vo. 9. 'The Slave States of America,' &c., 2 vols., 1842, 8vo. 10. 'The Eastern and Western States of America,' 3 vols., 1842, 8vo. 11. 'Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and other British Provinces of North America,' &c., 1843, 8vo. 12. 'Transactions of the British and Foreign Institute, including Reports of all the Papers read, Lectures delivered, and Discussions held at the Meetings of that Society in 1843-4-5,' 1845 (?), 4to. 13. 'Tour through Belgium, the Rhine, and Holland,' 2 vols., 1845, 8vo. 14. 'Tour through France and Italy,' &c., 2 vols., 1847, 8vo. 15. 'Outline Sketch of the Voyages, Travels, Writings, and Public Labours of James Silk Buckingham. Compiled from authentic sources,' 1848, 8vo. 16. 'National Evils and Practical Remedies,' 1849, 8vo. 17. 'An Earnest Plea for the Reign of Temperance and Peace,' &c., 1851, 12mo. 18. 'The Coming Era of Practical Reform,' &c., 1854, 8vo. 19. 'Autobiography of James Silk Buckingham,' vols. i. and ii., 1855, 8vo.

[Autobiogr. of James Silk Buckingham, 2 vols., 1855; Biographical Sketch of James Silk Buckingham from Lives of the Illustrious for August 1853 (1853); Gent. Mag. 1855, new ser. xlv. 322-3; Ann. Reg. 1855, p. 289; advertisement of Buckingham's works in The Coming Era for May 1854; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. F. R. B.

**BUCKINGHAM, LEICESTER SILK** (1825-1867), dramatic author, the youngest son of James Silk Buckingham, the oriental

traveller [q. v.], and Elizabeth Jennings, was born at 11 Cornwall Terrace, Regent's Park, London, 29 June 1825. In his early life he was the companion of his father in visits made to America, France, and the East, and the experience thus acquired rendered his services valuable as a lecturer on several occasions. When the Panopticon (afterwards the Alhambra in Leicester Square) was originated in 1854 as a scientific institution, Buckingham was selected to write and deliver the explanatory description of the views of various countries, and more recently at the Egyptian Hall he was the lecturer engaged to illustrate Hamilton's 'Tour of Europe.' Connecting himself in early life with the stage he produced several light pieces at the Strand Theatre when that establishment was under Mr. J. Payne's direction in 1856-7, and for a short time undertook the responsibilities of management. Among the most successful comedies he afterwards wrote may be mentioned 'The Merry Widow,' 1863; 'Silken Fetters,' 1863; 'The Silver Lining,' 1864; and 'Faces in the Fire,' 1865. As a dramatist he was confessedly under large obligations to the French stage, and the majority of his pieces were founded on the works of Parisian writers. There can, however, be no question that his talents were equal to much more than the work of a skilful adapter. He was from 1857 to 1867 dramatic and musical critic of the 'Morning Star.' A singularly fluent and graceful writer he was even more remarkable as a speaker, and few have excelled him in rhetorical power. Buckingham commenced writing at the early age of nineteen, when he compiled for R. Bentley 'Memoir of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland,' 1844. This was followed by 'Life and Times of Louis Philippe,' by the Rev. G. N. Wright. Continued to the Revolution of 1848 by L. F. A. Buckingham, 1850. 'Belgium, the Rhine, Italy, Greece, and the Mediterranean,' by the Rev. G. N. Wright and L. F. A. Buckingham, appeared in 1851, and in 1853 he published 'The Bible in the Middle Age, with Remarks on the Libraries, Schools, and Religious Aspects of Mediæval Europe.' He was also the author of upwards of thirty-five burlesques, comedies, and farces, of which those already mentioned are the best, and are still occasionally produced on the stage. On 5 April 1844 he married at Gretna Green, under the name of L. S. F. Y. Buckingham, Caroline Sarah, fourth daughter of Captain Frederic White, of H.M.'s packet service Weymouth. This lady was afterwards a well-known and much respected actress, under the name of Mrs. Buckingham White. Few persons can have been known under a greater variety of Chris-

tian names than Buckingham was during his comparatively short life, the following being the names used by him on various occasions: Leicester, Leicester Ambrose, Leicester Silk, Leicester Forbes Ambrose, Leicester Stanhope, Leicester Stanhope Forbes, Leicester Stanhope Forbes Young, and Leicester Stanhope Forbes Young Ambrose. He also made use of the pseudonym Matthews & Co. when producing his first drama, called 'Aggravating Sam,' in 1854. He died at Margate 15 July 1867, a convert to the Roman catholic faith. His copyrights passed to Thomas Hailes Lacy, theatrical publisher, who in September 1873 bequeathed them to the Royal General Theatrical Fund.

[The Era, 21 July 1867, p. 10; Notes and Queries, 5th ser. xi. 244, 295 (1879); Boase and Courtney's Bibliotheca Cornubiensis, i. 48-9; iii. 1099.] G. C. B.

**BUCKINGHAM, OSBERN** (1393-1447?). [See **BOKENHAM**.]

**BUCKINGHAMSHIRE**, first **DUKE OF** (1648-1721). [See **SHEFFIELD, JOHN**.]

**BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, EARLS OF**. [See **HOBART, JOHN**, first **EARL**, 1694?-1756; **HOBART, JOHN**, second **EARL**, 1723-1793; **HOBART, GEORGE**, third **EARL**, 1732-1804; **HOBART, ROBERT**, fourth **EARL**, 1760-1815.]

**BUCKLAND, FRANCIS TREVELYAN** (1826-1880), naturalist, was born at Christ Church, Oxford, 17 Dec. 1826. His father, William Buckland, D.D. [q.v.], afterwards dean of Westminster, was canon of Christ Church at the time of his birth. His mother was Mary, daughter of Benjamin Morland of Abingdon, Berkshire. From his boyhood Buckland was an ardent lover of strange pets, and many practical jokes were played at Christ Church by and upon his tame monkeys and bear. He was educated first at Cotterstock, North Hants (1835-7), then at Laleham under his uncle, John Buckland, who married a sister of Dr. Arnold (1837-9), afterwards at Winchester from 1839 to 1844, and finally at Christ Church, Oxford, where he proceeded B.A. 18 May 1848. Devoting himself to medicine he worked hard at St. George's Hospital, especially at anatomy, first as a student from 1848 to 1851, and as house-surgeon in 1852 and 1853. He became assistant-surgeon in the 2nd life guards 14 Aug. 1854. Being chiefly quartered in London, he eagerly embraced every opportunity of examining curious specimens of natural history, singular animals, abnormal growths, and the like. These observations were described in his four series of 'Curiosities of Natural History.' Cherishing a deep reverence for John Hunter, after a

search, says Dean Stanley, 'of sixteen dreary days' in the vaults of St. Martin's Church, Charing Cross, he discovered the coffin of that famous surgeon, whose remains, when thus brought to light, were duly interred in Westminster Abbey, 28 March 1859. Another happy chance put him in possession of the great anatomist's oaken bedstead. It was also due to his sagacity that Izaak Walton's well-known autograph, together with the date 1658, was discovered scratched by the angler on the marble monument of Isaac Casaubon, in Poets' Corner. On the establishment of the 'Field' newspaper in 1856, Buckland joined the staff, and wrote largely in the paper till 1865, when he seceded and commenced (1866) a weekly journal of his own, 'Land and Water,' in which most of his later writings appeared. He was a good salmon-fisher, but, probably from want of leisure, was not equally skilled in fly-fishing for trout. With much zeal he applied himself to the many economical questions affecting the artificial supply of salmon, the length of the close season, the condition of the different salmon rivers of the kingdom, and similar investigations, gradually becoming the highest authority on the subjects of pisciculture. In 1867 he was appointed an inspector of salmon fisheries. No more congenial post could have been offered him, and thenceforth he devoted all his energies not merely to the duties of his office, but to the elucidation of every point connected with the history of the salmon, and endeavoured in every way to improve the condition of the British fisheries and of fisher-folk in general. These objects involved frequent visits to the rivers and coasts of the country, when he was ever a welcome guest among high and low, and was thus continually adding to his stores of information. In order to interest people in his favourite subject he established about 1865 at the South Kensington Museum a large collection of fish-hatching apparatus, models of fish-passes, casts of fish, implements of fishing, and the like. This exhibition, to which Buckland was constantly adding, was the first successful effort to direct the attention of the nation towards pisciculture, and at length expanded into the International Fisheries Exhibition of 1883.

Genial, sagacious, enthusiastic, always prone to look at the humorous side of a subject, Buckland aimed rather at enlisting the sympathies of others in his favourite studies than at acquiring the name of a profound writer on science. He held the ordinary usages of society in supreme contempt when they appeared to interfere with his zeal for experiment and research in natural

history, and his friends love to recall him, now wading into some icy cold river to capture salmon for the purpose of artificial breeding, now smoking and in his shirt sleeves as he arranged his curiosities at South Kensington, and now again humorously dilating in his house in Albany Street on the habits of the pet animals which generally ran loose about his rooms. Numberless as were his personal friends, they were few compared with those who knew and loved him from his books, owing to the unstudied eloquence of all he wrote and the attractive manner in which he descanted on his favourite pursuits. Nothing in the animal or vegetable world came amiss to his insatiable love of nature; he would dwell with warm appreciation upon the adaptation of every animal and every part of its frame to its surroundings, point out the singularities of every specimen that came before him, and thus draw others unconsciously to the practical study of natural history. The native birds, beasts, and fishes lost a friend and protector when Buckland died. Under his love of nature and the extreme interest which he took in biological studies lay a profound but childlike faith.

Buckland's last fishery report was presented on 31 March 1880. His health was then breaking. During the following months he prepared new specimens for his museum, which he determined to leave to the nation. In June he underwent an operation for dropsy. He died on 19 Dec. 1880. Five days after he was buried at Brompton cemetery.

Besides numerous papers on fish, birds, &c., in the 'Field' and 'Land and Water,' and an article on 'Rats' in the 'Quarterly Review,' Buckland in his capacity of inspector of salmon fisheries reported annually on the salmon fisheries, and published a book on 'Fish Hatching' in 1863. He also wrote reports on the Scotch salmon fisheries in 1871, on the Norfolk fisheries in 1875, on the crab and lobster fisheries in 1877, the Scotch herring fisheries in 1878, and the sea fisheries in 1879. The books by which he is best known are his 'Curiosities of Natural History,' 4 vols., 1857-72; the 'Logbook of a Fisherman and Zoologist,' 1875; an edition of White's 'Natural History of Selborne,' with original notes, 1876; and the 'Natural History of British Fishes,' 1881. A gathering from his papers selected by himself was published posthumously in 1882 under the title of 'Notes and Jottings from Animal Life.' His life was published in 1885 by Mr. G. C. Bompas, his brother-in-law.

[Private information; Westwood and Satchell's *Bibliotheca Piscatoria*; Life by Bompas.]

M. G. W.

**BUCKLAND, RALPH** (1564-1611), catholic divine, born in 1564, was the son of Edmund Buckland, who was descended from an ancient family living at West Harptree, Somersetshire. He was admitted into Merchant Taylors' School on 15 June 1571, and in Michaelmas term 1579 he became a commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford, but before he took a degree he came to London and studied the municipal laws for some time. At length, being 'inflamed with a love to the Roman catholic religion, he left his parents, country, and the prospects of a fair inheritance,' and went to the English college at Rheims. He proceeded to the Roman seminary in February 1585-6, returned to Rheims in September 1588, and, having been ordained, was in December the same year sent to England to labour on the mission. Wood supposes that he lived chiefly in his own county, and 'spent above twenty years in doing offices belonging to his profession.' His name appears on a list of forty-seven priests and jesuits banished in 1606. He died in 1611, leaving behind him 'among the brethren' the character of a 'most pious and seraphical person,—a person who went beyond all of his time for fervent devotion' (*Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 107). Dodd mentions that Buckland presented a piece of St. Thomas of Canterbury's hair shirt to Douay College, where it was preserved with due respect in a silver case.

His works are: 1. 'Seaven sparkes of the enkindled soule, with foure lamentations composed in the hard times of Q. Elizabeth,' 8vo, without place or date, but printed after the accession of James I. Dr. Ussher, primate of Ireland, in a sermon preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, on 5 Nov. 1640, referred to this book, which contains pious aspirations for the reconciliation of Great Britain to the Roman church, and cited passages to show that the existence of the gunpowder plot was known and its success prayed for in Rome two years before its discovery. The alleged proof, however, consisted merely of fervent ejaculations and scriptural quotations such as: Psal. 2, p. 32, 'But the memory of novelties shall perish with a crack: as a ruinous house falling to the ground.' Psal. 4, p. 54, 'The crack was heard into all lands; and made nations quake for fear.' Wood points out that there is no reason for Ussher's supposition that the book was printed at Rome. 2. 'An embassage from heaven; wherein Christ giueth to understand his iust indignation against all such as being catholically minded, dare yeelde their presence to the rites and prair of the malignant church,' 8vo, without place or date. A metrical epi-

logue is prefixed to the work. 3. An English translation of 'De Persecutione Vandelica,' written by Victor, bishop of Biserte or Utica, who flourished about 490. 4. A translation of the six tomes of Laurentius Surius 'De Vitis Sanctorum.' This is often quoted under the name of Robert (instead of Ralph) Buckland.

[Diaries of Douay College, 199, 200, 209, 220 bis, 263; Robinson's Reg. Merchant Taylors' School, i. 18; Dodd's Church Hist. ii. 385; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 105; Cat. Lib. Impress. Bibl. Bodl. (1843), i. 355; Foley's Records, vi. part ii. 172; Challoner's Missionary Priests (1843), ii. 29; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 254.] T. C.

**BUCKLAND, WILLIAM** (1784-1856), geologist, dean of Westminster, was born at Axminster in Devonshire in 1784. He was the eldest son of the Rev. Charles Buckland, rector of Templeton and Trusham. As a child he appears to have been a close observer. We hear of his attention being especially directed to the ammonites which are found in the rocks near his native town. Beyond this we know but little of Buckland's childhood. In 1797 he was at Blundell's school in Tiverton, and in 1798 he entered St. Mary's College, Winchester. The young student was interested in the sponges of the chalk and other fossils, and he began to form a collection of them.

In 1801 Buckland obtained a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1805 he advanced to a B.A. degree, and in 1808 he was admitted a fellow of his college; he was ordained a priest in the same year. Although he never neglected his classical studies, Buckland continued to give a considerable amount of attention to natural phenomena, the mineral kingdom being his favourite field of investigation. In this pursuit he was usually associated with Mr. Broderip of Oriel College. The fruits of his first geological excursions were derived from Shotover Hill, and these formed the nucleus of the large collections which forty years later Buckland placed in the Oxford Museum. William Smith, the father of geology, was born in Oxfordshire, and he being a land surveyor was led step by step, while pursuing his vocation, to perceive that each group of strata had its own characteristic fossils. He began to publish geological maps in 1799, and with these Buckland was guided in tracing back the history of the world's mutations. From 1808 to 1812 he travelled on horseback over a large portion of the south-western district of England, collecting from those tracts which had been the scene of Smith's earliest labours the materials for

geological sections and cabinets of organic remains.

In 1813 Dr. Kidd resigned his chair of mineralogy at Oxford, and Buckland was appointed his successor. In the same year he was elected a fellow of the Geological Society of London. At the instigation of the prince regent, the lords of the treasury were induced to found a readership in geology at Oxford and endow it. Buckland received this appointment, and he delivered the inaugural address on 15 May 1819. This address, which was subsequently published in 1820 under the title of 'Vindiciæ Geologiæ,' created a sensation, dealing as it did most judiciously with the discoveries which were then exciting some alarm.

In this year Dr. Kidd and Professor Playfair had directed attention to the Lickey Hill in Worcestershire as the possible nearest source of the siliceous pebbles which are accumulated in large masses over Warwickshire and the midland counties. The disintegration of the Lickey Rock in consequence of its brecciated structure was pointed out by Buckland, who endeavoured to show that the evidence, which the transport of these pebbles over a wide range of area afforded, bore strongly in favour of the fact of a recent deluge.

Buckland contributed in 1815 to the Geological Society of London a paper on the 'Slate and Greenstone Rocks of Cumberland and Westmoreland,' and in 1817 one on the 'Plastic Clay at Reading,' and another on the 'Flints in Chalk.'

About this time Buckland commenced the organisation of his geological museum, which was subsequently given by him to Oxford University. His profound knowledge of palæontology, and his happy mode of explaining the difficult phenomena of geology, added to considerable natural eloquence, stimulated the salutary reaction which now set in in favour of the physical and natural sciences. In 1818 Dr. Buckland was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1821 he published in 'Silliman's Journal' some 'Instructions for the Investigation of Geological Phenomena,' which at this period was of considerable advantage. In the same year he made a careful examination of the results of the expedition to the river Macquarie, under the direction of Mr. Oxley, which enabled him to publish a memoir, in the 'Transactions of the Geological Society,' 'On the Geological Strata of Madagascar.'

In 1823 Buckland published his 'Reliquiæ Diluvianæ, or Observations on the Organic Remains attesting the Action of a Universal Deluge.' In the 'Philosophical

Transactions' of the Royal Society in 1822 he had described the remains found in the cave of Kirkdale, and explained their relation to similar cave remains found in England and in Germany. In the 'Reliquiæ Diluvianæ' he argued that the remains of animals found in caves afford the means of judging of the inhabitants and character of the earth before the great flood recorded in the Mosaic history. This work was seized upon with eagerness by all who were desirous of having the records of revelation supported by the interpretations of scientific investigations, and it fully established the author's reputation as a geologist and a philosopher. In 1824 Buckland became president of the Geological Society, and in 1825 he resigned his fellowship, and was presented by his college with the living of Stoke Charity, near Whitchurch, Hampshire. In the same year Lord Liverpool gave him a canonry of the cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford.

Buckland married, in 1825, Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. Benjamin Morland of Sheepstead House, near Abingdon, Berkshire. The intellectual abilities of this lady were of considerable value to her husband, and he always admitted that he was greatly aided by her in the production of the Bridgewater treatise. In this year he also published in the 'Geological Society's Transactions' 'A Description of the South-western Coal-field of England.'

In 1829 Buckland described and named the 'Pterodactylus macronyx' which had been recently discovered in the blue lias of Lyme Regis by Miss Mary Anning, and drew especial attention to the elytra of coleopterous insects at Stonefield, associated with the remains of pterodactyles, of which such insects were probably the food. Remains supposed to be those of birds had been discovered at Tilgate Forest; Buckland, however expressed his opinion that they were probably portions of pterodactyles. At the same time he read another paper which proved to be commercially of the highest value. In the lias of Lyme Regis he had discovered some strange deposits; after a most careful examination, he arrived at the conclusion that they were the fossil fæces of extinct saurians, mixed with the bones of the animals themselves (coprolites), which have since been worked extensively for manure.

In 1836 Buckland's Bridgewater treatise made its appearance. This series was especially directed to prove, by the aids of science, 'The Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God as manifested in the Creation.' This work may be regarded as a compendium of geological and palæontological science up to the

date of its publication, enriched by numerous reflections of a highly philosophic character. At this period a brother geologist of eminence described Buckland as 'cheery, humorous, bustling, full of eloquence, with which he too blended much true wit; seldom without his famous blue bag, whence, even at fashionable evening parties, he would bring out and describe with infinite drollery, amid the surprise and laughter of his audience, the last "find" from a bone cave.' The following quotation is from a letter of Sir Roderick Murchison's, at the time of the meeting of the British Association at Bristol: 'At that meeting the fun of one of the evenings was a lecture of Buckland's. In that part of his discourse which treated of ichnolites, or fossil footprints, the Doctor exhibited himself as a cock or a hen on the edge of a muddy pond, making impressions by lifting one leg after another. Many of the grave people thought our science was altered to buffoonery by an Oxford Don.'

About 1840 Buckland, who had studied with care the action of ice upon the rocks in Switzerland, began to identify in this country the 'dressed rocks' of Sir James Hall, and to show that the smoothing and the scratching of the rocks could have been the work of but one agent, glacier ice. Subsequently Agassiz corroborated Buckland's identifications, and proclaimed that a great portion of Scotland and the north of England had once been actually buried under vast sheets of ice.

In 1845 he became, on the recommendation of Sir Robert Peel, dean of Westminster, and through this he was led to abandon many of his former pursuits. Alterations in Westminster Abbey; sanitary measures, especially the supply of London with water from artesian wells; the potato disease, and agricultural improvements now occupied his attention and consumed his time. It has been said of Buckland that to him we were indebted for unexpected suggestions, curious inquiries, and moral kinds of evidence. He examined coprolites to discover the food of the saurians; he studied snails to explain the holes bored in limestone; he extracted gelatine from the bones of the mammoth; he enclosed toads in artificial cavities to determine their tenacity of life, and he made living hyenas crush ox bones to furnish evidence for the conviction of the old midnight robber of preglacial caverns.

In the 'Catalogue of Scientific Papers,' published by the Royal Society, we find that Buckland was the author of fifty-three memoirs. Agassiz, however, increases the number to sixty-six.

In 1840 Buckland was elected president of the Geological Society for the second time, and in 1848 he received from the hands of Sir Henry De la Beche the Wollaston medal, the highest honour known in geological science. In reply to the address of the president, Buckland expressed his conviction of the high destiny of his science, and he spoke of geologists 'whose names are inscribed on the annals of the physical history of the globe,' concluding with some remarks on the incompleteness of human knowledge, of the shortness of life when compared with the vastness of the work upon which the mind of man should be employed.

Shortly after this date Buckland suffered from a mental disease which debarred him from attempting further work. He died 15 Aug. 1856, regretted by all who had listened to his eloquence, or who had been charmed by the strange truths which he had gathered from the works of nature.

[Proceedings of the Royal Society, viii. 264; Philosophical Transactions; Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society, 1817 to 1855; Geikie's Life of Sir R. Murchison, 1875; Zoological Society's Journal, v. 1832-4; Thomson's Annals of Philosophy, iv. 1822.] R. H-r.

**BUCKLE, HENRY THOMAS** (1821-1862), historian of civilisation, was born 24 Nov. 1821. The Buckle family had long been settled in London. An ancestor, Sir Cuthbert Buckle, originally of Burgh in Cumberland, was lord mayor of London in 1593. Thomas Henry, father of Henry Thomas, born 6 Oct. 1779, belonged to a firm of shipowners, Buckle, Bagster, & Buckle. In 1811 he married Jane Middleton of the Yorkshire Middletons, by whom he had two daughters and Henry Thomas, who was born at Lee during a visit to his father's only brother and partner, John William Buckle. The family lived at this time in the city, and soon afterwards moved to 25 Mecklenburgh Square.

Buckle was a very delicate child, unfit for the usual games. By Dr. Birkbeck's advice his parents were careful not to over-stimulate his brain. His early education was conducted by a most devoted mother, who would read the Bible to him for hours. He scarcely knew his letters at eight, and till eighteen had read little but 'Shakespeare,' the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and the 'Arabian Nights;' three books, he says (HUTH, i. 157), 'on which I literally feasted.' For a time he was sent to the school of Dr. Holloway in Kentish Town, on the condition that he should learn nothing but what he chose. He won a prize in mathematics, to which his attention had been accidentally drawn. His father offered

him any additional reward he pleased, whereupon he chose the reward of being taken away from school. This was in his fourteenth year.

At home the boy indulged in some childish pranks, but was soon interested by the conversation of his elders. His mother was a strict Calvinist, his father a strong tory, and a man of literary cultivation. The son listened to his father's recitals of Shakespeare, and imbibed his parents' principles in religion and politics, though he was at an early age impressed by free-trade doctrines.

At the age of seventeen Buckle's health had improved. His father insisted upon his entering the business, and the lad spent some months in an uncongenial employment. Meanwhile the elder Buckle's health was declining; he became unsocial and strangely absent-minded. An accident by which his arm was broken gave him a shock, under which he sank in four weeks, dying 24 Jan. 1840. Buckle was seized with a fainting fit on his father's death; frequent attacks followed, and he only recovered after a long stay at Brighton. In July 1840 he left England with his mother and unmarried sister for change of scene. The party travelled through Belgium, Germany, Holland, and Italy, returning through France after a year's absence. Buckle ever afterwards held travelling to be the best education. He studied the languages in each country. In 1850 he could read nineteen languages with facility and converse fluently in seven, though he was incapable of acquiring a tolerable accent even in French. His experience had removed his early prepossessions. He came home a freethinker and a radical. In France he had given proofs of his extraordinary powers as a chess-player. Captain Kennedy thought him as good a player at this as at any later period. He then encountered Kieseritzki and St. Amant and beat them both when receiving the odds of a pawn.

Buckle was left in an independent position at his father's death. He gave up all thoughts of the business, and upon returning to England settled down to serious studies. In October 1842 he took lodgings in Norfolk Street, set up his books, and began a course of mediæval history. In March 1843 he was writing a life of Charles I, which, as Mr. Huth shows (i. 281), was not that given in his fragments. In the same year he again went abroad, having first been presented at court to qualify himself for foreign society. At Hamburg he made the acquaintance of Lord Kimberley, with whom he travelled as far as Dresden. Thence he went by Austria to Italy, and on his return settled for a time at Munich. He there overworked himself and had a rheumatic fever; his mother came out

and brought him home. The advice of a cousin, John Buckle, whose counsels he valued through life, induced him to abandon all thoughts of going to the bar for fear of the strain upon his health, and a sense of the danger of overwork made him at the same time diminish his indulgence in chess. His two sisters were now married, and his mother came to live with him, though London disagreed with her health. They took 59 Oxford Terrace, where a large back room with a skylight and plenty of wall space offered good accommodation for his books and retirement for his studies. Buckle bought all the books which he used, parting with those no longer required. He had possessed at different times about 22,000 volumes, but left only 11,000 at his death. He worked hard for many years before publishing anything. He made careful notes of all he read, and seldom required to re-read. His memory was very powerful. He could recite long passages from the French and English classics. Three or four readings would fix a page of prose in his mind. He laboured hard to improve his style, reading the best models, and then trying to express the substance in his own words. His plan in writing was to compose a whole paragraph before setting it down in order to avoid discontinuity of style. His domestic affairs were carefully regulated. For two things he never grudged money—books and cigars. Abstinence from smoking incapacitated him from working or talking. He confined himself, however, to three cigars daily. He was a judge of cookery and particular about his meals. Though very careful in money matters, he does not seem to have been fairly chargeable with meanness. He often made liberal offers of help to his friends, and when importuned by beggars took the pains to investigate their cases, and was generous to deserving sufferers. His income did not exceed 1,500*l.* a year. He resolved not to marry until this could be doubled, holding that he could not educate sons properly on less than 3,000*l.* a year. No passion seems to have tried the strength of this resolve. When seventeen he had fallen in love with a cousin and challenged a man to whom she was engaged. Another passion for a cousin, a girl of fortune and ability, was suppressed in consequence of the parents' objection to marriages of relations. Buckle's amusements were simple. He walked seven miles a day, he sometimes went to the theatre, and he even attended a masked ball as Mr. Mantalini, and afterwards as a canting methodist. Hallam, whose acquaintance he had made on his first journey, introduced him to the Society of Antiquaries and to the Royal Literary Society, on the com-

mittee of which he served in 1852. He gave frequent dinner parties during the season, and when not engaged would spend the evening with his intimate friends. In 1854 he made the acquaintance of Miss Shirreff and her sister, Mrs. Grey. He gave them much literary advice, and Miss Shirreff revised the sheets of his book before publication. For many years chess was his chief recreation. In 1851 he encountered the most distinguished European chess-players in some games played on occasion of the Great Exhibition. He showed himself the equal of the best performers, and beat Anderssen and Loewenthal. He grudged, however, the time withdrawn from literary pursuits, and never afterwards took part in a public match.

Meanwhile he was steadily employed upon his book, which gradually took shape in his mind. He read seven or eight hours a day, and at luncheon ate only bread and fruit to keep his brains clear. He says in January 1856 that 'he had been engaged upon his manuscript incessantly for fourteen years' (HUTH, i. 113). A letter to Lord Kintore in February 1853 shows that it had then assumed its final shape, and was limited to the history of English civilisation instead of civilisation in general (*ib.* 63). He had already, in 1852, spoken to a publisher. The work, however, swelled upon his hands. His mother's growing infirmities induced him to accompany her to various places for the sake of her health, and partly of his own. In 1855 he was copying out and arranging notes. A negotiation with the Messrs. Parker for its publication in 1856 fell through from Buckle's unwillingness to pledge himself as to future editions. He acknowledged, however, the frankness and liberality of the publishers, and proposed to them at the end of the year to publish an edition of 1,500 copies on commission. It came out accordingly in the course of 1857 and instantly succeeded. By the end of the year 675 copies of the first edition were sold. For this edition Buckle received ultimately 665*l.* 7*s.* The Parkers agreed to give 500*l.* for a second edition of 2,000 copies. The book was already reprinted in America, and was eagerly discussed at Moscow. Buckle was elected to the Athenæum, in spite of a threatened opposition, by 264 white to nine black balls. The Political Economy Club spontaneously elected him, and on 19 March 1858 he gave a lecture to an overflowing and enthusiastic audience at the Royal Institution upon 'The Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge.' He spoke for an hour and forty minutes, in a 'beautifully modulated voice,' and without once referring to a few notes which he

had set down. The lecture was republished in 'Fraser's Magazine' for April 1858.

Buckle's profound affection for his mother was one of his most amiable characteristics. His first volume was dedicated to her, and the second to her memory. The dedication was the only part of the volume which she had not read and discussed with him. Buckle was alarmed by her extreme agitation upon receiving what he intended for the pleasant surprise of first reading it in the printed volume. Her health now rapidly declined. Her son watched the process with intense anxiety until her death on 1 April 1859. The grief was the greater as the blow left him in complete solitude. The shock to delicate nerves, already weakened by overwork, was so great that his sister even feared for his brain. He withdrew, to a great degree, from society, and retired for a time from London. The year was chiefly spent at Brighton, Blackheath, Margate, and Boulogne. The death of a favourite nephew at Christmas was felt as another severe blow, and he seems never to have regained his full strength.

His mind was partly distracted by his only controversy in the press. He contributed to 'Fraser's Magazine' for May 1859 a review of Mill's 'Liberty.' Mill refers to the case of a crazy Cornish labourer, Thomas Pooley, who had been sentenced to twenty-one months' imprisonment by Sir John Coleridge for writing offensive words about christianity in various public places. The judge carefully explained that the punishment was not for the simple publication, but the offensive utterance of unchristian opinions. No suspicion of insanity was suggested at the trial, and when the suggestion was made the judge consented to a pardon. Buckle, however, considered the case to be one of persecution. He not only condemned the severity of the sentence, but implied bad motives. In 'Fraser' for June replies were made by 'A. K. H. B.' and by John Duke, afterwards Lord Coleridge. Buckle answered the latter in July 1859 in a pamphlet, 'A Letter to a Gentleman respecting Pooley's Case.' Parker had objected to the continuation of the controversy in 'Fraser,' and the pamphlet had a limited circulation.

Buckle had begun his second volume as soon as his first was published. His domestic troubles and weak health hindered its progress. He began to print in January 1861 and suffered from the labour of publication. He was 'weak and depressed,' and his nerves showed increasing symptoms of overwork in spite of various excursions in search of relaxation. In 1857 Buckle had made the acquaintance of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Huth

through their common friend, Mr. Capel. Mr. Huth's name is well known by his magnificent collection of rare books. Both Mr. and Mrs. Huth were well able to appreciate Buckle's talents, and their hospitable kindness did much to soothe his last years of life. Mrs. Huth's reminiscences given in her son's life of Buckle are specially interesting. Her three sons were pupils of Mr. Capel's, at Carshalton, and Buckle, when staying there for a time, became very friendly with the boys, joined in their fun, and was described by them as a 'jolly chap' who never talked philosophy to them. He was uniformly kind to children, and anxious to save them from injudicious straining in their education.

Buckle's shattered nerves and desolate home naturally suggested the thorough change of travelling. He wished, as he wrote to Mrs. Grote (HUTH, ii. 111), to begin life afresh. He resolved to visit Egypt, and kindly offered to take with him the two eldest sons of the Huths, aged fourteen and eleven. Travelling, he held, was a chief part of education. He took with him only the Bible, Shakespeare, Molière, and a few books about Egypt, calculating that the boys would be forced to read them for want of other distraction. Throughout the journey he took the utmost care of their health and amusement, besides stimulating their intellectual interests. The party left Southampton on 20 Oct. 1861, landed at Alexandria, and ascended the Nile from Cairo, reaching Thebes on 14 Dec. and Assouan on 22 Dec. 1861. After a short trip into Nubia, they returned to Cairo. Several English and American travellers made Buckle's acquaintance on this trip. Mr. Stuart Glennie met Buckle at Assouan, and accepted an invitation to join him in a tour to Palestine. The party, including Mr. Glennie, started for Cairo on 3 March 1862, and travelled by the desert of Sinai through Petra to Jerusalem, which they reached on 13 April. Here Buckle was probably infected by typhoid fever. After a visit to the Dead Sea, the party started for Damascus, and the fever soon declared itself. At Nazareth Buckle was seriously ill, and was treated by an Armenian doctor for ulcer in the throat. He improved slightly, and struggled on with great difficulty, reaching Beyrout on 14 May and Damascus on 18 May. Here he was leeches and bled by a Dr. Nicora. Mr. Glennie, thinking him better, continued his journey on 22 May, intending to rejoin Buckle at Beyrout. Before starting, he spoke to Dr. Humphry Sandwith, the acting English consul. Sandwith, upon seeing Buckle, became alarmed, and on the 26th telegraphed to Beyrout for Dr. Barclay, an American physician.



Dr. Barclay arrived after some delay on the 28th, and found the case almost hopeless. Buckle died the next morning, 29 May 1862, and was buried the same day in the protestant cemetery. A tomb was erected to his memory by his only surviving sister, Mrs. Allatt, in the autumn of 1866.

The 'History of Civilisation in England' won for its author a reputation which has hardly been sustained. The reasons are obvious. Buckle's solitary education deprived him of the main advantage of schools and universities—the frequent clashing with independent minds—which tests most searchingly the thoroughness and solidity of a man's acquirements. Specialists in every department of inquiry will regard him as a brilliant amateur rather than a thorough student. He was a thoroughgoing adherent of the English empirical school, then under the leadership of J. S. Mill. He endeavoured to supply the real defect in their teaching due to their comparative neglect of history. Since his time the application of their principles to historical inquiry has been made with a constant reference to the theory of evolution. Buckle spoke cordially of the early writings of Darwin and Mr. Herbert Spencer (*ib.* i. 28, 47), but he came too early to assimilate their teaching or to divine its importance. His speculations are already antiquated, because he was without the method which has come to be regarded as all-important by thinkers of his own school. Nor can it be said that Buckle fully appreciated the significance of the historical method. His entire want of sympathy with earlier stages of civilisation is characteristic of this weakness. The principles which he announced with the greatest emphasis are therefore apt to appear as crude paradoxes or truisms too vague to have serious value. But his literary power was very great; the vigour of his composition never flags throughout, at least, his first volume; the extent of his knowledge and his command of all his resources are remarkable, and though his conclusions are neither very new nor valuable to serious thinkers, they are put forward with a rhetorical power admirably adapted to impress the less cultivated reader. What he did was not to achieve new results in the sciences of history, but to popularise the belief in the possibility of applying scientific treatment to historical problems. The value of this belief may be differently estimated. Buckle had many predecessors in his doctrine, but he propagated it with a vigour previously unrivalled in English literature, and which will give some permanent value to a book not otherwise fruitful in positive results.

Buckle's writings are: 1. 'History of Civilisation in England,' vol. i. London, 1857, 8vo, also 1858, 1861, 1864. 2. The same, vol. ii. 1861, also 1864 and 1867. The work was republished as 'History of Civilisation in England, France, Spain, and Scotland,' 3 vols. post 8vo, 1866, 1868, 1869, 1871, 1872, 1873, 1878. It has been translated into German, 1860, and (with a notice of Buckle translated from 'Fraser's Magazine' for September 1862) in 1868 also into French, and (four times) into Russian. 3. 'Influence of Women on the Progress of Knowledge; a discourse delivered at the Royal Institution on Friday, 19 March 1858,' 'Fraser's Magazine' for April 1858. This has been translated into Dutch. 4. Review of 'Mill on Liberty,' 'Fraser's Magazine' for May 1859. 5. 'A Letter to a Gentleman respecting Pooley's Case,' London, 1859. 6. 'Fragment on the Reign of Elizabeth, from the posthumous papers of Henry Thomas Buckle,' 'Fraser's Magazine,' February and August 1867. 7. 'The Miscellaneous and Posthumous Works of Henry Thomas Buckle; edited, with a biographical notice, by Helen Taylor,' 3 vols. London, 1872. The first volume includes all the above, with some fragments; the second, and part of the third, contain his commonplace books; the remainder of the third is filled by essays upon the sixteenth century, upon manners in the seventeenth century, and notes from English history. An abridged edition, edited by Grant Allen, appeared in 1886. An edition, revised by J. M. Robertson, came out in 1904 (1 vol. 8vo).

[Biographical notice prefixed to Miscellaneous Works (1872), which includes recollections by Miss Shirreff; Life and Writings of Henry Thomas Buckle, by Alfred Henry Huth (the younger of Buckle's companions in the Eastern journey), with two portraits, 1880; Reminiscences of Buckle by Longmore, Athenæum, 25 Jan. 1873; Charles Hall in Atlantic Monthly, April 1863; J. S. Stuart Glennie's Mr. Buckle in the East, Fraser's Magazine, August 1863. This article contains most of the biographical matter which, with various disquisitions upon religion and notes of Mr. Glennie's lectures to Mr. Buckle, forms the same author's Pilgrim Memoirs (3rd ed. 1880); it contains also a controversy with Mr. Alfred Huth of little importance. For the controversy about Pooley see Law Magazine for August 1859; for Buckle's chess-playing see Chess Player's Magazine, ii. 33-45, and article in Westminster Papers for June 1873 by Captain Kennedy; also Athenæum, 20 Feb. 1875. A list of reported games is in the very full bibliography appended to Mr. Huth's work. See also Buckle and his Critics, by J. M. Robertson, 1895.] L. S.

**BUCKLER, BENJAMIN (1718-1780),** antiquary, son of Thomas Buckler of Warminster, Wiltshire, was born at Warminster,

Wiltshire, in 1718, and matriculated on 15 Feb. 1732 as a member of Oriiel College, Oxford, where he took the degrees of B.A. in 1736 and M.A. in 1739. In the latter year he was elected a fellow of All Souls, and became B.D. in 1755 and D.D. in 1759. In 1755 he was appointed to the vicarage of Cumnor, near Oxford, and he also held the small rectory of Frilsham in Berkshire. As an industrious student of the past history of his university, he was with peculiar appropriateness elected as keeper of its archives in 1777. He died at Cumnor on 24 Dec. 1780, and was buried there. Blackstone was elected a fellow of All Souls' College in 1743, and to Buckler, as his attached friend and his successor in the bursarship in 1752, he addressed a description of the mode of keeping the college accounts. In a book in the possession of the warden of All Souls there is written against Buckler's name the character, 'Integer, doctus, sale Attico abundans.' A portrait of him, usually assigned to Gainsborough, hangs in the warden's dining-room.

The members of All Souls' College have for many years celebrated a mallard by an annual gaudy on 14 Jan. Its origin is lost in the mist of ages, but the tradition generally accepted refers it to an overgrown mallard found in a drain when the foundations of the college were laid. Several passages relating to this entertainment, and some speculations as to its meaning, will be found in an appendix to Professor Montagu Burrows's 'Worthies of All Souls College,' pp. 429-37. The Rev. John Pointer having, in his account of the antiquities of Oxford (1749), degraded this illustrious bird to the level of a common goose, the spirit of the fellows of All Souls was roused, and Buckler brought out anonymously 'A Complete Vindication of the Mallard of All Souls College,' which was published in 1750, and republished in 1751. This provoked an ironical prospectus, usually attributed to Edward Rowe Mores, announcing as 'Preparing for the press . . . A Complete History of the Mallardians . . . in three parts,' 1752, and in the same year there was printed 'The Swopping-Song of the Mallardians, an ode as it is to be performed on Tuesday the 14th of January,' the original of which is among the Tanner MSS. at the Bodleian Library. A satirical tract by Buckler, entitled 'A proper Explanation of the Oxford Almanack for the present year, 1755,' alludes to the celebrated election for the county of Oxford in that year. The Oxford proctors for 1756, of whom Buckler was one, claimed the right of appointing a delegate of the press without consulting the vice-

chancellor. That dignitary, Dr. Huddesford, thereupon issued a pamphlet of 'Observations relating to the Delegates of the Press, with an account of their succession from their original appointment,' 1756, and was promptly met by the proctor with 'A Reply to Dr. Huddesford's Observations.' The interest of these pamphlets has now passed away, but Buckler's labours as a genealogist have been more lasting. He assisted his friend Blackstone in his 'Essay on Collateral Sanguinity,' relating to the fellowships at All Souls, and in 1765 passed through the press, but without his name, his 'Stemmata Chicheleana,' containing the genealogies of the families entitled to its fellowships through descent from Archbishop Chichele. When the college acquired some of the manuscripts of John Anstis, on the sale of his library, Buckler compiled a supplement to this work (1775). He was one of the candidates for the task of completing the history of Northamptonshire by John Bridges, but he withdrew from the competition, and the duty fell to Rev. Peter Whalley. A single sermon ('The Alliance of Religion and Learning considered,' 1759) is his sole publication as a divine. For the 'Bibliotheca Topographica Brit.,' vol. iv. No. xvi. 12-25, he wrote a short history of his parish of Cumnor.

[Gent. Mag. 1791, p. 1129, 1792, p. 224; Burrows's All Souls, 12, 400-36; Rawlinson MSS. fol. 16, 328; Gough's British Topog. (1780), ii. 137, 153-4; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 107, iii. 427, 679, 684, v. 404, vi. 401, viii. 253; Illustr. of Lit. iii. 528-35.] W. P. C.

**BUCKLER, JOHN** (1770-1851), topographical artist, was born 30 Nov. 1770 at Calbourne, Isle of Wight. He was articled for seven years to Mr. Cracklow, an architect in Southwark, and was himself an architect until 1826, when he resigned that branch of his profession to his eldest son. He was known to Dr. Routh, president of Magdalen College, Oxford, and under his patronage published in 1797 two aquatint engravings of Magdalen College. In 1799 he published a similar view of Lincoln Minster, and from that year until 1815 continued to publish aquatint engravings of cathedrals, collegiate and abbey churches, and a few other churches and private mansions. His son, John Chessell Buckler, published in 1822 'Views of Cathedral Churches in England,' which are principally copied from his father's previously published prints. John Chessell Buckler also contributed to 'Views of Eaton Hall' in 1826, and in 1827 to 'Sixty Views of Endowed Grammar Schools,' chiefly from his father's drawings. An 'Historical and Descriptive Account of the Royal Palace

at Eltham' in 1828, 'Remarks upon Wayside Chapels' in 1843, 'History of the Architecture of the Abbey Church at St. Albans' in 1847, are by John Chessell Buckler. His son Charles, afterwards Charles Alban Buckler, co-operated in the last two. John Chessell Buckler also made the drawings for a description of the cathedral of Iona (1866), and published a 'Description of Lincoln Cathedral' (1866). He published in 1823 an anonymous work upon the architecture of Magdalen College, Oxford.

Sir R. C. Hoare employed John Buckler to make drawings of ancient buildings in Wiltshire, Lord Grenville gave him a similar commission for Buckinghamshire, Dr. Whitaker for Yorkshire, H. S. Pigott for Somersetshire, and W. Salt for Staffordshire. From 1796 to 1849 he contributed water-colour drawings yearly to the Royal Academy. He was elected F.S.A. in 1810. He died in London 6 Dec. 1851, leaving six surviving children. A portrait by Sir W. Newton has been engraved. John Buckler (d. 4 Dec. 1857), secretary to the Wanstead Orphan Asylum, was distantly, if at all, related.

[Gent. Mag. for January 1852; Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists; A. Graves's Dict. of Artists; information from the family.]

**BUCKLER, WILLIAM** (1814-1884), entomologist, was born 13 Sept. 1814, at Newport, Isle of Wight. He was the son of William, brother to John Buckler, F.S.A. [q. v.] He showed much taste for drawing; became a student of the Royal Academy, and from 1836 to 1856 exhibited sixty-two pictures, chiefly portraits in water-colour. About 1848 he settled at Emsworth, Hampshire, and took to entomology for an amusement. In 1857 he began to contribute drawings of the larvæ of the Tineinæ to the 'Entomologist's Weekly Intelligencer,' to which he had previously contributed some articles. After three years, in the course of which he sent about 120 figures, he found the labour too great. He continued his studies and contributed descriptions of larvæ to the 'Weekly Entomologist' in 1862, and afterwards to the 'Entomologist's Monthly Magazine.' He was preparing a work on the larvæ of the *Macrolepidoptera* of Great Britain. He had made at least 5,000 careful drawings by 1873, figuring more than 850 species in various stages of growth. He was much inconvenienced by 'writer's cramp,' and found relief in cabinet work. His sight was not good enough for collecting, and all his work was done at home with a magnifying lens. His friend, the Rev. J. Hellins, sent him specimens in return for drawings. After his sixty-

eighth birthday he began to learn German to be able to correspond with foreign devotees of entomology. He died 9 Jan. 1884.

[Entomologist's Monthly Magazine, vol. xx.]

**BUCKLEY, CECIL WILLIAM** (1828-1872), captain in the royal navy, entered the navy in 1845. He served in the *Miranda* frigate, one of the squadron which, on the outbreak of the war with Russia, was sent to the White Sea. In the following winter the *Miranda* was sent to the Black Sea, and on 29 May 1855, Buckley, in company with Lieutenant Burgoyne and Mr. Roberts, a gunner, volunteered to land and fire a quantity of stores at Genitchi. 'I accepted their offer,' wrote Captain Lyons, of the *Miranda*, 'knowing the imminent risk there would be in landing a party in presence of such a superior force, and out of gunshot of the ships. This very dangerous service they most gallantly performed, narrowly escaping the Cossacks, who all but cut them off from their boat.' A few days later Buckley, accompanied by Mr. Cooper, the boatswain, again landed at Taganrog, and fired the stores and government buildings; 'a dangerous, not to say desperate service,' wrote Lord Lyons in a despatch dated 6 June 1855. In acknowledgment of these gallant services, Buckley was promoted to be commander on 27 Feb. 1856, and was decorated with the Victoria cross on the institution of that order. Buckley as commander served on the Cape station, and for some time in the *Forte*. He was advanced to be captain on 16 April 1862, and during the years 1868-70 commanded the *Pylades* on the Pacific station. In December 1871 he was appointed to the command of the *Valiant*, coastguard ship in the Shannon, from which failing health obliged him to retire in the following October. He died in Madeira in 1872. He was married and left issue, a son and a daughter.

[O'Byrne's Victoria Cross, 44; information communicated by the family.] J. K. L.

**BUCKLEY, JOHN** (d. 1598), Franciscan. [See JONES, JOHN.]

**BUCKLEY, Mrs. OLIVIA** (1799-1847), musician. [See under DUSSEK, SOPHIA.]

**BUCKLEY, ROBERT** or **SIGEBERT** (1517-1610), Benedictine monk, was professed at Westminster in Queen Mary's reign, during the brief revival of that abbey under Abbot Feckenham. He was imprisoned on refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and remained in captivity during the whole of Elizabeth's reign. Weldon informs us that Father Anselm Beach 'landed at Yarmouth in the year 1603, where he spent that winter,

and at Mr. Francis Woodhouse, of Cisson, near Wendlam [Wendling?], found the Reverend Dom Sigebert Buckley, the only monk left of the old monks of Westminster, whom King James a few months before had ordered to be freed from his prison at Fromegham [Framlingham]. From which time he and F. Thomas Preston took care of the old man till his happy exit from this world' (*Chronological Notes*, 46). Being the sole surviving monk of Westminster, the rights of the abbey and of the old English congregation of St. Benedict were vested in him. Arrangements were made with the general chapter of the Monte Cassino congregation that their fathers in England should become aggregated to the old English congregation. Buckley, who had been arrested after the discovery of the Gunpowder plot, received at the Gatehouse prison in London, on 21 Nov. 1607, the profession of two of the monks lately arrived from the continent—viz. of Robert (Vincent) Sadler and of Edward Maihew; and on 15 Dec. 1609 he surrendered all his powers and authority for perpetuating the succession to Father Thomas Preston. The old monk, who had become quite blind, died shortly after this, on 22 Feb. 1609-10, aged 93, 'and because the heretics would not let him be buried in the churchyard, F. Anselm of Manchester and Father Thomas Preston buried him in an old chapel or country hermitage near Ponshall, the seat of Mr. Norton, in Surrey or Sussex' (WELDON, *Chronological Notes*, 76). It may be added that three separate congregations of the Benedictine order existed in England for a time, namely the Spanish, the Italian, and the renewed English congregation. A union among them was felt to be most desirable, and after many difficulties and obstacles was secured by the brief *Ex incumbenti* of Pope Paul V in 1619.

[Dodd's Church Hist. i. 527, also Tierney's edit. iv. 89; Snow's Necrology of the English Congregation of the Order of St. Benedict, 30; Reyner's *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Angliâ*, 247, Append. i. 4; Weldon's *Chronological Notes*, 46, 47, 49, 60, 62, 76, Append. 4; J. Stevens's Hist. of the Antient Abbeys, i. 182; Sweeney's Life of Augustine Baker, 20-5; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 473.] T. C.

BUCKLEY, THEODORE WILLIAM ALOIS (1825-1856), classical scholar, was born on 27 July 1825, and was a protégé of the well-known Greek scholar, George Burges. He regularly attended the British Museum Library, where he is described as 'a fresh-coloured youth, with flaxen and slightly curling hair, poring over works of which some

of the best scholars knew little more than the name.' One of the earliest subjects on which he was here engaged was an edition of 'Apuleius de Deo Socratis,' for which he was collecting material with a view to publication. For this he had no means. He was very poor. From the age of twelve he was self-taught. His library, which when transferred to Oxford weighed a ton and a half, was picked up at old bookstalls at the cheapest prices. In this manner he had collected a set very nearly complete of the 4to Dutch Latin classics. He was fortunate in his purchases. It is told of him, for instance, that he procured an Aldine 'Aristophanes' for 4s., the title-page of which was supposed wanting, but was afterwards discovered by him to be merely misplaced. The expense of printing his 'Apuleius de Deo Socratis' was defrayed by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville, to whom it was dedicated, in 1844. Some friends conceived the idea of sending young Buckley to Oxford, and made intercession with the dean of Christ Church, who promised him a servitorship. He distinguished himself at the university. His Latin prose was acknowledged by the dean the purest he had ever met. He was made one of the chaplains of Christ Church. In addition to his classical knowledge, he possessed considerable musical talent, inherited from his mother, who had performed at public concerts with success, and was a daughter of the celebrated Dussek. Organic disease is supposed to have induced a recourse to opium, and subsequently to alcohol. He came to London, and wrote for the booksellers. His ode to Miss Florence Nightingale, inserted in 'Punch,' and subsequently copied into the 'Times,' is remarkable as being probably the only instance remaining of his poetic power. He died of fever on 30 Jan. 1856, and was buried in Woking cemetery. Besides contributions to many periodicals, as Dickens's 'Household Words,' 'Eliza Cook's Journal,' 'Sharpe's Magazine,' 'Freemason's Journal,' 'Parker's Miscellany,' and 'The Press,' he revised for H. G. Bohn's series of classical authors translations of Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristotle's 'Rhetoric and Poetry,' Horace and Virgil, of which the second volumes of Homer and Euripides were first translated into literal prose by him, and the whole published in the years 1849-53. For Routledge he edited Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs,' Milton's 'Poetical Works,' 'New Elegant Extracts' in verse, and abridged Calmer's 'Biblical Dictionary,' and translated the 'Catechism of the Council of Trent' and the 'Decrees of the Council of Trent.' He also composed for

Routledge 'The Girl's First Help to Reading,' 'The Boy's First Help to Reading,' and the 'Exhibition Guide to the Crystal Palace.' He edited for other publishers Pope's 'Iliad and Odyssey,' with Flaxman's designs, six plays of Æschylus, Demosthenes 'On the Crown,' and Sallust, and translated the Latin notes of Wunder's 'Sophocles' into English. He edited Taylor's 'History of the Life and Death of Jesus Christ' in 1851, and Trollope's 'Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles' in 1853; he also wrote 'The Natural History of Tuffhunters and Toadies,' Lond. 1848, 32mo; 'The Great Cities of the Ancient World in their glory and their desolation' (of which the articles on Pekin, America, and Scandinavia were contributed by K. R. H. Mackenzie), London, 1852, 8vo; 'A History of the Council of Trent,' compiled from a comparison of various writers, with a Chronological Summary, London, 1852, 8vo; 'The Dawnings of Genius exemplified and exhibited in the early lives of distinguished men,' London, 1853, 8vo; 'The Great Cities of the Middle Ages, or the Landmarks of European Civilisation,' London, 1853, 8vo; 'The Adventures of Mr. Sydenham Greenfinch,' London, 1854.

[Gent. Mag. 1856, p. 315; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Notes and Queries, 4th ser. vii. 534, viii. 255.]  
J. M.

BUCKLEY, WILLIAM (*d.* 1570?), mathematician, a native of Lichfield, was educated at Eton, whence he was elected to a scholarship at King's College, Cambridge, in 1537 (B.A. 1542, M.A. 1545). Afterwards he removed to the court of King Edward VI, who held him in great esteem. On 4 Jan. 1548-9 he was admitted to the prebend of Ufton Decani in the church of Lichfield, which he resigned soon afterwards. In 1550 the king appointed him to the office of tutor to the royal henchmen, with all profits appertaining thereunto, and a pension of 40*l.* per annum. Sir John Cheke, when provost of King's, sent for Buckley to that college to teach the students arithmetic and geometry. He appears to have died about 1570. His works are: 1. 'Descriptio et usus annuli horarii,' Royal MS. in British Museum, 12 A. xxv. The dedication to the Princess Elizabeth is dated 16 kal. April. 1546. 2. 'Arithmetica Memorativa, sive compendiaria arithmetice tractatio,' &c. Printed with John Seton's 'Dialectica.' The work consists of the rules of arithmetic reduced into Latin verse, that they may be more easily committed to memory.

[Add. MS. 5815, f. 13; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 862, 886; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab.

i. 292; Harwood's Alumni Eton. 156; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), i. 632; Lodge's Illustr. of Brit. History (1838), i. 438; Rymer's Fœdera (1713), xv. 142; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.] T. C.

BUCKLEY, WILLIAM (1780-1856), convict in Australia, was born at Morton, near Macclesfield, in 1780, and became a bricklayer. At an early age he enlisted in the Cheshire supplementary militia, and in 1799 volunteering into the 4th or king's own regiment of the line, served in Holland and in various garrisons. While at Gibraltar he, with six other soldiers, turned out with an intention of shooting Edward, duke of Kent, 24 Dec. 1802, for which offence he was sentenced to transportation, and sent out to Port Phillip, Australia. On 27 Dec. following he escaped from custody, and for thirty-two years, from that day forward, he never held intercourse with any white man. After enduring innumerable hardships, he joined one of the aboriginal tribes of Port Phillip (the district since known as Victoria), who treated him kindly, taught him their methods of taking animals, birds, and fish, instructed him in the use of the spear, boomerang, and other weapons, and provided him with kangaroo skins for his clothing. No doubt they were much impressed with his appearance, as he was gigantic in size, measuring in height nearly six feet six inches, and of good proportion. Life with the natives was not always pleasant, as many of them were cannibals, and there were constant wars among the tribes, when many persons were killed, and their relations afterwards massacred in cold blood. Buckley would willingly have returned to his imprisonment, but the settlements in Port Phillip had been abandoned, and no white men were residing in the district. One day, however, his attention was drawn to the fact that the blacks were in possession of cotton pocket-handkerchiefs. On inquiry he found that some white men were encamped not far away, and on proceeding to Indented Head, Port Phillip Bay, he found a camp which had been formed by Mr. John Bateman and a small party who had come across from Van Diemen's Land to settle in Port Phillip. This meeting with his countrymen took place 12 July 1835. Representations being made to the colonial secretary of Van Diemen's Land of the hardships Buckley had endured, and of the great use he was likely to be to the settlers in communicating with the natives, a free pardon was granted to him, dated 28 Aug. 1835, very nearly thirty-two years from the date of his landing in Australia from the convict ship. For a time he was employed by the Port Phillip Company as

an interpreter, with a salary of 75*l.* a year. After this he entered the service of Captain William Lonsdale, who came from Sydney in September 1836, singular to say, with a detachment of the 4th, Buckley's old regiment. He also acted as a constable, and accompanied Governor Sir Richard Bourke in a short expedition he made while visiting Port Phillip in 1837. In November of this year he took part in the search for the missing settlers, Messrs. Gellibrand and Hesse, who were lost in proceeding from Geelong to Melbourne. Finding that he was not trusted as he thought he should have been, Buckley left Port Phillip 28 Dec. 1837, and passed over to Van Diemen's Land, where he was made assistant-storekeeper of the Immigrants' Home, and subsequently gatekeeper at the Female Nursery. He held the latter employment until 1852, when he was put on a pension of 12*l.* a year, to which the government of Victoria added an annuity of 40*l.* This income he enjoyed until his death, 2 Feb. 1856, which resulted from his being thrown out of a cart.

[John Morgan's *Life and Adventures of William Buckley* (1852), with portrait; Francis P. Labilliere's *Colony of Victoria* (1878), ii. 64-87.]  
G. C. B.

**BUCKMAN, JAMES** (1816-1884), geologist, son of John Buckman, born at Cheltenham in 1816, was educated privately. After serving as pupil to a surgeon-apothecary at Cheltenham, he studied chemistry, botany, and geology in London; afterwards lectured at the Cheltenham Philosophical Institution; in 1846 was appointed curator and resident professor at the Birmingham Philosophical Institution, and from 1848 to 1863 was professor of geology and botany at the Royal Agricultural College at Cirencester. In 1863 he retired to a farm at Bradford Abbas, Dorsetshire, which he conducted on scientific principles, and became a recognised authority on all matters connected with agriculture. Buckman died at Bradford Abbas on 23 Nov. 1884. He wrote on the Cheltenham Spa, on the geology, botany, and archaeology of the neighbourhood, 1842; on the 'Flora of the Cotteswolds,' 1844; and on the 'Geology of the Cotteswolds,' 1845; on the 'Ancient Straits of Malvern,' on the 'Remains of Roman Art,' 1850; a 'History of British Grasses,' 1858; and 'Science and Practice in Farm Cultivation,' 1863. He also contributed papers to the 'Proceedings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science,' to the 'Geological Society's Transactions,' to the journals of the Royal Agricultural Society and the Bath and West of England Society,

and to Martin's 'Cyclopædia of Agriculture.' His botanical papers chiefly dealt with the subject from an agricultural point of view. In geology he devoted himself to the palæontology and stratigraphy of the Jurassic series in his own districts. Buckman presented collections of Roman antiquities and fossils to Cirencester, the latter to the college, and the former to the Corinium Museum there.

[Men of the Time, 11th ed. 1884; Geological Soc. Quarterly Journal, xli. 43.]

**BUCKMASTER, THOMAS** (*d.* 1566), divine and astronomer, is described in one of his works as a professor of physics, of what university has not been ascertained. He published: 1. 'An Almanack and Pronostication,' 1566-7, printed by Wanley. 2. 'Tho. Buckmaster, minister, his right Christian Calendar; or Spirituall Prognostications made for the yeare 1570,' by Hacket (*HERBERT's Ames*). 3. 'A new Almanack and Prognostication for the year 1575, wherein is expressed the Chang of the Moon ... by Tho. Buckmaster, professor of physics' (*TANNER*). 4. Commendatory Verses in 'Wharton's Dreame,' 1578; together with other almanacks, of which notices will be found in Herbert's 'Ames's Typographical Antiquities.'

[Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 729, 896, 917, 1025, 1094; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 137.]  
W. H.

**BUCKMASTER, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1545), vice-chancellor of Cambridge University, graduated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, B.A. in 1513-14, M.A. in 1517, B.D. in 1525, and D.D. in 1528. In 1517 he was elected fellow of his college. He thrice served the office of vice-chancellor (1529, 1538, and 1539), and was twice elected Lady Margaret professor of divinity (1532 and 1534). He became rector of Barchester, Warwickshire (23 April 1530), fellow of King's Hall (1533), prebendary of Hereford (1539), and of St. Paul's Cathedral, London (1541). He died shortly before 14 Sept. 1545, but his effects were not administered (by his nephew, Hugh Buckmaster) until 5 Dec. 1546.

As vice-chancellor in 1529-30, Buckmaster took a prominent part in preparing the replies to the questions preferred by Henry VIII to the university relative to his divorce. After much discussion, convocation resolved that marriage with a brother's wife was contrary to divine law, but the university declined to express any definite opinion as to whether the pope had power to permit such a marriage. This answer was not what the king desired, but Buckmaster was selected to carry it to Windsor and announce to Henry VIII

the university's judgment. He wrote an interesting account of his reception at court in a letter to Dr. Edwards, master of Peterhouse, which is still preserved in manuscript at Corpus Christi College. Buckmaster asserts that his performance of the duty lost him an important benefice, which was about to be conferred upon him. He signed the well-known articles of religion of 1536 as proctor in convocation of the London clergy; and about 1537 he was consulted by Cromwell, with many other eminent divines, as to the form which certain theological dogmas of the Romish church should take in the Anglican articles. Roger Ascham [q. v.] refers to Buckmaster as one of his Cambridge patrons (ASCHAM, *Epist.*, No. iv. (ed. Giles), i. i. 5).

[Buckmaster's account of the proceedings at Cambridge in 1529, now preserved at Corpus Christi College, has been fully printed in Dr. Lamb's collections from the C. C. C. MSS.; and (very carefully) in Burnet's Reformation (ed. Pocock), vi. 28-34. Portions of it appear in the Brit. Magazine, xxxvi. 72, and in Froude's History, i. 280-3. See also Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 86-7; Strype's *Cranmer* (1848), i. 178; Burnet's Reformation (ed. Pocock), *passim*; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.*; Le Neve's *Fasti* (ed. Hardy).]  
S. L.

**BUCKSHORN, JOSEPH** (fl. 1670), painter, a native of the Netherlands, settled in London in 1670, and was much employed by Sir Peter Lely in painting his draperies and accessories. He also painted portraits, imitating his master's manner with no little skill. The copy of the Earl of Strafford and his secretary, Sir John Mainwaring, in the possession of Earl Fitzwilliam at Wentworth Woodhouse, after Vandyck, is by him. According to Walpole's vague statement (*Anecdotes of Painting* (Wornum), ii. 452), Buckshorn 'dying at the age of thirty-five, was buried at St. Martin's.' Thomas Bardwell, in his work 'The Practice of Painting and Perspective made Easy,' 1756, p. 21, says 'Buckshorn was one of the last good copiers we have had in England; the rest that followed him and his master Lely soon dwindled to half-artists.'

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878), p. 60.] G. G.

**BUCKSTONE, JOHN BALDWIN** (1802-1879), actor and dramatist, was born at Hoxton on 14 Sept. 1802. In his eleventh year he was placed on board a man-of-war; but through the intervention of a relative, who objected to his entering on an arduous career at so tender an age, he was brought back and again sent to school. At the end

of his school days he was articled in a solicitor's office, but he soon engaged in theatrical pursuits, and made his first appearance at Peckham, in a building half theatre, half barn, as Captain Aubri in the melodrama called 'The Dog of Montargis.' At the age of nineteen he made a successful appearance at Wokingham, Berkshire, in the character of Gabriel in the 'Children of the Wood.' His reputation as a low comedian gradually extended. Pursuing the career of a provincial actor for three years, he became acquainted in the course of that period with Edmund Kean, who seems to have appreciated his peculiar humour, and to have encouraged him to persevere in his calling. On 30 Jan. 1823 he made his first appearance in London at the Surrey Theatre in the character of Ramsay the watchmaker in the 'Fortunes of Nigel.' The statement that Buckstone made his début as Peter Smink in 'The Armistice' is not confirmed. From 18 Oct. 1824 until 1827 he was a member of the Coburg company. He joined in 1827 the company of Mr. D. Terry at the Adelphi, appearing as Bobby Trot in his own drama entitled 'Luke the Labourer' on 1 Oct. It appears that a year previously Buckstone had sent this piece to the manager of the Adelphi without any personal knowledge of him, and that the name and address of the dramatist had been lost. Terry, however, perceived the suitability of the drama for his purpose, and had produced it for the first time on 16 Oct. 1826. Buckstone was at length identified as the dramatist, and brought to the theatre to find his piece in rehearsal for a second time, and to take a share in its representation. At the Adelphi Buckstone was introduced by Terry to Sir Walter Scott, an event which gave him ambition for a general literary career. This theatre was also the scene of some of his best known dramas. He was the original Gnatbrain in Jerrold's 'Black-eyed Susan,' produced at the Surrey 8 June 1829. At the Haymarket, in 1833, was produced his drama called 'Ellen Wareham,' in which Mrs. Yates personated the heroine. Here, between his first appearance on 8 April 1833 and 1839, he also performed in several farces of his own, one of them, 'Uncle John,' including in its cast the eminent names of Farren, Webster, Buckstone himself, and Mrs. Glover. But he only performed at the Haymarket during the summer, and returned each winter to the Adelphi. In 1840 he paid a visit to the United States. After his return in 1842 he again connected himself with the Haymarket, fulfilling, however, during his absences from that house, a short engagement with Mr. Bunn at Drury Lane, and another with Madame Vestris at

the Lyceum, where he played Box for the first time in the farce of 'Box and Cox.' During an engagement of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kean at the Haymarket in 1848 the manager, with a view of strengthening the cast of 'Macbeth,' was ill-advised enough to put Buckstone into the part of the First Witch. The well-known and peculiar voice of the comedian, issuing from the grim figure of the witch, shook the house with almost unappeasable laughter. The old standard characters in which this actor excelled were Tony Lumpkin, Mawworm, Scrub, Marplot, Sir Benjamin Backbite, Bob Acres, &c., but he obtained a wide success also in many more modern parts, either in his own dramas or those of his contemporaries. Buckstone was not what is sometimes called an objective actor. To a great extent he was Buckstone in every character. It might be objected that on occasions his acting was somewhat too broad; but this defect was lost sight of in his infectious self-complacency and overflow of fun. Added to a countenance peculiarly fitted to express humour in all its varieties and transitions, he had an evident enjoyment of the droll conceptions he was embodying, which enhanced that of his audiences. He had sometimes a way of pausing before he uttered a joke, and, when he had wound up the house to expectancy, of discharging it with a rapidity and elation that were irresistible. While yet a youthful amateur he is said to have played Iago, at a little theatre in Catherine Street, Strand, to the Othello of Mr. Richard Younge. With his physiognomy, his voice, and other natural qualifications for broad comedy, Buckstone's juvenile interpretation of Iago must have been something to see and to remember. As a man he possessed the abundant geniality which he threw into his acting. He was never more at home than at a weekly club which he founded at the Haymarket Theatre. In 1853 he became manager of the Haymarket, and remained in that capacity until within three years of his death. His control of the theatre was in every way creditable. He surrounded himself with a body of actors, some of whom were famous, while none were undistinguished. Amongst these were Mr. Compton, Miss Sedgwick, Mr. and Mrs. Chippendale, Mr. William Farren (the second actor of that name), Mr. Howe, and, at a later period, Mr. Sothern, Mr. J. S. Clarke, Mr. and Mrs. Kendal, and Miss Ada Cavenish. He produced plays by Planché, Tom Taylor, Dubourg, Westland Marston, T. W. Robertson, Byron, Burnand, W. S. Gilbert, Oxenford, Mrs. Lovell, and Mrs. Catherine Crowe, authoress of the 'Night Side of Na-

ture,' and in most of these works he himself played. He was scarcely better known as an actor than as a prolific dramatist. Of his stage productions, amounting to between one and two hundred, scarcely one was a failure, while many were unusual successes. He had great knowledge of stage effect, much humour, though of a broad kind, nor was he deficient in pathos, or in such characterisation as commends itself to audiences. Among his best known productions are 'The Wreck Ashore,' 'Victorine,' 'The Dream at Sea,' 'Green Bushes,' and 'The Flowers of the Forest,' performed at the Adelphi; 'Married Life,' 'Single Life,' 'Rural Felicity,' 'Leap Year,' or the 'Ladies' Privilege,' 'Second Thoughts,' and 'Nicholas Flam,' performed at the Haymarket; 'Popping the Question' and 'Our Mary Anne,' brought out at Drury Lane. Buckstone was also a very humorous speaker. His addresses at the dinners of the Theatrical Fund and on his own benefit nights were always attractive. At one time he contributed a few papers to the periodicals. A sketch in the 'New Monthly Magazine,' describing the career of an optimist perverted into a misanthrope by his experience of life, shows in its cynicism of tone and gravity of intention qualities far different from those which he displayed as an actor. In 1859 he wrote a preface to the Rev. Henry Bellows's 'Claims of the Drama.' After quitting the stage he sank into gradual decay, and died on 31 Oct. 1879.

[Notices of Buckstone in the Times, Daily Telegraph, and Daily News, 2 Nov. 1879; Era, 7 Nov. 1879; Pascoe's Dramatic List, 1879; Men of the Time, 1879; Bellows's Claims of the Drama, Melbourne, 1859; personal knowledge.]  
W. M.

BUDD, GEORGE (*n.* 1756), painter, is supposed to have been born in London, where for some time he kept a hosier's shop. Eventually he was led by his taste for drawing to abandon the business and devote himself wholly to art. He practised in portrait, landscape, and sometimes still life. He also taught drawing, and for several years gave lessons at Dr. Newcome's academy at Hackney. A portrait by him of Timothy Bennett, 'the patriotic shoemaker,' of Hampton Wick, who successfully maintained an action against the old Princess Amelia, when she was ranger, for attempting to close the public road through Bushey Park, was mezzotinted by W. McARDell in 1756 (E. EDWARDS, *Anecd. of Painters*, pp. 8, 9). Another painting by Budd representing the execution of Lords Balmerino and Kilmarnock in 1746 is also engraved. The Tower and surround-



ing buildings form the background, while the whole picture is crowded by a dense mass of small figures (REDGRAVE, *Dictionary of Artists*, 1878, p. 61).

[Pilkington's General Dict. of Painters, ed. Davenport, p. 76.] G. G.

**BUDD, GEORGE, M.D.** (1808-1882), professor of medicine in King's College, London, was born at North Tawton, Devonshire, in February 1808. He was the third son of Mr. Samuel Budd, a surgeon, who practised at that place, and who brought up seven of his nine sons to the medical profession. Five of them went to Cambridge, all of whom were wranglers, and four won fellowships. After being educated at home, George Budd entered at St. John's College in 1827, subsequently migrating to Caius, and becoming fellow of his college after taking his degree (third wrangler, 1831). He pursued his medical studies in Paris and at the Middlesex Hospital, London, graduating M.D. at Cambridge in 1840. He came into notice by writing a valuable article on the stethoscope as an acoustic instrument (*Medical Gazette*, 1837), and in the same year, while still a bachelor of medicine, he was appointed physician to the Dreadnought seamen's hospital ship at Greenwich. Here, in conjunction with Mr. Busk, he made extensive researches on cholera and scurvy, and accumulated a great store of pathological facts relating to diseases of the stomach and liver. In 1840, Budd was elected professor of medicine in King's College, London, and in 1841 he became a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, being censor 1845-7. In 1863 Budd retired from his medical professorship in King's College, of which he was then made an honorary fellow, and in 1867, owing to weakness of health, he gave up his large practice in London, and took to a life of rural ease at Barnstable, in his native county.

He was elected F.R.S. so early as 1836, and in 1880 he was made an honorary fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, having ceased to be a fellow many years before, on his marriage. He died 14 March 1882, aged 74. Budd was a very able physician and medical teacher. He made many valuable contributions to medical literature. Of his treatise on 'Diseases of the Liver,' 1845, Dr. Wilson Fox wrote: 'He may fairly be said to be the first writer who, for nearly half a century, had systematised the practical knowledge of liver diseases, and he for the first time gave this knowledge the form which it has retained for nearly forty years. This he did through the fact that he impressed on nearly every statement his own careful clinical observation, and

reinvestigated the pathology of the subject in the light of the then recent anatomical works of Kiernan and Bowman. The result has been that his book remains, and must remain, an original work of the highest value, and marking a period.' His treatise on 'Diseases of the Stomach,' 1855, is full of valuable observations, careful descriptions of cases, and ingenious argument. His report on cases of cholera in the Dreadnought during 1837 (*Medico-Chirurgical Transactions*, xxi. 152), written in conjunction with Mr. Busk, and his statistical account of cases collected from the records of the same hospital in the epidemic of 1832 (*ibid.* xxii. 110), are standard contributions to the subject. Their principal results are included in the essay on 'Cholera,' which Budd contributed to Tweedie's 'Library of Practical Medicine,' vol. iv.; vol. v. of the same work contains a valuable essay on 'Scurvy' from the same pen. To the 'Medico-Chirurgical Transactions' for 1837-8 Budd contributed papers on 'Concentric Hypertrophy of the Heart' and on 'Emphysema of the Lung.' He also published numerous brief papers and lectures in medical journals, especially the 'Medical Gazette,' where may be found his Gulstonian Lectures (1843) and Croonian Lectures (1847) at the College of Physicians. Budd was an original thinker, he was lucid in writing and speaking, and drew his information from a large fund of close personal observation.

[Personal knowledge; manuscript notes of Lectures, &c.; obituary notices in Transactions of Medical and Chirurgical Society, lxvi. 8, and in Roy. Soc. Proc. xxxiv. i-ii, by Sir James Paget.] S. J. A. S.

**BUDD, HENRY** (1774-1853), theologian, born at Newbury, Berkshire, 25 Sept. 1774, was the son of Richard Budd [q. v.] He was in residence at St. John's College, Cambridge, from October 1793 to June 1797, and graduated B.A. in 1798, and M.A. in 1801. After his ordination, 31 Dec. 1797, he became curate of Aldermaston, Berkshire, and was appointed chaplain of Bridewell Hospital, London, in 1801, which he resigned in 1831. He was instituted to the rectory of White Roothing, Essex, 18 March 1808. Budd, an active worker in all church matters, was one of the founders of the Prayer Book and Homily Society 21 May 1812, and for some time acted as the secretary, was connected with the New-foundland Society for the Education of the Poor, the African Missions, and the Church Missionary Society. He died at White Roothing 27 June 1853, and was buried in the churchyard of that parish 4 July. He had been three times married, and left issue.

He was the author of: 1. 'Infant Baptism, the means of National Regeneration, according to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Established Church. In nine Letters to a Friend,' 1827, 3rd ed. 1841. 2. 'The Present Controversy in the Bible Society briefly considered, in a Letter to a Friend,' 1832. 3. 'Helps for the Young, or Baptismal Regeneration according to the Services of the Established Church. In a series of twelve tracts,' 1832-9, 2 vols. 4. 'A Petition proposed to be presented respectively to the Three Estates of the Legislature on the subject of Church Reform, with an Address to the Ministers and Members of the Established Church,' 1833. He warmly supported the Parker Society, instituted in 1841.

[A Memoir of the Rev. Henry Budd (1855); *Christian Observer*, lvi. 194-211 (1856).]

G. C. B.

**BUDD, RICHARD (1746-1821)**, physician, was born in 1746 at Newbury, Berkshire, where his father was a banker. He entered at Jesus College, Oxford (where his great-great-grandfather, Richard Budd, had founded a scholarship in 1630); and was admitted M.B. in 1770, and M.D. in 1775. After practising for some years at Newbury he removed to London in 1780, where he was in the same year elected physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, an office which he held until his retirement in 1801. Having become a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1777, he attained considerable official status therein, being six times censor between 1780 and 1798, Gulstonian lecturer and Harveian orator in 1781, treasurer from March 1799 to April 1814, and elect from December 1797 to July 1818. He did not exert himself greatly in private practice, having married the only child of a wealthy merchant named Stabler. He is described as a man of strong will, impetuosity, and positiveness, and of great social influence. He died at Battersea Rise 2 Sept. 1821, and was buried at Speen, near Newbury. One of his sons, the Rev. Henry Budd [q. v.], became well known as the chaplain of Bridewell and a leading evangelical clergyman. The chaplaincy was secured by his father's indefatigable canvassing. Another son was the Rev. Richard Budd, B.D., rector of Ruan Lanihorne, Cornwall.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, ii. 311; Memoir of Rev. Henry Budd, 1855.]

G. T. B.

**BUDD, WILLIAM (1811-1880)**, physician, was born at North Tawton, Devonshire, in September 1811, being a younger brother of George Budd (1808-1882) [q. v.], and like

him receiving his early education at home. His medical education was divided between London, Edinburgh, and Paris; in Paris he passed four years, at the Collège de France and the École de Médecine. In 1838 he graduated M.D. at the university of Edinburgh, winning a gold medal for an essay on acute rheumatism. He served for a short time as physician to the Dreadnought seamen's hospital ship at Greenwich, but an attack of typhoid fever, from which he nearly died, obliged him to resign this position. For some time he assisted his father in his country practice at North Tawton, and here, in 1839, he began his careful study of the origin and transmission of typhoid fever, which was to be his chief life-work. Being personally acquainted with every inhabitant, and the medical attendant of almost every one, he enjoyed unusual opportunities of getting to the bottom of any circumstance on which exhaustive investigation was necessary. In 1842 he settled at Bristol, where he became physician to St. Peter's Hospital, and in 1847 physician to the Bristol Royal Infirmary, which post he held till 1862. For some years he lectured on medicine in the Bristol medical school, and sought through teaching and contributions to medical journals to make known his views on the nature and mode of propagation of zymotic diseases, and to impress on the medical profession and the public generally the paramount necessity of stringent modes of disinfection, and the adoption of other general sanitary measures. Among the latter he regarded a full supply of pure water as of the first importance, and he was one of the most zealous promoters of the Bristol waterworks. In 1870 he was elected F.R.S. He was an accurate draughtsman and good photographer, and used his accomplishments with great advantage in his investigations; while a good knowledge of French, German, and Italian enabled him to keep abreast of the advance of medical science in the continental schools. His energy and industry were unbounded, but the attempt to carry on at the same time original research and a large private practice proved too great a strain for his constitution, which, though originally strong, had been weakened by two attacks of fever. In 1873 his health broke down, and he was compelled to cease from active professional work. He died at Clevedon 9 Jan. 1880.

Budd possessed, with extensive learning and great practical knowledge of disease, clearness of mental vision and remarkable strength of conviction, so that he expressed himself in a dogmatic yet singularly attrac-

tive manner in enforcing his views, which being at the time novel met with strenuous opposition. His kindness of disposition and freedom from jealousy were at all times manifest. His eloquence was impressive, and his logical power as shown in tracing out the causes of disease was of the highest order. His principal work, 'Typhoid Fever; its Nature, Mode of Spreading, and Prevention,' London, 1873, reproducing in a more complete form what he had previously published in the medical journals, proved beyond dispute that typhoid fever is contagious, and is propagated chiefly by matter discharged from the intestine. In it he traced the course of an outbreak of the disease in North Tawton in 1839, and showed how a number of cases which occurred in various localities had been transferred in definite ways from case to case. Contaminated water, sewer air, hands, bedding and clothes were proved to have been the means of propagation in different cases; and the frequent long-continued immunity from typhoid amid impure surroundings is powerfully contrasted with its virulence when definitely introduced.

When Asiatic cholera appeared in Bristol in 1866, the energetic measures of prevention advocated and carried out by Budd successfully retarded its progress, and stamped it out. In 1849 the deaths from cholera in Bristol were 1,979, in 1866 only twenty-nine, though the disease appeared in twenty-six different localities, and very malignantly.

Budd also made careful studies of contagious diseases of animals, including cattle, sheep, and pigs. He arrived at the conclusion that several of those contagious diseases could be best dealt with by immediate slaughter of animals which became infected. When the terrible rinderpest broke out in England in 1866, Budd was loud in his recommendation of 'a poleaxe and a pit of quicklime' as the true solution of the difficulty; and though at first ridiculed, this view was ultimately and successfully adopted.

Professor Tyndall, whose persevering and ingenious researches into the germ theory of diseases are well known, writes thus: 'Dr. William Budd I hold to have been a man of the highest genius. There was no physician in England who, during his lifetime, showed anything like his penetration in the interpretation of zymotic disease. For a great number of years he conducted an uphill fight against the whole of his medical colleagues, the only sympathy which he could count upon during this depressing time being that of the venerable Sir Thomas Watson. Over and over again Sir Thomas Watson has

spoken to me of William Budd's priceless contributions to medical literature. His doctrines are now everywhere victorious, each succeeding discovery furnishing an illustration of his marvellous prescience.'

Besides his principal work above mentioned, Budd published numerous treatises and papers, all important, of which the following are the chief: 1. 'Contributions to the Pathology of the Spinal Cord,' *Medico-Chirurg. Trans.* xxii. (1839), pp. 153-90. 2. 'On Diseases which affect corresponding parts of the body in a symmetrical manner,' *Medico-Chirurg. Trans.* xxv. (1842), pp. 100-166. 3. 'Malignant Cholera, its Mode of Propagation and its Prevention,' London, 1849. 4. 'Researches on Gout,' *Medico-Chirurg. Trans.* xxxviii. (1855), pp. 233-46. 5. 'Variola Ovina, Sheep's Small-pox; or the Laws of Contagious Epidemics illustrated by an Experimental Type,' 1863. 6. 'The Siberian Cattle Plague, or the Typhoid Fever of the Ox,' Bristol, 1865. 7. 'Scarlet Fever and its Prevention,' reprinted from *Brit. Med. Jour.* 9 Jan. 1869, London, 1869, fifth edition 1871. 8. 'Cholera and Disinfection, or Asiatic Cholera in Bristol in 1866' (1871). To the very last Budd was engaged in extensive investigations in regard to phthisis and cancer, the causation of both of which he attributed to the development of organisms of external origin, and he left unpublished manuscripts on these subjects. In the 'Lancet,' 1867, vol. i. p. 451, is a brief summary of his views on the nature and mode of propagation of phthisis. His first ideas on the subject dated from August 1856, and after that date much of his time was occupied in accumulating and weighing evidence bearing on the subject. Another contribution of his ('Lancet,' 1861, i. 337) on the contagion of yellow fever is of considerable value.

[Obituary notices, 1880: *Times*, Jan. 12, Academy, i. 46, *Lancet*, i. 148; manuscript letter from Professor Tyndall; information from surviving brothers.] G. T. B.

**BUDDEN, JOHN** (1566-1620), professor of civil law at Oxford, the son of John Budden of Canford, Dorsetshire, was born there in 1566, entered Merton College, Oxford, in Michaelmas 1582, was admitted a scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, on 30 May 1583, and proceeded B.A. on 29 Oct. 1586, M.A. on 27 June 1589, and B.C.L. and D.C.L. on 8 July 1602. At the request of Thomas Allen, the mathematician [q. v.], he migrated to Gloucester Hall about 1587, and devoted himself to civil law. Before 1602 he became philosophy reader at Magdalen College, held

the office of principal of New Inn Hall from 1609 to 1618, and was king's professor of civil law, and principal of Broadgates Hall (afterwards Pembroke College). 'He was a person,' says Wood, 'of great eloquence, an excellent rhetorician, philosopher, and a most noted civilian.' He died at Broadgates Hall on 11 June 1620, and was buried in the neighbouring church of St. Aldate's. He was the author of Latin lives of Bishop Waynfleet (or William Patten), Oxon. 1602, and of Archbishop Morton, London, 1607. The former was published by William Bates [q. v.], and was republished in the volume entitled 'Vitæ selectorum aliquot virorum,' London, 1681. Budden also translated into Latin Bodley's 'Statutes of the Public Library' and Sir Thomas Smith's 'Commonwealth of England' (1610, other editions in 1625 and 1630), and into English (from the French of Pierre Ayrault) 'A Discourse for Parents' Honour and Authority over their Children,' London, 1614, dedicated to Toby Matthew, archbishop of York.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 282-3; Fasti, ed. Bliss, i. 236, 249, 296; Cat. of English Books in Brit. Mus. before 1640; Cat. Oxf. Graduates, p. 806; Coote's *Lives of the Civilians.* S. L.]

**BUDDLE, ADAM** (*d.* 1715), botanist, was born at Deeping St. James, Lincolnshire, and educated at St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge, taking the degree of B.A. in 1681, and that of M.A. in 1685. He does not seem to have taken up the study of British botany, with which his name is chiefly connected, until a later date; he is mentioned by Petiver, writing in 1687, as well versed in mosses. He was at one time (1689 or 1690) a nonjuror, but subsequently complied. In 1696-8 he was living at Henley in Suffolk (where his two children were baptised), and corresponded with Doody and Petiver, to whom he sent his collections of grasses and mosses, then the best in the kingdom; these were afterwards transmitted to Tournefort. In 1699 he paid a visit to Ray. In 1703 he was presented to the living of North Fambridge, Essex, and he was also reader at Gray's Inn. In 1708 Buddle wrote an entirely new and complete English Flora, which will be found in the Sloane MSS. (2970-2980); his herbarium, also in the British Museum, occupies vols. cxiv-cxxv. of the Sloane collections. From these two works we are able to form a very high estimate of the accuracy, diligence, and knowledge of their author. It is to be regretted that the Flora was never printed, although Petiver, who had access to it, frequently made use of

the information it contains. Dawson Turner's note (*RICHARDSON'S Correspondence*, p. 151), that 'justice was not done him by those of his immediate successors who more particularly benefited by his labours,' seems fully justified. Dillenius had the use of the herbarium for his edition (the 3rd) of Ray's 'Synopsis.' There is a letter of Buddle's published in the Richardson correspondence, pp. 87-9; several exist in the Sloane MSS. He died at Gray's Inn on 15 April 1715, and was buried at St. Andrew's, Holborn.

[Richardson's *Correspondence*, pp. 87, 95, 151; Trimen and Dyer's *Flora of Middlesex*, pp. 386-388.] J. B.

**BUDDLE, JOHN** (1773-1843), mining engineer, was born in 1773 at Kyo, near Tanfield in Durham, where his father, who had formerly been a miner, was the village schoolmaster. Although entirely self-educated, the elder Buddle was noted for his proficiency in mathematics and the theory of coal-mining, being an occasional contributor on these subjects to 'The Ladies' and Gentlemen's Diary,' and when, in 1781, the famous colliery at Wallsend was projected, the Kyo schoolmaster was chosen for the post of colliery manager and 'viewer.' From his eighth year accordingly Buddle was brought up under his father's zealous tuition, in familiar contact with the processes above and below ground of coal-mining. Profiting readily by his opportunities, he had already in several ways proved his practical ingenuity, when in 1806 the death of his father threw the full responsibility of the Wallsend colliery upon his shoulders, from which time he made very rapid headway in his profession. In 1809 he introduced an improved method of coal-working, by which nearly all the contents of a coal-seam could be exhausted, instead of leaving, as hitherto, a large proportion to act as support to the roof of the mine. As part of this scheme he conceived the ingenious idea of dividing the mine into separately ventilated districts by intermittent barriers of coal, hoping by this means to localise the effects of explosion and other mining dangers. In later practice these and other details of his method have been largely dispensed with, but upon the general principles he thus established depend very much the improved methods now in vogue. In 1813 a disastrous explosion at Felling colliery led to the formation of a society at Sunderland for the investigation of mine accidents, and in response to an appeal addressed by the society to eminent mining engineers and scientific men, Buddle drew up an important paper describing the method of ventilation adopted by him and

stating the problem of satisfactorily lighting underground workings. The indirect result of this paper was the evolution of the safety-lamp through more or less cumbersome forms, until it reached the comparative perfection of the lamps designed respectively by George Stephenson, Dr. Clanny, and Sir Humphry Davy. Buddle himself assisted actively in the experiments in connection with the Davy lamp, and upon its completion introduced it successfully at the collieries under his charge, which, with the growth of his professional reputation, had greatly increased in number. In 1815 an accident at one of these collieries, Heaton Main, through the sudden influx of water from some old workings, led him to consider the need of preserving a more systematic record of mine-workings, and several years later he embodied these views in a paper contributed to the 'Transactions' of the Natural History Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, proposing that the society should be made 'a place of deposit for the mining records of the district.' Buddle has thus the distinction of having prepared the way for the establishment of the Mining Record Office in its present completeness. Outside the range of his own profession he showed remarkable intellectual activity; besides his connection with the society mentioned above, of which he was one of the chief promoters, he actively interested himself in founding schools in the colliery villages with which he was connected. Of undertakings other than those specially belonging to his profession, the most important was the building of Seaham harbour for the Marquis of Londonderry, who had conceived the idea of transferring thither the trade from the port of Sunderland. As a colliery manager and mining engineer Buddle attained by degrees to an almost autocratic eminence, as his popular sobriquet, 'the King of the Coal Trade,' testifies, and it says much for the genuineness of his character that at the height of his social prosperity he still remained on terms of affectionate intimacy with the mining folk about him, using the native vernacular with a force and humorous unction that have made some of his sayings almost proverbial in the district. Although over eight hundred lives are said to have been lost in the mines under his charge, he showed a tender regard and sympathy for the suffering which greatly strengthened the esteem in which his workpeople held him. Directly and indirectly, indeed, no one has done more than he to increase the safety of the miner at his dangerous work, and he was the first to propound the necessity of the miners' permanent relief fund, which now forms so important a part in the economy of

coal-mining. In the wider aspects of his profession Buddle showed a scientific interest that had valuable results; his geological investigations have a more than merely practical value, and his paper entitled 'A Synopsis of the Newcastle Coalfield,' read, as finally completed, before the British Association on its visit to Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1838, proves the originality and comprehensiveness of his scientific knowledge. In religion Buddle was a unitarian. He never married. He died 10 Oct. 1843 at Wallsend, and was buried at Benwell six days later in characteristic north-country fashion, the funeral having a vanguard of sixty gentlemen on horseback, while seventy carriages and a vast multitude of miners afoot followed the hearse. In spite of his generosity and his noted hospitality he left a considerable fortune.

[Memoir published in the Newcastle Weekly Chronicle in a series of biographical papers entitled 'Northern Worthies.' See also Latimer's *Local Records of Northumberland, &c.*, under the date of Buddle's death. For his various contributions upon mining and other subjects, the Transactions of the societies mentioned above and also of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Newcastle-upon-Tyne may be consulted; and in the Life and Works of Sir Humphry Davy will be found proof of Buddle's connection with the invention of the safety-lamp.] E. P. R.

BUDGE, EDWARD (1800-1865), theological and general writer, was the son of John Budge, and was a native of Devonshire. He was educated at Saffron Walden, Essex, and was admitted at Christ's College, Cambridge, on 14 March 1820, when twenty years old. In 1824 he took the degree of B.A., and in the same year was ordained deacon by the bishop of Exeter. After holding several curacies in the west of England, he was instituted in 1839 to the small living of Manaccan, Cornwall, and remained there until 1846, when he was appointed by the bishop of Exeter to the more valuable rectory of Bratton Clovelly, North Devon. He died at his rectory on 3 Aug. 1865, aged 65. At his death his family was left without any provision for their support. In the hope of raising some money for their necessities, the Rev. R. B. Kinsman, the vicar of Tintagel, published, in 1866, a collection of 'Posthumous Gleanings' from Budge's study and from the essays which he had contributed to the 'Saturday Review.'

Budge was a learned theologian and a skilled geologist. For Dr. Pusey's 'Library of the Fathers' he translated the 'Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Statues,' and his scientific knowledge was shown in the numerous articles which he supplied to the

Geological Society, and to the Royal Institution, of Cornwall, on the geology of the Lizard district. To the Rev. H. A. Simcoe's periodical of 'Light from the West' he furnished a series of articles setting forth the reflections of the 'Christian Naturalist,' which was published in 1838 in a volume bearing that title. A compilation from his pen on the 'Lives of Men of Great Æras' was issued in 1851. He published many visitation and other sermons.

[Gent. Mag. September 1865, p. 391, November 1865, p. 651; Life prefixed to Posthumous Gleanings; Courtney and Boase's Bibl. Cornub. i. 50, ii. 651, iii. 1076, 1100.] W. P. C.

**BUDGELL, EUSTACE** (1686-1737), miscellaneous writer, was born 19 Aug. 1686, and baptised 2 Sept. (information from W. Pengelly, F.R.S.) He was the son of Gilbert Budgell, D.D., of St. Thomas, Exeter, by his first wife Mary, only daughter of Bishop Gulston of Bristol, whose sister was wife of Lancelot, and mother of Joseph Addison. He matriculated 31 March 1705 at Trinity College, Oxford (*Register of Trinity College*, 175). He afterwards entered the Inner Temple, and was called to the bar; but an intimacy with his cousin Addison diverted him from his profession. Addison, while secretary to Wharton, the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, made Budgell a clerk in his office. He shared Addison's lodgings during the last years of Queen Anne, and took a considerable part in the 'Spectator.' Thirty-seven papers are ascribed to him (N. DRAKE'S *Essays*, iii. 18). They are palpable imitations of Addison's manner. One of them (No. 116) is an account of Sir Roger de Coverley in the hunting-field. Johnson mentions a report that Addison had 'mended them so much that they were almost his own' (*Boswell*, 26 April 1776). It was also said that Addison was the real author of an epilogue to Ambrose Philips's 'Distressed Mother,' the 'most successful ever spoken in an English theatre;' and had Budgell's name substituted for his own at the last moment, to strengthen his young cousin's claims to a place (JOHNSON, *Life of Philips*). In 1714 Budgell published a translation of 'Theophrastus,' duly praised by Addison in the 'Lover' (No. 39). In 1711 the death of Budgell's father had put him in possession of an estate of 950*l.* a year, encumbered with some debt. On the accession of George I Addison became secretary to the lord-lieutenant, and made Budgell under-secretary. Budgell was also chief secretary to the lords justices, deputy clerk of the council, and M.P. for Mullingar (1715-27) in the Irish Parliament. He takes credit for energetic and disinterested conduct

during the strain put upon his office by the despatch of troops to Scotland in 1715 (*Letter to Lord —*). Upon leaving Ireland in 1717 Addison procured for Budgell the place of accountant-general, worth 400*l.* a year. He held this appointment from 10 Aug. 1717 to 11 Dec. 1718.

In August 1717 the Duke of Bolton succeeded Sunderland as lord-lieutenant. His secretary, E. Webster, quarrelled with Budgell, who was ultimately deprived of his places. From a pamphlet which he published on returning to England (*Letter to the Lord —* from Eustace Budgell, Accountant-General of Ireland and late Secretary to the Lords Justices) and 'Remarks' upon his letter (written or inspired by Webster) it seems that the dispute turned mainly upon a clerkship in the office which Budgell desired to keep for his brother, while Webster appointed a Mr. Maddockes. Addison, it is said, disapproved of Budgell's publication, and it is significant that in 1719 Budgell is said to have written a pamphlet against the peerage bill, thus offending Sunderland, Addison's patron, and taking the side of Steele in his famous quarrel with Addison.

Budgell travelled abroad, and returned to lose 20,000*l.*, as he says (*Liberty and Property*, i. 137), in the South Sea. The Duke of Portland had lost a large estate in the same affair, and helped Budgell to circulate various pamphlets on the occasion, especially a paper distributed to members of parliament, 'Letter to a Friend in the Country,' and 'A Letter to Mr. Law on his Arrival in England,' which went through seven editions. The Duke of Portland, on being appointed governor of Jamaica, proposed to take Budgell as his secretary, but received a message from a secretary of state, telling him that he might take any man in England except Budgell (*Liberty and Property*, i. 137-42). Budgell now fell into difficulties, which seem to have affected his brain. He spent, it is said, 5,000*l.* of his own, and afterwards 1,000*l.* given to him by the Duchess of Marlborough, in attempts to get into parliament. He became involved in numerous and vexatious lawsuits. Some of them concerned an estate in Essex, a moiety of which he had bought before the South Sea losses from a clergyman named William Piers, with whom he had intricate disputes. Budgell believed Piers to be the instrument of some great man, presumably Walpole, who had dark designs against him. He got into the Fleet, though in December 1732 he obtained 5*l.* damages for illegal arrest by a bailiff, Budgell declaring that he was privileged as secretary to Lord Orrery (*Gent. Mag.* ii. 1123). Budgell further declares that he was

dogged by spies, and that various attempts were made upon his life. He says that he had thought of suicide, in consequence of persecutions lasting for ten years; and it seems probable that, as his enemies frequently asserted, he was 'disordered in his senses' (*Liberty and Property*, i. 159, and ii. 83).

His grievances are confusedly set forth in various tracts. The accession of George II apparently inspired him, like his betters, with hopes of Walpole's downfall. He published (19 June 1728) a 'complimentary poem upon his majesty's late journey to Cambridge and Newmarket.' He presented a petition to the king at a levée, demanding Walpole's punishment, and seems to have been regarded as an intrusive madman. Several pamphlets arose out of this incident: 'A Letter to the "Craftsman" from E. Budgell, Esq., occasioned by his late presenting a humble complaint against the Rt. Honble. Sir R. Walpole;' 'A Letter to Cleomenes, King of Sparta,' &c., in answer to a letter in the 'Daily Courant;' and 'A Letter to His Excellency Mr. Ulrick d'Ypres, Chief Minister to the King of Sparta,' &c. The two pamphlets called 'Liberty and Property,' pts. i. and ii. (1732), deal chiefly with his litigations. To the first part is appended 'A State of the Author's Case before the House of Lords,' &c., which concerns the controversy with Piers.

Budgell had become one of the Grub Street authors, and a contributor to the 'Craftsman.' He was also protected by the Earl of Orrery, the editor of 'Phalaris,' who had been arrested on suspicion of Jacobitism in 1722, and was hostile to Walpole's government. After his death, in 1731, Budgell published in 1732 his 'Memoirs of the Life and Character of the late Earl of Orrery and the Family of the Boyles;' a second edition appeared in the same year, and a third, called 'Memoirs of the Lives and Characters of the Illustrious Family of the Boyles, particularly . . . Charles, Earl of Orrery,' in 1737. Though the last professes to be carefully corrected, the three are identical; the last was probably got up to take advantage of the interest caused by the author's death, and the book is of little value.

In February 1733 Budgell started a weekly periodical, called 'The Bee,' which formed nine volumes, and lasted till June 1735. It is chiefly made up of extracts from contemporary papers, but contains much personal matter, boasts of his connection with Addison, and references to an affair which completed his ruin. Matthew Tindal, the deist, then over seventy, left Oxford in 1733, and took lodgings near Budgell's house with Mrs. Lucy Price, 'relict of Judge Price, who, with Budgell, constantly visited him. Tindal died

on 16 Aug. 1733, and his nephew, Nicholas Tindal, the translator of Rapin, expected to be his uncle's heir. A will was produced by Mrs. Price, in which the testator gave 2,100*l.*, his manuscripts, and some property to Budgell, and appointed Nicholas his residuary legatee. It turned out that Tindal's whole property consisted of 1,900*l.* stock, but 1,800*l.* of this had been sold out and lent on bond to Budgell. One of the bonds for 1,000*l.* had disappeared. Other suspicious circumstances came to light, and the nephew, after compelling Budgell to give up the few remaining assets, published a pamphlet called 'A Copy of the Will of Dr. Matthew Tindal, with an account of what passed concerning the same between Mrs. Lucy Price, Eustace Budgell, Esq., and Mr. Nicholas Tindal.' An ironical 'Vindication of Eustace Budgell, Esq.' (by William Webster, author of some controversial writings against Warburton), further exposed his case. Budgell tried to defend himself in 'The Bee' by absurd fictions. He brags of Tindal's friendship, and offers medals for poems in his honour. It is said (HOLLIS, *Memoirs*, p. 581) that Budgell sold the second volume of Tindal's 'Christianity as old as the Creation' to Bishop Gibson for 500*l.*, who destroyed it. Budgell was attacked in the 'Grub Street Journal,' which, to some uncertain degree, was Pope's organ, and especially in two copies of verses which he ascribes to Pope himself. This explains the couplet in the epistle to Arbuthnot—

Let Budgell charge low Grub Street on his quill,  
And write whate'er he pleased—except his will.

Budgell's character was hopelessly blasted. At last, 4 May 1737, having been 'much disordered for two or three days,' and expecting an execution in his house, he drove to Dorset stairs, filled his pockets with stones, took a boat, plunged overboard, and was drowned. Notes and gold to the value of 161*l.* were found in his pockets, and he left a 'scrap' of a will, giving his estate to his natural daughter, Anne Eustace, aged 11 (*Evening Post*, 14 May 1737). He left a paper on his desk:

What Cato did and Addison approved  
Cannot be wrong.

The coroner's jury returned a verdict of lunacy (*Gent. Mag.* vii. 315).

[The first authority for Budgell's life is Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, vol. v., which is followed in the *Biographia*, &c. It contains some errors of fact, though apparently written from private information, and is chiefly derived from Budgell's own statements in the pamphlets cited above. See also Letter to Eustace Budgell occasioned by his late complaints to the king against the Rt. Honble. Sir R. Walpole, 1730.]

L. S.

I

**BUDGETT, SAMUEL** (1794–1851), merchant, son of a small tradesman, was born at Wrington, Somerset, on 27 July 1794. After moving to one or two of the neighbouring villages his parents, in 1801, took a provision shop in Kingswood, near Bristol. At the end of two years they gave up this business to their eldest son, and took a 'general' shop at Coleford. From early childhood Budgett thoroughly enjoyed a bargain, and by the time that he left home in his fifteenth year to be apprenticed to his step-brother at Kingswood he had accumulated 30*l.* by petty dealings. This sum he gave to his parents. As a lad he was somewhat weakly, and in June 1812, when he had served about half his apprenticeship, his master dismissed him 'for want of ability.' He soon obtained another situation, and earnestly sought to improve his education. At the end of his apprenticeship, when he was just twenty-two years of age, he entered into partnership with his brother as a dealer in provisions, and about five years after married Miss Ann Smith of Midsomer Norton, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. He started a wholesale business, and in spite of many discouragements was wonderfully successful. After about twenty years his brother retired from the partnership, and soon afterwards Budgett's place of business at Kingswood, which by that time had become large, was burnt to the ground. This led him to transfer his business to Bristol. He died on 29 April 1851 at the age of fifty-six, having succeeded in founding the greatest house in the provision trade in the west of England. His success was due not merely to his commercial ability, but in at least an equal degree to his invariable uprightness in his dealings. He was a very religious man, and did much for his poor neighbours. For some time before his death he gave fully 2,000*l.* a year in charity. He belonged to the society of Wesleyan methodists, and contributed largely to its funds. At the same time his charity was not limited by sectarian distinctions.

[Arthur's *Successful Merchant*, a book that has passed through many editions, and has been translated into several languages; Noel's *Memoir of S. Budgett* is taken from it; Bristol Times of 10 May 1851; private information.] W. H.

**BUDWORTH, JOSEPH**, afterwards PALMER, antiquary and poet (*d.* 1815). [See PALMER.]

**BUDWORTH, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1745), schoolmaster, was the son of the Rev. Luke Budworth, vicar of Longford, Derbyshire, and afterwards rector of the parishes of

Tillesham and Wellingham in Norfolk. He was educated in the free grammar school at Market Bosworth under the famous Anthony Blackwall [q. v.], and thence proceeded to Christ's College, Cambridge (B.A. 1720, M.A. 1726). Soon after graduating he was appointed master of Rugeley school in Staffordshire, and on the death of Dr. Hillman he became head-master of the free grammar school at Brewood. He obtained the vicarage of Brewood on the presentation of the dean of Lichfield, and he was presented to the donative chapel of Shreshill, near Brewood, by Sir Edward Littleton, bart., who entrusted to him the education of his nephew and presumptive heir. In 1736 he would have engaged the celebrated Samuel Johnson as an assistant in this school had he not been apprehensive that the paralytic affection under which the great philologist laboured through life might have made him the object of ridicule among the scholars. One of Budworth's pupils was Richard Hurd, afterwards bishop of Worcester, who says he 'possessed every talent of a perfect institutor of youth in a degree which I believe has been rarely found in any of that profession since the days of Quintilian.' He died in 1745.

[Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, iii. 332–55, 759, vi. 469, 470; Carlisle's *Grammar Schools*, ii. 476; Kilvert's *Life of Bishop Hurd*; Boswell's *Life of Johnson*.] T. C.

**BUGG, FRANCIS** (1640–1724?), writer against quakerism, of whose life no authentic account remains, is only known from his own writings or those of his opponents. His father was a wool-comber at Mildenhall in Suffolk, who died when his son was about fifteen, leaving him the business and some property, which Francis declares was worth 30*l.* per annum, but which his aunt, Anne Docwra, estimates at only 7*l.* While quite a young man he joined the Society of Friends, among whom he soon obtained an unenviable notoriety.

About 1675 Bugg was persuaded to go to a meeting which was interrupted by soldiers, and, together with several other quakers, was arrested and fined 15*l.*; in default of payment his goods were distrained. Rumours soon began to circulate among the Suffolk Friends that Bugg had given information of the meeting and had received money for his treason, and it is certain that a third of his fine was returned to him. He insisted on holding the preacher, Samuel Cater, who had persuaded him to attend the meeting, liable for the fine, and dunned him till Cater referred the matter to twelve arbitrators, who unanimously held that he was not liable. In 1677 Bugg attended the yearly meeting of the



sect in London, and complained to William Penn that the Friends in the country refused him justice. He did not, however, cease to take an active interest in the affairs of the society, for in the same year he, with two other Friends, covenanted to support a quaker family in case they should require it (see manuscript in Sion College Library). Dissatisfied with the result of a second arbitration during 1679-80, Bugg continued to agitate for the repayment of his fines, and a quaker named George Smith attempted to settle the matter, which was fast becoming a scandal, by offering to pay half. Bugg insisted upon Smith's proving his good faith by depositing ten pounds, which the man, not possessing, borrowed for half an hour, on condition that Bugg should not put it in his pocket. This he did, nevertheless, and refused to return it, alleging that he would use it to pay Smith's debts with. As this was not done, the matter was brought under the notice of the quaker meeting, which decided that Smith's 'simplicity' had been imposed upon and that Bugg should refund the money. Bugg declined to comply, and, disgusted at the lack of appreciation the quakers exhibited, left the body (in 1680) and immediately began to write against it. Almost the first to take up cudgels with him was his aunt, Anne Docwra, a quaker minister of some standing, who, if her nephew is to be believed, was a most notorious liar; and the bitter recriminations which passed between them bring out the few events in his life which are certainly known. For some years she continued to write philippics against quakers and quakerism, which, if they rendered him notorious, forced him to neglect his business and almost reduced him to penury. In one of his works he allows that he received pecuniary aid from the clergy. His strictures were bitterly resented, and his aunt, Anne Docwra (who denies the relationship), attacked his character with such success that in 1703 he was compelled to publish a certificate to the effect 'that Mr. Francis Bugg of Mildenhall in the county of Suffolk, senior, is a man of an honest, sober life, and that he neither is nor ever was . . . given to any vice or immorality,' which certificate was signed by a number of his friends, including his own son! In 1713 he was imprisoned for some unknown cause at Ely, and for the rest of his life appears to have resided at Mildenhall. In the preface to his tract, 'Strong Motives for an Impartial Examination of the Principles, Doctrines, and Practices of the Quakers,' &c. (published 1724), he records that he was in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and from this time nothing

whatever is known about him. A portrait of Bugg is prefixed to 'The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity,' and manuscripts of his are preserved in the libraries at Sion College and the 'Meeting for Sufferings,' Devonshire House, Bishopsgate. Having once been a quaker, Bugg was necessarily well acquainted with all the weak places in the organisation of the sect, as well as the blots on the characters of some of its adherents. Of the knowledge he possessed he made unsparing use, and his allegations were the more difficult to refute, as they often retained, however distorted and exaggerated, a substratum of truth. Though his scholarship was small and his literary style poor, his works are worth study as affording good specimens of the controversial spirit of the age, as well as from their quaint vivacity.

The following is a list of the most important of his works: 1. 'De Christiana Libertate, or Liberty of Conscience, upon its true and proper grounds Asserted and Vindicated. And the Mischief of Impositions, amongst the People called Quakers, made Manifest,' &c., 1682. 2. 'The Painted Harlot both Stript and Whipt, or the second part of Naked Truth,' &c., 1683 (second part of the foregoing). 3. 'Reason against Railing; and Truth against Falsehood. Being a conclusive Postscript to be Annexed to a Book entituled The Painted Harlot both Stript and Whipt,' &c., 1683. 4. 'The Quakers Detected, their Errours Confuted, and their Hypocrisie Discovered,' 1686. In this book Bugg gives an account of the reasons why he joined the Society of Friends. 5. 'Battering Rams against New Rome,' &c., 1690-1. 6. 'New Rome Unmask'd, and Her Foundation Shaken,' &c., 1692. 7. 'New Rome Arraigned, and out of her own mouth Condemned,' &c., 1693. 8. 'Quakerism Withering and Christianity Reviving; or a Brief Reply to the Quakers' Pretended Vindication,' &c., 1694. 9. 'The Quakers set in their True Light, in order to give the Nations a clear sight of what they hold,' &c., 1696. 10. 'A Brief History of the Rise, Growth, and Progress of Quakerism,' &c., 1697. 11. 'The Picture of Quakerism, drawn to the Life,' in two parts, &c., 1697. 12. 'The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity,' &c., 1698. To this is attached his portrait. 13. 'Quakerism Exposed to Publick Censure,' &c., 1699. 14. 'A Modest Defence of my Book, entituled "Quakerism Exposed,"' &c., 1700. 15. 'News from New Rome, occasioned by the Quakers' challenging of Francis Bugg, whereby their Errors are further Exposed,' 1701. 16. 'A Seasonable Caveat against the Prevalency of Quakerism.

Containing a List of one of their Parliaments and Forty-four of their Canon Laws,' 1701. 17. 'A Narrative of the Conference at Sleaford in Lincolnshire between Francis Bugga and Henry Pickworth, 25 Aug. 1701,' &c., 1702. 18. 'Quakerism Drooping, and its Cause Sinking,' &c., 1703. 19. 'A Finishing Stroke; or some Gleanings collected out of the Quakers' Books, by way of Prologue, never before Published (with directions to the Bookbinders who bind up this folio with the seven following parts), whereby the Great Mystery of the Little Whore is farther exposed,' folio, 1712, containing (1) 'The Great Mystery of the Little Whore unfolded and her Witchcrafts discovered,' 1705. (2) 'Quakerism struck Speechless,' &c., 1706. (3) 'Hidden Things brought to Light, whereby the Fox is unkenelled,' &c., 1707. (4) 'Goliath's Head cut off with his own Sword, and the Quakers routed by their own Weapons,' 1708. (5) 'Quakerism Anatomised and finally Dissected,' &c., 1709. (6) 'A Retrospective Glass for Misled Quakers,' &c., 1710. (7) 'The Quakers' Infallibility shaken all to Pieces,' &c., 1711. 20. 'The Picture of Quakerism once more drawn to the Life; with Quakerism a Grand Imposture,' in eight parts, 1714-17. 21. 'A New Frame for the Picture of Quakerism,' in eight parts, 1719. 22. 'Strong Motives for an Impartial Examination of the Principles, Doctrines, and Practices of the Quakers,' &c., 1724.

[Bugga's works.]

A. C. B.

BUGGA or BUGGE, SAINT (*d.* 751), abess of Minster. [See EADBURGA.]

BUISSIÈRE or BUSSIÈRE, PAUL (*d.* 1739), surgeon and anatomist, was a native of France, and a protestant who had fled his country on account of his religion. Before leaving France he had practised with distinction in the principality of Orange. He settled in the first instance at Copenhagen, then coming over here was naturalised 10 Oct. 1688, and afterwards fixed himself in Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, where he rapidly attained to the highest reputation and success. He was the surgeon who attended Mr. Harley when stabbed at the council table by the Marquis de Guiscard, in March 1710-11; he also attended the assassin after his committal to Newgate, and had the honour of being called in to the consultation on the last illness of Queen Caroline. Lord Hervey, in writing of the last event in November 1737, states that 'although fourscore years old the king and queen had a great opinion of [Buissière], and preferred [him] to every other man of his profession.' Buissière was one of the first to introduce a course of lectures on anatomy and

physiology into England. He had been admitted a foreign member of the Royal Society on 22 May 1700, but was placed on the home list in 1713, and chosen one of the council in 1719. To the 'Philosophical Transactions' he contributed six papers, wholly on anatomical subjects. Other papers from his pen are to be found in the 'Mémoires' of the Academy of Sciences, Paris, of which he became a corresponding member in March 1699, and in the 'Acta Eruditorum.' He also maintained a scientific correspondence with Sir Hans Sloane, which is still preserved in the archives of the Royal Society. Buissière died at his house in Suffolk Street in January 1738-9 (*Probate Act Book*, P. C. C. 1739). His will, dated 19 July 1737, was proved 22 Jan. 1738-9. By it he bequeathed the sum of 200*l.* to the French hospital in London, of which he had been elected governor in 1729 (*BURN, Hist. of Foreign Protestant Refugees*, p. 183). A portrait of Buissière, presented by his family, is at the Royal Society.

His separate publications were: 1. 'Lettre à M. Bourdelin pour servir de réponse au sieur Méry sur l'Usage du Trou ovale dans le Fœtus,' 12mo, Paris, 1700. 2. 'Nouvelle Description anatomique du Cœur des Tortues terrestres de l'Amérique et des Vaisseaux,' 12mo, Paris, 1713. In all that he did Buissière was distinguished by his curious learning and the happy mode in which he handled the most difficult subjects.

[Haag, *La France Protestante*, deuxième édit. iii. pt. i. 413-14; Agnew's *Protestant Exiles*, 2nd edit. i. 49, iii. 51, 73; Alban Thomas's *List of the Royal Society*, 1718; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, iv. 618; Lord Hervey's *Memoirs*, ii. 505, 507-8; *Gent. Mag.* vii. 699; Will reg. in P. C. C., 3 Henchman; Weld's *Descriptive Cat. of Portraits at Royal Society*, p. 12; *Biographie Universelle*, nouvelle édition, vi. 128-9; *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, vii. 758-9; Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* ix. 238.]

G. G.

BUIST, GEORGE, LL.D. (1805-1860), Anglo-Indian journalist and scientific observer, was the son of the Rev. J. Buist, and was born at Tannadice, Forfarshire, on 22 Nov. 1805, and after studying at St. Salvador's College, St. Andrews, at St. Mary's College, and Edinburgh University, was licensed in 1826 as a preacher. He preached irregularly for six years, delivered a course of lectures on natural philosophy at St. Andrews town hall in 1832, and in the same year became editor of the 'Dundee Courier' (afterwards the 'Constitutional'). Having separated from this paper in 1834, he established the 'Dundee Guardian' on his own account, and also the 'Scottish Agricultural Magazine.' His energy and success as an editor brought him nume-

rous applications from proprietors of newspapers to take command of their offices, and on such an invitation he undertook the editing of the 'Perth Constitutional' in 1835. After a visit to London in 1837, and two years' management of the 'Fifeshire Journal,' he accepted, in 1839, the post of editor of the 'Bombay Times,' with which his name is most intimately connected, and for twenty years devoted himself with exceptional zeal and success to the development of this important paper. His bold repudiation in its columns of the policy of retaliation after the Kábul massacres of 1842 compelled the admiration of all parties, and the government showed its confidence in the unflinching journalist by giving him an opportunity of reviving the scientific studies of his early life in the capacity of unpaid inspector of the astronomical, magnetic, and meteorological observatories of Bombay, the efficiency of which he so increased that he was able to report that 300,000 observations had been made, recorded, corrected, and prepared for publication during the two years and a half in which he conducted the work. The loss of his wife in 1845 induced him to seek change in England for a few months, during which he busied himself with drawing up the 'Bombay Observatory Report for 1844,' which contained records of 170,000 observations. In January 1846 he was back again at the office of the 'Bombay Times,' where he continued his editorial labours, with one brief intermission, until within a year of his death. In 1859 he retired to take up a government appointment at Allahabad, but died at Calcutta on 1 Oct. 1860. He contributed many scientific papers to the 'Journal' of the Bombay branch of the Asiatic Society, and before leaving Scotland had written, for the Highland Society, some topographical and geological articles on the counties of Perth and Fife. He also compiled a useful 'Index to Books and Papers on the Physical Geography, Antiquities, and Statistics of India' (Bombay, 1852). During his absence in England in 1845 he obtained special grants from the government for improving agricultural machines and rural economy in India, and for establishing twelve observatories from Cape Comorin to the Red Sea for meteorological and tidal research. He also formed the geological collection for the museum of Elphinstone College, Bombay.

In 1837 Buist received from the Highland Society of Scotland a prize of fifty guineas for a paper on the 'Geology of the South-eastern portion of Perthshire.' In 1846 he was appointed to the honorary position of sheriff of Bombay. In 1847 he projected, and

in 1850 founded, the Bombay Reformatory School of Industry for the reformation and education of native children, of which he was superintendent, under the patronage of the governor, Lord Elphinstone.

[G. Buist, *Memoir with Testimonials*, Cupar, 1846, where the date of birth is misprinted 1803; *Annual Reg.* 1860; *Proceedings of Bombay Branch Asiatic Society*, 1860.] S. L.-P.

BUITE, SAINT (*d.* 521), son of Bronach, was descended from Tadhg, son of Cian, and therefore belonged to the Cianachta. He was known as the 'bishop of the monastery,' that is of Monasterboice, which seems in early times to have been pre-eminently 'The Monastery.' The date of his birth is not known, but his death took place in 521 (REEVES), and this date is of special interest as determining that of St. Columba's birth, which is not given in the 'Annals,' but is stated in the following lines from Tigernach to have taken place on the same day:—

The beloved Columba the clerk is born,  
This day in Ireland the most learned,  
On the same festival, I do not speak ignorantly,  
With the fair triumphant death of the son of  
Bronach.

Born in the neighbourhood of Mellifont, in the south of the county of Louth, his parents, who were christians, were in much difficulty as to his baptism, no clergyman being within reach. But some missionary priests having touched at an adjoining port, one of them baptised him; a fountain, called Mellifont, i.e. sweet water, having sprung up, as it was supposed, to supply water for his baptism. An incident of his youth indicates the bent of his mind. Sent by his mother to bring home some calves, and not returning in the evening, his parents went in search of him, and found him asleep. When awoke he asked them why they disturbed him, as 'the angels were teaching him psalms and ecclesiastical offices, and if he had not been awoke he would have learned the wisdom of God.'

When grown up he desired to devote himself to the service of God, and for this purpose seems first to have gone to Wales, with which the early christians of Ireland were in close connection. Thence he proceeded to Italy, where, 'in the monastery of St. Tylia, he was gladly received on account of his knowledge of monastic discipline and acquaintance with holy scripture.' St. Tylia appears to be St. Theilo, who became bishop of Llandaff A.D. 512, and some of whose people at a later period, when dispersed by a plague, took refuge in Italy, where the institution here referred to may have afforded them shelter.

St. Theilo, before his appointment to Llandaff, had travelled much, and is even supposed to have been ordained bishop in Constantinople.

After a missionary expedition of one year to Germany, Buite, with sixty companions, set out for the country of the Picts of Scotland. Here King Nectan, whom he is reported to have raised from the dead, bestowed on him the castrum or fort in which he lived, and the memory of the gift is perpetuated in the name of the place Carbuiddo (Cathair-Buiti), near Dun-Nechtain, now Dunnichen, in Forfar.

Crossing over Scotland, he reached the Irish Sea, and embarking arrived at Dalriada, in the north of the county of Antrim, the territory of the Cruithni, or Picts of Ireland, of the same race as those among whom he had been labouring. Here having, we are told, raised the king's daughter from the dead, he received a gift of land, on which he built a church, and, leaving a disciple in charge, passed on, and proceeded to visit the nearest settlement of his relatives, the Cianachta ('primumsolum Kyanacteorum'). There were two branches of the Cianachta, one situated near Dalriada, in that part of the north of the county of Londonderry now the barony of Keenaght, and who were known as the Cianachta of Glen Geimhin; the other, more to the south, in the present counties of Meath and Lowth, were called the Cianachta Breagh. It was to the former and nearest of these that Buite now went, but the king, who was a heathen (*gentilis*), refused to receive him (Mr. Skene has misunderstood this passage). Afterwards, however, he relented, and admitted him, when 'he preached the word of salvation to the whole region, and baptised the king and all his household with many others.' Here again he obtained a grant of land and built a monastery. His next journey was to the Cianachta of the south, where his brothers resided; after a brief visit to them he returned again to the north. Here he was admonished by an angel to settle in the 'Bregensian land,' that is the land of his southern relatives, and leaving Nectan, the bishop, in charge of the monastery, probably at Dun-Geimhin (Dungiven), where a century and a half afterwards we find another Nectan, he obeyed the call, and arriving at his destination was honourably received by the king.

In course of time and under his auspices he erected Monasterboice, i.e. the Monastery of Buite (or, in the Latin form of the name, Boëthius), in the south of the county of Louth. There also 'he, with his company, shed blessings as a shower, and amended the lives of many.'

From this as a centre other establishments were formed, and numerous pastors sent forth, and the writer of his life adds: 'It is impossible to give the full praises of the man.'

The death of Buite took place on 7 Dec. 521; and thirty years afterwards St. Columba is said to have visited his tomb and enshrined his remains. The word 'elevatio,' which is that generally used for taking up and enshrining a saint's remains, has been misunderstood by the author of his life, who took it to mean his ascension to heaven in the flesh. St. Columba afterwards consecrated a cemetery there. The place is called in the 'Martyrology of Donegal,' 'elaidh Indaraidh.' But as Buite's disciple, Nechtan, son of St. Patrick's sister, Liamain, who seems to have been the person left by him at Glen Geimhin, had subsequently a monastery at Finnabhair or Findabhairabha, now Fennor-on-the-Boyne, it would seem that this is the place intended, and that elaidh Indaraidh stands for 'Eill-gheadh [Fh]mdabhairabha,' 'The tomb of the fair meadow on the river,' which would therefore have been the burial-place of St. Buite.

The four masters have preserved the following distich referring to him:—

Let Buite, the virtuous judge of fame, come each day to my aid,  
The fair hand with the glories of clean deeds, the good son of Bronach, son of Bolar.

And in the 'Calendar of Oengus' he is thus noticed:—

The feast of white victorious Buite  
Of treasurous Monaster.

His name is interpreted by the scholiast on Oengus as 'Living to God,' for unto God he was alone, referring to 2 Cor. v. 15.

He was the contemporary of St. Patrick, whose nephew was one of his disciples, and an obscure quatrain exists (OENGUS, p. clxxx) which connects Ailbe of Emly with Buite in the foundation of Monaster. His fame was considerable at a very early period, but he has been overshadowed by more recent saints, and especially by St. Patrick, and very little is therefore recorded of him in Irish history; but the importance of his chief church ('primh-chell') of Monasterboice is indicated by the ruins of two very ancient churches, a round tower, and three sculptured crosses. Two of these are among the finest in Ireland, one being fifteen feet high and the other twenty-seven.

[MS. Life of St. Buite; Ware MSS. in British Museum, Cod. Clar. 39, Add. No. 4788; Annals of the Four Masters at A.D. 521; Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, ed. Reeves, p. lxxviii; Martyrology of Donegal, pp. 329, 333; Skene's

Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, pp. 66, 411, 435; Stokes's Calendar of Oengus, p. clxxx.]  
T. O.

**BULKELEY or BOKELEY, ARTHUR** (d. 1553), bishop of Bangor, was the son of Richard Bulkeley, a member of a Welsh family of that name. Bulkeley graduated in law at Oxford, possibly from New Inn Hall, suggests Anthony à Wood, who also says that he was held in esteem as a good canonist. Upon taking his degree he was appointed to the living of Llanddeusant in Anglesey, and about the same time was made canon of St. Asaph, 1525. In 1531 he became rector of St. James, Garlick Hythe, in London, and in 1537 was made prebendary of Clynoc Vechan, or Llangeinwen. This last preferment occasioned him much trouble. According to Bishop Humphreys, Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, 'obtaining a blank institution' of Clynoc from John Capon, then bishop of Bangor, inducted his nephew, Gregory Williamson, a boy eight years old, into the prebend. On Bulkeley's resisting this invasion of his rights, Cromwell applied to his kinsman, Sir Richard Bulkeley, through whom he made threats of such a nature to Bulkeley that the latter yielded, but upon Cromwell's fall in the year 1540 resumed possession of the living on the plea that his resignation was a forced one, and not made of his own free will. In 1541, not long after the execution of Cromwell, Bulkeley was consecrated bishop of Bangor, and, we are told, continued to hold his prebend of Clynoc Vechan in *commendam* for some years longer. Bulkeley was the first bishop of Bangor who had resided in his diocese for a hundred years, and he appears to have devoted himself with zeal to the duties of his office, in some respects with a result not wholly satisfactory. He incurred heavy expenses in lawsuits upon which he entered for the purpose of recovering advowsons of livings alienated by some of his predecessors. Godwin (*Comm. de Præsulibus Angliæ*), followed by Fuller in his 'Worthies' (where Bulkeley meets with much abuse on the strength of the story), says that Bulkeley sold five bells belonging to the cathedral of Bangor, and, going to see them shipped off, was on his return struck with total blindness by way of punishment for the sacrilege. Browne Willis, on the other hand, asserts that there is no foundation whatever for the statement that Bulkeley ever was blind. Bulkeley died on 14 March 1552-3 at Bangor, and was buried in the cathedral without monument or inscription. His will directed that his body should be buried with the heart of Thomas Skeffington, bishop of Bangor, 1509-33

[Godwin, *De Præsulibus*, p. 626; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 764; Willis's *Survey of the Cathedral Church of Bangor*, p. 101.]  
A. M.

**BULKELEY, LAUNCELOT** (1568?-1650), archbishop of Dublin, was the eleventh and youngest son of Sir Richard Bulkeley of Beaumaris and Cheadle, but the eldest by his second wife, Agnes, daughter of Thomas Needham of Stenton (*EARWAKER'S East Cheshire*, i. 182). He was thus half-brother of Sir Richard Bulkeley [q. v.]. He was entered in the beginning of 1587 a commoner in Brasenose College, Oxford, where he proceeded B.A.; he afterwards moved to St. Edmund Hall, where he took his M.A. degree in 1593. On 13 Nov. of the same year he was ordained deacon by Hugh Bellot, bishop of Bangor. In 1613 he became archdeacon of Dublin, and he was promoted to its see in 1619. Subsequently he was an Irish privy councillor. From 1634 till death he was treasurer of Cashel. He revived the controversy regarding the primacy of Ireland, and on the question being submitted to Strafford, lord deputy, the precedency was given to Armagh. Bulkeley was one of the council who in 1646 issued a proclamation confirmatory of peace concluded in that month between the Marquis of Ormonde and the Roman Catholics. For resisting the act prohibiting the use of the Book of Common Prayer he was in 1647 committed to prison. On 8 March 1649 it was decreed that all honours, castles, &c. belonging to the archbishopric of Dublin should be vested in General Ireton, president of Munster. The archbishop died at Tallaght on 8 Sept. 1650, in his eighty-second year, and was buried in St. Patrick's Cathedral under the communion-table. By his wife Alice, daughter of Roland Bulkeley of Conway, he left issue. He was the author of a pamphlet, 'Proposals for sending back the Nobility and Gentry of Ireland.'

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iv. 806-7; D'Alton's *Memoirs of the Archbishops of Dublin*, 258-75; Cotton's *Fasti Eccles. Hibern.* ii. 21; Ware's *Works*, ed. Harris, i. 355-6; Fuller's *Worthies of England*, ed. Nichols, ii. 672; Ormerod's *Cheshire*; *Earwaker's East Cheshire*.]

T. F. H.

**BULKELEY, SIR RICHARD** (1533-1621), knight, the eldest son of Sir Richard Bulkeley of Cheadle and Beaumaris, and Margaret, daughter of Sir John Savage of Clifton and Rocksavage, Cheshire, was descended from an old Cheshire family (see pedigree in *ORMEROD'S Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, iii. 628; and in *EARWAKER'S East Cheshire*, i. 181). In 1561, while his father was still

alive, he was appointed constable of Beaumaris, and in 1570 he was elected sheriff for Anglesey. He represented Anglesey in the parliaments of 1562, of 1571, in February 1603-4, and in April 1614. His first wife was Katherine, daughter of Sir William Davenport of Bramhall, Cheshire, who died on 21 Oct. 1573, leaving him one son and one daughter. In February 1576-7 he was married to a daughter of Sir William Burgh, knight, lord Burgh of Gainsborough, and the day preceding the marriage he received the honour of knighthood. By the second marriage he had two sons and two daughters. From entries of his children's baptisms at Cheadle it would appear that in the earlier period of his life he chiefly resided there, but latterly he seems to have preferred his Welsh estate, where in 1618 he erected the mansion of Baron Hill. He was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and a member of her household. Near London his residence was at Lewisham, where in 1577 the queen 'went a-maying' (NICHOLS, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, iii. 577). He succeeded in retaining her friendship till the last, notwithstanding the special hostility of the Earl of Leicester. Having been appointed chief ranger of Snowdon, Leicester attempted to bring within the limits of the forest most of the freeholders' lands in the counties of Anglesey, Caernarvon, and Merioneth. The scheme was only defeated by the promptitude and influence of Bulkeley; whereupon Leicester in revenge accused him before the council of having had conferences in 1585 with Thomas Salisbury, one of the accomplices of Anthony Babington [q. v.] (PENNANT, *Tour in Wales*, ed. Rhys, iii. 391). The queen, however, expressed her incredulity as to any ground for such an accusation, and after Bellot, bishop of Bangor, had examined into the matter, Bulkeley received his liberty. Subsequently, according to Pennant, the earl's retainers hired boats with the design of drowning Bulkeley on his passage from Westminster to London. Having been informed of their designs, Bulkeley borrowed the lord mayor's barge, and furnishing it with men, drums, and trumpets, rowed down to Greenwich, where the court was held, and on landing caused the drums to be beat and the trumpets to be sounded. The Earl of Leicester called the queen's attention to the strange conduct of Bulkeley, but when Bulkeley stated the cause of it, she effected an outward reconciliation between them which lasted till the earl's death shortly afterwards. Bulkeley had a violent quarrel with his eldest son for having married 'a poor cottager's daughter,' and refused to grant him

any allowance (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1603-10, p. 132). In 1618 the son's widow sued him for an allowance, and for slanderous his son's mother in denying the validity of the marriage (*ibid.* 1611-18, p. 602), and decision was given for an annuity of 592*l.* (*ibid.* 1619-23, p. 87). Bulkeley died on 28 June 1621, at the advanced age of eighty-eight. Possessing great wealth, he made use of it in the encouragement of foreign commerce, and in supplying himself with the best material comforts he could purchase. He was a liberal entertainer of strangers passing to and from Ireland. He is said to have been 'of goodly person, fair of complexion, tall of stature. He was temperate in his diet, not drinking of healths. In his habit he never changed his fashion, but always wore round breeches and thick bumbast doublets, though very gallant and rich' (PENNANT, *Tour in Wales*, ed. Rhys, iii. 389). Shortly after his death Thomas Cheadle and Lady Bulkeley were put on their trial for conspiring to poison him (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. addenda, 1580-1625, pp. 640-1). They were acquitted, but, on the ground that unfair influence had been used to secure an acquittal, a new trial was granted, which after many delays took place before the justice of assizes for Anglesey in 1634 (*ibid.* 1634-5, p. 135). The jury found them not guilty, but because Cheadle had used undue practices to hinder the course of proceeding, they bound him over to keep the peace. They also found that the evidence pointed to the probability that Bulkeley had died by poison, although it was not such as infallibly to convince. Details of the circumstances of the trial and the evidence on one side and the other are in the State Papers (*ibid.* 1634-5, p. 257).

[Dunn's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, ii. 135; Ormerod's *Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, iii. 628; Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, i. 181; Pennant's *Tour in Wales*, ed. Rhys, i. 40, iii. 388-94; Parry's *Royal Visits and Progresses in Wales*, 2nd ed. 317-18; *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. ix. 125, 353; *State Papers* (Dom. Series).] T. F. H.

**BULKELEY, RICHARD** (d. 1650), royalist general, was son of Thomas, created Viscount Bulkeley of Cashel by patent at Oxford on 6 Jan. 1643-4, and of Blanche, daughter of Robert Coytmore of Coedmore, Carnarvon, his father's first wife. Lord Bulkeley (1585-1659) was the second son of Sir Richard Bulkeley [q. v.] by his second wife, Mary, daughter of Sir William Burgh, lord Burgh.

Bulkeley's brief appearance in history is connected with the attempt made in 1648 by Lord Byron to secure Anglesey and raise North Wales for the king, in concert with

Hamilton's royalist invasion of England. The first object was accomplished, but the intrigues of Williams, archbishop of York, made that success futile and the completion of the task impossible. Byron alleges that the archbishop's main instrument was the ambition of Bulkeley, 'an ignorant and wilful young man' (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 418). Williams persuaded him that it was not for his nor the Welsh nation's honour that a stranger, as Byron was, should command them; and that the county had power under the king's commission of array to choose its own commander, and Bulkeley was chosen accordingly. Byron resolved to leave the island; but before doing so he wrote to a meeting of cavalier gentlemen, declaring the commission he had from the Prince of Wales, and his intention of conferring the command of the island upon Bulkeley. To this letter no answer was returned. The parliamentary colonel, Mytton, mustered men at Bangor. Bulkeley, who was both ignorant himself and unwilling to be advised by others, took no steps to defend the island, and neglected the easy task of intercepting the few boats sent over by Mytton. Their crews surprised the guard, and the whole force landed unopposed. Bulkeley got his men together, fought, 'and was presently routed.' He took refuge in the castle of Beaumaris with the remnant of his followers, 'leaving all their horses, most of their arms, and the plunder of the whole island as the spoil of the conquerors.' The castle surrendered on 2 Oct. 1648. On 19 Feb. 1649-50 Bulkeley was treacherously killed by Richard Cheadle, who appears to have been a major in the parliament's service. Earwaker says he was 'killed in a duel on Lavan Sands' (EARWAKER, *East Cheshire*, i. 183). Cheadle was executed at Conway (WHITELOCKE; LODGE).

[Lodge's Peerage of Ireland (Archdall), v. 26; *Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 418, fo. ed.; Whitelocke's Memorials, 485.] R. C. B.

**BULKELEY, SIR RICHARD** (1644-1710), author, the eldest son of Sir Richard Bulkeley of Dunlavan, county Wicklow, was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he graduated B.A. in 1680, and M.A. in 1681, being also made a fellow in the same year. On 4 March 1680 he was specially created B.A. of Christ Church, Oxford. He succeeded in 1685 to the Irish baronetcy which had been conferred on his father in 1672, and was M.P. for Fecharad (Wexford), 1692 till death. He was elected to the Royal Society, and among its 'Transactions' are to be found the following communications: 1. In 1685 (No. 172) 'On a New Sort of Calesh,' so

constructed that it was almost impossible to overturn it, but having, as is mentioned by Evelyn (*Diary*, ii. 242), the disadvantages that it would hold only one person, that it was ready to take fire every ten miles, and that it created an almost insufferable noise. 2. In 1693 (No. 199) 'An Account of the Giant's Causeway' (by no means accurate). 3. In 1693 (No. 205) 'About Improvements to be made in Ireland by growing Maize.' 4. In 1693 (No. 212) 'On the Propagation of Elmseed.' Later in life he became a convert of certain French enthusiasts pretending to the gift of prophecy and the power of working miracles, and in defence of their opinions printed 'An Answer to several Treatises lately published on the subject of the Prophets,' 1708, part i.; 'An Impartial Account of the Prophets of the Cevennes in a Letter to a Friend,' written as an introduction to 'Prophetical Extracts' (1695?); and to 'Warning of the Spirit' by Abraham Whitro' (1709) wrote a preface, 'which is also a continuation of an answer to diverse treatises lately written on the subject.' In support of the pretensions of the enthusiasts he quoted his own experience, asserting that he had been cured of continuous headache, of stone, and of rupture, so that he no longer required to wear a truss. It was also asserted that he cherished the confident expectation of being cured of a crooked back, a deformity natural to him (MS. of Dr. Calamy, *Biog. Brit.* ed. Kippis, iii. 144). Hearne (*Reliquia*, i. 149) refers to an Anne Topham who received 'great sums of money from Sir Richard Bulkeley to carry on this cheat.' Such was his fanatical devotion to the sect, that he had formed an intention of selling his estates to distribute among them, when he died on 7 April 1710. He was buried in his inappropriate church in Ewell, Surrey, under the altar, where there is a monument to him and his wife in black marble. His house at Ewell, Surrey, was, on account of his debts, sold shortly after his death.

[Ware's Writers of Ireland, ed. Harris, p. 263; Aubrey's Antiquities of Surrey, ii. 220-1; Le Neve's Monuments; Lodge's Irish Peerage, v. 22-4.] T. F. H.

**BULKELEY, LADY or Mrs. SOPHIA** (fl. 1688), Jacobite, was a younger daughter of Walter Stuart, the third son of Lord Blantyre, her elder sister being the celebrated court beauty Frances Teresa, 'Mrs. Stewart,' afterwards married to Charles, fifth duke of Richmond (GRANGER, *Biog. Hist.* iv. 184). In 1668, on Sunday, 30 Aug., shortly after her sister's marriage, Sophia Stuart was seen by Pepys walking in St. James's Park with

her sister (Perrys's *Diary*, p. 532, Chandos ed.), when she was pronounced very handsome. She married Henry Bulkley, fourth son of Thomas, the first viscount Bulkley of Baron Hill, near Beaumaris (COLLINS's *Peerage*, viii. 15), master of the household to Charles II and James II (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. i. 69), and brother of Richard Bulkley, *d.* 1650 [q. v.] This marriage placed Sophia about the court, and was followed by her election to the office of lady of the bed-chamber to James II's queen. About 1680 it was thought that Godolphin was enamoured of her, a report referred to in a line of a satire published in that year, 'Bulkley's Godolphin's only care;' and an entry in the 'Treasury Order Book' at the Customs, D. 352, F. 303, under 'Buckley,' shows some payment to her (*ib.*) during a stay she was making in France. In 1688 she is thought to have been with the queen at the birth of the young James, prince of Wales, the ground for this being a satire, 'The Deponents,' in which there is a passage—

Then painted B——ley early in the morn,  
Came to St. James's to see his highness born;  
With all the haste she could she up did rise,  
Soon dress'd, and came by nine a clock precise, &c.  
(*State Poems*, iii. 260-1.)

Another report concerning her was that she was put into the Bastille, after the flight of James and his queen to Versailles, for correspondence with Godolphin (GRANGER, *supra*, quoting from DALRYMPLE's *Memorials*, pt. ii. p. 189). She had six children. Of three of these nothing is recorded; of the others, James became a resident in France, and left a family there; Charlotte married Daniel, viscount Clare, of Ireland; and Ann married James, duke of Berwick, the natural son of James II.

In Bromley's 'Cat. of Engraved Portraits,' p. 109, there is mention of a portrait of Sophia Bulkley by Gascar, a French painter who came over to England in the train of La Querouaille, duchess of Portsmouth (PILKINGTON, *Lives of Painters*). The date is put 1761, a typographical error for 1716, about which date it is probable that Sophia Bulkley died.

[*Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. i. 69; Collins's *Peerage of England*, ed. 1812, viii. 15; *Poems on Affairs of State*, iii. 260-1; Granger's *Biog. Hist.* ed. 1775, iv. 184; Bromley's *Catalogue of Engraved Portraits*, p. 109.] J. H.

**BULKLEY, CHARLES** (1719-1797), baptist minister, the fourth son of Thomas Bulkley, silk mercer in Ludgate Street, and Esther, fourth daughter of Matthew Henry, the commentator, was born in London 18 Oct. 1719. His early education was under Lau-

caster, a clergyman at Chester. He was trained for the ministry under Doddridge, whose Northampton academy he entered in 1736. His first settlement was with the presbyterian congregation at Welford, Northamptonshire. From this he soon removed to Colchester, where he made no long stay. Under the influence of John Ashworth, brother of Caleb Ashworth [q. v.], he embraced the views of the general or Arminian baptists, went to London, and was immersed. Ashworth had been minister of the baptist congregation at White's Alley, Little Moorfields; in 1743 Bulkley was the successful candidate (in competition with Richard Baron [q. v.]) for that office, but he soon removed to a more prominent position, and Bulkley, in 1745, succeeded James Foster [q. v.] at the Barbican, carrying with him his congregation from White's Alley. Some years later, when Foster retired (January 1752) from the Sunday evening lectureship at the Old Jewry, Bulkley again succeeded him. This says much for his repute; yet it was as a thinker, not as an orator, that Bulkley shone. He came round, after Foster's death, to the more liberal view of the eucharistic ordinance known as 'mixt communion,' and was taken to task for it by Grantham Killingworth, a leading general baptist layman of Norwich. He is reported to have had a crowded audience at the Old Jewry for some few years. In 1779 the general baptist cause in London was declining. Bulkley's congregation associated with three others in building a small meeting-house in Worship Street, Finsbury (removed 1878; congregation now at Bethnal Green). With two exceptions, all of Bulkley's publications were issued before this removal. His 'Notes' on Bolingbroke's philosophical writings (begun in the 'Evening Advertiser,' April to September 1754) attracted some attention, but are now forgotten. He pursued the active exercise of his ministry till his death, though paralysis in 1795 shattered his health and affected his speech. Bulkley died on 15 April 1797, and was buried on 25 April in the graveyard behind the meeting-house in Worship Street. He married in 1749 Ann Fiske, of Colchester (died August 1783), but had no issue. He published: 1. 'A Vindication of my Lord Shaftesbury, on the subject of Ridicule,' &c., 1751, 4to (in reply to John Brown, 1715-1766 [q. v.]). 2. 'A Vindication of my Lord Shaftesbury, on the subjects of Morality and Religion, &c.,' 1752, 4to (continuation of the preceding). 3. 'Discourses,' 1752, 8vo (fifteen in number; reissued 1760). 4. 'Notes on the Philosophical Writings of Lord Bolingbroke. In Three Parts,' &c., 1755, 8vo. 5. 'On the Earthquake at Lisbon,' 1756, 8vo. 6. 'The



Nature and Necessity of National Repentance,' 1756, 8vo. 7. 'Observations upon Natural Religion and Christianity, &c.,' 1757, 4to (in reply to Bishop Sherlock's 'Discourses'). 8. 'The Christian Minister,' 1758, 12mo (sermons). 9. 'Sermons on Public Occasions,' 1761, 8vo. 10. 'The Oeconomy of the Gospel, in Four Books,' 1764, large 4to (intended as a complete body of divinity; has a remarkable subscription list). 11. 'Discourses on the Parables, &c., and the Miracles, &c.,' 1770-1, 8vo, 4 vols. 12. 'Catechetical Exercises,' 1774, 12mo. 13. 'Preface to Notes on the Bible,' 1791, 8vo, and various single sermons. Posthumous were: 14. 'An Apology for Human Nature,' n. d. 12mo (prefatory address to William Wilberforce, by John Evans, M.A., dated 2 Oct. 1797). 15. 'Notes on the Bible,' 1802, 8vo, 3 vols. (edited, with Memoir prefixed to vol. iii., by Joshua Toulmin, D.D. The 'Notes' are not original, but a body of illustrative passages selected from a wide range of reading in classical, rabbinical, patristic, and later authors).

[Evans's Funeral Sermon and Life, 1797; Toulmin's Memoir, 1802; Turner's Lives of Eminent Unitarians, 1840, i. 200; Lawrence's Descendants of P. Henry, 1844, p. 2 (needs correction).]

A. G.

**BULKLEY, PETER** (1583-1659), divine, came of a branch of the old Cheshire family of that name, their immediate ancestors having been seated at Woore in Shropshire. He was the second son of the Rev. Edward Bulkley, D.D., prebendary of Lichfield and rector of Odell in Bedfordshire, by his wife Olyff Irby, a daughter of the ennobled house of Irby in the county of Lincoln (W. M. HARVEY, *History of Willey Hundred*, pp. 364-6; HINMAN, *Early Puritan Settlers of the Colony of Connecticut*, p. 379). Born at Odell on 31 Jan. 1582-3, he matriculated, when about sixteen years of age, at St. John's College, Cambridge, of which society he became a fellow. He took his M.A. degree in 1608, and is said, but on doubtful authority, to have proceeded B.D. In January 1619-20, by the death of his father, he succeeded to the living of Odell, in addition to a considerable estate, and under the liberal rule of Lord-keeper Williams, then bishop of Lincoln, and his diocesan, remained unmolested for fifteen years, although he was well known to have inherited his father's distaste to a too rigid observance of ceremonial. When Laud became primate, Bulkley was immediately informed against and as promptly silenced by the vicar-general Sir Nathaniel Brent. Perceiving little prospect of ever being allowed to resume the

duties of his ministry here, Bulkley sold his estate, and in the summer of 1635 embarked with three of his sons for New England. For the more perfect deception of the government spies he had sent on his wife and the rest of his children some weeks before (SAVAGE, *Genealogical Dictionary*, i. 290-2). After a brief stay at Cambridge, Massachusetts, Bulkley, taking with him some trusted planters, moved up further into the woods, and in 1636 founded a settlement to which he gave the name of Concord. Here, on 5 July of the same year, he formed the twelfth church which had been established in the colony, and in April 1637 was appointed one of the moderators of the synod, the other being the still more celebrated Thomas Hooker.

Bulkley died at Concord on 9 March 1658-9. An exact copy of his very curious will is to be found in vol. x. of the 'New England Historical and Genealogical Register,' pp. 167-70.

He married, firstly, Jane, daughter of Thomas Allen of Goldington in Bedfordshire, and by her, who died at Odell in 1626, had nine sons and two daughters. One son, John, graduated at Harvard as M.A. in 1642, and, returning to England, was instituted by the parliamentary committee to the rectory of Fordham, Essex. He is Walker's 'certain Independent of New England' (*Sufferings of the Clergy*, pt. ii. p. 330). Being ejected in 1662, he removed to Wapping, where he practised physic with success for several years. He died at St. Katherine's, near the Tower, in 1689 (CALAMY, *Nonconf. Memorial*, ed. S. Palmer, 1802, ii. 200). After remaining a widower for eight years, Bulkley took for his second wife Grace, a daughter of Sir Richard Chetwode, knight, of Odell (G. BAKER, *Northamptonshire*, i. 740), who brought him a family of three sons and one daughter. After Bulkley's death his widow removed to New London, where she died on 21 April 1669. Cotton Mather has given a pleasing sketch of Bulkley's life (*Magnalia Christi Americana*, bk. iii. pp. 96-8). His only publication is entitled 'The Gospel-Covenant, or the Covenant of Grace Opened,' 4to, London, 1646, pp. 383 (second and enlarged edition, 4to, London, 1651, pp. 432. Third edition, 4to, London, 1674). This work is composed of sermons preached at Concord upon Zechariah ix. 11, 'the blood of thy covenant,' and obtained an extensive popularity. It is dedicated in affectionate terms to Oliver St. John, then solicitor-general, and afterwards chief justice of the common pleas, of whose kindness and bounty Bulkley makes grateful mention in his will, 'his liberality having been a great help and support unto

me in these my later times, & many Straytes.' Cotton Mather also prints some of Bulkley's Latin verses, but they do not give us any favourable idea of his classical attainments.

[W. Allen's *American Biog. Dict.*, 3rd edit., pp. 159-60; S. F. Drake's *Dict. of American Biography*, pp. 139-40; Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 318-19; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans* (1822), ii. 239.] G. G.

**BULL, DANIEL** (fl. 1657-1681), silenced minister, was elected pastor of Stoke Newington on 27 Sept. 1657 (William Heath, the rector, was under sequestration) in the room of Thomas Manton, afterwards D.D. Cromwell confirmed the appointment on 25 Nov. At the Restoration Heath was reinstated in the living, but Bull did not leave Newington, and continued to preach there till the Uniformity Act, 1662. It puzzles Palmer that in the London collection of farewell sermons he is described as of Newington Green. This probably means that he left the rectory to reside on the green, but was still allowed to lecture at the parish church after Heath had resumed possession. Perhaps he acted as Heath's curate; in any case he is more properly described as silenced than as ejected. Bull was probably the founder of the Presbyterian congregation at Newington Green. We find him as colleague with John Howe as pastor of the Presbyterian congregation at Silver Street. Here he fell into some immorality, of which we have no particulars, but it was sufficiently grave to extinguish his career. Howe's sermon, 'A Discourse of Charity in reference to other Men's Sins' (1 Cor. xiii. 6), appended to his 'Thoughtfulness for the Morrow,' 1681, 8vo, was called forth by this painful case, which Calamy speaks of as a 'single instance' among the nonconformists of 1662. Bull was probably living at the date (1702) of Calamy's first edition. In the second edition is a note by Samuel Standcliff, formerly minister at Rotherhithe, who strongly affirms Bull's penitence. His two sermons are in 'Farewell Sermons by London Ministers, &c.,' 1663, 8vo (John xiv. 16, and Acts xx. 32).

[Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714*, pt. ii. p. 171; Calamy's *Abridgment, 1702*, p. 281; *Account, 1713*, p. 471; Palmer's *Nonconf. Memorial, 1802*, ii. 468 sq., 467.] A. G.

**BULL, GEORGE** (1634-1710), bishop of St. David's, belonged to an old Somersetshire family, and was born, 25 March 1634, in the parish of St. Cuthbert, Wells. His father dedicated him to the Christian ministry at the font, but he was not aware of this until he had been ordained. He was educated first in the grammar school at Wells, and then in the

free school at Tiverton under Mr. Samuel Butler, a noted scholar in his day. Before he was fourteen years old he went into residence at Exeter College, Oxford. He does not appear to have been very diligent at the university, though he won the regard of two eminent men there—Dr. Conant, rector of the college, and Bishop Prideaux. He also became during his undergraduate days an intimate friend of Mr. Clifford, afterwards the lord high treasurer of England. In 1649, while yet a lad of fifteen, he refused to take the 'engagement,' following the example of his tutor, Mr. Ackland. The tutor and pupil left the university together, and settled at North Cadbury in Somersetshire, and Bull was more industrious here than at the university. He was also here brought more closely under the influence of an excellent sister. He was next persuaded to place himself under the guidance of a Mr. William Thomas, rector of Ubley, a puritan divine. Bull, however, was not so much influenced by Mr. William Thomas as by his son, Mr. Samuel Thomas, who took the opposite views to those of his father, and directed Bull to read such divines as Hooker, Hammond, and Jeremy Taylor. On leaving Mr. Thomas, Bull applied to Dr. Skinner, the ejected bishop of Oxford, for episcopal ordination, and was ordained by him deacon and priest the same day, when he was only twenty-one years of age. After his ordination he took the small living of St. George's, near Bristol, from which, as its value was only 30*l.* a year, it was not thought worth while to eject him. Here he was very diligent in his parish work, and spent more than the value of the living upon the poor. He had some little trouble with the quakers, but won the esteem of the great majority of his parishioners. Bull, like Sanderson and others, used the church prayers, which he knew by heart, without the book. He used to spend two months every year at Oxford for the purpose of consulting the libraries there, and on his way to and from the university he always visited Sir William Master of Cirencester. On those occasions he was wont to help the incumbent, Mr. Alexander Gregory, whose daughter Bridget he married on Ascension day, 1658. In the same year he was presented to the rectory of Suddington St. Mary's, near Cirencester, through the influence of Lady Pool, the lady of the manor. In 1659 the rectory at Suddington became one of the many places of meeting at which the friends of the exiled dynasty assembled to concert measures for the restoration of King Charles. Bull was accustomed to assist his father-in-law in the church services at

Cirencester, and he was so acceptable to the parishioners, that when the living became vacant they were most anxious that he should succeed to it; but he steadily refused to allow any efforts to be made on his behalf. In 1662 he was presented to the vicarage of Suddington St. Peter's by the lord chancellor (Clarendon), at the request of Dr. Nicholson, bishop of Gloucester. This being a contiguous parish, he was able to hold it with Suddington St. Mary's. The united incomes of the two parishes did not exceed 100*l.* a year net; and the two villages together did not contain more than thirty families. At Suddington he wrote his first book, the '*Harmonia Apostolica*,' in which he attempted to reconcile the apparent discrepancies between St. Paul and St. James on the relationship of faith and good works in christian justification. He advocated the principle that St. Paul ought to be interpreted by St. James, not St. James by St. Paul, on the ground that St. James wrote latest, and was presumably acquainted with St. Paul's teaching. Bishop Morley wrote a pastoral letter to his clergy against Bull; Dr. Barlow, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, lectured against him at Oxford; Dr. Tully, principal of St. Edmund Hall, wrote an answer, in which he is said to have been assisted by Morley and Barlow; Charles Gataker, son of Thomas Gataker, well known from his treatise '*On Lots*,' and Thomas Truman and John Toombes, nonconformists, also wrote against him. The '*Harmonia Apostolica*' was published in 1669-70, and his '*Examen Censuræ*' (his reply to Gataker), and his '*Apologia pro Harmonia*' (his reply to Barlow) in 1675. His greatest work of all, too, if not actually an answer to, was called forth by, his assailants. His advocacy of the necessity of good works caused his adversaries to insinuate that he was a Socinian. To vindicate himself from this charge, Bull wrote his memorable '*Defensio Fidei Nicænæ*.' It was finished in 1680, but was offered in vain to three publishers. Bull wrote, we are told, several works which never saw the light, and the '*Defensio*' was all but consigned to the same limbo. But happily he showed his manuscript to a friend, who persuaded him to 'take it out of the grave' and show it to Dr. Jane, regius professor of divinity at Oxford. The professor recognised the value of the work, and showed it to the famous Dr. Fell, bishop of Oxford and dean of Christ Church, who nobly undertook the whole cost of the publication. When it was printed in 1685, it was most favourably received; its fame extended to foreign lands; it was mentioned with praise by the great

Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, who, in his controversy with Jurieu, referred his adversary to 'that learned English protestant, Dr. Bull.' The '*Defensio*' was a very seasonable as well as a very valuable work; for not only the antitrinitarians, but also some of the believers in the Trinity—notably Petavius the jesuit, and Episcopius—denied that the ante-Nicene fathers held the same doctrines as those which were established at the council of Nicæa. Bull took upon himself to prove that they did. The '*Defensio*' was written in excellent Latin. It still remains the '*locus classicus*' of that particular branch of the great trinitarian controversy with which it exclusively deals, and the objections which have been raised against it seem, partly at least, to have risen from what really is one of its chief merits. Bull showed great self-restraint in never being tempted to diverge from his proper subject (the opinions of the ante-Nicene fathers) into any of the other numerous questions connected with the doctrine of the Trinity; and consequently those who have looked for a satisfactory reply to any question except that to which Bull confined himself, have not found what they wanted. Bull's next work, the '*Judicium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*,' though not published until nine years after the '*Defensio*' (1694), must be regarded as a supplement to the earlier work. Episcopius held that the Nicene fathers did not consider a belief in our Lord's true and proper divinity as an indispensable term of catholic communion; Bull wrote the '*Judicium*' to prove that they did. His latest work on the trinitarian question, entitled '*Primitiva et Apostolica Traditio*,' was directed against the opinion of Daniel Zwicker, that Christ's divinity, pre-existence, and incarnation were inventions of early heretics. The three works are, in fact, a sort of trilogy. Another work, though not actually a part of the same subject, obviously arose from it. Robert Nelson, Bull's pupil and biographer, encouraged by the favourable remarks which Bossuet had made upon the '*Defensio*,' sent the great French prelate a copy of the '*Judicium*.' Bossuet was equally pleased with this work, and showed it to his brother prelates; and Bull had the unique honour (for an Anglican divine) of receiving 'the unfeigned congratulations of the whole clergy of France assembled at St. Germain's for the great service he had done to the catholic church by defending the determination of the necessity of believing the divinity of the Son of God.' At the same time, Bossuet expressed his wonder as to what Bull meant by the word 'catholic,' and why it was that he remained separated

from the unity of Rome. Bull had, of course, a sufficient answer from his own point of view to give to these questions, and he gave it in a treatise entitled 'The Corruptions of the Church of Rome,' the most popular, perhaps, and the liveliest of all his works.

Bull was rector of Suddington for twenty-seven years, and had to encounter much opposition from his dissenting parishioners; and though he was quite strong and conciliatory enough to hold his own, he must have suffered much worry in the process. Immediately after the publication of the 'Defensio' Bull's prospects began to brighten. He had been presented in 1678 to a prebend of small value at Gloucester by the lord chancellor (the Earl of Nottingham), to whom in gratitude he dedicated his great work. In 1685 he was presented to the rectory of Avening, a living of about double the value of the two Suddingtons. The increase of income was most acceptable; for though he had a small patrimony besides his living, it is clear that he was straitened in his means. His first work at Avening was to rebuild the parsonage-house, which had been burnt down. He had some little trouble with his new parishioners, but he succeeded there, as he had done elsewhere, in living it down. In 1686 he was appointed by Archbishop Sancroft to the archdeaconry of Llandaff. The archdeaconry was the archbishop's 'option.' He was also, on the nomination of his old friend Bishop Fell, admitted to the degree of D.D. at Oxford without the payment of the usual fees, although he had never taken any university degree. After the Revolution he was placed on the commission of peace, and continued to act as a magistrate until he was made a bishop. A general effort was then being made to induce magistrates to enforce the laws against immorality and profaneness; this was one of the chief objects of the societies for the reformation of manners, of which Bull was an ardent supporter, and to help on this work was the avowed object for which Bull undertook his magisterial duties. In March 1704-5 Bull was appointed bishop of St. David's. His age and infirmities prevented him from being an active prelate. He once formed a plan for making a tour of his diocese, but a severe illness detained him at Brecknock, where he resided, and his son-in-law, Mr. (afterwards archdeacon) Stevens, and Mr. Powell went as his commissioners to deliver his charge. Hearne writes in his 'Diary,' under date 7 Feb. 1706-7, that 'when the Bill for Security of the Church of England was read . . . Dr. Bull sate in the Lobby of the House of Lords all the while smoking his Pipe' (HEARNE, *Collections*, i. 324, Oxford

Hist. Soc.) He held the see only four years, during the whole of which time he was obviously failing. He died 17 Feb. 1709-10, and was buried at Brecknock, where his widow spent the brief remainder of her days. His life was written shortly after his decease by Robert Nelson, who is said to have shortened his own life by the assiduous pains he bestowed upon this labour of love.

The dates and circumstances of publication of Bull's works have been already noticed. The whole of the Latin works were collected and edited by Dr. Ernest Græbe in 1703, with a preface and many annotations by the editor, which gave great satisfaction to the author. The edition is in one volume folio. These works have been translated into English at various times. A translation of the 'Harmonia Apostolica' was made by the Rev. T. Wilkinson of Great Houghton in 1801. The 'Harmonia,' 'Examen Censuræ,' 'Defensio,' and 'Judicium' form part of the 'Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology' published at Oxford 1842-55. The 'Opinion of the Catholic Church,' a translation of the 'Judicium,' was published with a memoir of Bull's life by T. Rankin in 1825, and a full edition of all the works of Bull (including the sermons and Nelson's Life), 'collected and revised by the Rev. E. Burton,' was published, in seven volumes octavo, at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1827. The 'Corruptions of the Church of Rome' was so popular that it reached a fourth edition in 1714. It was translated into Italian, and passed through more than one edition in that tongue. 'A Companion to Candidates for Orders, or the Great Importance of the Priestly Office,' by Bull, was published after his death, in 1714. He also left orders to his son Robert to publish his sermons after his death. This was accordingly done. They are only twenty in number, but they deal with curious and interesting subjects in an interesting manner. 'On the Middle State,' 'On the low and mean earthly condition of the Blessed Virgin Mary as contrasted with her primitive and proper title of Mother of God,' 'On St. Paul's Thorn in the Flesh and the Cloke he left at Troas,' 'On the Existence and Ministration of Angels,' 'On Degrees of Glory in Christ's Heavenly Kingdom,' are the titles of some of them. The most popular is his visitation sermon, 'Concerning the Difficulty and Danger of the Priestly Office,' which covers the same ground as the 'Companion' above mentioned.

[Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull; Bull's Works, *passim*; Biog. Brit. (Kippis), ii. 695; Classic Preachers of the English Church, St. James' Lectures, 2nd series.] J. H. O.

**BULL, HENRY** (*d.* 1575 ?), theological writer, a native of Warwickshire, was a demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1535, and full fellow and B.A. in 1540. He was a prominent member of the party in the college that desired religious reformation, and on one occasion, with the help of Thomas Bentham, afterwards bishop of Lichfield, snatched the censor from the hand of the officiating priest. When Mary came to the throne a visitation of the college was held, and on 23 Oct. 1553 the visitors deprived Bull of his fellowship. Wood says that he went into exile. Strype, however, states that he lived quietly at home, continuing steadfast in the reformed faith (*Memorials*, III. i. 82). After the accession of Elizabeth he held two or three benefices (Wood). He died probably in 1575, and certainly before the publication of his translation of Luther's 'Commentary on the Psalms' in 1577. He edited the 'Apology' of Bishop Hooper, with a preface, in 1562, and in the same year Hooper's 'Exposition of Psalm xxiii.' Although he also prepared the bishop's commentaries on three other Psalms, these were not published until after his death, when they were printed, together with the work on Psalm xxiii., under the title 'Certain comfortable Expositions of . . . Master John Hooper on Psalms 23, 62, 72, 77, gathered by Mr. H. B.,' 1580. He was also the editor of 'Christian Praiers and Holy Meditations.' The first copy of this work mentioned by Herbert, Lowndes, and others is that printed by H. Middleton in 1570. This, however, is stated on the title-page to have been 'lately augmented.' Its original probably was a book which W. Powell received license to print in 1566, and which took its title, 'Lidley's Prayers,' from part of Bull's collection. 'Christian Praiers' was reprinted in 1584, 1592, and at other dates. It has also been reprinted in a separate volume by the Parker Society. Bull translated from Luther's Latin 'A Commentarie on the Fiftene Psalmes called *Psalmi Graduum* . . . translated out of Latine into English by Henry Bvll,' printed by Thomas Vautroullier, 1577, with a preface by Foxe the martyrologist. In this preface Foxe says that Bull, now 'departed,' made a vow to do this work, that he received much spiritual consolation from it, and that 'it pleased the Lord to continue his life till this vowed work was fully finished.'  
ST.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 424, *Antiquities of Oxford* (Gutch), ii. 105, 121; Strype's *Annals*, i. i. 310, 544, *Memorials*, III. i. 82; Bull's *Christian Prayers*, preface (Parker Soc.); Clay's *Private Prayers*, preface (Parker Soc.);

Hooper's *Latin Works*, 182, 551 (Parker Soc.); Bull's *Commentarie on the Fiftene Psalmes* (ed. 1577), Foxe's preface; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* 138.]  
W. H.

**BULL, JOHN** (1563?–1628), musician, was, as Wood (*Bodl. MSS.*, Wood, 19, D 4) states, 'of the same family, as it seems, with those of his name in Somersetshire.' According to the pedigree of the Bulls of Peglinch or Peylinch in the parish of Wellow (which is to be found in the visitation of Somersetshire held in 1623), he may be identified with the John Bull who is there described as the third son of John Bull of Peylinch, though it must be stated that this surmise is not corroborated by a cursory examination of the parish register. He was one of the children of the Chapel Royal under William Blitheman [q.v.], who 'spared neither time nor labour to advance' his natural talent. On 24 Dec. 1582 he was appointed organist of Hereford Cathedral, where he was subsequently also master of the choristers. In January 1585 he was sworn in as a member of the Chapel Royal in the place of one Bodinghurst, and on 9 July of the following year he took the degree of Mus. Bac. at Oxford. In chronicling this event Wood (*Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i.) says that he 'had practised the faculty of music for fourteen years,' which fixes the year 1572 as the probable date of his admission to the Chapel Royal as a chorister under Blitheman. On the death of his master, in 1591, Bull succeeded him as organist of the Chapel Royal, and about the same time, or a little later, he is said to have taken the Mus. Doc. degree at Cambridge. On 29 May 1592 some curious entries in the Chapel cheque-book record the appointment, as a gentleman-extraordinary, of Mr. William Phelps of Tewkesbury, the reason being that 'he dyd show a moste rare kyndnes to Mr. Doctor Bull in his great distresse, beinge robbed in those parts.' On 7 July 1592 Bull took the degree of Mus. Doc. at Oxford. The delay is stated by Wood to have been caused by his having met with 'rigid puritans there that could not endure church music.' On the foundation of Gresham College Bull was specially appointed as the first music lecturer, in accordance with a letter addressed to the mayor and aldermen of London by Queen Elizabeth on 30 Nov. 1596 (*State Papers*, Eliz., Dom. Ser. cclx. 113). As he was unable to lecture in Latin, an exemption from the ordinances of the college was made in his favour. His inaugural address was delivered on 6 Oct. 1597, and was printed by Thomas East (*Stationers' Register*, ed. Arber, III. 26), but no copy is known to exist, though Burney seems to have seen one. A passing reference

to Bull occurs on 31 March 1597, when a lease in reversion for fifty years was granted to Robert Holland, of messuages and lands in the counties of York, Surrey, Lancaster, Anglesey, and Derby, at a rent of 10*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.*, without fine, 'in consideration of the service of John Bull, organist of the chapel' (*State Papers*, Eliz., Dom. Ser. cclxii. 91). In 1601 he went abroad, as is said, for the sake of his health, and travelled in France and Germany, his post at Gresham College being occupied during his absence by a deputy, Thomas Byrd, the son of William Byrd, the celebrated composer [q. v.] It was on this journey that he is said to have performed the celebrated feat which Wood quaintly relates as follows: 'Hearing of a famous musician belonging to a certain cathedral (at St. Omer's, as I have heard), he applied himself as a novice to him to learn something of his faculty, and to see and admire his works. This musician, after some discourse had passed between them, conducted Bull to a vestry, or music school, joyning to the cathedral, and shew'd to him a lesson or song of forty parts, and then made a vaunting challenge to any person in the world to add one more part to them, supposing it to be so compleat and full that it was impossible for any mortal man to correct, or add to it. Bull thereupon desiring the use of ink and rul'd paper (such as we call musical paper), prayed the musician to lock him up in the said school for two or three hours; which being done, not without great disdain by the musician, Bull in that time, or less, added forty more parts to the said lesson or song. The musician thereupon being called in, he viewed it, tried it, and retry'd it. At length he burst out into a great ecstasy, and swore by the great God that he that added those forty parts must either be the devil or Dr. Bull, &c. Whereupon, Bull making himself known, the musician fell down and ador'd him.' Many attempts were made to induce him to stay at either the French or the Spanish court, but Elizabeth commanded him to return, and he accordingly resumed his duties at the Chapel Royal and Gresham College. On 15 Dec. 1606 he was admitted to the freedom of the Merchant Taylors' Company, having been bound apprentice to the Earl of Sussex. In the following year the same company gave a magnificent entertainment to the king and Prince of Wales. This feast took place on 16 July, and cost the company over 1,060*l.* The king dined alone in a separate chamber, 'in which chamber was placed a very rich pair of organs, whereupon Mr. John Bull, Doctor of Musique and a Brother of this company, did play all the dynner time. And Mr. Nathaniel Gyles,

master of the children of the Kyng's Chappell, together with divers singing men and children of the said Chappell, did sing melodious songs at the said dynner.' From the roof of the great hall was suspended a ship, in which three of the best singers of the day, Thomas Lupo, John Allen, and John Richards, sang songs set to music by Coperario or Cooper [q. v.], the favourite court composer of the day, while the choir of St. Paul's assisted by performing songs, the words of which were written by Ben Jonson. On the day following this magnificent feast Giles and Bull were admitted into the livery of the company, upon which occasion it was recorded that 'the company are contented to shewe this favor unto them for their paynes when the king and prince dyned at our hall, and their love and kindness in bestowing the musique which was performed by them, their associates and children in the king's chamber gratis, whereas the musicians in the greate hall exacted unreasonable somes of the company for the same. The companie therefore meane that this calling of Mr. Doctor Bull and Mr. Nathanael Gyles into the livery, shall not be any burden or charge unto them further than shall stand with their own liking.' On 20 Dec. in the same year Bull resigned the Gresham professorship (which was only tenable while he remained unmarried), and two days later he obtained a license from the bishop of London to marry at Christ Church, London, 'Elizabeth Walter of the Strand, maiden, aged about twenty-four, daughter of Walter, citizen of London, deceased, she attending upon the Rt. Hon. the Lady Marchioness of Winchester.' There is every probability that the marriage took place, but no record of it exists, the parish register for the date being lost. For the next few years no details respecting Bull's biography are known, but in 1611 his name occurs at the head of a list of the Prince (Henry) of Wales's musicians, in which position he received 40*l.* a year. On the occasion of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and the Prince Palatine (14 Feb. 1612-13), it is recorded that the benediction, 'God the Father, God the Son,' was sung as an anthem, 'made new for that purpose by Doctor Bull.' In April of the same year he addressed the following letter to Sir Michael Hicks, secretary to the Earl of Salisbury: 'Sr, I haue bin many times to haue spoken with you, to desire your fauor to my L[ord] and Mr. Chauncelor. Sir, my humble sute is, that it would please my L[ord] and Mr. Cha[n]cellor] to graunte me theire fauors to chainge my name in my letters patents, and to [put] in my childe, leauinge out my owne.

It is but forty pounds by yeare for my service heretofore, the mater is not greate, yet it wilbe some releife for my poore childe, hauinge nothings ells to leave it. The kinge hath bin moved by Sir Chri. Perkins, who hath order from the kinge to speake with Sir Julio Cesar. I humbly thanck Sir Julio Cesar, I haue bin with him, and [he] hath promised me his fauor; but one worde of yours will speade it, and make me and my poore child everlastingly bound to you. I humbly desire you speak in this my humble sute with all the expedition you may, and so with my humble duty remembred I take leaue.' It is not certain to what this letter refers; the reference to the sum of 40*l*. has caused it to be conjectured that the post which Bull desired for his child was that which he held at the Chapel Royal, where his annual salary seems to have been the amount named in the letter. If this was the case, and that it was so is in many respects improbable, the request was not granted; for the next entry respecting Bull in the Chapel Royal cheque book records that 'John Bull, doctor of musicke, went beyond the seas without licence and was admitted into the archduke's service, and entered into paie there about Michaelmas.' On 27 Dec. following, one Peter Hopkins, a bass singer from St. Paul's, was sworn in as gentleman in his place, while his wages from Michaelmas to Christmas, amounting to 9*l*. 17*s*., were divided among the members of the chapel. The reason of Bull's taking this step has given rise to various conjectures. In England he was at the height of his profession, and 'was so much admired for his dexterous hand on the organ, that many thought that there was more than man in him.' Wood attributed his sudden departure to his 'being possess'd with crotchets, as many musicians are;' but the following extract from a letter (dated 30 May 1614) addressed to James I by the British minister at Brussels (Trumbull) puts a different complexion on the affair: 'Most excellent and most worthy Sovereign, finding, after long attendance by reason of the Archdukes indisposition, that he was now so much amended as he gave access to some ministers of other princes, I procured audience of him on Monday was sennight; and according to your Majesties commandment sent me by Sir Thomas Lake, after I had used some congratulations unto him in your Majesties name for the recovery of his health,—which he seemed to take in very good part, I told him, that I had charge from your Majestie to acquaint him that your Majestie upon knowledge of his receiving Dr. Bull your Majesties organist and sworne servant

into his chappel, without your Majesties permission or consent, or once so much as speaking thereof to me, that am resyding here for your Majesties affairs: that your Majesty did justly find it strange as you were his friend and ally, and had never used the like proceeding either towards him or any other foreign prince; adding, that the like course was not practized among private persons, much less among others of greater place and dignity. And I told him plainly, that it was notorious to all the world, the said Bull did not leave your Majesties service for any wrong done unto him, or for matter of religion, under which fained pretext he now sought to wrong the reputation of your Majesties justice, but did in that dishonest manner steal out of England through the guilt of a corrupt conscience, to escape the punishment, which notoriously he had deserved, and was designed to have been inflicted on him by the hand of justice, for his incontinence, fornication, adultery, and other grievous crimes.' Whatever may have been the actual reason for Bull's flight, there can be no doubt that, like his contemporary William Byrd, he was a catholic. On leaving England he went to Brussels, where he was appointed one of the organists of the Chapel Royal under Géry de Ghersem. In the list of the members of the chapel the names of Juan Zacharias, Pierre Cornet, and Vincentio Guami appear as organists before him; among the members of the chapel at the same time was another English composer, Peter Phillips [q. v.] In 1617, on the decease of Waelrent, Bull was appointed organist of Antwerp cathedral, and in 1620 he was living in a house next the cathedral on the south side. He died at Antwerp on 12 or 13 March 1628, and on the 15th of the same month was buried in the cathedral, where he was succeeded as organist by H. Liberti. A harpsichord maker of his name flourished at Antwerp towards the end of the eighteenth century, so that it is possible that he may have left a family who settled in the Netherlands.

Bull was not a voluminous composer, and very little of his music has appeared in print. Of his vocal compositions, the earliest printed is a short anthem, 'Attend unto my Teares,' of which two settings occur in Sir William Leighton's 'Teares; or, Lamentacions of a sorrowful Sovle: composed with Musiacall Ayres and Songs, both for Voyces and diuers Instruments' (1614). A collection published by Phalèse at Antwerp in 1629, and entitled 'Laudes Vespertinæ B. Mariæ Virginis,' contains a hymn for four voices to Flemish words, beginning 'Den lustelijcken Mey.' Barnard's 'Church Musick' contains an anthem,

'Deliver me, O God,' and Boyce's 'Cathedral Music' (iii. 163) another, 'Oh, Lord, my God,' which in manuscript copies is generally known as 'Almighty God.' A volume of psalms by William Daman [q. v.] was published in 1579 by John Bull, 'citizen and goldsmith of London,' who has been sometimes identified with the famous organist, but this is clearly an error. The principal vocal compositions of Bull which are extant in manuscript are in the Christ Church, Music School (Oxford), and Peterhouse (Cambridge) collections. Of his instrumental music, in which he excelled, the best known works are in the collection engraved by William Hole and published (without a date) in 1611 under the title of 'Parthenia; or, the Mayden-head of the First Musick that ever was printed for the Virginals.' The other contributors to this work were William Byrd and Orlando Gibbons. Prefixed to it are sonnets by George Chapman and Mr. Hugh Holland, in the latter of which occur the lines:

Loe, where doth pace in order  
A brauer Bull, then did Europe cary:  
Nay, let all Europe shewe me such an other.

Much of Bull's instrumental music remains in manuscript, particularly in the Virginal books at Buckingham Palace, the Fitzwilliam Museum (Cambridge), the Royal College of Music, and the British Museum; an imperfect manuscript (Add. MS. 23603) in the latter collection, which formerly was in the possession of Queen Caroline and Dr. Pepusch, is of especial interest as containing the dates at which the different compositions were written, and (in one case) indications of the organ stops to be used in the performance. In the middle of the last century Dr. Pepusch had in his possession a considerable collection of Bull's music, which is described by Ward (*Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 199). Some of these manuscripts have disappeared. One of the lost manuscripts contained the composition upon which Richard Clark [q. v.] based his alleged discovery of Bull's authorship of the national anthem, 'God save the King;' the curious history of this attempted imposture was discussed at length in a series of articles in the 'Musical Times' for 1878. Bull's instrumental music is extremely difficult, and shows that he must have possessed a remarkable power of execution, and have been worthy of the reputation he enjoyed. Burney dismisses his compositions as pedantic, but as far as can be judged, though not endowed with the spontaneity which often characterises the works of his great contemporaries Byrd and

Gibbons, he possesses a distinct individuality, and approaches more nearly the Flemish school than the Italian, to which most English composers of the period inclined. Two portraits of him are known to exist. The first is in the Oxford Music School Collection, and is dated 1589, 'Anno ætatis suæ 27.' It represents the composer in his bachelor's hood; in one corner are a skull and cross-bones over an hourglass, and round the frame are the following lines:—

The Bull by force  
In Field doth Raigne,  
But Bull by Skill  
Good will doth gayne.

The head from this picture is engraved in Hawkins's 'History of Music.' The second portrait—a half-length—represents Bull in later life, and was probably painted in the Netherlands. It is now in the possession of Mr. W. H. Cummings.

[Grove's Dict. of Music and Musicians, i. 281, iv. 306; Van der Straeten's *La Musique dans les Pays-Bas avant le XIX<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, iv. 278, v. 155, 156, 193; Hawkins's *History of Music* (ed. 1855), 466, 480; Boyce's *Cathedral Music* (ed. 1849); Stow's *Annales* (continued by E. Howe) (ed. 1615), 891; Wood's *Fasti* (ed. Bliss), i. 235, 241, 258; *Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal* (Camd. Soc. 1872), 4, 7, 31, 32, 35, 56, 62, 65, 66, 128, 135, 138, 150, 166, 193; Burney's *History of Music*, iii. 106; Clode's *Memorials of the Merchant Taylors' Company*, 154, 161, 179, 182; Add. MSS. 30931, 31723, 31405, 31403, 6194; Birch's *Life of Henry Prince of Wales* (ed. 1760), 450; *Wellow Registers*, communicated by the Rev. G. W. Horton; *Chapter Records of Hereford Cathedral*, communicated by the Rev. Sir F. A. Gore Ouseley, bart.; the authorities quoted above; information from the Rev. D. T. O. Morse.] W. B. S.

BULL, JOHN (*d.* 1642), fanatic, was a weaver in St. Botolph's parish, Aldgate, London. He and Richard Farnham [q. v.], another weaver living in Whitechapel, attracted much public attention about 1636 by announcing that they were prophets having 'the very spirit of God.' Each declared that he would 'be slaine at Hierusalem, where Christ suffered, and rise againe,' and that after his resurrection 'he shall reigne there as a priest.' They affirmed that 'no man shall have the least power to insidiate their lives or bring them to any untimely and remarkable death.' Bull was lodged in Bridewell, and on 16 April 1636 he and Farnham were examined by the council. They boldly adhered to their former pretensions, and a hostile pamphleteer declared that they smelt of the sect of the Thraskites and Sabbatarians. Bull appears to have been in prison as late as



19 June 1636. The council issued an order on that day directing the examination of Thomas Johnson and his wife of Colchester, with whom Bull had been in frequent correspondence (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1635-6, p. 571). Bull died in January 1641-2.

An interesting pamphlet, 'written by T. H.,' was issued in 1636, in which the heresies of Farnham and Bull were fully described and denounced. It is entitled 'A True Discourse of the two infamous upstart Prophets, Richard Farnham, weaver, of White-chappel, and John Bull, weaver, of St. Botolph's, Algate . . .', London, 1636. A woodcut on the title-page represents the two weavers at their looms. The pamphlet was reprinted by James Caulfield in 1790.

[Caulfield's Remarkable Characters; the pamphlet mentioned above; Cat. of Satirical Poets in Brit. Mus. div. i. pt. i.] S. L.

**BULL, WILLIAM** (1738-1814), independent minister, was born in 1738 near Wellingborough, Northamptonshire. His father, John Bull, belonged to a puritan family, but he fell into evil courses, and the children were taken under the roof of their grandfather. The third son of John Bull was William. He learned to read Hebrew with no help but an old Bible with Hebrew letters heading the sections of the 119th psalm. He also possessed Whiston's 'Mathematics,' and made such progress in this science as to become, while yet in his teens, a contributor to Martin's 'Mathematical Magazine.' A disordered state of health compelled him to give up his secular occupation, and he left his grandfather's house to reside with his elder brother John, who was settled in business at Bedford. He improved his knowledge of Latin under the direction of the Rev. Samuel Saunderson, and learned Greek with the assistance of the Rev. James Belsham, at that time pastor of the independent church at Newport Pagnel, but residing at Bedford. In 1759 Bull was admitted a student at the dissenters' academy at Daven-try. Some of the students at that time had a leaning to Arianism; Bull was a decided Calvinist, and such he remained to the end of his days. In 1764 Bull succeeded Belsham as pastor of the church at Newport, and to increase his limited income he received pupils for instruction. Among his scholars were some who afterwards obtained good positions in the world, like Sir John Leach, master of the rolls [q. v.] In 1768 Bull married a daughter of Mr. Thomas Palmer of Bedford. Soon afterwards he formed an acquaintance with the Rev. John Newton of Olney, resulting in a lifelong intercourse and frequent cor-

respondence. Bull occasionally preached at the great house at Olney, where Mr. Newton conducted his prayer meetings with the assistance of the poet Cowper. It was for these prayer meetings that Cowper composed some of the Olney hymns. Afterwards Bull became more intimately acquainted with Cowper, and through Bull's watchfulness several of Cowper's poems were preserved from destruction. He also induced Cowper to translate into English verse some of the poems of Madame Guyon. They were afterwards printed at Newport Pagnel with a preface by Bull. Cowper has extolled his faithful friend in both prose and verse. At Olney vicarage Bull met Mrs. Wilberforce, aunt to the celebrated statesman, and sister to the benevolent John Thornton. She invited Bull to visit her in London, and there she introduced him to her brother. About this time the evangelicals projected a new academy 'to prepare young men for the ministry.' Mr. Newton drew up a plan, and a proposal was made for Bull to superintend the arrangements, and thus turn Bull's school into an academy. In 1783 the academy commenced with two students; it soon increased its numbers, and continued for many years. From this institution about a hundred men were sent forth into the christian ministry. Mr. Thornton was the principal supporter, and behaved with princely generosity, supplying all Bull's needs, even to the day of his death. His acquaintance with Mrs. Wilberforce and his intercourse with the Thorntons brought Bull into the company of Mr. Zachary Macaulay, Mr. Thomas Babington, and their friends Colonel Makelcan and Major Handfield, names well known in the evangelical movement as the 'Clapham Sect.' Although he lived a long and busy life, Bull's health was never robust. In the opening of the year 1814 he became weaker, and died of his old complaint on 23 July in the seventy-seventh year of his age. Besides his academical duties at home, Bull frequently preached in London; and Lady Huntingdon's chapels all made great demands on his time and talents. He was occupied three or four years in writing an 'Exposition of the Book of Psalms.' The only thing mentioned as printed in a separate form is 'Seasonable Hints,' written while on a trip to Ireland. It was printed at Dublin, and freely distributed during the journey. It has probably disappeared.

[J. Bull's Memorials of the Rev. William Bull of Newport Pagnel, 1864. A portrait drawn by W. Harvey from the original accompanies the volume; a copy of this portrait was also inserted in the Evangelical Magazine (vol. xxiii.) with

a memoir of Bull, and a different portrait of him appeared in the *Christian's Magazine* in 1792; *Gent. Mag.* 1815, part i. 650.]

J. H. T.

**BULLAKER.** [See also **BULLOKER.**]

**BULLAKER, THOMAS**, in religion **JOHN BAPTIST** (1604?–1642), Franciscan friar, was born at Chichester in or about 1604 of catholic parents, his father being a noted physician, who gave him a liberal education. He was sent at the age of eighteen to the Jesuit college at St. Omer, and thence he proceeded to the English seminary at Valladolid. Subsequently he was admitted to the convent of the Spanish Recollects at Abrojo, near Valladolid, where he made his religious profession. After completing his course of divinity at Segovia he returned to England, where he laboured as a missionary for some years. At length he was apprehended while in the act of celebrating mass in London, was tried and convicted, and executed at Tyburn on 12 Oct. (O.S.) 1642. One of his arm-bones is respectfully preserved in St. Elizabeth's convent at Taunton (*OLIVER, Catholic Religion in Cornwall*, 563). His portrait, at Lanherne, has a resemblance to King Charles I. There is a fine engraving of him in the 'Certamen Seraphicum.'

[*R. Mason's Certamen Seraphicum*, 31–61; *Challoner's Missionary Priests* (1742), ii. 227; *Granger's Biog. Hist. of England* (1824), ii. 384; *J. Stevens's Hist. of the Ancient Abbeys*, i. 106; *Harl. MS.* 7035, p. 190; *Dodd's Church Hist.* iii. 110.]

T. C.

**BULLEIN, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1576), physician, was born early in the reign of Henry VIII. His own writings are the chief authority for his biography. In the 'Book of Simples' (fol. xxi b) he speaks of the isle of Ely as his 'native country.' There is no evidence to show that he studied at Oxford or Cambridge, but it is not improbable that he belonged to both universities. Wood claims him for Oxford, while the authors of 'Athenæ Cantabrigienses' suppose that he was educated at Cambridge. On 9 June 1550 he was instituted to the rectory of Blaxhall in Suffolk, where some of his kinsmen resided. This preferment he resigned before 5 Nov. 1554. He afterwards travelled on the continent to study medicine, and it is supposed that he took the degree of M.D. abroad. His name is not found on the roll of the Royal College of Physicians. In 1558–9 Bullein published 'A newe booke entitled the Gouvernement of Healthe, wherein is vttered manye notable Rules for mannes preseruacion, with sondry symples and other

matters, no lesse fruitfull than profitable: collect out of many approued authours. Reduced into the forme of a Dialogue, for the better vnderstanding of thunlearned. Whereunto is added a sufferain Regiment against the Pestilence,' n.d., London, 8vo, black letter. The treatise was dedicated to Sir Thomas Hilton, knight, baron of Hilton and captain of Tynemouth Castle. Following the letter of dedication is a copy of verses by William Bullein in seven-line stanzas 'against sur-feting,' to which are appended some commendatory verses by R[ichard] B[ullein]. On the next page is a rough woodcut profile of the author, and then follows an address 'To the general reader.' At the end of the book is an address 'Agayne to the gentle Reader,' dated 1 March 1558–9. A second edition appeared in 1595; it concludes with a prose 'Epilogue,' dated 1 March 1558–9, but agrees in other respects with the earlier edition. In 1562–3 appeared 'Bullein's Bulwarke of defence againste all Sicknes, Sornes, and woundes that dooe daily assaulte mankinde, which Bulwarke is keppe with Hilarius the Gardiner, Health the Phisician, with their Chyrurgian to helpe the wounded soldiars. Gathered and practised frö the moste worthie learned, both old and newe: to the greate comforte of mankinde. Doen by Williyam Bulleyn, and ended this March, Anno Salutis 1562,' London, folio, black letter; second edition, 1579. The treatise is dedicated, from London, to Lord Henry Carey, baron of Hunsdon. In the 'Gouvernement of Healthe' Bullein had mentioned that he was engaged on a 'booke called the "Healthfull Medicines."' From the address 'To the good reader,' prefixed to the 'Bulwarke,' we learn that the manuscript of the 'Healthful Medicines' was lost at sea. After relating how this misfortune occurred, the writer proceeds to tell a strange story, which is repeated with more fullness in the body of the work (*Book of Simples*, fol. lxxxiv b). It appears that he had been residing in the family of Sir Thomas Hilton at Tynemouth (or Hilton Castle). On leaving his patron he took ship for London and was wrecked on the voyage, losing not only the manuscript of his 'Healthful Medicines,' but also a portion of his library. No sooner had he reached London than he was accused by William Hilton, his patron's brother, 'of no lesse crime then of moste cruell murder of his own brother (Sir Thomas Hilton), which died of a feuer (sent onely of God) among his owne friendes; finishing his life in the christen faith. But this William Hilton, causing me to be arrayned before that noble prince the Duke's grace of Norfolk, for the

same: to this ende to haue had me died shamefully: that with the couetous Ahab he might haue through false witness and periurie obtained by the counsaill of Jezabell a vine yard by the price of blood. But . . . his wicked practise was wisely espied, his folie derided, his bloodie purpose letted, and finally I was with iustice deliuered.' Bullein afterwards married Sir Thomas Hilton's widow, and was in London with her in 1561, as we learn from a letter (dated 13 Oct. 1561), preserved among the 'State Papers,' of Bishop Pilkington to Cecil. The persecution was continued with much malignity, for his enemy contrived to have him arrested for debt and thrown into prison, where he employed himself in writing his 'Bulwarke.' The treatise is divided into four parts: (1) 'Booke of Simples,' (2) 'Dialogue betwene Sorenes and Chyrurgi,' (3) 'Booke of Compounds,' (4) 'Booke of the Vse of sicke men and medicens.' Parts 1 to 3 have a separate pagination, that of part 4 is continuous from part 3. There is a full-length woodcut portrait, presumably of the author, on AAA. The 'Booke of Simples' is of considerable interest, as being one of the earliest of English herbals. Bullein travelled much and made minute observations wherever he went; but his descriptions of what he observed are more valuable than his explanations. He garnishes his pages freely with precepts and homilies, and shows a naïve anxiety to impress his readers with the fact that he is pursuing his investigations with a view to promoting the practical welfare of the community. In the 'Dialogue betwene Sorenes and Chyrurgi' he inveighs vehemently against the race of quacksalvers; elsewhere in the same dialogue he gives a long list of eminent English chirurgeons, mentioning the achievements of each. From the 'Bulwarke' we learn some personal facts about Bullein. Speaking, in the 'Booke of Simples' (fol. lxxv), of the salt made in England, he tells us that he had a share in the salt-pans at 'the Shiles' (Shields) by Tynemouth Castle. When he is discoursing of the virtues of the daisy (*ib.* fol. xxxix *b*), the Latin name of the flower, 'bellis,' gives him occasion to relate how he 'did recouer one Bellises [of Jarowe in the Bishopricke, marg. note], not onely from a spice of the palsie, but also from the quarten. And afterwards the same Bellises, more vn-naturall than a viper, sought diuers ways to haue murdered me: taking parte against me with my mortall enemies.' In fol. ii *b* of the 'Booke of Simples' he explains how he cured Sir Thomas Hilton's wife of a tympany; in fol. xl he relates a cure that he had worked on Sir Richard Alie, a knight

famed for skill in fortifications; in fol. lx he speaks of some Suffolke witches that he had known; from fol. lxxv *b* we learn that he was for some time under the patronage of Sir John Delaval. In 1564-5 Bullein published a very remarkable book entitled 'A Dialogue bothe pleasaunte and pietifull, wherein is a goodly regimiente against the fever Pestilence, with a consolacion and comfort against death. Newly corrected by Willyam Bulleyn, the autour thereof. Imprinted at London by Ihon Kingston. Marcii, Anno salutis M.D.LXIII.' small 8vo, black letter. Of this edition only one copy (in the Britwell collection) is known. The words on the title-page, 'newly corrected,' do not necessarily show that there had been an earlier edition; for there is evidence to prove that such announcements were sometimes made by publishers (to promote the sale) in the first edition of a book. Other editions appeared in 1573 and 1578. The 'Dialogue' combines passages of exalted eloquence with humorous anecdotes and sharp strokes of satire. The writer's purpose was not merely to prescribe remedies against the sweating-sickness (imported from Havre in 1564), but to encourage his countrymen in their affliction. The 'Dialogue' consists of a number of separate scenes or colloquies. The second colloquy is between a rich usurer, Antonius, and Medicus, who in the 1564 edition is styled Antonius Capistrinus, but who in later editions bears the name Dr. Tocrub, probably intended for a Dr. Burcot, mentioned in the 'State Papers.' He is satirised in succeeding dialogues. The 'Dialogue' kept its popularity for several years. In the 'Address to the Reader,' prefixed to 'Haue with you to Saffron Walden,' 1596, Nashe says: 'I frame my whole Booke in the nature of a Dialogue, much like Bullein and his Doctor Tocrub.' Bullein died on 7 Jan. 1575-6, and was buried on 9 Jan. at St. Giles's, Cripplegate. In the same grave lie buried his brother Richard, the divine, and John Foxe, the martyrologist. Over the tomb is a plated stone with a Latin inscription, commemorating the virtues of all three.

In addition to the works already mentioned, Bullein wrote: 1. 'A comfortable Regiment and a very wholesome order against the moste perilous Pleurisie, whereof many doe daily die within this Citee of London and other places . . .', London, 1562, 12mo, black letter. Dedicated to Sir Robert Wingfield of Lethringham, knight. 2. 'A briefe and short discourse of the Vertue and Operation of Balsame.' With an instruction for those that haue their health to preserue the same. Whereunto is added Doctor Bullin's Diet

for Health,' London, 1585, 8vo, black letter. Some verses by Bullein are prefixed to Sadler's translation of Vegetius, 1572. 'An Almanack and Prognostication of Master Bulleins' was licensed to Abraham Vele in 1563-4 (ARBER, *Transcripts*, i. 233), and 'Serten prayers of Master Bullion' were licensed to Christopher Barker in 1569-70 (*ib.* i. 390). Bullein's portrait has been engraved by William Stukeley (who claimed, without the slightest authority, to be descended from Bullein), and by W. Richardson. Mr. A. H. Bullen, in conjunction with his kinsman, Mr. Mark W. Bullen, is preparing an annotated edition of the 'Dialogue against the Fever Pestilence.'

THE REV. RICHARD BULLEIN, brother of William Bullein, is described in the 'Dialogue betwene Sorenes and Chyrurgi' (fol. xlviii) as 'a zealous louer in Physicke, more for the consolacion and help of thafflicted sicke people beyng poore, than for the lucre and gaine of the money of the welthe and riche.' He wrote an unpublished treatise, which is highly commended by his brother, 'On the Stone.' He died on 16 Oct. 1563, and was buried at St. Giles's, Cripplegate.

[Works; Biog. Brit.; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, i. 538; Strype's *Annals*, ed. 1824, ii. ii. 307-8, iii. ii. 513; Add. MS. 19100, p. 190, verso (Davy's Suffolk Collections); Tanner's *Biblioth. Angl. Hibern.*; Pulteney's *Progress of Botany in England*, 77-83; Atkinson's *Medical Bibliogr.* 309; Granger; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 343-4; Herbert's *Ames*, 629, 632, 835, 839, 862, 868, 1289, 1343, 1796; Waldron's *Appendix to the Sad Shepherd*, 1783; Collier's *Bibliogr. Catalogue*; information from Mr. Mark W. Bullen.] A. H. B.

BULLEN, SIR CHARLES (1769-1853), admiral, entered the navy in 1779 on board the *Europe*, the flagship of Vice-admiral Arbuthnot, on the North American station. During the peace he was principally employed in the Mediterranean, and was promoted to be lieutenant on 9 Aug. 1791. In 1794 he was a lieutenant of the *Ramillies*, one of the fleet with Lord Howe on 1 June; in 1797 he was first lieutenant of the *Monmouth*, one of the ships implicated in the mutiny at the *Nore*: she was afterwards, with more credit, at Camperdown, on 11 Oct.; and Bullen having been sent to take possession of the Dutch ship *Delft*, finding her in a sinking state, remained trying to save the wounded, till she actually went down. Many lives were lost, but Bullen was happily picked up, and in recognition of his gallantry in the action and his humane exertions after it he was promoted to be commander, 2 Jan. 1798. In 1801 he commanded the *Wasp* sloop on

the west coast of Africa, and was posted 29 April 1802. In 1804 he was appointed to be flag-captain to Lord Northesk in the *Britannia*, and commanded that ship in the battle of Trafalgar. The *Britannia* was the fourth ship in the weather line led by Nelson himself, and was thus early in the action, continuing closely engaged till the end, with a loss of 10 killed and 42 wounded. During the years 1807-11 he commanded successively the frigates *Volontaire* and *Cambrian* in the Mediterranean, off Toulon, and on the coast of Spain. From 1814 to 1817 he commanded the *Akbar* of 50 guns, on the North American station; and from 1824 to 1827 was commodore on the west coast of Africa, with his broad pennant in the *Maidstone*. In July 1830 he was appointed superintendent of Pembroke dockyard, and also captain of the Royal Sovereign yacht, both which offices he held till he became rear-admiral, 10 Jan. 1837. He had no further employment afloat, but was advanced by seniority to the rank of vice-admiral on 9 Nov. 1846, and of admiral 30 July 1852. He received the C.B. on 4 June 1815; K.C.H. 13 Jan. 1835; K.C.B. 18 April 1839; and G.C.B. 7 April 1852. He also had the gold medal for Trafalgar, and a good-service pension. He died on 2 July 1853. An authentic portrait is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich.

[O'Byrne's *Dict. of Nav. Biog.*; *Gent. Mag.* (1853), cxli. ii. 309.] J. K. L.

BULLER, CHARLES (1806-1848), a liberal politician, was born at Calcutta on 6 Aug. 1806. His father, Charles Buller, a younger son of the Bullers of Morval, Cornwall, was in the revenue department of the East India Company's service, and he married Barbara Isabella, daughter of General William Kirkpatrick. From his mother the younger Charles Buller inherited his 'lively and graceful imagination,' from the father he derived his generosity and his earnestness. Having had a leg injured in childhood he ever afterwards suffered from ill-health. He was sent to Harrow, but his playful disposition ill accorded with the restraint of school life, and his future course might have been jeopardised had he not been removed at the close of 1821. By the advice of Edward Irving, he was placed with a tutor who recognised the peculiarities of his character. This was Thomas Carlyle, who took Charles Buller and his younger brother, Arthur, under his charge at Edinburgh in February 1822. From the first Carlyle found 'Charles a most manageable, intelligent, cheery, and altogether welcome and intelligent phenomenon; quite a bit of sunshine in

my dreary Edinburgh element.' The mother is described as having been 'once very beautiful, still very witty,' and a 'graceful, airy, and ingeniously intelligent woman of the gossamer kind,' while the father is painted as 'of perfect probity, politeness, truthfulness, and of a more solid type than his wife.' The pupil was in advance of his tutor in both Greek and Latin, but especially in the former, and Carlyle had to push ahead of him. Buller was entered at Edinburgh University for part of the session 1821-2, and again for 1822-3, and Carlyle continued to be his tutor while the Buller family dwelt at Kinnaid House, Perthshire, and in London for a short time in 1824-5. Buller then went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and Carlyle parted with him rather abruptly, bidding adieu to 'ancient dames of quality, flaunting, painting, &c. &c.' While at Cambridge Buller spoke at the Union in friendly rivalry with such orators as Macaulay, Praed, and Cockburn, sharing in the debates described in Lord Lytton's 'Life,' i. 230-47. He took his degree of B.A. in 1828, and then prepared for a career of law and politics. His family had the command of several Cornish boroughs, and his father sat for West Looe until February 1830, when he resigned in favour of his son, who continued to represent it for that parliament and the succeeding one, 1830-1, voting for the first Reform Bill, and for the extinction of his own constituency, a step which, it is recorded, did not destroy his friendly relations with his uncle, the borough's patron. On 10 June 1831 he was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn, but for some time he devoted little attention to his profession. On the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 the electors of Liskeard elected Buller as their representative, and the connection only ceased with his death. He was a strong reformer, rejoicing in the friendship of kindred minds like Roebuck, Mill, Grote, and Molesworth, and often taking part with the leading liberals of the day in the debates of the London Debating Society. Not long after 1832 the forces of liberalism began to subside, and in 1836 Buller said to Grote, in an oft-repeated anecdote: 'I see what we are coming to; in no very long time from this you and I shall be left to tell Molesworth.' He originated the record commission, and acted as chairman to the select committee on the state of the records, his speech being described as 'a luminous and brilliant effort.' He presided over the committee which inquired into the election law of Ireland, which was then often the subject of conflicting decisions. In the summer of 1837 he introduced a bill on the subject, and a second in the new parliament, which was elected in the winter of that year;

as it did not pass he reverted to the matter in 1840. In criticising Buller's speech on Lord Stanley's bill on this vexed question Macaulay said: 'Charles Buller spoke with talent as he always does; and with earnestness, dignity, and propriety, which he scarcely ever does,' an allusion to the fact that the effect of his speeches was sometimes weakened by too strong a propensity for jokes. This fault was considerably lessened in the closing decade of his life, partly through a taunt from Sir Robert Peel, and partly through the softening influences of official life. When Lord Durham went to Canada in 1838 as governor-general, he was accompanied by Buller as his chief secretary, and the celebrated report on Canada which bears Lord Durham's name was mainly written by Buller with the assistance of Gibbon Wakefield. The account of the administration of Canada at this period, in Harriet Martineau's 'History of the Thirty Years' Peace,' ii. 376-92, was based on Buller's journal of his residence there, and two elaborate reviews by J. S. Mill, to whose suggestions Buller was always open, appeared in the 'London and Westminster Review' in 1838. On his return to England he commenced practice, and with considerable success, before the judicial committee of the privy council in colonial and Indian appeals. In 1841 he was appointed secretary to the board of control, but resigned his office on the accession of Sir Robert Peel to power in the autumn of the same year. When Lord John Russell formed a whig ministry in 1846, the post of judge-advocate-general was conferred on Buller. The honour of a privy councillorship is almost invariably bestowed on the holder of this office, but it was declined by him, according to the writer in 'Tait's Magazine,' on the ground that he had not deserved it, and, according to another statement, because with such an honour he could not have pleaded in the ordinary law courts (see COLE, *Fifty Years of Public Work*, i. 18-20). In the following year he became chief poor law commissioner, an unpopular position which he accepted in the hope that he might achieve therein the main object of his life, that of 'doing good.' He immediately took up the subject of the poor law with his accustomed energy, and in the session of 1848 carried through parliament some short bills reforming the existing enactments relating thereto. Buller was depicted in 1831 as six feet three inches in height, and a yard in breadth, but though of great bodily strength he was often ailing. In the late autumn of 1848 he underwent an operation 'which brought on erysipelas, and the erysipelas was followed by typhus.' This is the

statement of Sir G. C. Lewis, and Mr. Froude adds that it happened 'through the blundering of an unskilful surgeon.' He died at Chester Place, Chester Square, London, 29 Nov. 1848. His bust, by Henry Weekes, with an inscription by his friend, Lord Houghton, was placed in the west aisle of the north transept of Westminster Abbey, near the memorial to Horner, the situation being selected by Dean Buckland 'from the similarity of their early distinction and premature deaths.' His portrait, by B. E. Duppa, was engraved by E. Scriven.

Buller's father died at Richmond on 17 May 1848. Thackeray, in 'Dr. Birch and his Young Friends,' exclaimed, 'Why should your mother, Charles, not mine, Be weeping at her darling's grave?' but she was not left long to mourn the loss of him whom she worshipped. She died broken-hearted on 13 March 1849. Every one who came within Buller's presence was amused by the keenness of a wit which never wounded, and impressed by the sincerity of his purpose for good. Carlyle styled him 'a fine honest fellow,' and again, 'the genialest radical I have ever met,' pouring out in the columns of the 'Examiner' an elegy on his death. Macready, who improved him in elocution, Macaulay, Harriet Martineau, Grote, and Sir George Cornwall Lewis, have all united in their letters or autobiographies in expressions of heartfelt regret at the death of their friend. Bulwer Lytton, in his poem of 'St. Stephen's,' apostrophised Buller with the words—

Farewell, fine humorist, finer reasoner still,  
Lively as Luttrell, logical as Mill.

The titles of his pamphlets are printed in the 'Bibliotheca Cornubiensis.' At one time he wrote leading articles for the 'Globe' newspaper, and in 1837 he edited, in conjunction with Sir Henry Cole, a new weekly paper called 'The Guide.' He also contributed a few articles to the 'Edinburgh' and 'Westminster' reviews. The particulars, with extracts, of two elaborate 'jeux d'esprit,' one written by Charles Buller entirely, and the other by him and Lord Houghton, are given in the latter's 'Monographs.' The success of these productions was enormous; that which purported to describe a debate in the French chamber on the queen of England's fancy-dress ball imposed on several French and British papers.

[Carlyle's *Reminiscences*; Froude's *Carlyle*, 1795-1835 and 1835-81, and Jane W. Carlyle's *Letters*, *passim*; Walpole's *Hist. of England*, iii. 436-41, 515-16, 520; *Bibl. Cornub.* i. and iii.; Sir G. C. Lewis's *Letters*, 183, 186, 196; Greville *Memoirs*, 2nd ser. iii. 221, 237, 241, 249-51; Sir

Henry Cole's *Fifty Years*, i. 5, 9-11, 16-20, 38, ii. 82-91; Mill's *Autobiography*, 216; Macready's *Reminiscences*, ii. 6-13, 26, 45, 57, 92, 149, 312; Trevelyan's *Macaulay*, ii. 76-7, 245; Martineau's *Autobiography*, i. 341-2, ii. 129-30, 177, 375, 504-10, iii. 200, 227; Macvey Napier's *Correspondence*, 291-2, 326, 370-2; Grote's *Life*, 60, 81, 108, 111, 120, 188; Lord Houghton's *Monographs*, 236-45; Tait's *Mag.* January 1849, pp. 71-2; Macmillan's *Mag.* January 1882, pp. 234-44; *Gent. Mag.* January 1849, pp. 87-9; *Fraser's Mag.* February 1849, pp. 221-4, signed S. A. (i.e. Sarah Austin); *Examiner*, 2 Dec. 1848, pp. 771, 777-8.] W. P. C.

**BULLER, SIR FRANCIS** (1746-1800), judge, was the third son of James Buller of Morval, Cornwall, and of Downes near Crediton, by his second wife, Lady Jane Bathurst, second daughter of Allen, first earl Bathurst, and was born at Downes on 17 March 1746. He was educated at Ottery St. Mary grammar school. While there he lived in the house of S. T. Coleridge's father, and through Buller's influence in later years a presentation to the Bluecoat School, London, was obtained for Coleridge himself. In 1763, at the age of seventeen, Buller married Susanna, daughter and heiress of Francis Yarde of Churston Court, Devonshire, and in February of that year he was entered at the Inner Temple as a pupil of the celebrated special pleader William Henry Ashurst [q. v.], afterwards a judge in the court of king's bench. He took out his certificate as special pleader in 1765, and was at once established in a good business. The 'pupilising system,' according to Lord Campbell, was introduced by Buller, and if this be an exaggeration, it is certain that it was largely extended by him, and that Erskine was among his children in the law. In Easter term 1772 he was called to the bar, and in the same year was published the first English edition of his 'Introduction to the Law relative to Trials at Nisi Prius,' a compilation from a collection of cases of Justice (afterwards Earl) Bathurst, which passed through many editions. His rise at the bar was rapid. Among the *causes célèbres* in which he was engaged were the trial of the Duchess of Kingston, the action for libel against the Rev. John Horne, better known as Horne Tooke, and the trial of John the Painter [see *ATTEN, JAMES*]. On 24 Nov. 1777 he was created a king's counsel, and three days later was appointed the second judge of the county palatine of Chester. Next year (6 May 1778), when only thirty-two years old—he is said to have been the youngest man ever created an English judge—he was made a puisne judge of the king's bench, on the recommenda-

tion of Lord Mansfield. Though his clearness of statement and his quickness in seizing the points of the contending counsel were universally recognised, his conduct on the judicial bench has often formed the subject of severe criticism. He was considered hasty and prejudiced, and his unfortunate assertion that a husband could thrash his wife with impunity provided that the stick was no bigger than his thumb, tempted Gillray into planting the belief more deeply in popular opinion by a caricature of Buller as Judge Thumb, which he published on 27 Nov. 1782. At the trial of the Very Rev. William Davies Shipley, dean of St. Asaph, for libel on 6 Aug. 1784, for the offence of 'publishing a very harmless dialogue written by Sir William Jones,' Buller told the jury that they were not entitled to form any opinion upon the character of the paper charged as libellous; and when the verdict 'guilty of publishing only' was given by the jury, and the judge endeavoured to ignore the qualifying word 'only,' the resolute attitude of Erskine, the dean's advocate, gained a victory over Buller's tenacity. Erskine subsequently moved for a new trial on the ground of misdirection, but failed in his object, though his claims have since been acknowledged by a 'declaratory act of parliament.' Buller also incurred, but seemingly without justice, considerable odium for his conduct while presiding over the trial of Captain John Donellan for poisoning his brother-in-law, Sir Theodosius Boughton. He was always the second judge in his court, and when Lord Mansfield was absent through illness Buller took the lead; indeed for the last two years of his chief's life he was really the chief justice, and Lord Mansfield, besides pressing Buller's claims to promotion on the ministry, left him 2,000*l.* in acknowledgment of his assistance. The heads of the government long wavered in their decision. Pitt is said to have remembered a trial at Bodmin, affecting the political rights in one of the pocket boroughs of the Buller family, in which Buller presided and showed undue partiality for his connections. Thurlow exclaimed that he had 'hesitated long between the corruption of Buller and the intemperance of Kenyon.' The latter, a vastly inferior lawyer, was at last selected, and the defeated junior, as some solace for his disappointment, was made a baronet on 13 Jan. 1790. In spite of his disappointment he remained in his old court for some years, but on 19 June 1794 he took his place in the common pleas, his letter to Kenyon announcing his resignation of his post in the king's bench being printed in Kenyon's 'Life.' Buller

often presided for Lord Thurlow in the court of chancery, and his last great act as a judge was that of presiding at the trial of the state prisoners, Arthur O'Connor and others, at Maidstone in 1798. He was short in stature, but of handsome features, with a piercing eye and a commanding forehead. His health was at last undermined by frequent attacks of gout and by a slight stroke of paralysis. He had arranged to resign in a few days, when, during a game of picquet at his house in Bedford Square, he was seized with his fatal illness. He died late on the night of the 4th, or early on the 5th, of June 1800, and was buried without pomp, near the remains of his firstborn son Edward, in the burial-ground of St. Andrew's, Holborn, on 11 June. His love of card-playing was notorious, and he once exclaimed that 'his idea of heaven was to sit at nisi prius all day and play at whist all night.' Abbott, afterwards Lord Tenterden, was private tutor to Buller's only surviving son, and on his advice Abbott adopted a legal, instead of the clerical, profession. This son afterwards took the surname of Yarde, subsequently adding to it his own patronymic of Buller, and the judge's grandson was made Baron Churston. The judge purchased large estates in his native county of Devon, and supplied Arthur Young with some notes on the system of cultivation adopted on his property near Princetown in Dartmoor (*Annals of Agriculture*, xxix. 569-78, xxx. 297-8).

[Gilbert's Cornwall, ii. 41; Courtney and Boase's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*, i. and iii.; Campbell's *Chief Justices*, ii. 328, 397, 540-3, 550, iii. 36, 266-9; Townsend's *Twelve Judges*, i. 1-32; Foss, viii. 251-5; *Strictures on Eminent Lawyers* (1790), pp. 103-11; Polwhele's *Biog. Sketches*, i. 56-60; Crabb Robinson's *Diary*, i. 394, ii. 160; Romilly's *Memoirs*, i. 82-3; Sir N. Wrexall's *Posthumous Memoirs*, i. 86; Lord Abinger's *Life*, pp. 45, 49, 62; Kenyon's *Life*, pp. 52, 164-6, 174, 284-5; *Gent. Mag.* (June 1800), pp. 594-5; Sir E. Brydges's *Autobiography*, i. 403; Gillray's *Works*, pp. 43-4; Cradock's *Memoirs*, i. 85, iv. 150-2.] W. P. C.

**BULLER, SIR GEORGE** (1802-1884), general, was the third son of General Frederick William Buller of Pelynt and Lanreath in Cornwall, who had himself served with distinction in the 57th regiment in the Netherlands and the West Indies. George was gazetted a second lieutenant in the rifle brigade on 2 March 1820. The first twenty-five years of his career in the army were spent in a time of profound peace, and his marriage with Henrietta, daughter of General Sir John Macdonald, G.C.B., adjutant-general to the forces, helped his rapid promotion. He

became lieutenant in March 1825; captain, August 1828; major, December 1839; lieutenant-colonel in August, and colonel in November 1841. In February 1847 he joined his battalion at the Cape. The first Kaffir war had just broken out, and Buller was at once appointed to the command of a brigade, and eventually of the 2nd division. In September 1847 he was appointed second in command to Sir George Berkeley in the campaign in the Amatola mountains, in which his battalion chased Sandilli so hotly that the chief surrendered to Buller on 19 Oct. He was gazetted C.B. in December 1847. In 1848 he served under Sir Harry Smith in the Boer war against Pretorius, and on 29 Aug. led the attack on the Boem Plaats, where he was severely wounded, and had his horse killed under him. His battalion now came home, but in 1852 he was again ordered to go with his regiment to the Cape. At the head of a brigade in General Somerset's division he burnt the kraals in the Waterkloof, in the second Kaffir war, and was present at the battle of Berea, where he was publicly thanked by Sir George Cathcart, and eventually succeeded Somerset in the command of his division in August 1852. In October 1853 his battalion was again ordered home, and in spite of Sir George Cathcart's entreaties that he would remain as a brigadier at the Cape, he insisted on accompanying it.

When it was decided to send an expeditionary army to the East in 1854, Buller was appointed brigadier-general, and took the command of the second brigade of the light division, consisting of the 19th, 88th, and 77th regiments. His conduct at the battle of the Alma has been severely criticised, but has been approved by all the greatest military authorities. At the battle of Inkerman he was severely wounded in the left arm. He was promoted major-general in December 1854, and made K.C.B. on 5 July 1855. He had to return home, owing to his wound, in March 1855. He commanded the division in the Ionian Isles from 1856 to 1862, and was made colonel-commandant of the rifle brigade in 1860, and promoted lieutenant-general in 1862. He commanded the troops of the southern division at Portsmouth from 1865 to 1870, was made G.C.B. in 1869, and promoted general in 1871. He was a commander of the Legion of Honour, and knight of the second class of the order of the Medjidie. He died at his house in Bruton Street on 12 April 1884, at the age of eighty-two.

[Cope's History of the Rifle Brigade; Life and Correspondence of Lieut.-gen. Hon. Sir G. Cathcart; King's Campaigning in Kaffriland; Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea.] H. M. S.

**BULLINGHAM, JOHN** (d. 1598), bishop of Gloucester, was a native of Gloucestershire. He was elected a probationer fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, July 1550, being then B.A. He was slow in embracing the tenets of the reformers. His adherence to the doctrines of the unreformed church and his disgust at the innovations introduced by the influence of the foreign reformers in the latter part of Edward VI's reign drove him as 'a voluntary exile' to France, where, in his own later words, a 'friendless and moniless' fugitive 'for the wicked pope's sake,' he took refuge at Rouen, in which city he remained some time. On the accession of Queen Mary he returned to England, and was restored to his place. He took his degree of M.A. 1 June 1554. A letter relating to his friend Julius Palmer is printed in Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments' (iii. 616); Palmer had also been an exile for his religion, and was converted to protestantism by a perusal of Calvin's 'Institutes.' Palmer paid the penalty of his change of faith, being burnt alive at Newbury 16 July 1556, while his former associate basked in favour as domestic chaplain to Bishop Gardiner of Winchester, and rector of Boxwell and of Withington in his native county of Gloucester. The accession of Elizabeth temporarily clouded his fortunes. He at first maintained his old faith, and was, in Foxe's words, 'quite and clean despatched from all his livings for his obstinacy.' His 'obstinacy,' however, could not have been of very long duration, for we find him appointed by Grindal to the prebendal stall of Wenlocks-barn in St. Paul's Cathedral, 1 Aug. 1565, and admitted to the degree of B.D. at Oxford under the new protestant régime, 'after twelve years' studying; 8 July 1566 (WOOD, *Athenæ*, ii. 842; BOASE, *Reg. of Univ. of Oxford*, p. 225). The next year, 27 Dec. 1567, he was appointed archdeacon of Huntingdon, in room of Dr. Beaumont, master of Trinity, by his namesake, probably his kinsman, Nicholas Bullingham [q.v.], bishop of Lincoln. He held the post till 1576 (LE NEVE, *Fasti*, ii. 53). Dignities rapidly succeeded one another for the new convert, and he 'became well beneficed' (WOOD). He was created D.D. by his university 12 July 1568, and received from Bishop Bullingham the stall of Louth in Lincoln Cathedral 10 Sept. of the same year, and still retaining his other preferments was installed canon of Worcester 13 Oct. 1570 (STRYPE, *Parker*, ii. 48). He was incorporated D.D. of Cambridge 7 July 1575. When Grindal in 1576 held a visitation of his province by commission, Bullingham was one of those appointed to visit the diocese of Hereford (STRYPE, *Gri-*



*dal*, p. 316, bk. ii. ch. 7). He was raised to the episcopate in 1581, being consecrated on 3 Sept. of that year at Croydon to the see of Gloucester (STRYPE, *Grindal*, p. 397, bk. ii. ch. 12). He was allowed to hold the bishopric of Bristol (created 1542) in *commendam* as well as the prebend of Norton in Hereford Cathedral, to which he was installed 18 Jan. 1582. He held the see of Bristol till the appointment of Fletcher, at whose consecration he assisted, 14 Dec. 1589 (STRYPE, *Whitgift*, i. 617, bk. iv. ch. 1). The rectory of Kilmington, in the county of Somerset, was given him in compensation for the loss of the second bishopric and his Hereford stall. He served as commissioner for the confirmation of Whitgift's election as archbishop, 27 Aug. 1583 (STRYPE, *Whitgift*, bk. ii. ch. 2), and in 1584 was commissioned by the new primate to visit his own diocese of Gloucester metropolitically (*ib.* bk. iii. ch. 12, i. 410). When the see of Oxford fell vacant in 1592, Aylmer, then bishop of London, at his request unsuccessfully endeavoured to obtain it for Bullingham, pleading that 'it was very fit for him from the nearness of the place and to make some addition to his poor portion' (STRYPE, *Aylmer*, p. 110). Bullingham died at Kensington 20 May 1598, and was, according to some authorities, buried in his own cathedral; others assert that he was interred at the place of his death.

Bullingham does not appear to have been conspicuous either for learning or refinement. On this ground as well as for his tardy conversion to the protestant faith he became the object of the scurrilous attacks of 'Martin Mar-Prelate.' Among other choice epithets lavished upon him by that foul-mouthed satirist we find him termed 'a mass-monger,' an 'old papist priest,' one whom 'beef and brewis' had made a papist, and an 'old steal-counter mass-priest' (*Epistle to the Terrible Priests*, pp. 41, 60, 65; *Hay, any work for a Cooper*, pp. 10, 24, Petheram's edition). This low estimate of Bullingham's learning and ability is fully borne out by a letter from Archbishop Parker to Sir W. Cecil, 2 Feb. 1571, in which he describes him as 'an honest true-meaning man,' whom, 'on the credit of others much commending him,' he had once appointed to preach before the queen, but he would never do so again since he 'had perceived in him neither "pronunciationem aulicam" nor "ingenium aulicum," not meet for the court' (STRYPE, *Parker*, ii. 496, bk. iv. ch. 1; *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 318, 378).

The only works attributed to Bullingham are 'a translation of John Venæus's oration

in defence of the Sacrament of the Altare,' 1554, 8vo, and the letter above referred to, containing an account of Julius Palmer the martyr, printed in Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments,' iii. 616, ed. 1784.

[Godwin, *De Præsul.* ii. 133; Wood's *Athenæ*, ii. 842; Boase's *Register of Univ. of Oxford*, p. 225; *Le Neve's Fasti*, ll. cc.; Strype's *Parker*, ll. cc.; Aylmer, 110; Martin Mar-Prelate, ll. cc.; Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, iii. 616, ed. 1784; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. 27, 549.] E. V.

BULLINGHAM, NICHOLAS (1512?–1576), bishop of Lincoln 1560–1571, bishop of Worcester 1571–1576, probably a son of Thomas Bullingham, one of the bailiffs of that city 1528 and 1530, was born at Worcester about 1512, and educated at Oxford, where, according to Wood, he became fellow of All Souls in 1536. He took the degree of B.C.L. 24 Oct. 1541. In February 1546 he presented his supplicate for D.C.L., but was not admitted. He chiefly devoted himself to the study of civil and canon law, in which he obtained great distinction. His learning and his inclination towards the reformed faith commended him to Cranmer's favourable notice, and he was appointed one of his chaplains, in which capacity he attended on the primate at Ridley's consecration, 5 Sept. 1547 (STRYPE, *Cranmer*, p. 251). In November of the same year he appears as proctor in convocation for the clergy of the diocese of Lincoln, and was collated 17 Dec. by Bishop Holbeach to the prebend of Welton Westhall in the cathedral of Lincoln, which he exchanged for that of Empingham, 2 Sept. 1548. The next year, 22 Sept. 1549, he succeeded Heneage as archdeacon of Lincoln, and was also vicar-general of the diocese. His name is found in the commission against anabaptists and other heretical teachers, 1549–50 (STRYPE, *Mem.* ii. i. 385, ii. 200). On the accession of Queen Mary, Bullingham, being a married man, and as one whose soundness in the faith was more than doubtful, was deprived of his archdeaconry and prebend and other preferments. On the outbreak of the Marian persecution he concealed himself until he found means to escape beyond seas (STRYPE, *Parker*, i. 127). He appears to have arrived at Emden about 5 Dec. 1554. During his exile he applied himself to the study of theology and canon law. The death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth summoned Bullingham back to England. On the petition of Sir F. Ayscough to Cecil, 17 Dec. 1558 (*State Papers*), he was allowed to resume his preferments, and was appointed by Parker, to whom as dean of his cathedral of Lincoln he must have been well known,

one of his chaplains. He appeared as Parker's proxy at his confirmation (STRYPE, *Parker*, i. 110), and assisted at his ever-memorable consecration in the chapel of Lambeth House, 17 Dec. 1559, together with his brother chaplain, Edmund Guest, archdeacon of Canterbury (subsequently bishop of Rochester and of Salisbury), both vested in silken copes (STRYPE, *Ann. of Reform.* ii. ii. 555). He had received the degree of LL.D. at Cambridge 16 Jan. of that year (WOOD, *Athenæ*, ii. 814). His intimate acquaintance with law caused him to be much consulted by his friend Parker, whose intention to appoint him as judge in one of the leading ecclesiastical courts was prevented by his speedy elevation to the episcopate. On the deprivation of Bishop Watson he was appointed to the see of Lincoln, and was consecrated in the second group of bishops, at Lambeth, 21 Jan. 1559-60 (STRYPE, *Parker*, i. 126-7; RYMER, *Fæd.* xv. 561, 579; SIR JOHN HAYWARD, *Annals of Q. Eliz.* (Camden Soc. 1840), pp. 19, 27; BURNER, *Hist. of Reform.* ii. 494, ed. 1825; appendix, vol. ii. pt. ii.) A royal license was granted to Bullingham to retain his archdeaconry *in commendam* for three years, in regard of the poverty of the bishopric, which had been stripped bare by Holbeach's weak connivance at the infamous robbery of Edward VI's ministers (RYMER, *Fæd.* xv. 564). On his resignation of this post in 1562 he was succeeded as archdeacon by Aylmer, afterwards bishop of London. Bullingham's sound learning and familiarity with canon law rendered him an important addition to the company of Elizabethan prelates, among whom his gravity and placable spirit and freedom from polemical bitterness gave him deserved weight. He served on many important commissions for the settlement of the state of the church, and took a prominent part in the memorable convocation in 1562 (CARDWELL, *Synodalia*, ii. 495-527). He was one of the bishops appointed to draw up articles of discipline (*ib.* p. 511; WILKINS, *Concilia*, iv. 238; BURNER, *Hist. of Reform.* iii. 512), and was among those to whom Dean Nowell's catechism was referred for consideration (*ib.* 522). He took part, with Grindal of London, Horne of Winchester, and Cox of Ely, in drawing up the celebrated 'advertisements' prescribing, not, as has been asserted, the maximum of ritual which would be allowed, but the minimum which would be tolerated, laid by Parker before Cecil 3 March 1565 and issued by him without the royal authority in 1566 (Parker *Correspondence*, Parker Soc. edit., p. 233; CARDWELL, *Docum. Annals*, i. 287-97 (Cardwell's date, 1564, is incorrect); STRYPE,

*Parker*, i. 315, bk. ii. ch. 20). In December of the same year he signed a letter to the queen, praying her to give her assent to a bill for enforcing subscription to the articles of 1562-3 (Parker *Correspondence*, pp. 292-294). On 18 Jan. 1570-1, on the promotion of Sandys to the see of London, Bullingham was elected bishop of Worcester (LE NEVE, *Fæsti*, iii. 65; RYMER, *Fæd.* xv. 689). As bishop of Worcester he was one of the episcopal commissioners appointed by the queen, 7 June 1571, for the enforcement of the use of the Book of Common Prayer and the prohibition of unlicensed ministers (Parker *Corresp.* p. 383; STRYPE, *Parker*, iii. 183, No. 62). The same year he signed the forty articles (STRYPE, *Parker*, ii. 54, bk. iv. ch. 5) and the 'canons ecclesiastical' (*ib.* p. 60; CARDWELL, *Synodalia*, i. 131). Archbishop Parker commissioned Bullingham to ordain for him (STRYPE, u. s. i. 129), and, 4 Jan. 1566, forwarded to Cecil his request to be temporarily relieved of the care of Gilbert Bourne [q. v.], the deprived bishop of Bath and Wells, who had been committed to his custody (Parker *Correspondence*, p. 253; STRYPE, u. s. i. 279). Parker bequeathed to him his 'white horse called Hackington with its harness and caparisons, valued at 13l. 6s. 8d.' (STRYPE, u. s. iii. 336, 343). While bishop of Lincoln, 28 Feb. 1567-8, he issued a circular letter to the incumbents of his diocese for collections on behalf of the refugees for religion from France and Flanders (*Calendar of State Papers*, sub ann.). As visitor of King's College, on a complaint of the fellows of King's in 1566, that their provost, Philip Baker, was popishly inclined, he made a visitation of the college, and issued injunctions for the destruction of 'a great deal of popish stuff,' which the provost neglected, concealing the condemned articles in 'a secret corner' (COOPER, *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 225). He died, much respected and beloved, on 18 April 1576, and was succeeded after a year's vacancy of the see by Whitgift. He was buried in the Jesus chapel, on the north side of the nave of his cathedral. The effigy is of singular design, only the upper and lower part of the figure being visible. His quaint epitaph runs:—

*Nicolaus Episcopus Wigorn.*

Here born, here bishop, buried here,  
A Bullingham by name and stock,  
A man twice married in God's fear,  
Chief pastor, late of Lyncolne flock,  
Whom Oxford trained up in youth,  
Whom Cambridge doctor did create,  
A painful preacher of the truth,  
Who changed this life for happy fate  
18 April 1576.

He was twice married and had children by both wives. His first wife Margaret was buried at Buckden in 1566. He died largely in debt, leaving his wife and children in great poverty. A supplication to the queen on their behalf is among the State Papers, 17 June 1576.

Bullingham took part in the Bishops' Bible, the Canonical Epistles and the Apocalypse being entrusted to him (*Parker Correspondence*, p. 336). A volume of his manuscript sermons is in the Lambeth Library, No. 739.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 813; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 350, 563; Le Neve's *Fasti*, i. 175, ii. 23, &c., iii. 65; Richardson's *Godwin*, i. p. 301, ed. 1743; Strype's *Parker*, ll. cc.; Rymer's *Fœdera*, ll. cc.; *Parker Correspondence*, ll. cc.; Boase's *Reg. of Univ. of Oxford*, pp. 194, 211.]

E. V.

**BULLINGHAM, RICHARD.** [See **BILLINGHAM.**]

**BULLOCH, JOHN** (1805–1882), writer on Shakespeare's text, was a working brass-finisher of Aberdeen, where he died at the close of December 1882, in his seventy-eighth year. He devoted much of his time to literary pursuits, and contributed to the '*Athenæum*' several articles on decimal coinage. The works of Shakespeare were, however, the chief subject of his study; and when W. G. Clark [q. v.] became editor of the '*Cambridge Shakespeare*' in 1863, Bulloch suggested a number of textual emendations which were introduced into the notes of that edition. In 1878 he published by subscription '*Studies of the Text of Shakespeare*,' where he evinces a very shrewd capacity in textual criticism. Bulloch lived in very humble circumstances, and in the preface to his '*Studies*' he thanks a number of friends for loans of the commonest books of reference.

[*Athenæum*, 1882, pt. ii. 899; *Times*, 3 Jan. 1883; Bulloch's *Studies*, *Cambridge Shakespeare* (1863), i. preface.] S. L.

**BULLOCK, CHRISTOPHER** (1690?–1724), actor and dramatist, spoken of in the playbills as Bullock, junior, was the son of William Bullock [q. v.], also an actor. The date of his birth may be approximately fixed as 1690. In 1717 he married Jane, the natural daughter of Robert Wilks, the actor, and Mrs. Rogers. She was a rather pleasing actress, survived him fifteen years, and died in 1739 in Ireland. Christopher Bullock's first reported appearance took place in 1708 with the summer company holding possession of Drury Lane. On 27 July 1708 he played the Marquis of Posa in Otway's '*Don Carlos*,' and two days

later Hippolito in Dryden's adaptation of the '*Tempest*,' Bullock and his father joined, in 1709, the associated actors, Wilks, Doggett, Cibber, and Mrs. Oldfield, who entered into partnership with Swiney in the management of the Haymarket. With the company he migrated, 1710–11, to Drury Lane, where he remained four years. Still following the lead of his father, he was one of the seven or eight actors who, in 1714–15, acquired the name of 'deserters' by quitting the Drury Lane company and joining Rich at the reconstructed theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. At this house, with the management of which, in connection with Theophilus Keen, he soon became associated, he stayed for the remainder of his brief life. Here he played the class of character assigned at Drury Lane to Colley Cibber. His success is said to have been the cause why he is passed over without mention in Cibber's '*Apology*.' Few original characters were assigned him except in his own plays, which are seven in number, and were all produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields. The list is as follows: 1. '*A Woman's Revenge*,' a comedy, 1715, 12mo (8th edit. 1758), played 24 Oct. 1715, an adaptation of '*The Revenge*, or *A Match in Newgate*,' a comedy ascribed to Mrs. Behn, but according to Langbaine founded on '*The Dutch Courtesan*' of Marston. 2. '*Slip*,' a farce, 12mo, 1715, acted on 3 Feb. 1715, extracted from '*A Mad World, my Masters*,' by Middleton. 3. '*Adventures of Half an Hour*,' farce, 12mo, 1716, played on 19 March 1716. 4. '*Cobler of Preston*,' farce, 12mo, 1716, acted on 24 Jan. 1716, and taken from the framework of the '*Taming of the Shrew*.' 5. '*The Perjuror*,' a farce, 8vo, 1717, produced on 12 Dec. 1717. 6. '*Woman's a Riddle*,' comedy, 4to, 1718, acted on 4 Dec. 1716, adapted from the Spanish of '*La Dama Duende*.' 7. '*The Traitor*,' a tragedy, 8vo, 1718, acted on 11 Oct. 1718, altered from Shirley. Bullock's share in most of these pieces, as is seen, is small. He is taxed in the case of more than one with disingenuousness or something worse. Dr. Johnson (*Life of Savage*), following Giles Jacob (*Poetical Register*), asserts that, after having been rejected by the players at Lincoln's Inn Fields, '*Woman's a Riddle*' was given by Savage, its author, to Bullock, who, with slight alterations, produced it as his own, and allowed Savage a share in the profits or honours. A second account is that the play was translated by Mrs. Price, the wife of Robert Price, baron of the exchequer, and that copies of it were given by her to Savage, to Bullock, and to another writer unnamed, and that Bullock, in his position of manager, was able to be first in the field. Neither as an actor nor as a dramatist is Bullock entitled

to a high place. His premature death in 1724 cut short, however, a career of some promise.

[Egerton's Theatrical Remembrancer, 1738; Genest's Account of the English Stage; Chetwood's General History of the Stage; Thespian Dictionary; Jacob's Poetical Register, 1723; Johnson's Lives of the Poets; Baker, Reed, and Jones's Biographia Dramatica.] J. K.

**BULLOCK, GEORGE, D.D.** (1521?-1580?), catholic divine, was born in or about 1521. It has been conjectured that he received his early education at Eton, whence he removed to St. John's College, Cambridge. He proceeded B.A. in 1538-9, was soon afterwards elected a fellow of his college, and commenced M.A. in 1542. He was proctor of the university for the academical year beginning in October 1549. During the time he held that office the university was visited under a royal commission. In 1550-1 he was examined on the trial of Bishop Gardiner, in support of his matter justificatory, he having been present at the bishop's sermon before the king on the feast of St. Peter 1549. Soon after the accession of Edward VI he went abroad, and for two years he resided in the abbey of Nevers in France. Returning to his native country upon the accession of Queen Mary, that sovereign presented him to the rectory of Great Mongeham in Kent, in October 1553 (RYMER, *Fœdera*, ed. 1713, xv. 350), and to a canonry in the church of Durham on 9 May 1554. On the 12th of the last-mentioned month he was admitted master of St. John's College, Cambridge, having been elected by a unanimous vote of the fellows. In the same year he proceeded B.D. On 11 Feb. 1554-5 he was admitted on the queen's presentation to the vicarage of St. Sepulchre, London, then void by the deprivation of John Rogers (NEWCOURT, *Repertorium*, i. 534). He signed the Roman catholic articles in 1555, and became Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge in 1556, in which year he resigned the vicarage of St. Sepulchre. About the same time he obtained the rectory of Much Munden in Hertfordshire. During the visitation of the university by Cardinal Pole's delegates he was one of the persons examined to substantiate the charge of heresy against Bucer and Fagius previously to the exhumation of their bodies, which were burnt at Cambridge 6 Feb. 1566-7 (COOPER, *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 116). He was created D.D. in 1557.

After he had spent four or five years as head of St. John's College, in unquiet times under great uneasiness, he was at last obliged to quit his mastership by a visitation under Queen Elizabeth, in 1559. After the acces-

sion of that sovereign 'the ejected fellows began to return upon him, which much disquieted him; however, he kept his ground till the visitation, and after his ejection he with the fellows that suffered with him were civilly entertained by the college' (T. BAKER, *Hist. of St. John's*, ed. Mayor, i. 144). At this period he was also deprived of the Lady Margaret professorship, his canonry at Durham, and the rectory of Much Munden, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. He then left England, going first to Brittany and afterwards to Belgium. He suffered considerable hardships, and on one occasion was captured by 'heretical pirates,' who despoiled him of all he possessed (*Dedication of his Concordance to Gregory XIII.*). For several years he again resided at Nevers, being very kindly entertained by the abbot, by whom he was sent to the university of Paris with letters of introduction. About 1567 he removed to Antwerp, and read a divinity lecture in the monastery of St. Michael there. William Roper of Lincoln was imprisoned in 1568 for having sent 5*l.* to Bullock beyond sea, but obtained his release on acknowledging his offence before the lords of the council, and promising to obey the queen's law and ordinances in matters of religion (STRYPE, *Annals*, folio ed. i. 549). Bullock died at Antwerp in or about 1580, and was buried in the monastery of St. Michael.

He is author of 'Economia Concordantiarum Scripturæ sacræ,' Antwerp, 1567, 1572, folio; Venice, 2 vols. 1585, folio, with dedication to Pope Gregory XIII, and to Michael Malena, abbot of Nevers. It may be inferred from the proceedings against Roper that Bullock was, or was suspected to have been, the author of some of those numerous publications against the queen's supremacy that appeared abroad, and were surreptitiously imported into England. William Allott, in the preface to his 'Thesaurus Bibliorum' (Antwerp, 1577), acknowledges his obligations to Bullock.

[T. Baker's Hist. of St. John's (Mayor), i. 94, 116, 141-5, 283; Pits, *De Angliæ Scriptori-bus*, 773; Dodd's Church Hist. i. 527; Diaries of the English College, Douay, 300; Addit. MS. 5863, f. 203; Cole MS. xlii. 429, 430; Cal. of State Papers (Dom. 1547-80), 127; Strype's Annals, folio ed. i. 278, 549; Hasted's Kent, iv. 440; Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, ii. 116, 126, 127, 154, 172; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 429.] T. C.

**BULLOCK, HENRY** (d. 1526), divine, was educated at the university of Cambridge. He took his degree of B.A. in 1503 or 1504, was admitted fellow of Queens' College in 1506,

M.A. in 1507, and D.D. in 1520. In 1524-5 he held the office of vice-chancellor of the university. He delivered a course of lectures on mathematics, for which he received a salary from the university, but subsequently he devoted himself to the study of Greek, and gave lectures on the gospel of Matthew. He was an intimate friend of Erasmus, and many letters which passed between them are to be found in the printed editions of Erasmus's letters. His foreign friends latinised his name, calling him 'Bovillus.' He took holy orders, and was rector of St. Martin's Ludgate from 29 April 1522 (NEWCOURT) or 1523 (*Athenæ Oxon.*) till his death, which happened before 4 July 1526, when Thomas Lupset succeeded him. His health appears to have been feeble, to judge from the references to illness in his correspondence, and he complains of the loss of an eye as hindering his work.

He wrote the following books: 1. 'Contra Lutherum de Captivitate Babylonica,' written at the desire of Cardinal Wolsey. 2. 'Orationes et epistolæ.' 3. 'Oratio habita Cantabrigiæ in frequentissimo cœtu, præsentibus Cæsaris oratoribus et nonnullis aliis episcopis, ad Card. Wolsæum.' This was dedicated to John Talerus, and printed by John Sipherch in 1521. 4. 'Lepidissimum Luciani opusculum περὶ συσίτων (de siticulosis serpentibus) Henrico Bulloco interprete.' Lambeth Library possesses a copy of the oration, and of a portion of the translation of Lucian. His library, 'a catalogue of which is extant' (COOPER, *Athenæ Cantab.*), was purchased by Queens' College after his death.

[Cal. of State Papers, Hen. VIII. vols. i-iv.; Erasmus's Letters; Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 414; Athenæ Oxon. ii. 744; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.; Foxe, vii. 451; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), iii. 603; Lowndes's Bibl. Manual; Bale (edit. 1557), p. 707; Pits, De Angliæ Scriptoribus, 710; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. 33, 527; Fuller's Worthies, Berks. 95; Hist. of Univ. of Camb. 201; Ames (edit. Herbert), iii. 1412; Maitland's Early Printed Books in Lambeth Library, Addenda 408‡ (p. 419).] C. T. M.

**BULLOCK, WILLIAM** (1657?-1740?), actor, is said by Macklin to have been 'in his department a true genius of the stage' (DAVIES, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, iii. 463). Davies himself speaks of him as 'an actor of great glee and much comic vivacity . . . in his person large, with a lively countenance, full of humorous information' (*ib.*); and Gildon declares him 'the best comedian that has trod the stage since Nokes and Lee, and a fellow that has a very humble opinion of himself' (*Comparison between Two Stages*, p. 199). The references to Bullock by Steele, though friendly, are not without a tinge of

satire. In a comparison between Penkethman and Bullock, to which he pretends to have been challenged by these actors, he says, 'Mr. Bullock has the more agreeable squall and Mr. Penkethman the more graceful shrug. Penkethman devours a cold chick with great applause; Bullock's talent lies chiefly in asparagus; Penkethman is very dexterous at conveying himself under a table; Bullock is no less active at jumping over a stick. Mr. Penkethman has a great deal of money; but Mr. Bullock is the taller man' (*Tatler*, No. 188). Known particulars concerning Bullock's life are few. His name is mentioned in Downes's 'Roscius Anglicanus.' He first appears in the cast of Colley Cibber's 'Love's Last Shift,' produced by the associated companies of Drury Lane and Dorset Garden, 1696. In Cibber's piece he played Sly. He had joined the companies the previous year. Among his original characters were Sir Tumblely Clumsy in the 'Relapse,' 1697, and Soto in 'She would and she would not,' 1702. He also played with success many parts in the plays of Dryden, Wycherley, Shadwell, &c. Until 1706 he was at Drury Lane. He then went to the Haymarket, returning to Drury Lane in 1708. After another brief migration to the Haymarket, followed by a new return to Drury Lane, he quitted definitely the latter theatre, 1715-16, for Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he remained till 1726. His death is said (COLLEY CIBBER'S *Apology* by Bellchambers) to have taken place on 18 June 1733, a date which has been accepted by most subsequent writers. He had a benefit, however, at Covent Garden on 6 Jan. 1739, described on the bills as 'his first appearance on the stage for six years,' when he played Dominic in Dryden's 'Spanish Fryar.' In his address to the public he pleaded his great age, upwards of threescore and twelve, as a reason for indulgence. He played again on 25 April 1739, for the benefit of Stephen, the Host in the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' a favourite character. He had, according to Genest, in the summer a booth at Bartholomew Fair, at which he acted. After this no more is heard of him. Bullock had three sons, all actors, Christopher [q.v.], Hildebrand, and William. The last-named was at Goodman's Fields in 1729. A scarce print of Bullock, engraved by Johnson, which belonged to Dr. Burney, and is now in the British Museum, originated the error that he died in 1733.

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Davies's *Dramatic Miscellanies*; The *Tatler*; A Comparison between Two Stages; Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus*; Cibber's *Apology* by Bellchambers.] J. K.

**BULLOCK, WILLIAM** (*d.* 1827), was a traveller, naturalist, and antiquarian of some repute at the beginning of the present century. In 1808, while carrying on the business of jeweller and goldsmith in Liverpool, he published a descriptive catalogue of a museum which he had opened in that city, consisting of works of art, armoury, objects of natural history, besides many curiosities brought by Captain Cook from the South Seas. About 1812 Bullock removed to London, and his collection soon attracted more notice, when placed in the newly erected Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. Enlarged from various sources, from the Lichfield Museum, from that of Sir Ashton Lever, and from the results of Bullock's own travels and researches, it became one of the most popular exhibitions of the metropolis. It existed under the name of the London Museum till 1819, when it was disposed of by auction. In 1822 he went to Mexico, where he was well received by the authorities, aided in his researches, and received from the Mexican government a gift of the silver mine of Del Bada near Themascaltpec. From this tour Bullock brought home many valuable curiosities, among others casts of the great calendar, commonly known as Montezuma's watch, and of the sacrificial stone, models of the pyramids of San Juan de Teokhuacan, manuscripts and hieroglyphic pictures sent to Montezuma to inform him of the transactions of the Spaniards, and the original map of the ancient city, made by order of the emperor for Cortez, and intended to have been transmitted to the king of Spain. On his return to England he opened in the Egyptian Hall an exhibition called Modern Mexico, containing, besides the above-mentioned curiosities, models of the scenery, specimens of the industry and art, the minerals and natural history of that country. In 1824 he published 'Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico, containing remarks on the present state of New Spain.' At the end of the volume Bullock added a letter from his medical adviser on the preservation of health in tropical climates.

In 1827 he was again in Mexico, returning by way of the States. He immediately gave the English public the benefit of his tour in his 'Sketch of a Journey through the Western States of North America' (1827). In this volume are inserted extracts from various authors on the condition of Cincinnati in 1826, the object being to entice others to join him in his proposed emigration. In his notice to the public the author says he was so pleased with the country and neighbourhood of Cincinnati, and convinced of its eligibility for people of limited property, that

he had purchased a house and estate there, to which he was about to retire with his wife and family. The book contains a plan of a proposed 'town of retirement,' Hygeia.

Bullock was a fellow of the Linnean, Horticultural, Geological, Wernerian, and other learned societies. Besides the two books mentioned above, he wrote 'A Concise and Easy Method of preserving Subjects of Natural History,' 1817. A paper, which he read before the Linnean Society, 17 Nov. 1812, on 'Four rare Species of British Birds,' is published in the 'Transactions' of that society.

[History of Liverpool, 1810; Walford's Old and New London, iv.; Gent. Mag. July 1824, p. 69; Brit. Mus. Cat.] A. M.-L.

**BULLOCK, WILLIAM THOMAS** (1818-1879), divine, was the second son of John Bullock by Mary Soper. The Bullock family were for several generations landowners in Leicestershire and Rutlandshire. John Bullock settled in London, and there William Thomas was born. He entered Magdalen Hall (now Hertford College), Oxford, as a gentleman commoner, and took his B.A. degree in 1847, obtaining a fourth class in Literis Humanioribus. The same year he was ordained deacon, and licensed to the curacy of St. Anne's, Soho. Here he worked devotedly until June 1850, when he was appointed assistant secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. On the death of the Rev. Ernest Hawkins in 1865 Bullock succeeded him as chief secretary of the society, an office which he held during the remainder of his life. In 1867 he was appointed chaplain to the royal household in Kensington Palace, where he occupied the chaplain's apartments. In 1875 Bullock was presented to the prebendal stall of Oxgate in St. Paul's Cathedral. Bullock helped to extend very widely the usefulness of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. No fewer than forty-two new sees were added to the colonial episcopate, while church operations were extended beyond the bounds of the empire by the appointment of missionary bishops in the Niger territory, Honolulu, Ningpo, Madagascar, Central Africa, and Melanesia. Missions, too, were opened in three new countries, independent Burmah, China, and Japan (*S. P. G. Reports* for 1878-81, p. 10). In the same time the income of the society increased from 98,000*l.* to 145,000*l.* (*Mission Field*, April 1879). It was at Bullock's instigation that the society undertook the publication of 'The Missionary Record,' 'The Gospel Missionary' and 'The Mission Field,' which were conducted under his immediate supervision (*ibid.*) In 1878

he took an active part in the arrangement for the Pan-Anglican synod. At the close of this year his declining health compelled him to seek rest from his arduous labours, and having obtained six months' leave of absence he went abroad, and died at Mentone of paralysis on 27 Feb. 1879. He married in 1862 Alice Oke Alford, elder daughter of the Dean of Canterbury, by whom he left two daughters. Bullock was the author of some seventy articles in Smith's 'Dictionary of the Bible,' and of one on the Book of Ecclesiastes in the 'Speaker's Commentary.' In 1878 he published, by request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, a sermon, 'Builders of the Temple,' preached by him at the consecration of the Bishop of Newfoundland. He left in manuscript a commentary on the Book of Daniel, written for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and some months after his death a volume of sermons (edited by his widow) was published, on missions and other subjects, most of them preached by him at Kensington Palace Chapel.

[Private information.]

P. B.-A.

BULLOKAR, JOHN (*A.* 1622), lexicographer, was alive from about 1580 to about 1641, and was a doctor of physic, residing at Chichester in 1616, where he was attached in some way to his 'singular good ladie, the Ladie Jane, Vicountesse Mountague' (his *English Expositor*, Dedication). Bullokar makes no reference to William Bullokar, the phonetist [q. v.], who promised an 'Expositor' (that is, a dictionary) not many years before John Bullokar's was produced; though it is quite probable he was the 'chylde' for whose benefit the other, as he tells, translated certain passages of 'Cato.' John Bullokar was in London about the year 1600, seeing a dead crocodile that had been brought there (*Cornhill Mag.* No. 258, p. 724), beyond which there is nothing, except as to his books, but conjecture. He wrote his 'Expositor' in his youth, 'at the request of a worthy gentleman whose love prevailed much with him' (Dedication); in those 'yonger yeares' the compilation of it 'cost him some observation, reading, study, and charge' ('To the Courteous Reader,' not paged); and then, having no 'leasure as much as to looke on' his 'litle vocabulary' (*ib.*), he had to 'keep it restrained of libertie.' On 17 Oct. 1616, however, he gave it to the world, under the 'noble tuition' of the Viscountess Mountague, the title being 'An English Expositor, teaching the Interpretation of the hardest Words used in our Language, with sundry Explications, Descriptions, and Discourses.' In the November of 1618 he published 'A

True Description of the Passion of Our Saviour Jesus Christ, as it was acted by the bloodie Jewes, and registered by the blessed Evangelists; in English Meetre,' this being a life of Christ turned into six-lined stanzas. In 1621 came a new issue of the 'Expositor,' and in 1641 one more, shortly after which it seems certain that John Bullokar died, for a fourth edition, which appeared in 1656, is stated to be 'newly revised, corrected, and, with the addition of above a thousand words, enlarged. By W. S.' In a fifth edition, published at Cambridge in 1676, under the editorship of 'A Lover of the Arts,' Bullokar's 'Dedication' and address 'to the Courteous Reader' are omitted. A sixth edition must have closely followed this, for in 1684, still at Cambridge, another was published 'now for the seventh time revised,' and there was yet a further issue from London in 1719, revised by R. Browne, 'author of the "English School Reform'd."'

[Dedication to English Expositor; *ib.*, To the Courteous Reader, not paged; *Cornhill Mag.* No. 258, p. 724.] J. H.

BULLOKAR, WILLIAM (*A.* 1586), phonetist, lived chiefly in London from about 1520 to 1590. About 1550 he was engaged in teaching, and perceived how the sounds and names of the letters of the alphabet caused 'quarrels in the teacher and lothsomeness in the learner' (his *Booke at Large*, 'To his Countrie,' not paged). 'In Queen Mary's time' he served in the army, under Sir Richard Wingfield (WARTON, *English Poetry*, iii. 283), going into foreign service with him twice (*Bref Grammar*, To the Reader). He served afterwards under Sir Adrian Poinings at Havre, and with Captain Tumor in garri-son (*ib.*); then he studied agriculture and the law (*ib.*); but by 1573 he had resumed teaching, and finding all the old 'quarrels and lothsomeness' arising from the sounds and names of letters, he determined 'to restrain his owne businesse for halfe a yeare,' laying his 'privat doings aside,' which his 'abilitie was il able to bear,' in order 'to provide some remedie' (*Booke at Large*, supra). Becoming convinced (*ib.* p. 1) that 'fewer and twentie letters are not sufficient to picture English speech,' which 'wants 40 letters altogether' (*ib.* p. 21), and having thought out his 'Amendment of Orthographie,' wherein *button*, for example, was to be spelt *butn*, Bullokar published a pamphlet, about 1575, to show his method. This he put 'into the hands of men of understanding,' and was checked in his scheme of publication by one of them telling him of the spelling reforms issued by Sir Thomas

Smith and 'Maister Chester' (*ib.*) He found his projected system misrepresented also by people who did 'blowe abroad . . . untruly and maliciously . . .' that he wanted 'to change English speech' altogether (*ib.* Title); but on reading Smith's and Chester's works he saw that those authors had 'brought in letters of new figure and fashion . . . strange to the eye,' going much beyond his own desires. He therefore completed his manuscript, which was 'signed and allowed to be imprinted' in 1579. While it was going through the press he 'set up in this citie of London, in the most publike places thereof, a briefe shew' of his 'intent' (*ib.*) This was in August of 1580, and at the close of the same year the volume was issued. Its title begins 'Booke at Large for the Amendment of Orthographie for English speech,' and Bullokar announced in it that he had a thought of 'making a dictionary.' During the next three or four years he was busy in setting forth books in 'tru orthography,' all of which were on sale (his *Æsop's Fables*, Title-page), in spite of difficulty in their production 'because of the lack of letters' of his special sort; and in the June of 1583 he 'imprinted twenty brief articles . . . in London and other places of good skill and credit . . . offering ther-by issue for the trial of his travel' (*ib.*) He printed a correction of his pamphlet of August 1580, which he called his 'Pamphlet for Spelling,' and desired that it should be burnt (*ib.*) In 1585 appeared his 'Æsop's Fables,' translated by him from the Latin. He mislaid his Latin copy after his work was over, and was consequently unable to specify which edition he had adopted, though he thought, as near as he could 'ges of,' it was 'the one printed by Tomas Marsh at London in 1580' (*ib.* p. 320). Accompanying the 'Fables' were some 'Short Sentences of the Wys Cato,' still in 'tru orthography,' also translated by Bullokar from the Latin, and turned by him into English verse. He undertook the task, he says in his versified 'Preface,' that his 'chylde' might 'win the goal of happy peace . . . with ease;' and he says that in the same year he had published the 'Psalter' in his 'tru' method, he was translating Tully's 'Offices,' intending to issue his edition shortly, and he was engaged in his 'Grammar,' which, he added, 'staeteth from the print against my wil' (*Fables*, To the Reader, not paged). This last perhaps never went on to publication, for there is no evidence of the book, if by it Bullokar meant his 'Grammar at Large.' In the following year, 1586, his 'Bref Grammar' was published, 12mo (AMES, *Typogr. Antig.* ii. 1215-16), 'the first Grammar that

ever waz, except my "Grammar at Large"' (WARTON, *English Poetry*, iii. 283), this bref book or pamphlet being 'extracted out of hiz Grammar at larg for the spedi parcing of English speech' (Title). It may have been extracted, however, previous to the completion of the greater work, and as a preparation for it, according to the plan Bullokar had pursued over his 'Orthographie, or Book at Large;' and it is quite possible that death overtook him before he had made it really ready to go to press. This view seems likely from the fact that, though in the rhyming 'Preface' to the Abbreviation Bullokar again promises a dictionary, and says he has 'another book lying by him of more fame, which is not to see the light till christened and called forth by the queen,' there is no evidence of the issue of these other two works either.

There is no copy of Bullokar's 'Bref Grammar' at the British Museum or Lambeth. The copy cited from in Warton's 'Poetry' (*supra*), with corrections on it by Bullokar's own hand, is in the Bodleian, and was one of Tanner's books. In 1621 Bullokar is referred to, under the Latin form of Bulokerus, by Alexander Gill, head-master of St. Paul's School, in his 'Logonomia Anglica,' preface (not paged).

[Bullokar's Booke at Large, To his Countrie, and pp. 1, 21, 22; his Bref Grammar, To the Reader, not paged; his *Æsopz Fablez*, To the Reader, and p. 320; Notes and Queries (1860), x. 278; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Ames's *Typogr. Antig.* (Herbert), ii. 951, 1215, 1216; Warton's History of English Poetry (ed. 1840), ii. 366 note, iii. 283, text and notes.] J. H.

**BULMER, AGNES** (1775-1836), poet, whose maiden name was Collinson, was born in London, and belonged to the Wesleyan community, having been admitted by Wesley himself. Her only publications were: 'Memoirs of Mrs. Mortimer,' one or two hymns, and a long poem entitled 'Messiah's Kingdom,' in twelve books, published 1833. This poem, of nearly fourteen thousand verses, is probably the longest work in verse ever composed by a woman. Many passages are very elegant, especially those containing similes. But it never attracted attention, and is now unknown.

[Wesleyan Magazine for October 1840.]

R. W. D.

**BULMER, WILLIAM** (1757-1830), typographer, was a native of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where he was apprenticed to Mr. Thompson of the Burnt House Entry, St. Nicholas Churchyard. During his apprenticeship he formed a cordial friendship, which



lasted through life, with Thomas Bewick, the celebrated wood-engraver. On his coming to London his services were engaged by Mr. John Bell, who was then publishing the beautiful miniature editions of the 'Poets' and 'Shakespeare.' About 1787 he became acquainted with George Nicol, the bookseller, who was then considering the best method of completing the magnificent edition of Shakespeare which he had suggested to Messrs. Boydell, ornamented with designs by the first artists of this country. Premises were then engaged in Cleveland Row, St. James's, and the 'Shakespeare Press' was founded under the firm of 'W. Bulmer & Co.' The publication of the 'Shakespeare' (9 vols. 1791-1805, folio) established Bulmer's fame as the first practical printer of the day. Next to it the edition of 'The Poetical Works of Milton' (3 vols. 1793-7, folio) is the finest production of his press. A curious and copious list of the works printed by him is given in Dibdin's 'Bibliographical Decameron,' ii. 384-95. Bulmer retired from business in 1819, and died in his house at Clapham Rise on 9 Sept. 1830. His portrait has been engraved.

[Gent. Mag. c. (ii.), 305; Hansard's *Typographia* (1825), 294, 315; Sykes's *Local Records* (1833), ii. 281; Nichols's *Illustr. of Lit.* viii. 468, 503, 525; Timperley's *Encyclopædia of Literary and Typographical Anecdote* (1842), 911; Evans's *Cat. of Engraved Portraits*, 13354, 13355.] T. C.

**BULSTRODE, EDWARD** (1588-1659), lawyer, the second son of Edward Bulstrode of Hedgerley, near Beaconsfield, Buckinghamshire, by Cecilia, daughter of Sir John Croke of Chilton, was born in 1588. He became a commoner of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1603, but left it without a degree. He entered the Inner Temple 26 Jan. 1605, was called to the bar 13 Jan. 1613, and became a benchers 23 Nov. 1629. On 4 Nov. 1632 he became Lent reader of his inn, and in the time of the rebellion he was, by the favour of his nephew, Bulstrode Whitelock [q. v.], made one of the justices of North Wales in 1649. He was also employed as an itinerant justice, particularly in Warwickshire, in 1653, where he had an estate at Astley, and was chief justice of the Anglesea circuit the same year. He was buried in the body of the Temple church on the south side of the pulpit, he being then one of the masters of the bench of the Inner Temple, on 4 April 1659. He was the author of 'A Golden Chain; or, a Miscellany of diverse Sentences of the Sacred Scriptures, and of other Authors collected and linked together for the Soul's

Comfort,' 1657; and is well known for his 'Reports of divers Resolutions and Judgments,' in three parts, 1657, 1658, and 1659, the whole reprinted with many new references in 1688, not 1691, as is stated by Wood.

[Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), iii. 471-2; Fuller's *Worthies*, ed. Nichols, i. 140, 149; Brit. Mus. *Cat.*] T. F. H.

**BULSTRODE, SIR RICHARD** (1610-1711), soldier, diplomatist, and author, was the second son of Edward Bulstrode of the Inner Temple [q. v.], by Margaret, daughter of Richard Astley, chamberlain of the queen's household, and was born in 1610 (*Bysshe*, Preface to *Original Letters*). He was educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and while still at the university printed a poem on the birth of the Duke of York. In November 1633 he entered the Inner Temple (*Cook*, *Admissions to the Inner Temple*, p. 276), of which he was in 1649, at the request of his father, created a benchers. The date of his entrance is of some importance in view of a statement of his own regarding the circumstances in which he was led to join the army of Charles at the outbreak of the civil war. 'I was then,' he says in 'Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I,' 'very young and in a labyrinth, not knowing well which way to go; but at last I resolved to go to Whitehall with some gentlemen of the Inner Temple, being then newly come thither from Cambridge, where I had been bred in Pembroke Hall.' The expression 'very young' must be interpreted as in comparison with his advanced age at the time he was writing, and the statement that in 1642 he was 'newly come from Cambridge' can be accounted for only by the dimness of his recollection. For some time he served in the Prince of Wales's regiment, and in 1643 he became adjutant to Lord Wilmot. Subsequently he was promoted adjutant-general of horse, and then quartermaster-general. Having in 1667 been appointed to take charge of Wentworth's funeral, he became responsible for the expenses, and to escape the importunity of the creditors went to Bruges, where he suffered a short imprisonment until Charles II fulfilled his obligations to pay the debt. On his release he obtained the auditorship to a Scotch regiment of foot then in service in the Netherlands. In 1673 he was appointed agent at the court of Brussels, and on his return to England in 1675 to give an account of certain negotiations he received the honour of knighthood. In a few months he returned to Brussels in the capacity of resident, and after the accession of James II he received the higher title of envoy.

He remained there till the revolution, when he followed King James to the court at St. Germain, where he died on 3 Oct. 1711 (N.S.) He is said to have 'enjoyed a wonderful firmness of mind and strength of body to the very last,' and to have died, not of old age, but of an indigestion, which in all probability would not have ended fatally had his own physician not been out of the way. In the preface to his 'Original Letters,' in John Le Neve's 'Lives of Illustrious Persons who died in 1711,' and in John Le Neve's 'Monumenta,' his age is given as 101 years 2 months; but in Peter Le Neve's 'Knights' it is stated to be 105 years, and this is adopted in Lipscombe's 'Buckinghamshire.' This statement is, however, contradicted by another which follows in the 'Knights,' that the age of the eldest son at his father's death was seventy-two, while his age in 1683 is given as only thirty-one. Sir Richard Bulstrode was twice married: to Jocosca, daughter of Edward Dyneley of Charlton, Worcestershire, by whom he left two sons; and to a daughter of M. Stamford, envoy to the court of England from the Duke of Newbourg, by whom he had three sons and four daughters.

With the exception of the poem printed at Cambridge, all the literary efforts of Sir Richard Bulstrode were published posthumously. In 1712 appeared 'Original Letters written to the Earl of Arlington, with a Preface giving an account of the Author's Life and Family,' edited by E. Bysshe. The letters were written in 1674 from the court at Brussels, all of them except two to the Earl of Arlington, and contain a history of the principal events in the Low Countries, in Alsatia and Burgundy, during the campaign of that year. The editor more especially claims for them that they contain the only true and impartial account of the battle of Seneff. A volume of his essays, with a preface by his son, Whitelocke Bulstrode [q.v.], was published in 1715. They are chiefly of a moral or religious cast. Shortly after his death his 'Life of James II' was printed at Rome, and in 1721 appeared 'Memoirs and Reflections upon the Reign and Government of King Charles I and King Charles II, containing an account of several remarkable facts not mentioned by other historians of those times; wherein the character of the Royal Martyr and of Charles II are vindicated from fanatical aspersions.' When above eighty years of age he composed in Latin verse 185 elegies and epigrams, chiefly on divine subjects. A specimen of them is given in the volume containing 'Original Letters.'

[Bysshe's Preface to Original Letters of Sir Richard Bulstrode; Le Neve's Lives of Most

Illustrious Persons who died in 1711; Lipscombe's Buckinghamshire, iv. 503; Noble's Continuation of Granger's Biog. Hist. of England, i. 157-9; Le Neve's Monumenta.] T. F. H.

**BULSTRODE, WHITELOCKE** (1650-1724), controversialist and mystical writer, was the second son of Sir Richard Bulstrode [q.v.], and Jocosca, daughter of Edward Dyneley of Charlton, Worcestershire. He was born in 1650, and on 27 Nov. 1664 was specially admitted a student of the Inner Temple. Although his father followed King James to St. Germain, he not only remained in England, but became prothonotary of the marshal's court and commissioner of excise (1710-15). That, latterly at any rate, he had no sympathy with the Jacobite opinions of his father, is made sufficiently clear in his pamphlet, published in 1717 under the pseudonym of Philalethes, and entitled 'A Letter touching the late Rebellion and what means led to it, and of the Pretender's title: showing the duty and interest of all Protestants to be faithful to King George, and oppose the Pretender according to law and conscience.' In 1705 he purchased the manor of Hounslow, Middlesex (LYSONS, *Environers of London*, iii. 38). He was chosen a justice of the peace for the county, and several times acted as chairman of quarter sessions, his charges to the grand jury and other juries in this capacity having been printed by special request in April and October 1718, and in October 1722. He died at Hatton Garden on 27 Nov. 1724 (*Histor. Reg.* for 1724, p. 50). His tombstone at Hounslow gives his age as seventy-four. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter and coheirress of Samuel Dyneley of Charlton, Worcestershire, he left one son, Richard, who succeeded him as prothonotary, and two daughters. He was buried against the north wall of the chancel of the old priory chapel at Hounslow, but when this chapel was taken down the coffins of the family were removed to another vault, and the monument of Whitelocke Bulstrode was placed at the east end of the north gallery of the church (AUNGIER, *History of Syon Monastery*, p. 502). His portrait, painted by Kneller, has been engraved.

In 1692 Bulstrode published 'A Discourse of Natural Philosophy, wherein the Pythagorean Doctrine is set in its true light and vindicated.' The aim of the book was to distinguish the Pythagorean from the vulgar doctrine of transmigration, the only transmigration he contends for being that of the sensitive and vegetative spirit necessary to the production of life in the present world. A Latin translation of the book by Oswald Dyke was published in 1725, under the title

‘*Μετεμύχσις*, sive Tentamen de Transmigratione in Pythagoræ Defensionem seu Naturalis Philosophiæ Discursus.’ The character of the work led Dr. Wood, a Roman catholic physician at the court of St. Germain, married to Bulstrode’s half-sister, to attempt his conversion to Roman catholicism. Several letters passed privately between them on the subject, and Bulstrode, in the conviction that he had the best of the argument, published in 1717—several years afterwards—‘Letters between Dr. Wood, a Roman catholic, the Pretender’s physician, and White-locke Bulstrode, Esq., a Member of the Church of England, touching the True Church, and whether there is Salvation out of the Roman Communion.’ A second edition appeared in 1718, under the title ‘The Pillars of Popery thrown down, and the Principal Arguments of Roman Catholics answered and confuted; and in particular the specious plea for the Antiquity and Authority of the Church of Rome examined and overthrown.’ Bulstrode was also the author of a volume of ‘Essays on various Subjects,’ moral and strongly puritan in their tone, published in 1724 with a portrait; and, in 1715 he edited with a preface a volume of his father’s essays.

[Le Neve’s Knights; Lipscombe’s Buckinghamshire, iv. 503; Noble’s Continuation of Granger’s Biog. Hist. of England, iii. 364; Histor. Register for 1724, p. 50; Lysons’s Environs of London, iii. 38–40; Aungier’s History of Syon Monastery, 498–502.] T. F. H.

**BULTEEL, HENRY BELLENDEN** (1800–1866), theological controversialist, son of Thomas Bulteel of Plymstock, Devonshire, was born at Bellevue, near Plymouth, in 1800, and matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, on 1 April 1818, when in his eighteenth year. He graduated B.A. in 1822, and took his M.A. in 1824, having been elected a fellow of Exeter College on 30 June in the previous year. He vacated his fellowship by marrying, on 6 Oct. 1829, Eleanor, sister of Alderman C. J. Sadler, pastrycook, of the High Street, Oxford. Bulteel became curate of St. Ebbe’s, Oxford, in 1826. The chief event of his life and the cause of a complete change in his ecclesiastical standing was ‘A Sermon on 1 Corinthians ii. 12, preached before the University of Oxford at St. Mary’s on Sunday, 6 Feb. 1831.’ This discourse on predestination, free will, justification, and salvation, with much plain speaking about the state of the universities and the church of England, created a great excitement in Oxford; it was printed, and so great was the demand for copies that it went to six editions. Many replies and comments on the sermon issued

from the press. In consequence of this sermon and on account of Bulteel’s preaching in the open air and in dissenting chapels, the Bishop of Oxford revoked his license on 10 Aug. 1831, when his connection with the church of England terminated. Some of his friends, having collected money, built for him a chapel situated at the rear of Pembroke College, where he conducted a service on the principles advocated by the Plymouth Brethren, his followers being known as Bulteelers. In the succeeding year, having visited London and attended the Rev. Edward Irving’s chapel, he became a convert to some of his ideas, and soon after brought out a book, entitled ‘The Doctrine of the Miraculous Interference of Jesus on behalf of Believers, addressed to the Church of God at Oxford,’ 1832, in which he narrated how, by means of prayer and intercession, he had cured and restored to health three women. At this time he also became a believer in the doctrine of universal redemption, and a denier of the doctrine that Christ died for the elect only. This fact appears in a volume called ‘The Unknown Tongues, or the Rev. Edward Irving and the Rev. Nicholas Armstrong. To which are added Two Letters by the Rev. H. B. Bulteel,’ 1832. In 1844 he printed ‘An Address delivered on the opening of a Free Episcopal Church in Exeter, 26 Sept. 1844,’ and in the following year he issued an anonymous denunciation of the Puseyite party, and of John Henry Newman in particular, in the shape of a well-written poem, entitled ‘The Oxford Argo, by an Oxford Divine, London, R. Sicklemore,’ 1845, which, however, it appears, was printed at Newcastle. Bulteel died at the Crescent, Plymouth, on 28 Dec. 1866, aged 66, leaving issue by the marriage previously mentioned.

[Boase’s Exeter College (1879), pp. 124, 216; Cox’s Recollections of Oxford (1868), pp. 244, 248; Mozley’s Reminiscences (1882), i. 228, 350.] G. C. B.

**BULTEEL, JOHN** (fl. 1683), translator and miscellaneous writer, was probably the son of Jean Bultel, a French protestant minister, living at the beginning of the seventeenth century at Dover. One John Bulteel was secretary to Edward, earl of Clarendon, was created M.A. of Oxford, 9 Sept. 1661, was elected M.P. for Lostwithiel in 1661, and died a bachelor in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields in 1669. To him has sometimes been attributed a play entitled the ‘Amorous Orontus.’ From internal evidence, however, it is nearly certain that the author of this play is another John Bulteel, a miscellaneous writer, who continued writing after 1669, indeed whose last publication bears the date of 1683.

The works which may with considerable probability be assigned to Bulteel are the following: 1. 'London's Triumph, or the Solemn and Magnificent reception of that honourable gentleman, Robert Tichburn, Lord Major; after his return from taking his oath at Westminster, the morrow after Simon and Jude day, being October 29, 1656.' This little pamphlet, which is a eulogy on London (a city 'where the rich live splendidly, and the poorest are free from want'), on the lord mayor and the Worshipful Company of Skinners to which he belonged, contains an account of the traditional origin of London, of the antiquity of its government, and of the power and munificence of its citizens. It describes in glowing terms the reception of the mayor by Lord-protector Cromwell, and the various pageants on that festal day, when 'all the nation seemed to be epitomised within the walls of her metropolis.' 2. 'Berinthea,' written by J. B., Gent., 1664. It is described in the preface as a 'Romance accommodated to History,' and the wars and adventures of Cyrus forming a groundwork for the imaginary incidents, it may be looked on as one of the earliest examples of the historical novel. 3. The 'Amorous Orontus, or Love in Fashion,' is a translation of Thomas Corneille's 'Amour à la Mode,' the original plot of which was borrowed from 'El Amor al Uso' by Ant. de Solis. It is written in heroic verse, descending often enough to doggerel, yet enlivened here and there by pointed epigram, and not altogether deserving of the verdict 'miserable poetry,' with which it has been branded (*Biog. Dram.* ii. 25). It was published in 1665. Genest (*Hist. of the Stage*, x. 140) says it was never played; but the title-page of the later edition, 1675, entitled 'The Amorous Gallant,' contains the words 'A Comedie in heroick verse, as it was acted.' 4. In 1668 appeared 'Rome exactly described,' being two discourses of Lord Angelo Corraro, ambassador from the republic of Venice to Pope Alexander VII, translated by John Bultell, Gent. In the dedication of this work to Mr. Matthias van Benningen, he attests to the value of Corraro's observations, 'that politique astrologer,' one 'who judges with that liberty of truth, natural to all republicans.' The sincerity of this sentiment is doubtful. 5. At all events in 1683 his apology for dedicating his translation of Eudes de Mezeray's 'General Chronological History of France' to James, duke of York, is that 'crowned heads make the subject thereof.' 6. In the same year, 1683, appeared the 'Apophthegmes of the Ancients, taken out of Plutarch and others, collected into

one volume for the benefit and pleasure of the Ingenious.'

This list probably represents only a part of Bulteel's published writings. In the dedication of the last-mentioned book he refers, but without titles or description, to other works to which he has not affixed his name.

[*Biog. Dram.*; Genest's *History of the Stage*, x. 141; Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 420, ii. 252; Watt's *Bibl. Brit.*; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*]

A. M.-L.

BULWER, EDWARD GEORGE EARLE LYTTON, LORD LYTTON (1803-1873). [See LYTTON.]

BULWER, JOHN (fl. 1654), physician, was the son of Thomas Bulwer, a physician. He devoted much attention to the discovery of methods for communicating knowledge to the deaf and dumb. Dr. John Wallis claimed to be the originator in England of the art by which the benefits of instruction are bestowed on the deaf, but it would seem that this honour is really due to his contemporary Bulwer. Wallis introduced his first deaf pupil, Mr. Whalley, before the Royal Society in 1662, after a year's instruction, but fourteen years previously Bulwer had published the first edition of his curious and suggestive work, 'Philocophus, or the Deafe and Dumb Man's Friend,' in which he records many remarkable cases, several being within his own experience, of what had been accomplished for the education of the deaf. His proposed method of instruction included the visible language of signs and gestures, and the labial alphabet, or reading the movement of the lips and articulation. In estimating his claims to originality, however, it must be borne in mind that he was acquainted with some, at least, of the discoveries made by the Spanish Benedictine monks, Pedro Ponce and Juan Paulo Bonet, and he had certainly heard of the case, reported from Spain by Sir Kenelm Digby, of the younger brother of the constable of Castile, who was taught 'to hear the sounds of words with his eyes.' Bulwer was the first to recommend the institution of 'an academy of the mute,' and to notice the capacity which deaf persons usually possess of enjoying music through the medium of the teeth—a fact which, in the early part of the present century, was turned to excellent account in Germany, principally by Father Robertson, a monk in the Scots college of Ratisbon, by whose exertions a new source of instruction and enjoyment was thus opened up to those otherwise insensible to sounds. It is very strange that Bulwer, whose earlier treatise on the 'Natural Lan-

guage of the Hand' had acquired for him the appellation of 'the Chirosopher,' should have suggested nothing in regard to a method of speaking on the fingers, especially as he had himself mentioned a case in which a manual alphabet had been actually used.

His works are: 1. 'Chirologia; or the Natural Language of the Hand. Composed of the Speaking Motions and Discoursing Gestures thereof. Whereunto is added Chironomia: Or the Art of Manvall Rhetoricke. Consisting of the Natural Expressions, digested by Art in the Hand, as the chiefest Instrument of Eloquence, by Historicall Manifesto's, exemplified out of the Authentique Registers of Common Life, and Civill Conversation. With Types, or Chirograms: A long-wish'd for illustration of this Argument.' London, 1644, 8vo. Dedicated to Edward Goldsmith of Gray's Inn. 2. 'Philosophus; or the Deafe and Dumb Man's Friend. Exhibiting the Philosophicall verity of that subtile Art, which may inable one with an observant Eie, to Heare what any man speaks by the moving of his lips. Upon the same Ground, with the advantage of an Historicall Exemplification, apparently proving, That a Man borne Deafe and Dumb, may be taught to Heare the sound of words with his Eie, & thence learne to speake with his Tongue. By I. B., surnamed the Chirosopher,' London, 1648, 12mo. Dedicated to Sir Edward Gostwicke, bart., of Willington, Bedfordshire, Mr. William Gostwicke, his youngest brother, 'and all other intelligent and ingenious gentlemen, who as yet can neither heare nor speake.' 3. 'Pathomyotomia, or a Dissection of the significative Muscles of the Affections of the Minde. Being an Essay to a new Method of observing the most important movings of the Muscles of the Head, as they are the nearest and Immediate Organs of the Voluntarie or Impetuous motions of the Mind. With the Proposall of a new Nomenclature of the Muscles. By J. B., surnamed the Chirosopher; London, 1649, 12mo. Dedicated to his father, Thomas Bulwer. 4. 'Anthropometamorphosis: Man Transform'd; or the Artificial Changeling. Historically presented, in the mad and cruel Gallantry, foolish Bravery, ridiculous Beauty, filthy Fineness, and loathsome Loveliness of most Nations, fashioning & altering their Bodies from the Mould intended by Nature. With a Vindication of the Regular Beauty and Honesty of Nature. And an Appendix of the Pedigree of the English Gallant,' London, 1650, 12mo. Dedicated to Thomas Diconson, esq. The second edition, London, 1653, 4to; is illustrated with many woodcuts, and prefixed to

it there is a fine portrait of the author engraved by W. Faithorne. The work was reissued in 1654 under the title of 'A View of the People of the whole World.' 5. 'Vultispex Criticus, seu Physiognomia Medici, continens Decretalia Secreta et Oracula Medicinæ Diagnosticæ, Prognosticæ, et Semeioticæ, Criticæque Magnalia,' Sloane MS. 805. 6. 'Glossiatus: Tractatus de removendis Loquelæ impedimentis.' 7. 'Otiatus: Tractatus de removendis Auditionis impedimentis.' The last three works and other unpublished treatises by him are mentioned at the end of the second edition of 'Anthropometamorphosis,' 1653.

[Retrospective Review, 2nd ser. ii. 205; Oldys's British Librarian, 364; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), iv. 32; Edinb. Review, lxi. 413, 417; Penny Cycl. vi. 19; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, i. 47; Beloe's Anecdotes, vi. 25; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 311; Wadd's Nugæ Chirurgicæ, 30, 188; Ayscough's Cat. of MSS., 526.] T. C.

BULWER, ROSINA BOYLE, LADY LYTTON (1804-1882). [See LYTTON.]

BULWER, WILLIAM HENRY LYTTON EARLE, BARON DALLING AND BULWER (1801-1872), diplomatist, better known as SIR HENRY BULWER, although his baptismal certificate gives the above names, was born at 31 Baker Street, Portman Square, London, on 13 Feb. 1801. He was the second of the three sons of General William Earle Bulwer of Wood Dalling, Heydon Hall, Norfolk, by his wife, Elizabeth Barbara Lytton, only child of Richard Warburton Lytton of Knebworth Park, Hertfordshire. At the time of Bulwer's birth his father was colonel of the 106th regiment. General Bulwer died 7 July 1807, in his fifty-first year, and his young widow undertook the education of her three sons. She was a woman of rare accomplishments; her father had been a favourite pupil of Dr. Parr, who used to boast that his pupil was inferior only to himself and perhaps Porson in scholarship, while he was also an accomplished oriental linguist. Henry Bulwer had an ample fortune secured from his maternal grandmother, Elizabeth, daughter of Paul Jodrell of Lewknor in Oxfordshire.

Bulwer's first schooling was under Dr. Curtis at Sunbury in Middlesex. Thence he went to Harrow, where his tutor was the Rev. Mark Drury. In 1819 he went up to Cambridge, where he was entered at Trinity, but shortly afterwards migrated to Downing College. Bulwer never competed for honours. His most intimate associate was Alexander (afterwards Chief Justice) Cockburn [q. v.] In 1822 he published a small

volume of poems, with a prophetic dedication to his younger brother, Edward Lytton Bulwer. In the autumn of 1824 Bulwer left Cambridge; for the Greek committee, then sitting in London, authorised him to set out at once for the Morea as their agent. He carried with him a sum of 80,000*l.*, which he handed over to Prince Mavrocordato. He was accompanied by Hamilton Browne, who, only the year before, had been commissioned by Lord Byron to treat with the armed insurgents at Cephalonia. During Bulwer's absence abroad he was gazetted on 19 Oct. 1825 as a cornet in the 2nd life guards. On 2 June 1826 he exchanged into the 58th regiment. On 27 July 1826 he obtained an unattached ensigncy. On 1 Jan. 1829 he commuted his half-pay and became a diplomatist.

In 1826 he published a record of his excursion to the Morea, under the title of 'An Autumn in Greece.' In August 1827 he was appointed attaché at Berlin. While passing through Paris he found himself one night a winner at play of between 6,000*l.* and 7,000*l.* This enabled him to join a select whist-playing set at Prince Wittgenstein's, where the stakes ran high, sometimes reaching even 500 louis the rubber. In April 1829 he became an attaché at Vienna. Thence in April 1830 he was transferred to the Hague. On the outbreak of the revolution at Brussels on 25 Aug. 1830, Bulwer was despatched by Lord Aberdeen, then foreign secretary, upon a special mission into Belgium. At the very moment of his arrival at Ghent the civic conflict broke out, the commissionnaire of his hotel being shot down at his elbow on the Grand' Place. On reaching Brussels he found the Dutch troops already upon the heights. While he was passing through the streets of Ath the insurgents took possession of that fortress. His despatches were considered so able that in a few days he was summoned to London to receive the congratulations of the cabinet. He returned to Brussels in a regular official capacity. He took an important part in the negotiations which followed, and gave an interesting account of the facts in the 'Westminster Review' for January 1831.

Bulwer, who contested Hertford in 1826, was returned for Wilton, 30 Aug. 1830, but, having voted for the disfranchisement of the borough, sought another seat, and on 29 April 1831 was returned as an advanced liberal for Coventry. He sat for Coventry in the parliament of 1833, and on 9 Jan. 1835 was returned as a radical reformer by Marylebone. He held that seat till the dissolution of 1837, and won high repute as

a debater. In 1834 he published, in two volumes—entitled 'France: Social, Literary, and Political'—the first half of a work, completed in 1836, called 'The Monarchy of the Middle Classes.' He prefixed in 1835 a sympathetic 'Life of Lord Byron' to the Paris edition of the poet's works published by Galignani, a memoir that was republished sixteen years afterwards.

On 27 Nov. 1835 he became secretary of legation, and during 1835 and 1836 he was chargé d'affaires at Brussels. In 1836 he brought out a pamphlet entitled 'The Lords, the Government, and the Country.' For the next thirty years he devoted himself entirely to diplomacy. He had become familiar with French society of all ranks, and was said to have suggested or inspired George Sand's 'Mauprat.' While at Paris on 14 Aug. 1837 he received his nomination as secretary of embassy at Constantinople. In this post he distinguished himself by negotiating a commercial treaty with the Porte, the duty being entrusted to him by Lord Ponsonby, then ambassador at Constantinople. He has told the story of his success in the twelfth chapter of his 'Life of Lord Palmerston' (ii. 250-88). Palmerston, writing from Windsor Castle on 13 Sept. 1838, pronounced the treaty a masterpiece. Soon afterwards Bulwer was appointed secretary of embassy at St. Petersburg, but he delayed his departure on account of his health, and the appointment was practically cancelled in the June of 1839 by his despatch to Paris as secretary of embassy there, when there was some danger of war with France. In 1839 and in 1840 Bulwer held the responsible office of chargé d'affaires. On 14 Nov. 1843 he was appointed ambassador at the court of Isabella II. He was appointed, with the assent of both powers, arbitrator between Spain and Morocco. A treaty of peace was signed in 1844. In 1846 a far more formidable difficulty originated in the dynastic intrigues of Louis-Philippe and the affair of the Spanish marriages. There can be little doubt that, but for Lord Palmerston, Bulwer might readily have prevented those fatal marriages. The direct result of their accomplishment was the French revolution of February 1848; and, a month after the popular outburst at Paris, came the insurrectionary explosion at Madrid. When Marshal Narvaez proceeded summarily to suppress the constitutional guarantees, Bulwer formally protested in the name of England. Narvaez in return denounced the ambassador as an accomplice in the conspiracies of the Progresistas. On 19 May 1848 Bulwer was required to quit Madrid within forty-eight

hours. This summary dismissal of the British ambassador was first known to the ministers in London when Bulwer called in Downing Street to report himself at the Foreign Office. Immediately afterwards M. Isturiz, the Spanish ambassador, took his departure from England. Bulwer had been gazetted on 27 April 1848 a knight commander of the Bath, being promoted three years afterwards, on 1 March 1851, to the grand cross. Before the close of the year of his return from Spain he was married, on 9 Dec. 1848, to the Hon. Georgiana Charlotte Mary Wellesley, youngest daughter of the first baron Cowley, and niece to the first duke of Wellington. On 27 April 1849 Sir Henry Bulwer was appointed ambassador at Washington. His principal achievement in that capacity was the bringing to a satisfactory completion the Bulwer-Clayton treaty. During the three years of his sojourn in America he obtained an extraordinary amount of popularity. More than once he roused immense audiences in the United States to exceptional enthusiasm. On 19 Jan. 1852 he was sent as minister plenipotentiary to the court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany at Florence. There he remained until his retirement on 26 Jan. 1855. A pension was awarded to him on 25 April. Several diplomatic missions, some of them of extreme delicacy, were afterwards entrusted to him, at Constantinople, in the Danubian principalities, and elsewhere along the borders of the Levant. Among these he was, for nearly two years together, empowered as commissioner under the 23rd article of the treaty of Paris—from 23 July 1856 to 9 May 1858—to investigate the condition of the Danubian principalities. Bulwer was selected, at the close of the Crimean war, to be the successor of Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe as ambassador extraordinary to the Ottoman Porte at Constantinople. From 10 May 1858 to August 1865 he added much to his already high reputation.

On returning from the Bosphorus in the winter of 1865 Bulwer retired from the diplomatic service. On 17 Nov. 1868 he was elected member for Tamworth, and retained that seat until his elevation to the peerage on 21 March 1871 as Baron Dalling and Bulwer. His last speech in the commons, upon the Irish church, was one of the most effective he ever delivered, though his infirmity made him inaudible to most of the house. Before the close of 1867 he published in two volumes, entitled 'Historical Characters,' four masterly sketches of Talleyrand, Cobbe, Canning, and Mackintosh. Two other companion sketches, those of Sir Robert Peel and Viscount Melbourne, have

since been selected from among their author's papers and published posthumously. The first two volumes of a 'Life of Viscount Palmerston' appeared in 1870. Four years afterwards a third volume was issued from the press posthumously. He died very suddenly on 23 May 1872 at Naples. As he died without issue, his title became extinct. The sweetness of his disposition and his high-bred manner rendered him a universal favourite. Habitually sauntering through society with an air of languor, he veiled the keenest observation under an aspect of indifference. Whenever in his more delicate negotiations he was in reality the most cautious, he was seemingly the most negligent. The apparently languid way in which he related an anecdote gave it a peculiarly poignant effect. His personal popularity was mainly attributable to his complete mastery of the subtlest arts of a conversationalist.

[Many particulars in the foregoing record are drawn from the writer's own personal recollections and correspondence. Memoirs by the present writer have appeared in the *Morning Post*, 28 May 1872; *Athenæum*, 1 June 1872; *Illustrated Review*, 15 Aug. 1872; and *Encycl. Brit.* (9th edition), vi. 780-3. See also *Times*, 3 June 1872; Lord Dalling's *Life of his political chief*, Viscount Palmerston, i. ii. iii.; *Life of Edward, Lord Lytton*, by his son Robert, Earl of Lytton, i. ii.; *Returns of Members of Parliament*.]

C. K.

**BUNBURY, SIR HENRY EDWARD** (1778-1860), seventh baronet, of Mildenhall and Barton Hall, Suffolk, a lieutenant-general on the retired list, and author of several historical works, was son of the eminent amateur artist H. W. Bunbury [see **BUNBURY, HENRY WILLIAM**]. He was born on 4 May 1778, and received his education at Westminster School under Dr. Vincent. In 1795 he obtained a commission in the Coldstream guards, and became aide-de-camp to his uncle, General Gwyn. In 1797 he purchased a troop in the 16th light dragoons, which at that period was stationed for several years in the vicinity of the royal residences at Windsor and Weymouth. He served on the personal staff of the Duke of York in North Holland in 1799, and in 1800 was promoted to an unattached majority. He studied in the Royal Military College at Wycombe in 1800-1. During the invasion alarms of 1803-4 he was employed on the quartermaster-general's staff of the south-eastern district. In 1805 he was quartermaster-general of the force sent to the Mediterranean under Sir James Craig, which, after landing in Naples, withdrew to Sicily, and he held the same post under Sir John Stuart in the descent on Calabria in

1806, when he received a gold medal for the battle of Maida, where he had greatly distinguished himself as chief of the staff; and in Sicily up to 1809, including the expedition to the bay of Naples in the latter year. Returning home on leave, he was appointed under-secretary of state for war under the Portland administration, a post which he retained under Mr. Perceval and Lord Liverpool until its abolition in 1816. In December 1815 he was sent on an important mission to the Duke of Wellington, then at St. Jean de Luz, the secret of which has never transpired. In 1814 he became a major-general and was made a K.C.B., and in the same year was appointed special commissioner, with Admiral Lord Keith, to communicate to the ex-emperor Napoleon the decision of the British cabinet respecting his exile to St. Helena, a delicate task, for which Bunbury's tact and polished address well fitted him. An account of the transaction, drawn up by him for the information of Lord Keith, is given in Allardyce's 'Life of Lord Keith,' and in the memoir noticed below. A number of unpublished letters from Bunbury to Sir Hudson Lowe at this period are in the British Museum (Add. MSS. 20108-20233). Sir Henry, then Colonel Bunbury, had married in 1807 a daughter of General Fox, commanding in Sicily, and brother of the Right Hon. Charles James Fox, and by her, who died in 1828, had four sons—viz. Sir Charles James Fox Bunbury, F.R.S., his successor in the baronetcy, and author of a memoir of his father's life; Edward Herbert Bunbury, author of a 'History of Ancient Geography' (London, 1879); Henry William St. Pierre Bunbury, lieutenant-colonel, who commanded the 23rd fusiliers in the unsuccessful attack on the Redan at Sebastopol; and Richard Hanmer Bunbury, a captain in the royal navy. Sir Henry married secondly, in 1830, a sister of Colonel, afterwards Sir Charles Napier of Scinde. Some years before, in 1821, he had succeeded to the baronetcy and estates of his uncle, Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, who was for forty-three years M.P. for the county of Suffolk, but is better remembered as a racing man and the winner of the first 'Derby.' In 1830 Sir Henry came forward to fill the seat so long occupied by his uncle. He was returned with Mr. Tyrell by a majority of 400 over Sir T. Gooch, who had been for many years the tory member. Bunbury was a staunch whig, and voted for the second reading of the Reform Bill when it was carried by a majority of one. At the election which followed he was again returned among the band of reformers sent

up by nearly all the county constituencies. He was at this time offered the post of secretary of war by Earl Grey, but declined it on the ground of ill-health. He therefore withdrew from parliament at the following dissolution, and from the army in 1832. In 1837 he was induced to waive personal considerations, and again to stand for the county in the liberal interest; but a reaction had by this time set in, and two conservatives were returned. Bunbury was a good judge of art and letters. He formed a fine library and a collection of pictures. He was a fellow of the Antiquarian Society, and a paper by him on Roman and British antiquities found at Mildenhall is printed in 'Archæologia,' xxv. 605-11. He was author of the following: 1. 'Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., Speaker of the House of Commons. . . . To which are added other relics of a Gentleman's [Bunbury] Family' (London, 1838). 2. 'Narrative of the Campaign in North Holland in 1799' (London, 1849). 3. 'Narrative of certain Passages in the late War with France' (London, 1852). All of these are valuable works, and the last possesses special military interest by reason of the insight it affords to what may be called the internal history of the army at the period immediately antecedent to the Peninsular war. To Bunbury is likewise due the credit of having encouraged the establishment of our present volunteer army by a vigorous appeal to the public, penned about a twelvemonth before his death, in which he gave his personal experience of former invasion panics, and offered, in the event of the proposed movement not finding general acceptance, to raise and train a body of volunteers at his own cost. After settling in the country he took a lively interest in all measures for promoting the welfare of the labouring classes. He died at Barton Hall on 13 April 1860, at the age of eighty-two.

In the 'Brit. Mus. Cat. of Printed Books' the name of Sir Henry Bunbury is suggested as the original of the supposed pseudonym 'F. R. Soame.' A double error is here involved. Sir Henry Bunbury never wrote under that name, and the name itself is not an assumed one, being that of his cousin Henry Francis Robert Soame (1768-1803), who died in India while serving as a lieutenant in the 22nd (formerly 25th) light dragoons, and of whom particulars will be found among the family memorials appended to the 'Correspondence of Sir Thomas Hanmer,' before mentioned, in which are also inserted some of H. F. R. Soame's poetical pieces, including 'The Retrospect' and 'Lines written



on a Blank Leaf facing the Title Page of 'The Pleasures of Memory,' which first appeared anonymously in some of the editions of Rogers's 'Poems.'

[M memoir and Literary Remains, edited by his son, Sir Charles J. F. Bunbury (privately printed), 1868; Burke's Baronetage; Forster's Life of Goldsmith, pp. 321-3, 387-9; Annual Army Lists; Sir H. Bunbury's Works; Allardyce's Life of Keith (Edinburgh, 1883); Brit. Mus. Cat.; Gent. Mag. 3rd ser. ix. 91; Bury and Norwich Free Press, 14 April and 28 April 1860; Illust. Lond. News, xxxvi. 1036 (will); information supplied by Sir Charles Bunbury, F.R.S., and E. H. Bunbury.] H. M. C.

**BUNBURY, HENRY WILLIAM** (1750-1811), amateur artist and caricaturist, was born in 1750, being the second son of the Rev. Sir William Bunbury, bart., of Mildenhall in Suffolk. The Bunburys were an old Norman family who are mentioned in Stephen's time as established at Bunbury in Cheshire. Young Bunbury was educated at Westminster School, and afterwards at St. Catharine's Hall, Cambridge. Both at school and college he seems to have acquired an early reputation as a humorous draughtsman, going so far at Westminster as to etch 'A Boy riding upon a Pig,' a copy of which is to be found in the British Museum Print Room; and at Cambridge accumulating a fair gallery of ungainly dons and awkward undergraduates. He drew chiefly in pencil, or black and red chalk; but, although he seems to have used the needle, he was never successful as an etcher, and his designs were generally reproduced by engravers, mostly in stipple or dot. One of the first who copied Bunbury's designs in this way was Bretherton, who had a well-known print shop at 134 New Bond Street. In 1771 Bunbury married Catherine Horneck, Goldsmith's 'Little Comedy,' to whom the poet two years later addressed that dancing 'Letter in Verse and Prose' which Mr. (afterwards Sir James) Prior first gave to the world in 1837, in his 'Life of Goldsmith.' Previous to his marriage he had visited France and Italy, studying drawing at Rome, and one of the earliest of Bretherton's engravings, dated 1 Oct. 1771, reproduces a 'View on the Pont Neuf at Paris.' Two of the happiest of his subsequent designs, 'Strephon and Chloe' and 'The Salutation Tavern,' are dated 28 Nov. 1772 and 20 March 1773 respectively; and in the latter year he published a number of his sketches of foreign costumes and a series of burlesque illustrations to 'Tristram Shandy.' Others of his better-known compositions which succeeded these are 'Hyde Park,' 1780; 'A Family Piece' and 'Coffee-house Patriots,'

both dated 15 Oct. 1781; 'A Chop-house,' 15 Oct. 1781 (which contains a portrait of Dr. Johnson); 'Hints to Bad Horsemen' (a set), 1781; 'Richmond Hill,' 1 March 1782, the original drawing for which belonged to Horace Walpole (*Hammer Corresp.* 1838, p. 397); and 'A Long Story,' 25 April 1782, which was engraved by J. R. Smith. The three works by which he is best known belong, however, to 1787. They are 'A Long Minuet, as danced at Bath' (25 June); 'The Propagation of a Lie' (29 Dec.); and the volume of equestrian misadventures called 'An Academy for Grown Horsemen,' by 'Geoffrey Gambado,' 1st edition 1787, 2nd edition 1788. To 1788 (26 June) also belongs 'The Country Club,' another of his designs much sought after by collectors. All these latter were engraved by W. Dickinson, who, like Bretherton, published many of Bunbury's productions. In 1791 appeared the 'Annals of Horsemanship,' a kind of sequel to the 'Academy for Grown Horsemen.' Bunbury also essayed some serious compositions. There is a set of 'Military Portraits,' engraved by E. D. Soiron, 1791, which bears his name; he also executed some compositions for the 'Arabian Nights;' and he was a contributor to Boydell's 'Shakespeare,' 1803-5. One of his water-colours, 'Florizel and Autolycus changing Garments' (from the 'Winter's Tale'), forms part of the William Smith gift at South Kensington. But his forte was caricature, and this he continued to produce until his death, in May 1811, at Keswick, to which place he had retired in 1798, when he lost his wife. 'Patience in a Punt,' 'Anglers of 1811,' and 'A Barber's Shop in Assize Time,' all belong to the final year of his life. The first two were etched by Rowlandson, while 'A Barber's Shop' has the distinction of being the last plate upon which the famous Gillray was engaged before he lapsed into hopeless idiocy [see GILLRAY, JAMES]. There is, it should be added, an earlier 'Barber's Shop,' dated 12 May 1785.

Bunbury owed much during his lifetime to the charm of a genial nature, and to his position as a man of family and education. West flattered him, and Walpole enthusiastically compared him to Hogarth. He was the friend of Goldsmith, Garrick, and Reynolds, and the favourite of the Duke and Duchess of York, to whom in 1787 he was appointed equerry. All this, coupled with the facts that he was seldom, if ever, personal, and wholly abstained from political subjects, greatly aided his popularity with the printsellers and the public of his day, and secured his admission, as an honorary exhibitor, to the walls of the Academy, where

between 1780 and 1808 his works frequently appeared. But, as an artist, he remained an amateur until his death; and his designs—many interesting examples of which, both in oils and black and white, are still preserved by the present Sir C. Bunbury of Barton—must be admitted to be inferior in humour to Rowlandson's and in satire to Gillray's. Nevertheless, they are not without a good deal of grotesque drollery of the rough-and-ready kind in vogue towards the end of the last century—that is to say, drollery depending in a great measure for its laughable qualities upon absurd contrasts, ludicrous distortions, horseplay, and personal misadventure. Bunbury's portrait was painted by Lawrence and engraved by Ryder. There is also a portrait of him as a youth by Reynolds, engraved by Blackmore. To complete this account it should be added that he was colonel of the West Suffolk militia, and very successful as an actor in private theatricals. His eldest son, Charles John Bunbury, who died in 1798, was the 'Master Bunbury' painted by Reynolds in 1781; his second son, afterwards Sir Henry Bunbury, bart. [q. v.], was Sir Joshua's godchild.

[Buss's English Graphic Satire, 1874, 101-4; Wright's History of Caricature and Grotesque, 1865, 456-8; Grego's Rowlandson, 1880, i, 76-80; Hanmer Correspondence, 1838; Angelo's Reminiscences, 1830, 411-12; Redgrave, Bryan, and Bunbury's Works in the British Museum, which include some facsimiles of his original drawings.] A. D.

**BUNDY, RICHARD** (d. 1739), divine and translator, was born at Devizes, Wiltshire, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford, as a member of which house he proceeded B.A. on 13 Oct. 1713. An assiduous attendance at court led to his appointment as chaplain in ordinary, and in 1732 he was selected to accompany the king on his visit to Hanover, being at the same time created doctor of divinity by the Archbishop of Canterbury (*Gent. Mag.* ii. 777). As a further mark of the royal confidence he was nominated a trustee for establishing the new colony in South Carolina to be known hereafter by the name of Georgia. On returning to England in September 1732 Bundy became vicar of St. Bride's, Fleet Street (*MALCOLM, Londinium Redivivum*, i. 358), and on 24 August prebendary of Westminster (*LE NEVE, Fasti Eccl. Angl.*, ed. Hardy, iii. 365). To these preferments was added in 1733 the rich living of East Barnet. Bundy died on 27 Jan. 1738-9, and was buried at Devizes (*Gent. Mag.* ix. 47; *LYONS, Environs*, iv. 17, 18). He left a widow

and one daughter. The year following his death appeared 'Sermons on several Occasions; with a Course of Lectures on the Church Catechism,' 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1740 (second edition 1750). A third but probably spurious volume was published in the last-named year. Bundy also translated Lamy's 'Apparatus Biblicus,' 4to, London, 1723 (second edition, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1728), and the 'Roman History' by Catrou and Rouillé, 6 vols. folio, London, 1728-37. John Ozell had meditated adding one more vile translation of the last to an already extended list, but finding himself forestalled by Bundy he gave vent to his wrath in a series of silly squibs.

[*Gent. Mag.* ii.; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*] G. G.

**BUNGAY, THOMAS** (fl. 1290), a learned Franciscan friar, was born at Bungay, Suffolk, and educated at Paris and Oxford, in which university he was the tenth reader in divinity. On resigning this post, in which he was succeeded by John Peckham, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, he migrated to Cambridge, where he held a similar position. He was subsequently appointed provincial minister of his order in England, being the eighth, counting from Agnellus of Pisa, who was deputed by St. Francis to introduce his order into this island. In this post he was again succeeded by Peckham. Wadding speaks of him as being elected by the general suffrage of the order, but at this time the nomination of provincial ministers was in the hands of the general minister, an office which was probably held (for the date of Bungay's appointment is not precisely known) by St. Bonaventura, 'doctor seraphicus.' In addition to the subjects on which he lectured— theology and philosophy—Bungay had also attained such proficiency in mathematics, that he was accounted a magician, like his friend, Roger Bacon, and there are many wonderful stories of his doings in the 'Famous Historie of Roger Bacon,' of which the first edition was published in 1627. In 1594 Robert Greene made Bungay a chief character in the 'Honorable History of Frier Bacon and Frier Bungay.' His writings, according to Pits, were as follows: 'Super Magistrum Sententiarum liber i.'; 'Quæstionum Theologicarum liber i.'; and 'De Magia Naturali liber i.' He was buried at Northampton.

[*Monumenta Franciscana*, 537, 550, 552, 555, 560; Possevin, *Apparatus Sacer*, ii. 484; Pits, *De Angliæ Scriptoribus*, 373; Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. Oxon.* (ed. Gutch, 1792), 357; Bale (ed. 1557), p. 347; Leland's *Commentarii de Scriptoribus*, 302; Wadding's *Annales Minorum*, v. 240.] C. T. M.

BUNN, ALFRED (1796?-1860), theatrical manager, is best remembered on account of his literary feuds. During many years he was spoken of with derision as 'Poet Bunn,' and the attacks upon him did not cease until he was driven into a retaliation, which is the most vigorous of his writings, and secured him a temporary respite. According to his own statement he came of good family. While scrupulously reserved concerning his birth and parentage, he says in 'The Stage before and behind the Curtain,' published in 1840, that he 'was forty-three years old last April 8th' (the preface is dated 22 June 1840); that his father 'wore a sword instead of swallowing one,' and that he was considered, 'as the Rev. Mr. Plumtree has it, respectable "till he (I) took a turn for the stage."' Subsequently, under date 8 April 1838, he writes 'Birthday—42!' In 1826 he was manager of the Birmingham Theatre, and in 1833 he undertook the joint management of Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres. This arduous experiment resulted in failure; and his book 'The Stage' is a species of 'apologia' for his management. Bunn's connection with Drury Lane commenced in 1823, in which year he was appointed stage-manager by Elliston. The retirement of Kean from Covent Garden, immediately previous to his death (15 May 1833), the consequent closing of the theatre, and the failure of Captain Polhill, the third man whose fortune had been swallowed up in Drury Lane within ten years, led to the assumption by Bunn of the joint management.

The subsequent life of Bunn is the history of the two patent theatres. From the first opposition was encountered. A bill for the abolition of the patent theatres, for which leave had previously been obtained by Mr. Bulwer, afterwards Lord Lytton, was moved by him in the House of Commons on 25 July 1833, and passed by a majority of thirty-one. In response to a petition of Bunn it was thrown out by the upper chamber. From this moment, according to Bunn's statement, commenced the series of attacks upon him to which he was constantly subject. Thwarted perpetually by the actors on whom he re-imposed temporarily a maximum salary, and, as he held, by the lord chamberlain, the Marquis Conyngham, and fronted by an increasingly arduous competition on the part of the other houses, Bunn found his post no sinecure. With Macready, whom he engaged, he was on such ill terms that a quarrel of long standing resulted, on 29 April 1836, in the tragedian assaulting the manager in his own room. For this Bunn received at

the sheriff's court, on 29 June 1836, 150*l.* damages. On 17 Dec. 1840 Bunn appeared in Basinghall Street before Commissioner Merivale as a bankrupt. During his management he displayed abundant energy. Almost all the leading actors, headed by Macready, Charles Kean, Vandenhoff, W. Farren, Harley, Bartley, Meadows, and Mathews, were engaged by him during his term of management, which at Drury Lane lasted until 1848. In his attempt to establish English opera he brought out the principal operas of Balfe—the 'Siege of Rochelle,' 1835; the 'Maid of Artois,' 1836; the 'Bohemian Girl,' 1843; the 'Bondman,' 1846; the 'Maid of Honour,' 1847; and several other works. For the 'Maid of Artois' Madame Malibran was engaged at the then unheard-of salary of 125*l.* per week. The libretti of most of these operas were translated from the French by Bunn, who also took from the same source 'The Minister and the Mercer,' a version of the 'Bertrand et Raton' of Scribe, and some other dramas and farces the names of most of which are now forgotten. He also wrote occasional verses which can claim no quality beyond fluency. Many of these are included in 'The Stage before and behind the Curtain,' 1840, 3 vols. 8vo, a querulous record of his managerial experiences up to his bankruptcy. His 'A Word with Punch,' in which he retorted upon the principal writers in 'Punch,' whom he described as 'Wronghead—Mr. Douglas Jerrold,' 'Sleekhead—Mr. Gilbert à Beckett,' and 'Thickhead—Mr. Mark Lemon,' is written with smartness as well as acerbity. It is difficult to credit Bunn with the entire execution. It has, however, many marks of his style, and is in part incontestably his. The brochure, which was got up to resemble a number of 'Punch,' had a great success, and is now a bibliographical rarity. In his late years Bunn became a Roman catholic. He died of apoplexy at Boulogne on 20 Dec. 1860.

[Bunn's Stage before and behind the Curtain, 1840, 3 vols. passim; Sir F. Pollock's Macready's Reminiscences, 1875; A Word with Punch; The Era newspaper, 23 Dec. 1860; Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians.]

J. K.

BUNN, MARGARET AGNES (1799-1883), actress, was born on 26 Oct. 1799 at Lanark. After her birth her father, whose name was Somerville, came to London and established himself as a biscuit baker in Marylebone. Margaret displayed at an early age a talent for the stage, and was introduced in 1815 to the Hon. Douglas Kinnaird, member

of the Drury Lane committee of management. After rehearsing 'Belvidera,' she was rejected as unequal to the character. A second hearing in the following year by the same gentleman and Lord Byron led to an engagement. She made accordingly, 9 May 1816, at Drury Lane her first appearance on any stage, playing, as Miss Somerville, Imogene in Maturin's tragedy of 'Bertram,' then given for the first time. Kean was Bertram, and did not escape the charge of refusing the young actress fair play. A three years' engagement followed. On 6 Jan. 1818 she 'created' at Bath, by permission of the Drury Lane management, the character of Bianca in the 'Fazio' of Dean Milman, then given for the first time. In 1818, complaining of want of employment, she resigned her situation at Drury Lane. On 22 Oct. she made as Bianca, which remained her favourite character, her first appearance at Covent Garden, and on 9 Nov. she played Alicia in 'Jane Shore' to the Jane Shore of Miss O'Neill. In 1819 she was acting at Birmingham, where she met and married Alfred Bunn [q. v.] When her husband went to Drury Lane to form one of Elliston's 'triumvirate of management,' she reappeared 27 Oct. 1823 at that theatre, still as Bianca. In the same season (1823-4) she played Hermione in the 'Winter's Tale,' and created the rôles of Cornelia in 'Caius Gracchus,' by Sheridan Knowles, and Queen Elizabeth in 'Kenilworth.' Her married life was not fortunate, and led to much scandal. While still young she left the stage, not to return to it. Her death took place early in 1883. Mrs. Bunn had a tall and commanding figure. She was seen to highest advantage in characters belonging to heavy tragedy. Kean is said to have kept back Mrs. Bunn, with whom, in consequence of her being, as he said, 'too big and overtowering a woman for his figure,' he refused to act except in certain characters. Her Lady Macbeth is mentioned with a sneering implication by Macready in his 'Reminiscences.'

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Biography of the British Stage, 1824; Our Actresses (by Mrs. C. Baron Wilson), 1844; The Drama, or Theatrical Pocket Magazine, vols. v. and vi.; Athenæum, 3 Feb. 1883.] J. K.

**BUNNING, JAMES BUNSTONE** (1802-1863), architect, born on 6 Oct. 1802, the son of a London surveyor, left school at the early age of thirteen to enter his father's office. He was afterwards articled to George Smith, architect, a pupil of Robert Furze Brettingham [q. v.], and on the expiry of his apprenticeship commenced business as an architect. He held in succession the offices of district surveyor, Bethnal Green, and surveyor for the Found-

ling Hospital estates circa 1825; to the London Cemetery Company, 1829; the Haberdashers' Company, the London and County Bank, 1840, the Thames Tunnel, and the Victoria Life Office. He took great interest in the work of the Royal Humane Society, and designed their first receiving-house in Hyde Park. He designed in 1835 the building for the City of London School in Milk Street, Cheapside, which was completed in 1837 (the school since removed to new buildings on the Thames Embankment). He also prepared competitive designs for the houses of parliament and the Royal Exchange, and designed the mansion house at Lillingstone-Dayrell in Buckinghamshire, and the towers, since cut down, of Hungerford suspension bridge. His official works included the Bethnal Green Union workhouse, erected about 1840-2 at a cost of 25,000*l.* On 23 Sept. 1843 he was appointed 'clerk of the city's works,' being the twenty-first in succession from Edward Stone, who on 21 April 1477 became the first holder of that office. In 1847 the name was changed to that of city architect. In this capacity Bunning designed these works: 1845, a new street from the west end of Cheapside to Carey Street; 1846, the widening of Threadneedle Street, and the construction of New Cannon Street, opened in 1854; 1848, the first plan for the raising of Holborn Valley, a work first projected by Bunning, and in which he took the greatest interest; 1849, the Coal Exchange; 1852, City Prison, Holloway; 1853, Freemasons' Orphan Schools, Brixton; 1855, Metropolitan Cattle Market; 1856, two new law-courts in Guildhall; 1858, the interior of Newgate, a rearrangement leaving Dance's building of 1788 outwardly untouched; 1858, Rogers's Almshouses, Brixton; 1862, a new open timber roof for Guildhall; and 1863, Pauper Lunatic Asylum at Stone, Kent, which was still unfinished at his death. He also left a number of designs for various city improvements, such as one for poor lodging-houses, Victoria Street; for converting Farringdon Market into baths, &c.; designs in 1853 for increasing the width of London Bridge; in 1860, for improvements in the library of Guildhall; and in 1861 for a new meat market at Smithfield. Bunning's talents were of the practical rather than the artistic order; but he designed successfully decorations for various municipal displays. He was distinguished for integrity as a public official, as well as unvarying kindness and courtesy. He was a fellow of the Institute of British Architects, and of the Society of Antiquaries, in which latter capacity much credit is due to him for the care he took in preserving the interesting remains of Roman building

found in excavating the site of the Coal Exchange. He died on 7 Nov. 1863 in London. He married in 1826 Miss Basan, a lady of Italian origin, who survived him. He left no children.

[Builder, vol. xxii.]

G. W. B.

BUNNY, EDMUND (1540-1618), theological writer, was born in 1540 at the Vache, the seat of Edward Restwold, his mother's father, near Chalfont St. Giles, Buckinghamshire. He was the eldest son of Richard Bunny (*d.* 1584) of Newton or Bunny Hall in Wakefield parish, who was treasurer of Berwick, and otherwise employed in public services in the north, temp. Henry VIII and Edward VI; he suffered as a protestant under Mary, and obtained some compensation from Elizabeth (16 June 1574). Edmund was sent to Oxford University at the age of sixteen, and after graduating B.A. was elected probationer fellow of Magdalen College. His father meant him for the law, and sent him to Staple Inn and Gray's Inn. He determined upon entering the church, and was disinherited in favour of Richard, the second son, for so doing. On 30 March 1564 he received the prebend of Oxgate in St. Paul's, London, in succession to John Braban. Returning to Oxford he graduated M.A. on 14 Feb. 1565, and was soon after elected fellow of Merton College; an unprecedented thing, but the reason was that Merton had no one who could preach, while Bunny was a fluent extemporer. On 10 July 1570 he was made B.D., and became in the same year chaplain to Grindal, archbishop of York, who made him subdean of York, in succession to Robert Babthorp, D.D. (*d.* 1570), and gave him the rectory of Bolton Percy. This he held for twenty-five years, and then resigned it. His subdeanery he resigned in 1579, and was succeeded by Henry Wright, M.A. In February 1579 he applied for the degree of D.D., but was refused. Retaining his London prebend, with another at York (Wistow, installed 21 Oct. 1575), and a third at Carlisle (first stall, collated 2 July 1585, and resigned in 1603), he devoted himself to the work of an itinerant preacher, travelling through England, attended by two mounted servants, and thus visiting towns and villages, and sometimes his university, as an evangelist. His doctrine was Calvinistic. He died at Cawood, Yorkshire, 26 Feb. 1617-18, and was buried in York minster, where is a monument (with effigy) to his memory. In person he was portly and broad-faced. He published: 1. 'The Whole Summe of Christian Religion, given forth by two severall methodes or formes: the one higher, for the better learned, the other

applied to the capacite of the common multitude, and meete for all,' &c., 1576, 8vo (black letter). 2. 'Institutionis Christianae Religionis, a Jo. Calvino conscriptae, compendium,' &c. 1576, 8vo. (This abridgment of Calvin's 'Institution' was translated into English by Edward May, 1580, 8vo, but had not so much vogue as the abridgment by William Lawne, 1584, translated by C. Fetherstone, 1585.) 3. 'The Scepter of Judah; or what maner of government it was, that unto the common-wealth or church of Israel was by the will of God appointed,' 1584, 8vo. 4. 'A Book of Christian Exercise, appertaining to Resolution, perused and accompanied now with a Treatise tending to Pacification,' 1584, 8vo; 1585, 12mo; Oxford, 24mo; 1586, 12mo; 1594-1609, 12mo; 1621, 12mo; 1630, 8vo; (the first part is the earlier half of a treatise by Robert Parsons, the jesuit, with Bunny's alterations; the second part, printed separately, 1594 and 1598, is his own. Parsons published his work anonymously, with the initials R. P., and Bunny did not know who was the author; Parsons reissued his work with the title 'A Christian Directorie . . . with reprove of the . . . falsified edition . . . published by E. Buny,' 1585, 8vo; for Bunny's defence see No. 8 below; it was thereading of Bunny's amended issue of Parsons's treatise which first gave serious impressions to Richard Baxter at the age of fourteen). 5. 'Certaine Prayers and Godly Exercises for the xvii of November wherein we solemnize the blessed reign of our gracious sovereigne lady Elizabeth,' &c. 1585, 8vo (dedication, dated York, 27 Sept. 1585, to archbishop of Canterbury; Peck says this book gave birth to the accession form). 6. 'The Coronation of David: wherein out of that part of the Historie of David that sheweth how he came to the Kingdome wee have set forth unto us what is like to be the end of these troubles that daylie arise for the gospels sake,' 1588, 4to (black letter). 7. 'Necessary Admonition out of the prophet Joel, concerning that Hand of God that of late was upon us,' &c. 1588, 8vo. 8. 'A brieve Answer unto those idle and frivolous quarrels of R. P. against the late edition of the Resolution,' 1589, 8vo (licensed in 1587). 9. 'Of Divorce for adulterie and Marrying againe; that there is no sufficient warrant so to do. With a note that R. P. many yeeres since was answered,' Oxford, 1610, 4to; also London, same size and date. Wood makes use of 'A Defence of his Labour in the Work of the Ministry' (written 20 Jan. 1602, and circulated in manuscript among his friends, to repel the charge of thrusting himself forward as a preacher), and mentions

that Bunny had translated (apparently with revisions) the 'Imitatio Jesu Christi.'

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 70, 219 sq., 310; *Fasti*, i. 45, &c.; Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals*, 1742, ii. 89, 180, 308; Calamy's *Abridgement*, 1713, p. 6.] A. G.

BUNNY, FRANCIS (1543-1617), theological writer, was born 8 May 1543, at the Vache, being third son of Richard, and youngest brother of Edmund Bunny [q. v.] He entered Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1558, was admitted a demy in 1559, and graduated B.A. 10 July 1562, M.A. 9 July 1567. He was probationer fellow from 1561 to 1572. Taking orders, he began to preach 1 Nov. 1567. His preaching was popular, and procured him a chaplaincy to the Earl of Bedford. On 9 May 1572 he was inducted into a prebend at Durham (eighth stall, installed 13 May), and succeeded Ralph Lever as archdeacon of Northumberland, 20 Oct. 1573. He resigned the archdeaconry on becoming rector of Ryton, Durham, 11 Sept. 1578 (inducted 13 Sept.) Like his brother Edmund, he was an indefatigable preacher, and a strong Calvinist. He was prebendary of Carlisle at his death. He died at Ryton, 16 April 1617, and was buried in the chancel of his church. He married Jane, daughter of Henry Priestley, and had five children, all of whom died before him. Bunny published: 1. 'A Survey of the Pope's supremacie . . . and in it are examined the chief arguments that M. Bellarmine hath,' 1590, 1595, 4to (black letter). 2. 'Truth and Falsehood; or a comparison betweene the truth now taught in England, and the doctrine of the Romish church, &c., with an answer to such reasons as the popish recusants alledge, why they will not come to our churches,' 1595, 4to, two parts. 3. 'A Comparison between the auncient Fayth of the Romans and the new Romish religion,' 1595, 4to. 4. 'An Answer to a Popish libell intituled: A Petition to the Bishops, Preachers, and Gospellers, lately spread abroad in the North parts,' Oxford, 1607, 12mo. 5. 'Of the Head Corner-stone by builders still overmuch omitted; i.e. a forme of teaching Jesus Christ out of all the holy Scriptures,' 1611, fol. 6. 'An Exposition of the 28 v. of the 3 chap. of the Epistle to the Romans. Wherein is manifestly proved the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and by Faith onely,' 1616, 4to. 7. 'A Guide unto Godlinesse; or a plain and familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments by questions and answers,' 1617, 8vo. Wood mentions also his manuscript 'In Joelis prophetiam enarratio,' dedicated 1595 to Tobias Mathew, bishop of

Durham, and containing the substance of sermons preached about 1575 at Berwick.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 200; *Fasti*, i. 179, 202; Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals*, 1742, i. 262, 270; Bloxam's *Register of Magdalen College, the Demies*, i. 154 sq.] A. G.

BUNSEN, FRANCES (1791-1876), wife of Baron Christian Bunsen, was the eldest daughter and coheirress of Benjamin Waddington, who died at Abercarne on 19 Jan. 1828 in his eightieth year, by his marriage in 1789 with Georgina Mary Ann, eldest daughter of John Port, who was born 1771, and died at Llanover on 19 Jan. 1850. She was born at Dunston Park, Berkshire, on 4 March 1791, and educated under her mother at Llanover. In 1816 her parents, accompanied by their family, went to Rome to spend the winter. Here Frances first met Christian Bunsen, to whom she was married, on 1 July 1817, in the chapel of the Palazzo Savelli, then the habitation of Barthold Niebuhr, and it was twenty-three years from this period before she again visited her native country. Henceforth she was one with her husband in thought and feeling, tastes and actions; she enabled him to carry out his objects by her sympathy and by her active co-operation; she took upon herself the vexing petty cares of life, and left him free to carry out his political and literary career. Yet she was no mere 'housewife,' but shared all the best parts of his mind on all occasions. He died on 28 Nov. 1860, having acted as German ambassador to England from 1841 to 1854, and in accordance with one of his last requests she published 'A Memoir of Baron Bunsen, drawn chiefly from family papers, by his Widow,' 1868, 2 volumes. After her husband's death she went to reside at Carlsruhe, where she took charge of the children of her deceased daughter, Theodora, Baroness von Ungern Sternberg. She died there 23 April 1876. The brilliant hospitalities which she dispensed at the Prussian embassy during her residence in England will be long remembered. As authoress of the life of her husband her literary ability has been fully acknowledged, but it was only among her private friends that her extraordinary talent and her wonderful knowledge of the various public events of the time could be appreciated. She was the mother of ten children, one of whom, Henry George Bunsen, rector of Donington, Salop, died in 1885.

[Bunsen and his Wife, *Contemporary Review*, xxviii. 948-69 (1876); *Hare's Life and Letters of Frances Baroness Bunsen*, 1882, 2 vols.]

G. C. B.

**BUNTING, EDWARD** (1773-1843), musician and antiquary, was born at Armagh in February 1773. His father was a Derbyshire engineer who went to Ireland to superintend the works at the Dunganannon colliery. His mother was a lineal descendant of the Patrick Gruana O'Quin of the Hy Niall race, who was killed in arms in July 1642. The elder Bunting died soon after the birth of his youngest son, Edward, leaving behind him two other sons, both of whom in later years became musicians. The eldest of these, Anthony, was in 1782 settled at Drogheda as a music teacher and organist, and from him Bunting received his first instruction. He remained at Drogheda for two years, and in 1784 was sent for to Belfast to act as substitute for a Mr. Weir, a local organist, to whom he was shortly afterwards articled. Part of his duties at Belfast consisted in giving occasional pianoforte lessons to Weir's pupils, which he did with such unusual energy that it is said that one of his lady pupils once turned round and boxed his ears. At the expiration of his articles Bunting had become so popular in Belfast that he had no difficulty in making his own living by the exercise of his profession. He was both clever and handsome, but, indulging in hard drinking and dissipation, he became wayward, hot-tempered, and idle. On 11, 12, and 13 July 1792 a few patriotic Irish gentlemen held a meeting of harpers and minstrels in order to revive their almost extinct national music. Only ten performers could be collected, and Bunting was commissioned to note down the airs which they played. This seems to have awakened in him a powerful interest in old Irish music, and he at once set about collecting materials for a work on the subject, for which purpose he made numerous journeys, principally in Ulster, Munster, and Connaught. In 1796 he published the result of his researches in a volume entitled 'A General Collection of the Ancient Irish Music, containing a variety of Admired Airs never before published, and also the Compositions of Conolan and Carolan. Collected from the Harpers, &c., in the different Provinces of Ireland, and adapted for the Piano-Forte. With a Prefatory Introduction . . . Vol. I.' This book was published by Preston in London and pirated by Lee in Dublin; it contains sixty-six airs, but no words. Although the volume was not a pecuniary success, Bunting went on collecting Irish music for another edition, for which he secured the co-operation of Thomas Campbell, who wrote words for the best tunes. Probably the success of Moore's 'Irish Melodies' (which was largely indebted to Bun-

ting's first volume) hurried on the production in 1809 by Clementi of the new edition, which bore the title, 'A General Collection of the Ancient Music of Ireland, arranged for the Piano-Forte; some of the most admired Melodies are adapted for the Voice, to Poetry chiefly translated from the Original Irish Songs, by Thomas Campbell, Esq., and other eminent Poets. To which is prefixed a Historical and Critical Dissertation on the Egyptian, British, and Irish Harps . . . Vol. I.' This book contained seventy-seven additional airs, many of which were derived from a harper named Dennis Hempson, who was said to be over a hundred years old. The words of the songs are given only in English, and are generally unsatisfactory, although the music is very valuable. While this work was preparing for publication Bunting paid several visits to London, where he became a great friend of the Broadwood family. In 1815 he visited Paris when the allied sovereigns were there. It is said that his thoroughly English appearance caused a practical joke to be played on him by some Frenchmen, who lighted a mass of squibs and crackers under a seat on the Boulevards on which he was dozing. On leaving Paris Bunting returned to Ireland by way of Belgium and Holland. In 1819 he was married to a Miss Chapman, and after his marriage he left Belfast and settled in Dublin, where he soon established a good connection as a teacher, besides occupying the post of organist to St. Stephen's. In 1840 he published a third collection of Irish music, dedicated to the queen. This was entitled 'The Ancient Music of Ireland, arranged for the Pianoforte. To which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Irish Harp and Harpers, including an Account of the old Melodies of Ireland.' The book contained 150 airs, 120 of which were published for the first time. Bunting did not long survive this, his last work. He died in Dublin on 21 Dec. 1843, and was buried in the cemetery of Mount Jerome. In person he was above middle height, strongly made and well-proportioned, but in his later years inclined to stoutness. His manners were rough and his temper irritable, but he possessed much kindliness and strong affection. There is a portrait of him in the 'Dublin University Magazine.'

[Dublin University Magazine for January 1847.] W. B. S.

**BUNTING, JABEZ** (1779-1858), Wesleyan Methodist minister, the only son of William Bunting of Monyash, Derbyshire, a tailor in Manchester, and Mary Redfern, was born in Manchester on 13 May 1779.

After being at several minor schools, he went at Christmas 1791 to that of Thomas Broadhurst. At this school Jabez made friends with Edward Cropper, son of Thomas Percival, M.D., an Arian dissenter, chief founder of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, 1781. Percival took notice of Bunting, received him for four years into his family without fee as medical pupil and amanuensis, made arrangements for his graduation abroad free of expense, and promised to introduce him to good practice in Manchester. But Bunting's own wishes coincided with those of his now widowed mother, and he entered the methodist ministry. He began to preach on 12 Aug. 1798, in his twentieth year, and was received into the ministry on trial in 1799. In 1803 he was received into full connexion as a minister at Oldham Street chapel, Manchester. He was first stationed at Oldham, then at Macclesfield (1801), London (1808), Manchester (1805), Sheffield (1807), Liverpool (1809), Halifax (1811), Leeds (1813), London (1815); Manchester (1824), Liverpool (1830), and finally, from 1833, at the headquarters of the denomination in London, where he filled the chief posts of influence and authority. As a preacher he soon acquired considerable reputation. He was elected assistant secretary in 1806, secretary to the conference and a member of the legal hundred in 1814, and filled the president's chair in 1820, 1828, 1836, and 1844. In 1833 he was made senior secretary of the Missionary Society, and in 1835 president of the Theological Institute. The university of Aberdeen made him M.A. in 1818; the Middleton University, U.S.A., made him D.D. in 1835. Bunting was a born disciplinarian, and with some justice has been called the second founder of methodism. In ecclesiastical polity he regarded himself as giving effect to the views of William Thompson, first president of conference after Wesley's death. He completed the detachment of methodism from its Anglican base; he found it a society and consolidated it into a church. Under Bunting's legislation the methodist organisation tended more and more to place laymen in equal number with ministers upon every connexional committee (ARTHUR). His policy had opponents from both sides. Bunting gave to methodism the machinery of self-government, thus permanently securing a great constitutional advance upon the simple autocracy of Wesley; but while he lived he guided the machine with a hand which never relaxed its firmness. In spite of secessions to old splits, Bunting held on his way, undisturbed in his singleness of aim. On the death of Richard Watson, Bunting was

placed at the head of the Wesleyan missions. Here his practical sagacity and his genius for administration had full scope. He greatly enlarged the operations, enriched the resources, and deepened the success of methodism in the mission field. The work was peculiarly to his taste. He had early offered his own services as a missionary to India, but the conference kept him at home. Nor was he at all insensible to the political opportunities of his body. He was always friendly to the establishment. His attachment was to principles rather than to parties, but there was no more strenuous advocate of political freedom and religious liberty as he understood them. In many respects his position resembled that of a general of one of the great religious orders, directing the action of a religious corporation whose ramifications extend to all parts of the globe. He controlled the spiritual interests of half a million of people and received the emoluments of a curate. 'From the great connexion for which he has lived his sole revenue is a furnished house, coals, candles, and one hundred and fifty pounds a year' (ARTHUR). He died on 16 June 1858 at his residence, 30 Myddelton Square, and was buried at City Road, where there is a monument in the chapel to his memory. He was twice married: first, on 24 Jan. 1804, to Sarah Maclardie of Macclesfield (born 26 Feb. 1782, died 29 Sept. 1835); secondly, in 1837, to Mrs. Martin (*née* Green) of Holcombe, Somersetshire, who survived him. His family consisted of four sons and three daughters; his eldest son was William Maclardie Bunting [q.v.]

From 1821 to 1824 he superintended the connexional literature, but his only publications were: 1. Two sermons. One preached before the Sunday School Union in 1805; the second upon 'Justification by faith' at Leeds in 1812 (the seventh edition of the last in 1847). 2. The 'Memorials of the late Rev. Richard Watson,' 1833, 8vo. 3. 'Speech of the Rev. Dr. Bunting . . . in reference to the Government Scheme of National Education, &c.,' Manchester, 1839, 8vo. 4. 'Mormonism,' 1853, 8vo (the introduction is by Bunting). Nos. 1 and 2 are included in two volumes of posthumous sermons, edited by his eldest son, 1861-2, 8vo (portrait). He edited the seventh edition, Liverpool, n. d. (preface dated Leeds, 15 Feb. 1815), of Cruden's 'Concordance,' with brief memoir; also 'Memoirs of the early Life of William Cowper, written by himself, and never before published,' &c., 1816, 8vo.

[Life by T. P. Bunting, 1859, vol. i. (two portraits); Annual Register for 1858, p. 418; Sketch by W. Arthur, 1849 (from the Watch-



man newspaper); Evans's Sketch (Bransby), 1842, pp. 201 sq.; Binns's Methodism since Wesley (Theol. Rev. January 1876, pp. 48 sq.); Angus Smith's Centenary of Science in Manchester, 1883, pp. 15 sq.; Memorials of the late Rev. W. M. Bunting, edited by G. S. Rowe, biography by T. P. Bunting, 1870; tombstone at St. James's, George Street, Manchester; information from T. Percival Bunting, esq.] A. G.

**BUNTING, WILLIAM MACLARDIE** (1805-1866), Wesleyan minister, the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Jabez Bunting [q.v.] by his first wife, Sarah Maclardie, was born at Manchester on 23 Nov. 1805. He was educated at the Wesleyan schools at Woodhouse Grove, near Leeds, and Kingswood, and at the grammar-school of St. Saviour's, Southwark, under Dr. William Fancourt, and at the early age of eighteen began his course as a preacher. In 1824 he was admitted a probationer, and in 1828 was 'received in full connexion with the conference.' He continued his itinerancy until his forty-fourth year, when his health broke down, and he became a supernumerary minister. For many years he took an active part in the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance, and was for some time one of its honorary secretaries. He held a similar post in the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. He died at his residence, Highgate Rise, 13 Nov. 1866. He was a contributor to the 'Wesleyan Methodist Magazine,' and in 1842 edited the 'Select Letters of Mrs. Agnes Bulmer, author of Messiah's Kingdom, &c.' After his death a selection of his sermons, letters, hymns, and miscellaneous poetical writings was published, with a portrait, and a biographical introduction by his younger brother, in which his character as a preacher, full of thought and tenderness, and a man of strong personal conviction, yet of liberality of mind and action, is sketched.

[Memorials of the late Rev. William M. Bunting, being selections from his sermons, letters, and poems, edited by the Rev. G. Stringer Rowe, with a Biographical Introduction by Thomas Percival Bunting, 1870.] C. W. S.

**BUNYAN, JOHN** (1628-1688), author of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' 'Holy War,' 'Grace abounding,' &c., was born at the village of Elstow, Bedfordshire, a little more than a mile south of the town of Bedford, in November 1628. His baptism is recorded in the parish register of Elstow on the 30th of that month. The family of Buignon, Bunium, Bonyon, or Binyan (the name is found spelt in no fewer than thirty-four different ways), had been settled in the county of Bedford from very early times. Their first place of settle-

ment appears to have been the parish of Pulloxhill, about nine miles from John Bunyan's native village. In 1199 one William Bunium held land at Wilstead, a mile from Elstow. In 1327 one of the same name, probably his descendant, William Bonyon, was living at the hamlet of Harrowden, at the south-eastern boundary of the parish, close to the very spot which tradition marks out as John Bunyan's birthplace, and which the local names of 'Bunyan's End,' 'Bunyan's Walk,' and 'Farther Bunyan's' (as old, certainly, as the middle of the sixteenth century) connect beyond all question with the Bunyan family. A field known as 'Bonyon's End' was sold in 1548 by 'Thomas Bonyon of Elstow, labourer,' son of William Bonyon, to Robert Curtis, and other portions of his ancestral property gradually passed to other purchasers, little being left to descend to John Bunyan's grandfather, Thomas Bunyan (*d.* 1641), save the 'cottage or tenement' in which he carried on the occupation of 'petty chapman,' or small retail trader. This, in his still extant will, he bequeathed to his second wife, Ann, and after her death to her stepson Thomas and her son Edward in equal shares. Thomas, the elder son, the father of the subject of this biography, was married three times, the first time (10 Jan. 1623) when only in his twentieth year, his second and third marriages occurring within a few months of his being left a widower. John Bunyan was the first child by his second marriage, which took place on 23 May 1627. The maiden name of his second wife was Margaret Bentley. She, like her husband, was a native of Elstow, and was born in the same year with him, 1603. A year after her marriage, her sister Rose became the wife of her husband's younger half-brother, Edward. The will of John Bunyan's maternal grandmother, Mary Bentley (*d.* 1632), with its 'Dutch-like picture of an Elstow cottage interior two hundred and fifty years ago,' proves (J. BROWN, *Biography of John Bunyan*), to which we are indebted for all these family details) that his mother 'came not of the very squalid poor, but of people who, though humble in station, were yet decent and worthy in their ways.' John Bunyan's father, Thomas Bunyan, was what we should now call a whitesmith, a maker and mender of pots and kettles. In his will he designates himself a 'brasier;' his son, who carried on the same trade and adopted the same designation when describing himself, is more usually styled a 'tinker.' Neither of them, however, belonged to the vagrant tribe, but had a settled home at Elstow, where their forge and workshop were, though they

doubtless travelled the country round in search of jobs. Contemporary literature depicts the tinker's craft as disreputable; but we must distinguish between the vagrant and the steady handicraftsmen, dwelling in their own freehold tenements, such as the Bunyans evidently were. Bunyan, in his intense self-depreciation, writes: 'My descent was of a low and inconsiderable generation, my father's house being of that rank that is meanest and most despised of all the families of the land.' This is certainly not language that we should be disposed to apply to a family which had from time immemorial occupied the same freehold, and made testamentary dispositions of their small belongings. The antiquity of the family in Bunyan's native county effectually disposes of the strange hallucination which even Sir Walter Scott was disposed to favour, that the Bunyans, 'though reclaimed and settled,' may have sprung from the gipsy tribe. Bunyan's parents sent their son to school, either to the recently founded Bedford grammar school, or, which is more probable, to some humbler school at Elstow. He learned reading and writing 'according to the rate of other poor men's children.' 'I never went to school,' he writes, 'to Aristotle or Plato, but was brought up at my father's house in a very mean condition, among a company of poor countrymen.' And what little he learned, he confesses with shame, when he was called from his primer and copy-book to help his father at his trade, was soon lost, 'even almost utterly.' In his sixteenth year (June 1644) Bunyan suffered the irreparable misfortune of the loss of his mother, which was aggravated by his father marrying a second wife within two months of her decease. The arrival of a stepmother seems to have estranged Bunyan from his home, and to have led to his enlisting as a soldier. The civil war was then drawing near the end of its first stage. Bedfordshire was distinctly parliamentary in its sympathies. In the west it was cut off from any communication with the royalists by a strong line of parliamentary posts. These circumstances lead to the conclusion that a Bedfordshire lad was more likely to be found in the parliamentary than in the royalist forces. This is Lord Macaulay's conclusion, and is supported by Bunyan's latest and most painstaking biographer, the Rev. J. Brown. Mr. Froude, on the other hand, together with Mr. Offer and Mr. Copner, holds that 'probability is on the side of his having been with the royalists.' As there is not a tittle of evidence either way, the question can never be absolutely settled. But we hold, against Mr. Froude, that all probability points to the parliamen-

tary force as that in which Bunyan served. In all likelihood, on his attaining the regulation age of sixteen, which he did in November 1644, he was one of the 'able and armed men' whom the parliament commanded his native county to send 'for soldiers' to the central garrison of Newport Pagnel, and included in one of the levies. The army was disbanded in 1646. Before this occurred Bunyan's providential preservation from death, which, according to his anonymous biographer, 'was a frequent subject of thankful reference by him in later years.' 'When I was a soldier,' he says, 'I, with others, was drawn out to go to such a place to besiege it. But when I was just ready to go, one of the company desired to go in my room; to which when I consented, he took my place, and coming to the siege, as he stood sentinel he was shot in the head with a musket bullet and died.' Bunyan gives no hint as to the locality of the siege; but, on the faith of a manifestly incorrect account of the circumstance in an anonymous life, published after his death, it has been currently identified with Leicester, which we know to have been taken by the royalist forces in 1645; and in direct contradiction to Bunyan's own words—for he says plainly that he stayed behind, and a comrade went in his room—he is described, and that even by Macaulay, as having taken part in the siege, either as a royalist assailant or as a parliamentary defender. Wherever the siege may have been, it is certain that Bunyan was not there. When the forces were disbanded, Bunyan must have returned to his native village and resumed his paternal trade. He 'presently afterwards changed his condition into a married state.' With characteristic reticence Bunyan gives neither the name of his wife nor the date of his marriage; but it seems to have occurred at the end of 1648 or the beginning of 1649, when he was not much more than twenty. He and his wife were 'as poor as poor might be,' without 'so much household stuff as a dish or spoon between them.' But his wife came of godly parents, and brought two pious books of her father's to her new home, the reading of which awakened the slumbering sense of religion in Bunyan's heart, and produced an external change of habits. Up to this time, though by no means what would be called 'a bad character'—for he was no drunkard, nor licentious—Bunyan was a gay, daring young fellow, whose chief delight was in dancing, bell-ringing, and in all kinds of rural sports and pastimes, the ring-leader of the village youth at wake or merry-making, or in the Sunday sports after service time on the green. As a boy he had acquired the habit of profane swearing, in which he be-

came such an adept as to shock those who were far from scrupulous in their language as 'the ungodliest fellow for swearing they ever heard.' All this the influence of his young wife and her good books gradually changed. One by one he felt himself compelled to give up all his favourite pursuits and pastimes. He left off his habit of swearing at once and entirely. He was diligent in his attendance at services and sermons, and in reading the Bible, at least the narrative portions. The doctrinal and practical part, 'Paul's epistles and such like scriptures,' he 'could not away with.' The reformation was real, though as yet superficial, and called forth the wonder of his neighbours. 'In outward things,' writes Lord Macaulay, 'he soon became a strict Pharisee;' 'a poor painted hypocrite,' he calls himself. For a time he was well content with himself. 'I thought no man in England could please God better than I.' But his self-satisfaction did not last long. The insufficiency of such a merely outward change was borne in upon him by the spiritual conversation of a few poor women whom he overheard one day when pursuing his tinker's craft at Bedford, 'sitting at a door in the sun and talking about the things of God.' Though by this time somewhat of 'a brisk talker on religion,' he found himself a complete stranger to their inner experience. This conversation was the beginning of the tremendous spiritual conflict described by him with such graphic power in his 'Grace abounding.' It lasted some three or four years, at the end of which, in 1653, he joined the nonconformist body, to which these poor godly women belonged. This body met for worship in St. John's Church, Bedford, of which the 'holy Mr. Gifford,' once a loose young officer in the royal army, had been appointed rector in the same year. His temptations ceased, his spiritual conflict was over, and he entered on a peace which was rendered all the more precious by the previous mental agony. The sudden alternations of hope and fear, the fierce temptations, the torturing illusions, the strange perversions of isolated texts, the harassing doubts of the truth of christianity, the depths of despair and the elevations of joy through which he passed are fully described 'as with a pen of fire' in that marvellous piece of religious autobiography, unrivalled save by the 'Confessions' of St. Augustine, his 'Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners.' Bunyan was at this time still resident at Elstow, where his blind child Mary and his second daughter Elizabeth were born. It was probably in 1655 that Bunyan removed to Bedford. Here he soon lost the wife to whose piety he had owed so much,

and about the same time his pastor and friend, the 'holy Mr. Gifford.' His own health also suffered; he was threatened with consumption, but his naturally robust constitution carried him safely through what at one time he expected would have been a fatal illness. In 1655 Bunyan, who had been chosen one of the deacons, began to exercise his gift of exhortation, at first privately, and as he gained courage and his ministry proved acceptable 'in a more publick way.' In 1657 his calling as a preacher was formally recognised, and he was set apart to that office, 'after solemn prayer and fasting,' another member being appointed deacon in his room, 'brother Bunyan being taken off by preaching the gospel.' His fame as a preacher soon spread. When it was known that the once blaspheming tinker had turned preacher, they flocked 'by hundreds, and that from all parts,' to hear him, though, as he says, 'upon sundry and divers accounts'—some to marvel, some to mock, but some with an earnest desire to profit by his words. After his ordination Bunyan continued to pursue his trade as a brasier, combining with it the exercise of his preaching gifts as occasion served in the various villages visited by him, 'in woods, in barns, on village greens, or in town chapels.' Opposition was naturally aroused among the settled ministry by such remarkable popularity. 'All the midland counties,' writes Mr. Froude, 'heard of his fame and demanded to hear him.' In some places, as at Meldreth and Yelden, at the latter of which he had preached on Christmas day by the permission of the rector, Dr. William Dell, master of Gonville and Caius, the pulpits of the churches were opened to him; in other places the incumbents of the parishes were his bitterest enemies. They, in the words of Mr. Henry Deane when defending Bunyan against the attacks of Dr. T. Smith, keeper of the university library at Cambridge, were 'angry with the tinker because he strove to mend souls as well as kettles and pans.' 'When I went first to preach the word abroad,' he writes, 'the doctors and priests of the country did open wide against me.'

In 1658 he was indicted at the assizes for preaching at Eaton Socon, but with what result is unrecorded. He was called 'a witch, a jesuit, a highwayman;' he was charged with keeping 'his misses,' with 'having two wives at once,' and other equally absurd and groundless accusations. His career as an author now began. His earliest work, 'Some Gospel Truths opened,' published at Newport Pagnel in 1656, with a commendatory letter by his pastor, John Burton, was a protest against the mysticism of the teaching

of the quakers. Having been answered by Edward Burrough [q. v.], an ardent and somewhat foul-mouthed member of that sect, Bunyan replied the next year in 'A Vindication of Gospel Truths,' in which he repays his antagonist in his own coin, calling him 'a gross railing Rabshakeh,' who 'befools himself,' and proves his complete ignorance of the gospel. Like the former work it is written in a very nervous style, showing a great command of plain English, as well as a thorough acquaintance with Holy Scripture. A third book was published by Bunyan in 1658 on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, under the horror-striking title of 'Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of a Damned Soul.' It issued from the press a few days before Cromwell's death. In this work, as its title would suggest, Bunyan gives full scope to his vivid imagination in describing the condition of the lost. It contains many touches of racy humour, especially in his similes, and the whole is written in the nervous, forcible English of which he was master.

On the Restoration the old acts against nonconformists were speedily revived. The meeting-houses were closed. All persons were required under severe penalties to attend their parish church. The ejected clergy were reinstated. It became an illegal act to conduct divine service except in accordance with the ritual of the church, or for one not in episcopal orders to address a congregation. Bunyan continued his ministrations in barns, in private houses, under the trees, wherever he found brethren ready to pray and hear. So daring and notorious an offender was not likely to go long unpunished. Within six months of Charles's landing he was arrested, on 12 Nov. 1660, at the little hamlet of Lower Samsell by Harlington, about thirteen miles from Bedford to the south, where he was going to hold a religious service in a private house. The issuing of the warrant had become known, and Bunyan might have escaped if he had been so minded, but he was not the man to play the coward. If he fled, it would 'make an ill-savour in the county' and dishearten the weaker brethren. If he ran before a warrant, others might run before 'great words.' While he was conducting the service he was arrested and taken before Mr. Justice Wingate, who, though really desirous to release him, was compelled by his obstinate refusal to forbear preaching to commit him for trial to the county gaol, which, with perhaps a brief interval of enlargement in 1666, was to be his 'close and uncomfortable' place of abode for the next twelve years. The prison to which Bunyan

was committed was not, as an obstinate and widespread error has represented, the 'town gaol,' or rather lock-up house, which occupied one of the piers of the many-arched Ouse bridge, for the temporary incarceration of petty offenders against municipal law, but the county gaol, a much less confined and comfortless abode. A few weeks after his committal the quarter sessions for January 1661 were held at Bedford, and Bunyan was indicted for his offence. The proceedings seem to have been irregular. There was no desire on the part of the justices to deal hardly with the prisoner; but he confessed the indictment, and declared his determination to repeat the offence on the first opportunity. The justices had therefore no choice in the matter. They were bound to administer the law as it stood. So he was sentenced to a further three months' term of imprisonment, and if then he persisted in his contumacy he would be 'banished the realm,' and if he returned without royal license he would 'stretch by the neck for it.' Towards the end of the three months, with an evident desire to avoid proceeding to extremities, the clerk of the peace was sent to him by the justices to endeavour to induce him to conform. But, as might have been anticipated, all attempts to bend Bunyan's sturdy nature were vain. Every kind of compromise, however kindly and sensibly urged, was steadily refused. He would not substitute private exhortation, which might have been allowed him, for public preaching. 'The law,' he replied, 'had provided two ways of obeying—one to obey actively, and if he could not bring his conscience to that, then to suffer whatever penalty the law enacted.'

Three weeks later, 23 April 1661, the coronation of Charles II. afforded an opportunity of enlargement. All prisoners for every offence short of felony were to be released. Those who were waiting their trials might be dismissed at once. Those convicted and under sentence might sue out a pardon under the great seal at any time within the year. Bunyan failed to profit by the royal clemency. Although he had not been legally convicted, for no witnesses had been heard against him, nor had he pleaded to the indictment, his trial having been little more than a conversation between him and the court, the authorities chose to regard it as a legal conviction, rendering it necessary that a pardon should be sued for.

About a year before his apprehension at Samsell, Bunyan had taken a second wife, Elizabeth, to watch over his four little motherless children. This noble-hearted woman showed undaunted courage in seeking her

husband's release. She travelled to London with a petition to the House of Peers, from some of whom she met with kindly sympathy but little encouragement. 'The matter was one for the judges, not for them.' At the next midsummer assize, therefore, the poor woman on three several occasions presented her husband's formal request that he might be legally put on his trial and his case fully heard. Sir Matthew Hale, who was one of the judges of that assize, listened to her pitiful tale, and manifested much kind feeling. But he was powerless. 'Her husband had been duly convicted. She must either sue out his pardon, or obtain a writ of error.' Neither of these courses was adopted; and wisely so, for, as Mr. Froude remarks, 'a pardon would have been of no use to Bunyan because he was determined to persevere in disobeying a law which he considered to be unjust. The most real kindness which could be shown him was to leave him where he was.' At the next spring assizes, in 1662, a strenuous effort was again made to get his case brought into court. This again failed. After this he seems to have desisted from any further attempt, and, with a slight interval in 1666, he remained in prison, not altogether unhappily, till 1672, twelve years from his first committal. The character of his imprisonment varied with the disposition of his gaolers. During the earlier part of the time he was allowed to follow his wonted course of preaching, 'taking all occasions to visit the people of God,' and even going to 'see Christians in London.' The Bedford church books show that he was frequently present at church meetings during some periods of his imprisonment. Such indulgence, however, was plainly irregular. Its discovery nearly cost the gaoler his place, and brought on Bunyan a much more rigorous confinement. He was forbidden 'even to look out at the door.' For seven years out of the twelve, 1661-8, his name never occurs in the records of the church. In 1666, after six years of prison life, 'by the intercession of some in trust and power that took pity upon his suffering,' Bunyan was released. But in a few weeks he was arrested once more for his former offence, at a meeting, and returned to his former quarters for another six years. Being precluded by his imprisonment from carrying on his trade, he betook himself, for the support of his family, to making long tagged laces, many hundred gross of which he sold to the hawkers. Nor was 'the word of God bound.' The gaol afforded him the opportunity of exercising his ministerial gifts forbidden outside its walls. Many of his co-religionists from time to time were his fel-

low-prisoners, at one time as many as sixty. He gave religious instruction and preached to his fellow-prisoners, and furnished spiritual counsel to persons who were allowed to visit him. Some of his prison sermons were the rough drafts of subsequent more elaborate publications. His two chief companions were the Bible and Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs.' Bunyan, as we have seen, had ventured on authorship before his imprisonment. The enforced leisure of a gaol gave him abundant opportunity for its pursuit. Books and tracts, some in prose, some in verse, were produced by his fertile pen with great rapidity. His first prison book was in metre—we can hardly call it poetry—entitled 'Profitable Meditations,' in the form of dialogue, and has 'small literary merit of any sort' (BROWN, p. 172). This was followed by 'Praying in the Spirit,' written in 1662 and published in 1663; 'Christian Behaviour,' written and published in the same year; the 'Four Last Things' and 'Ebal and Gerizim,' both in verse, the 'Holy City,' the 'Resurrection of the Dead,' and 'Prison Meditations,' a reply in verse to a friend who had written to him in prison, which all appeared between 1663 and 1665. These minor productions were succeeded by his 'Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners,' one of the three books by which Bunyan's name is chiefly known, which will ever hold a high place among records of spiritual experience. This appeared in 1666. About this time took place the few months' release from prison previously alluded to. Our knowledge of this second six years' incarceration is almost a blank. Even his literary activity appears to have suffered a temporary paralysis. It was not till 1672 that his 'Defence of Justification by Faith' appeared. This was a vehement attack on the 'brutish and beastly latitudinarianism' of the 'Design of Christianity,' a book written by the Rev. Edward Fowler [q. v.], rector of Northill, which had recently attained great popularity, and which Richard Baxter also deemed worthy of a reply. Fowler's book seemed to Bunyan to aim a deadly blow at the very foundations of the gospel, and he took no pains to conceal his abhorrence of the attempt. With 'a ferocity' that, as Lord Macaulay has said, 'nothing can justify,' he assails the book and its author with a shower of vituperative epithets savouring of the earlier stage in his career when he was notorious for the bold license of his talk. He describes Fowler as 'rotten at heart,' 'heathenishly dark,' 'a prodigious blasphemer,' 'dropping venom from his pen,' 'an ignorant Sir John,' one of 'a gang of rabbling, counterfeit clergy,' 'like apes covering their shame with their tail.'

An anonymous reply, entitled 'Dirt wip't off,' supposed to be the joint production of Fowler and his curate, appeared the same year, almost rivalling Bunyan in the mastery of abusive epithets. Bunyan's last work before his enlargement, written in the early part of 1672, was the 'Confession of my Faith and Reason of my Practice.' Its object was to vindicate his teaching and if possible to secure his liberty. That the imperishable allegory on which Bunyan's claim to immortality chiefly rests, the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' was also written in prison, we know on Bunyan's own authority. The 'den' in which he dreamed his wonderful dream is identified by himself, in the third or first complete edition of 1679, with 'the gaol.' That this gaol was the strait and unwholesome lock-up house on Bedford bridge was long accepted as an undoubted fact. When it was shown that being a county prisoner it was impossible for him to have passed his twelve years' captivity in a town gaol intended for casual offenders, it was concluded that the county gaol, which was certainly the place of his incarceration, was also the place of the composition of the 'Pilgrim's Progress.' This conclusion has been recently called in question by the Rev. J. Brown, who gives reasons for believing that the composition of the allegory belongs to a short six months' confinement, which, according to the story told by his anonymous biographer, and confirmed by Charles Doe, he was subjected to at a later period. The date of this imprisonment is fixed by Mr. Brown as 1675, and, according to the account preserved in Asty's 'Life of Owen,' he was released from it by the intervention of Dr. Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, whose diocese then included the county of Bedford. The strongest argument in support of Mr. Brown's view is the improbability that if the 'Pilgrim's Progress' had been written during the twelve years' imprisonment which came to an end in 1672, it should have remained six years unpublished, the first edition not appearing till 1678. It was not Bunyan's way to keep his works so long in manuscript. Besides, in the author's poetical 'Apology for his Book,' his account of its composition and publication suggests that there was no such prolonged interval as the common accounts represent.

Bunyan's twelve years' imprisonment came to an end in 1672. With the covert intent of setting up the Roman catholic religion in England, Charles II had suspended all penal statutes against nonconformists and popish recusants. Bunyan was one of those who profited by this infamous subterfuge. His pardon under the great seal bears date 13 Sept. 1672. This, however, was no more than the

official sanction of what had been already virtually granted and acted on. For Bunyan had received one of the first licenses to preach given by the royal authority, dated 9 May of that year, and had been called to the pastorate of the nonconformist congregation at Bedford, of which he had been so long a member, on the 21st of the preceding January. The church of St. John, which had been occupied by this congregation during the Protectorate, had, on the Restoration, returned to its rightful owners, and the place licensed for the exercise of Bunyan's ministry was a barn in the orchard belonging to a member of the body. This continued to be the place of meeting of the congregation until 1707, when a new chapel was erected on its site. Though Bunyan made Bedford the centre of his work, he extended his ministrations through the whole county, and even beyond its limits. One of his first acts after his liberation was to apply to the government for licenses for preachers and preaching places in the country round. Among these he made stated circuits, being playfully known as 'Bishop Bunyan,' his diocese being a large one, and, in spite of strenuous efforts at repression by the ecclesiastical authorities, steadily increasing in magnitude and importance. It is interesting to notice that Bunyan's father, the tinker of Elstow, lived on till 1676, being buried at Elstow on 7 Feb. of that year. In his will, while leaving a shilling apiece to his famous son and his three other children, he bequeathed all he had to his third wife, Ann, who survived him four years, and was buried in the same churchyard as her husband on 25 Sept. 1680.

Bunyan's active ministerial labours did not interfere with his literary work; this continued as prolific as when writing was almost the only relief from the tedium of his confinement. Besides minor works, in 1676 appeared the 'Strait Gate,' directed against an inconsistent profession of Christianity by those who, in his graphic language, can 'throw stones with both hands, alter their religion as fast as their company, can live in water and out of water, run with the hare and kill with the hounds, carry fire in one hand and water in the other, very anythings.' This was succeeded in 1678 by the first edition of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' and in the same year by the second, and the next year by the third, each with very important additions, including some of the best-known and most characteristic personages, such as Mr. Worldly Wiseman, Mr. By-ends and his family, and Mrs. Diffidence, the wife of Giant Despair. 'Come and welcome to Jesus Christ,' 'with its musical title and soul-moving pleas,' was published in 1678, and his 'Treatise of the

Fear of God' in 1679. The next year gave to the world one of Bunyan's most characteristic works, 'The Life and Death of Mr. Badman,' which, though now almost forgotten, and too disagreeable in its subject and its boldly drawn details to be altogether wholesome reading, displays Bunyan's inventive genius as powerfully as the universally popular 'Pilgrim,' of which, as Bunyan intended it to be, it is the strongly drawn contrast and foil. The one gives a picture of a man 'in the rank of English life with which Bunyan was most familiar,' to quote Mr. Froude, 'a vulgar, middle-class, unprincipled scoundrel,' 'travelling along the primrose path to the everlasting bonfire,' while the other sets before us a man essentially of the same social rank, fleeing from the wrath to come, and making his painful way 'to Emmanuel's Land through the Slough of Despond and the Valley of the Shadow of Death.' As a portrait of rough English country-town life in the days of Charles II, the later book is unapproached, save by the unsavoury tales of Defoe. 'The Life and Death of Mr. Badman' was followed, after a two years' interval, by Bunyan's second great work, 'The Holy War made by Shaddai upon Diabolus,' of which Macaulay has said, with somewhat exaggerated eulogy, that 'if there had been no "Pilgrim's Progress," the "Holy War" would have been the first of religious allegories.' There is a necessary unreality about the whole narrative as compared with Bunyan's former allegory. The characters are shadowy abstractions by the side of the 'representative realities' of the other work. With a truer estimate of the relative value of the two works, Mr. Froude says: "'The Holy War" would have entitled Bunyan to a place among the masters of English literature. It would never have made his name a household word in every English-speaking family in the globe.' Other works, notably the 'Barren Fig Tree' and 'The Pharisee and the Publican,' were given to the world in 1682 and the four succeeding years. In 1684 appeared the second part of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' completing the history of Christian's pilgrimage with that of his wife Christiana and her children, and her companion, the young maiden Mercy. Like most second parts of popular works, this shows a decided falling off. It is 'but a feeble reverberation of the first part. Christiana and her children are tolerated for the pilgrim's sake to whom they belong.' But it bears the stamp of Bunyan's genius, and not a few of the characters, Old Honest, Mr. Valiant-for-the-Truth, Mr. Despondency and his daughter Miss Much-afraid, and the 'young woman whose name

was Dull,' have a vitality that can never decay.

There is little more to notice in Bunyan's life. His activity was ceaseless, but 'the only glimpses we get of him during this time are from the church records, and these were but scantily kept,' and are quite devoid of public interest, chiefly dealing with the internal discipline of the body. Troublous times fell upon nonconformists. The Declaration of Indulgence was withdrawn the same year it was issued. The Test Act became law the next year (1673). In 1675 the acts against nonconformists were put in force. Bunyan's preaching journeys were not always free from risk. There is a tradition that he visited Reading disguised as a waggoner, with a long whip in his hand, to escape detection. But he continued free from active molestation, with the exception of the somewhat hazy imprisonment placed by Mr. Brown in 1675. In Mr. Froude's words, 'he abstained, as he had done steadily throughout his life, from all interference with politics, and the government in turn never meddled with him.' He frequently visited London to preach, always getting large congregations. Twelve hundred would come together to hear him at seven o'clock on a weekday morning in winter. When he preached on a Sunday, the meeting-house would not contain the throng, half being obliged to go away. A sermon delivered by him at Pinners' Hall in Old Broad Street was the basis of one of his theological works. He was on intimate terms with Dr. John Owen, who, when Charles II expressed his astonishment that so learned a divine could listen to an illiterate tinker, is recorded to have replied that he would gladly give up all his learning for the tinker's power of reaching the heart. In the year of his death he was chaplain, though perhaps unofficially, to Sir John Shorter, then lord mayor of London. He did not escape temptation to leave Bedford for posts of greater influence and dignity; but all such offers he steadily refused, as he did any opportunities of pecuniary gain for himself and his family, quietly staying at his post through all 'changes of ministry, popish plots, and Monmouth rebellions, while the terror of a restoration of popery was bringing on the revolution, careless of kings and cabinets' (FROUDE, p. 174). When James II was endeavouring to remodel the corporations, Bunyan was pointed out as a likely instrument for carrying out the royal purpose in the corporation of Bedford. It seems that some place under government was offered as the price of his consent; but he declined all such overtures, and refused to see the bringer of them, though by no means un-

willing to give his aid in securing the repeal of the penal laws and tests under which he and his flock had so long smarted. This was in November 1687, barely twelve months before James's abdication. Three years before he had felt it so possible that he might be called again to suffer for conscience' sake under these same laws, that he executed a deed of gift, dated 23 Dec. 1685, making over all his worldly possessions to his wife, Elizabeth Bunyan.

Bunyan did not live to see the revolution. His death took place in 1688, four months after the acquittal of the seven bishops. In the spring of that year he had been enfeebled by an attack of 'sweating sickness.' He caught a severe cold on a ride through heavy rain to London from Reading, whither he had gone to effect a reconciliation between a father and a son. A fever ensued, and he died on 31 Aug. at the house of his friend John Strudwick, who kept a grocer's and chandler's shop at the sign of the Star, Holborn Bridge, two months before he had completed his sixtieth year. He continued his literary activity to the last. Four books from his pen had been published in the first half of the year, and he partly revised the sheets of a short treatise entitled 'The Acceptable Sacrifice' on his deathbed. He was buried in Mr. Strudwick's vault in the burial-ground in Bunhill Fields, Finsbury. His personal estate was sworn under 100*l*.

Bunyan was the father of six children, four by his first wife, and two by the second. His elder child Mary, his blind child (born in 1650), of whom he writes in the 'Grace abounding' with such exquisite tenderness, died before her father. His children, John, Thomas, and Elizabeth by his first wife, and Sarah and Joseph by his second wife, survived him. His heroic wife lived only a year and a half after him, and died early in 1691. The only known representatives of Bunyan are the descendants of his youngest daughter Sarah. In 1686, two years before her father's death, she had married her fellow-parishioner, William Browne, and her descendants form a rather numerous and widespread clan.

Bunyan's personal appearance is thus described by a contemporary: 'He was tall of stature, strong-boned though not corpulent, somewhat of a ruddy face with sparkling eyes, wearing his hair on his upper lip after the old British fashion; his hair reddish, but in his latter days had sprinkled with grey; his nose well-set, but not declining or bending, and his mouth moderately large, his forehead something high, and his habit always plain and modest.' Another contemporary

writes: 'His countenance was grave and sedate, and did so to the life discover the inward frame of his heart, that it was convincing to the beholders, and did strike something of awe into them that had nothing of the fear of God.' A third thus describes his manner and bearing: 'He appeared in countenance to be of a stern and rough temper, but in his conversation mild and affable, not given to loquacity or much discourse in company, unless some urgent occasion required it, observing never to boast of himself in his parts, but rather seem low in his own eyes, and submit himself to the judgment of others.'

The works left in manuscript at Bunyan's death were given to the world by his devoted friend and admirer, the good, simple-minded combmaker by London Bridge, Charles Doe, who soon after his decease set about a folio edition of his collected works as 'the best work he could do for God.' The first volume, published in 1692, contained ten of these posthumous books, most of which had been prepared for the press by Bunyan himself. These were followed by the 'Heavenly Footman,' one of the most characteristic of Bunyan's works, published by Doe in 1698, and by the 'Account of his Imprisonment,' that invaluable supplement to his biography, which was not given to the world till 1765. Doe's second intended folio was never published. The first complete collected edition of Bunyan's works, containing twenty-seven in addition to the twenty previously published by Doe, appeared in 1736, edited by Samuel Wilson of the Barbican. A third issue of the collected works was published in two volumes folio in 1767, with a preface by George Whitefield. Other editions of the whole works are that by Alexander Hogg, in six volumes 8vo, in 1780; that by Mr. G. Offor, in three volumes imperial 8vo, in 1853, revised in 1862; and that by the Rev. H. Stebbing, in four volumes imperial 8vo, in 1859.

The following is a list of Bunyan's works, arranged in chronological succession, based on that drawn up by Charles Doe and annexed to the first issue of the 'Heavenly Footman' in 1698. The full titles are not given, which in some cases extend to ten or a dozen lines: 1. 'Some Gospel Truths opened,' 1656. 2. 'A Vindication of "Some Gospel Truths opened,"' same year. 3. 'A few Sighs from Hell, or the Groans of a Damned Soul,' 1658. 4. 'The Doctrine of the Law and Grace unfolded,' 1659. All the preceding were published previous to his imprisonment. The first book written by him in prison was in verse: 5. 'Profitable



Meditations, fitted to Man's different Conditions. In nine particulars' (no date). 6. 'I will pray with the Spirit and with the Understanding also,' 1663. 7. 'Christian Behaviour; being the Fruits of True Christianity,' 1663. 8, 9, 10. 'The Four Last Things,' 'Ebal and Gerizim,' and 'Prison Meditations.' All in verse, and published in one volume. The date of the first edition is not known. 11. 'The Holy City,' 1665. 12. 'The Resurrection of the Dead and Eternal Judgment,' 1665. 13. 'Grace abounding to the Chief of Sinners,' 1666. 14. 'Defence of the Doctrine of Justification by Faith,' 1672. 15. 'Confession of Faith,' 1672. These two were the last books published by him in prison. His release was speedily followed by: 16. 'Difference of Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion,' 1673. 17. 'Peaceable Principles and True' (a rejoinder to attacks on the preceding work), 1674. 18. 'Reprobation asserted, or the Doctrine of Eternal Election promiscuously handled' (no date). This work, though accepted by Charles Doe and inserted by him in the catalogue of Bunyan's works, and included by Hogg and Offor in their collected editions, is rejected by Mr. Brown on internal evidence of style and substance, but hardly perhaps on sufficient grounds. 19. 'Light for them that sit in Darkness,' 1675. 20. 'Instruction for the Ignorant, or a Salve to heal that great want of knowledge which so much reigns in Old and Young,' 1675. A 'Catechism for Children,' written in prison, but not published till after his release. 21. 'Saved by Grace,' 1675. 22. 'The Strait Gate, or the great Difficulty of going to Heaven,' 1676. This is an expansion of a sermon on Luke xiii. 24, preached by Bunyan after his release. 23. 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' 1678. Two other editions with large additions appeared in the same and the following year, evidencing its rapid popularity. 24. 'Come and welcome to Jesus Christ,' 1678. The expansion of a sermon on John vi. 37. 25. 'A Treatise of the Fear of God,' 1679. 26. 'The Life and Death of Mr. Badman,' 1680. 27. 'The Holy War,' 1682. 28. 'The Barren Fig Tree, or the Doom and Downfall of the Fruitless Professors,' 1682. 29. 'The Greatness of the Soul,' 1683. Originally a sermon preached at Pinners' Hall, expanded. 30. 'A Case of Conscience resolved,' 1683. A curious little tract on the propriety of women meeting separately for prayer, &c., 'without their men.' 31. 'Seasonable Counsel or Advice to Sufferers,' 1684. 32. 'A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity,' 1684. 33. 'A Caution to stir up to Watch against Sin,' 1684. A half-sheet broadside poem in sixteen stanzas.

34. 'The second part of the Pilgrim's Progress,' 1684. 35. 'Questions about the Nature and Perpetuity of the Seventh-day Sabbath,' 1685. 36. 'The Pharisee and the Publican,' 1685. 37. 'A Book for Boys and Girls, or Country Rhymes for Children,' in verse; or, as in later editions, 'Divine Emblems, or Temporal Things spiritualised,' 1686. 38. 'The Jerusalem Sinner saved, or Good News for the Vilest of Men,' 1688. 39. 'The Work of Jesus Christ as an Advocate,' 1688. 40. 'Discourse of the Building, Nature, Excellency, and Government of the House of God,' 1688. A poetical composition in twelve divisions. 41. 'The Water of Life,' 1688. 42. 'Solomon's Temple spiritualised, or Gospel-light fetched out of the Temple at Jerusalem,' in seventy particulars, 1688. 43. 'The Acceptable Sacrifice, or the Excellency of a Broken Heart,' the proofs of which were corrected by the author on his deathbed and published, with a preface, after his decease by his friend George Cokayn, 21 Sept. 1688. 44. His 'Last Sermon,' on John i. 13, preached on 19 Aug. 1688, two days before he sickened, and about twelve days before his death, was published from notes shortly after his decease. The 'Dying Sayings,' which appeared immediately after his death, bears internal evidence of being 'a compilation from various sources made in haste for some publisher with a shrewd eye to business and trading on the interest attaching to Bunyan's name' (BROWN). Posthumous publications.—Ten of these were contained in the folio edition of 1692, which had been prepared for the press by Bunyan himself: 45. 'An Exposition of the Ten first Chapters of Genesis and part of the Eleventh.' A fragment of an intended continuous commentary on the Holy Scriptures. 46. 'Justification by imputed Righteousness.' 47. 'Paul's Departure and Crown,' an expansion of a sermon on 2 Tim. iv. 6-8. 48. 'Israel's Hope encouraged,' a discourse on Ps. cxxx. 7. 49. 'The Desires of the Righteous granted,' a sermon on Prov. x. 24 and xi. 23. 50. 'The Saint's Privilege and Profit,' a treatise on prayer based on Heb. iv. 16. 51. 'Christ a Compleat Saviour,' a discourse on the intercession of Christ, on Heb. vii. 25. 52. 'The Saint's Knowledge of Christ's Love,' an exposition of St. Paul's prayer, Ephes. iii. 18-19. 53. 'The House of the Forest of Lebanon,' a discourse on 1 Kings vii. 2, in which by a fanciful and baseless analogy he makes this palace a type of the church under persecution. 54. 'Antichrist and her Ruin, and the Slaying of the Witnesses,' a work which singularly enough breathes the most profound loyalty to the sovereign, though that sovereign

was then doing all in his power to establish popery. To these ten posthumous works must be added: 55. 'The Heavenly Footman,' a discourse on 1 Cor. ix. 24, bought of Bunyan's eldest son, John, in 1691 by Charles Doe, and published by him in 1698. 56. The 'Relation of his Imprisonment,' which was not given to the world till 1765, a hundred years after it was written in Bedford gaol. Neither 57. 'The Christian Dialogue,' nor 58. 'The Pocket Concordance,' enumerated by Charles Doe, 'though diligently sought,' has been discovered. 59. The 'Scriptural Poems,' in which a far from unsuccessful attempt has been made to versify the histories of Joseph, Samson, Ruth, the Sermon on the Mount, and the Epistle of St. James, are regarded as spurious by Mr. Brown on the ground that they were unknown to Charles Doe and were not published till twelve years after Bunyan's death, and then by one Blare, who issued other certainly spurious works in Bunyan's name. The internal evidence he also regards as unfavourable to their genuineness: 'There is but little to remind us of Bunyan's special verse.' Mr. Froude's verdict on this point is altogether different: 'The "Book of Ruth" and the "History of Joseph" done into blank verse are really beautiful idylls, which if we found in the collected works of a poet laureate we should consider that a difficult task had been accomplished successfully, and the original grace completely preserved.'

[Bunyan's *Grace Abounding and Relation of his Imprisonment*; Doe's *The Struggler*; *Life and Actions of John Bunyan*, 1692; *Life of John Bunyan*, 1700; Southey's *Life of John Bunyan*, 1830; Lord Macaulay's *John Bunyan*, a Biography, 1853; Offor's *Life of John Bunyan*, 1862; *The Book of the Bunyan Festival*, edited by W. H. Wylie, 1874; *The Hero of Elstow*, 1874; Clarendon Press Series, *Bunyan*, by Precentor Venables, 1879; *English Men of Letters*, Bunyan, by J. A. Froude, 1880; Copner's *John Bunyan*, a Memoir, 1883; Brown's *John Bunyan*, his Life, Times, and Work, 1885.] E. V.

BURBAGE, JAMES (*d.* 1597), actor, and the first builder of a theatre in England, is often stated to have been a native of Stratford-on-Avon. A John Burbage was certainly bailiff of the town in 1556, and a family of the name was well known there throughout the sixteenth century. But when James's son Cuthbert applied for a grant of arms in 1634 he claimed to belong to a Hertfordshire family. The theory of the Stratford origin of the family has been chiefly maintained with a view to confirming the apocryphal story that Shakespeare and Richard Burbage [*q. v.*] were schoolfellows at Stratford grammar

school. James Burbage originally followed the trade of a joiner, and is often so designated in documents relating to his later life. The earliest mention made of him is in a patent dated 7 May 1574, authorising the Earl of Leicester's players to act in every part of the kingdom. Burbage's name heads the list. It is probable that he took part in the festivities at Kenilworth on the occasion of the queen's visit there in 1575. Leicester's company of players had been in existence since 1559, and although their names are given in no earlier document than that of 1574, Burbage had probably then been a member of the company for many years. On 13 April 1576 Burbage obtained from one Giles Allen a twenty-one years' lease of houses and land situated between Finsbury Fields and the public road from Bishopsgate and Shoreditch. Before the summer of 1577 Burbage had erected on part of this site the first building in this country specially intended for theatrical performances. Mr. Halliwell-Phillips states that the building, which was of 'wood and timber,' stood a 'little to the north of Holywell Lane, as nearly as possible on the site of what was [in 1885] Dean's Mews.' It went by the name of 'The Theatre,' and the earliest reference made to it is in an order (dated 1 Aug. 1577) of the lords of the council forbidding the continuance of performances there until after Michaelmas, on account of the plague. Burbage erected a number of houses on part of the ground, but in the immediate neighbourhood of the theatre he left wide open spaces, and the building was usually reached by a path across Finsbury Fields. Hisson Cuthbert stated in 1635 that his father 'was the first builder of play-houses and was himselfe in his younger yeeres a player. The Theater hee built with many hundred poundes taken up at interest' (HALLIWELL-PHILLIPS, 406). The success of Burbage's enterprise was very great, and his profits were large from the first, although another theatre—the Curtain—was erected in his immediate neighbourhood very soon after The Theatre was opened. The puritan preachers warmly denounced the iniquities of these two play-houses for twenty years, and the corporation of London frequently petitioned the privy council to suppress them on the twofold ground that the crowds who assembled there were likely, in times of plague, to spread contagion, and that vicious characters made the theatres their daily haunts. On 28 July 1597 the council in reply to the lord mayor ordered the owners of The Theatre and the Curtain to 'pluck down' their houses. But the edict was not enforced.

In 1596 Burbage determined to extend his

operations, or at any rate to make provisions against the termination of his twenty-one years' lease in Shoreditch. On 5 Feb. 1595-6 Sir William More of Loseley, Surrey, conveyed to him by a deed of feoffment part of a large house in Blackfriars, which Burbage resolved to convert into a playhouse to be called the Blackfriars Theatre. In November 1596 the neighbouring tenants appealed to the privy council to prohibit this conversion, but the appeal seems to have been unsuccessful, and the new playhouse was soon afterwards opened. Meanwhile Burbage had been endeavouring to obtain a renewal of his Shoreditch lease for ten years, in accordance (as he stated) with the original agreement. He was willing, 'in respect of the great proffit and commoditie which he had made and in time then to come was further likely to make of the Theatre and the other buildinges and growndes to him demised,' to pay 24*l.* a year, i.e. 10*l.* more than he had previously paid. But Giles Allen, the lessor, stipulated that the playhouse should only be applied to theatrical purposes for another five years. This stipulation was contested by Burbage, and he and his sons began a harassing lawsuit with Allen. But before the dispute had gone very far Burbage died (in the spring of 1597), and the suit was continued by his sons Richard [q. v.] and Cuthbert, to whom it seems certain that Burbage had made over the property by a deed of gift shortly before his death. Ultimately the fabric of the Theatre was removed from Shoreditch to the Bankside, either in December 1598 or in the following month, and re-erected as the Globe Theatre. Thus the erection of the three chief Elizabethan playhouses was due to Burbage's enterprise.

Gosson in his 'School of Abuse,' 1579, and his 'Playes confuted' (n. d.), mentions several plays, few of them now extant, that were performed at The Theatre under Burbage's management. Other authorities prove that the old play of 'Hamlet' (Lodge, *Wits Miserie*, 1596), and Marlowe's 'Faustus' (*Blacke Booke*, 1604) were part of his repertory. Tarleton, the comedian, seems to have made his reputation at The Theatre. The dramatic entertainments were occasionally exchanged for fencing matches.

Burbage married, before 1575, Ellen or Helen Braine, or Brayne, of London. His wife's father appears to have advanced money for the erection of The Theatre, on condition that a moiety of the property and of the profits were assigned him. After Brayne's death, Margaret, his widow and executrix, brought an action against Burbage in 1590 to compel him to carry out this contract. The suit lingered on for six years, and its result is not

known. Burbage had a house in Holywell Street, Shoreditch. The registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, prove that he had three daughters: Alice (baptised 11 March 1575-6), Joan (buried 18 Aug. 1582), and Helen (buried 13 Dec. 1595). He had two sons, Richard [q. v.], the famous actor, and Cuthbert, who has been persistently identified by Mr. Collier with Cuthbert Burby, a well-known printer and publisher of the time. The Stationers' Registers show, however, that this Cuthbert was the 'son of Edmund Burbie, late of Erlsey, in the county of Bedford, husbandman' (ARBER, *Transcript*, ii. 127).

[Halliwell-Phillipps's *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (1885), where most of the authentic extant legal documents relating to Burbage's purchases of property for theatrical purposes are printed at length, and where the dates of the erection of the playhouses are established for the first time; Collier's *Memoirs of the Elizabethan Actors* (1846), pp. 1-15, which must be used cautiously; Collier's *English Dramatic Poetry*, (1879), iii. 258, where many misleading statements are made.] S. L.

**BURBAGE, RICHARD** (1567?-1619), actor, was the son of James Burbage [q. v.], actor and theatrical manager, by his wife Ellen or Helen, daughter of John Braine or Brayne of London. Cuthbert was another son. The date of Richard's birth is unknown. The registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, the parish in which stood his father's house in Holywell Street, record the birth of a sister Alice (11 March 1575-6), but are silent respecting himself or his brother. He was, with his father and brother, defendant in a lawsuit brought against the elder Burbage by his wife's relations in 1590, and both sons must have then been of age. If Richard were the elder, he must have been a year or two more than twenty-one, and 1567 will perhaps prove to be about the correct date.

Burbage was doubtless associated with his father's profession from childhood, and made his début at James Burbage's Theatre in Shoreditch as a boy. Before 1588 he had secured some reputation on the stage, and seems to have joined the Earl of Leicester's company of players, which was long in high repute, and was subsequently known successively as the Earl of Derby's company, as the lord chamberlain's company, and after the accession of James I as the king's company. The well-known comedian, Richard Tarleton, a neighbour of Burbage's father in Holywell Street, was author of a rude dramatic piece entitled 'The Seven Deadlie Sins,' in which virtues and vices were represented in confusing alliance with historical

and mythological personages. In a manuscript (No. xix.) at Dulwich College ('The Platt of the second parte of the Seven Deadlie Sinns') the names of the actors and their parts are given, and two of the chief characters (King Gorboduc and Tereus) are assigned to 'R. Burbadge.' It is well ascertained that Burbage played Jeronimo in Kyd's bombastic tragedy of the name, which was produced about the time of the Spanish armada. At the close of the succeeding decade Burbage had gained the sobriquet of 'Roscius,' and had outstripped in popularity all his contemporaries on the stage. At Christmas 1594 he was summoned with two other members of his company, William Kempe [q. v.] and William Shakespeare, to act before the queen at Greenwich Palace; they played in two several interludes on 27 and 28 Dec., and received 20*l.* for their services. This is the earliest evidence of Burbage's association with the court. Numerous performances before Queen Elizabeth followed, and Shakespeare doubtless often accompanied Burbage on many subsequent professional visits to one or other of the royal palaces. In a warrant (issued under the privy seal on 17 May 1603) constituting the lord chamberlain's players the king's company, and authorising them to act what plays they pleased at the Globe Theatre in London or in the town-hall or moot-hall of any country town, the names of the actors in the company are given, and that of Burbage stands third on the list, Lawrence Fletcher and William Shakespeare preceding it.

There is evidence to show that the death of Burbage's father in 1597 left him with his brother Cuthbert and a sister proprietors of the Blackfriars Theatre. In 1635, many years after Richard's death, a dispute arose as to the ownership of the theatre, and Cuthbert, who survived his brother, together with Richard's living representatives, stated to the lord chamberlain (the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery) that the Blackfriars was the lawful inheritance of the two brothers and sister; that they leased it out at first to the 'Queene's Majesties Children of the Chappell,' but about 1609 they bought out the lessees, and installed in it the lord chamberlain's company, to which Burbage belonged. The chief members of this company, including Shakespeare, acquired shares in the profits of the playhouse, but throughout his life Richard Burbage apparently reserved a very large share for himself. The Blackfriars Theatre was not the only playhouse which James Burbage owned at his death. The Theatre in Shoreditch was also for a while the property of his heirs, but

in 1599 Richard and Cuthbert, harassed by the hostility of Giles Allen, the lessor of the ground on which the theatre stood, demolished the building with the aid of Peter Street, a carpenter, and removed the 'wood and timber' to Southwark, where they utilised the material in the erection of the Globe, which was to be a summer playhouse, while the Blackfriars was to become exclusively a winter playhouse. In the subsequent lawsuit brought against Street and the two Burbages by Giles Allen, Richard seems to have left the management of the business to Cuthbert, and the result is unknown. Richard evidently borrowed money to pay the expenses of building the Globe, and the loan 'lay heavy on him many years.' He joined with him as sharers in the profits of the undertaking Shakespeare, Hemming, Condell, and others. But the distribution was not sufficiently well defined to prevent serious disputes arising later among the heirs of the original sharers.

At the Globe Burbage made his substantial fame. He acted less frequently at Blackfriars. It is clear that between 1595 and the year of his death (1618) every dramatist desired his services when producing a play for the first time. All the greatest parts of the contemporary stage were filled by him in turn. The exact date at which he first came into contact with Shakespeare is not known. The story of their friendship as boys at Stratford-on-Avon is apocryphal, and there is no documentary proof of their association until they visited Greenwich together at Christmas 1594. In Manningham's 'Diary' (p. 39), under date 13 March 1601, is a story which is commonly quoted to attest their intimacy at that date. During a performance of Shakespeare's 'Richard III,' in which Burbage took the part of the hero, the actor made an assignation with a woman in the audience, and Shakespeare is stated to have overheard the conversation and to have anticipated his friend in his visit to the woman's house. All the versions of the poetical epitaph on Burbage which we describe below concur in assigning to him the parts of Hamlet, Lear, and Othello. Wright in his 'Historia Historionica,' 1699, states that Joseph Taylor was the original Hamlet, but the evidence against this assertion is overwhelming. Burbage would also seem to have taken part in 'Love's Labour's Lost.' Sir Walter Cope, writing to Sir Robert Cecil at Hatfield early in 1605, states that Burbage has proposed to play that comedy at court before the queen, and that he has sent the actor to Hatfield to know Cecil's pleasure. Burbage's impersonation of Richard III was highly popular. Of the striking impression made by the actor in the

character, Bishop Corbet gives an instance in his 'Iter Boreale,' where he tells us that his host at Leicester—

when he would have said King Richard died,  
And call'd a horse! a horse! he Burbadge cried.

We have the authority of the first folio of Ben Jonson's 'Works' (1616) for stating that Burbage played in 'Every Man in his Humour' (1598), 'Every Man out of his Humour' (1599), 'Sejanus' (1603), 'Fox' (1605), 'Alchemist' (1610), and 'Catiline' (1611). The lists of 'dramatis personæ' prefixed to the early editions of the play give Burbage the part of Ferdinand, duke of Calabria, in Webster's 'Duchess of Malfi' in 1616, and leading parts in the most popular of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays produced between 1611 and 1618 are assigned to Burbage in the second folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Works' (1679). Incontrovertible proof of the popularity he had gained in the early years of the seventeenth century is given by his occasional introduction into plays in his own person and in no assumed character. Thus, in the 'Returne from Parnassus' (not printed till 1606, although first acted earlier), Burbage and Kempe, the comedian, speak a dialogue in act iv. sc. 5 in their own persons, and the former instructs students from Cambridge in the parts of Jeronimo and Richard III. Kempe asserts that he and Burbage gain more honour and money than any other person living, and 'there's not a country wench that can dance Sellenger's Round but can talke of Dick Burbadge and Will Kemp.' Similarly in Webster's 'Induction' to Marston's 'Malcontent' (1604), Burbage, with Condell and Lowin, makes his entry on the stage again in his own person, and is pointed out to the audience by the other actors as the person who is about to play Malevole the Malcontent. There is no lack of other evidence to prove the high esteem in which Burbage was held by the playwrights and poets of his day, as well as by his audiences. As early as 1598 Marston seems to allude to him as the ideal Romeo in his 'Scourge of Villanie' (Sat. 10). John Davies, in his 'Microcosmus,' 1603, places Shakespeare's and Burbage's initials side by side in the margin of the line 'Players, I love yee and your qualitie,' and pays the actor a similar compliment in his 'Civile Warres of Death and Fortune' (1609). Ben Jonson, in 'Bartholomew Fair,' v. 3, refers to Burbage as 'your best actor,' although he clearly associates him with Nathaniel Field, who was regarded by some as a formidable rival.

Although no detailed contemporary account of the characteristic features of Burbage's acting has reached us, it is clear that

he excelled in tragedy, if he did not wholly confine himself to it, and that he put his whole soul into his part. That Sir Thomas Overbury's 'character' of 'an excellent actor' (published in 1616) is drawn from Burbage is proved by the reference to the actor's skill in painting as well as in 'playing.' But Overbury merely praises the modulations of his voice, and his 'full and significant action of body' (OVERBURY, *Works*, ed. 1854, pt. xiv.) The best account of Burbage on the stage is that given by Richard Flecknoe in his 'Short Discourse of the English Stage' (c. 1660, appended to the second edition of 'Love's Kingdom'). After speaking of the 'happiness' of the Elizabethan and Jacobean poets 'to have such docile and excellent actors to act their playes as Field and Burbidge,' the author says of the latter 'he was a delightful Proteus, so wholly transforming himself into his part and putting off himself with his cloathes, as he never (not so much as in the "Tyring House") assum'd himself again until the Play was done. . . . He had all the parts of an excellent actor (animating his words with speaking and speech with action), his auditors being never more delighted than when he spoke, nor more sorry than when he held his peace; yet even then he was an excellent actor still, never falling in his part when he had done speaking; but with his looks and gesture maintaining it still unto the height, he imagining *Age quod agis* verily spoke to him.' Flecknoe put these 'praises' of Burbage into verse in his 'Euterpe restored,' 1672.

In personal appearance Burbage is stated to have been short and stout. The elegy (noted below) speaks of his 'stature small,' and the frequent references of Jeronimo to his own 'short body' are believed by Mr. J. P. Collier to have been introduced with special application to the actor who first took the part. The queen's remark in the last scene of 'Hamlet' about her son—that he is 'fat and scant o' breath'—is also explained as an allusion to Burbage. The proposed emendation of 'faint' for 'fat' in this line seems, however, well worthy of adoption.

Burbage's domestic history is briefly told. He apparently married about 1601, and his wife, Winifred, bore him a daughter, Julia, early in 1603, who was baptised at St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, 2 Jan. 1602-3, and was buried there 12 Sept. 1608. A son Richard was buried at the same place 16 Aug. 1607. A daughter Frances was baptised on 16 Sept. 1603, and died three days later, and a third daughter, Anne, on 8 Aug. 1607. In 1613 a fourth daughter, Winifred, was born, who died 14 Oct. 1616. On 26 Dec. 1614 a

fifth daughter, named Julia, was baptised, and 6 Nov. 1616 a son William. In 1605 Burbage was made by his fellow-actor Augustine Philipps an overseer of his will. On 29 June 1613 he met with a serious misfortune. The Globe Theatre was burnt down during the performance of 'All is True,' assumed to be identical with Shakespeare's 'Henry VIII.' Burbage was fortunate in escaping with his life. In a 'Sonnet on the Pitiful Burning of the Globe Playhouse in London' occur the lines:—

Some lost their hattes and some their swordes,  
Then out runne Burbidge too.

The theatre was rebuilt the next year. (The sonnet is printed by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, from a manuscript of the seventeenth century, in the library of Sir Matthew Wilson, bart., of Eshton Hall, Yorkshire.) Burbage died, according to the registers of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, on 13 March 1618–1619. Camden gives the date as 9 March, and calls Burbage '*alter Roscius*.' He was buried at St. Leonard's on 16 March. After his death his wife gave birth to another daughter, Sara, who died in April 1625. A warrant was issued (according to a quite authentic statement of Mr. J. P. Collier), under date 27 March 1618–19, authorising him to play at the Blackfriars and the Globe at all times when the deaths in London by 'the infection of the plague' did not exceed forty a week. His name stands second on the list of the players; John Hemming's stands first. Up to the time of his death Burbage resided at his father's house in Holywell Street, Shoreditch. A nuncupative will left Burbage's widow his sole executrix, but no details are given as to his property. Chamberlain, the letter writer, states that Burbage 'left, they say, better than 300*l.* land.' In a petition addressed by his wife and son William to the lord chamberlain in 1635, relative to their share in the Blackfriars and Globe playhouses, they speak of Richard Burbage as 'one who for thirty-five yeeres' paines, cost, and labour, made meanes to leave his wife and children some estate,' which implies that he died a rich man.

Many poems were written to Burbage's memory. The briefest epitaph written on him, or on any other man, was 'Exit Burbadge,' which found its way into Camden's 'Remains' (1674, p. 541), and is entered in a contemporary manuscript in Ashmol. MS. No. 88, fol. 190. Another tribute in verse, quoted by Malone and J. P. Collier from Sloane MS. 1786, develops the idea, and entitles Burbage 'the best tragedian ever play'd.' But the most interesting of the poems to his

memory is 'A Funeral Elegy on the Death of the famous Actor, Richard Burbadge,' which extends in authentic versions to about eighty-six rhymed lines. Here reference is made to his success as an actor in the plays of Shakespeare named above. The lament grows somewhat bombastic towards the close, but the writer was evidently a sincere admirer of 'England's great Roscius.' The line, '[Death] first made seizure on thy wondrous tongue,' has been assumed to imply that Burbage died of paralysis; Chalmers suggested on ill-supported grounds that he died of the plague. (Five transcripts of this elegy of the seventeenth century are extant: one at Warwick Castle, two at Thirlestane House, and two, formerly in the possession of Haslewood, and printed by him in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1824, in Mr. Huth's library.) Mr. J. P. Collier has printed a version above 120 lines long, but no early manuscript containing the added lines has been found. In this form the elegy assigns the following additional parts to Burbage: Edward (whether it 'Edward III' or Marlowe's 'Edward II' is doubtful), of Vendice in Tourneur's 'Revenger's Tragedy,' of Antonio in Marston's 'Antonio and Melida,' of Brachiano in Webster's 'White Devil,' of Frankford in Heywood's 'Woman killed with Kindness,' and of Philaster in Beaumont and Fletcher's tragedy. Mr. F. G. Fleay points out that all these plays belonged to the inferior companies of the time. Thomas Middleton is the only dramatist who is known to have honoured the actor with an epitaph. His two couplets were first printed from a manuscript in the Heber collection in Collier's 'New Facts,' p. 26 (see MIDDLETON'S *Works*, ed. A. H. Bullen, vii. 418). Mr. J. P. Collier has also printed from a manuscript two stanzas, 'De Burbagio et Regina,' in which the fact that Queen Anne died on the same day as the actor is turned to account. Sir Richard Baker [q. v.], writing thirty years after Burbage's death, says that Burbage and Alleyn were 'two such actors that no age must ever look to see the like' (*Chronicle*), and in his 'Theatrum Redivivum,' published posthumously in 1662, Baker commends Burbage's freedom from 'scurillity.'

Burbage, besides being an eminent actor, was a successful painter in oil-colours. Overbury says in the 'character' referred to above: 'He is much affected to painting, and 'tis a question whether that makes him an excellent player or his playing an excellent painter.' Middleton's epitaph bears the heading, 'On the Death of that great master in his art and quality, painting and playing, R. Burbage.' The Warwick Castle manuscript of the elegy is entitled, 'On Mr. Richard Bur-

bidg, an excellent both player and painter.' The author of the elegy says that Burbage 'could the best both limne and act my grief.' On 31 March 1613 Burbage received 44s. in gold 'for paynting and making' an heraldic device for the Earl of Rutland; Shakespeare received the same sum for some assistance he rendered the actor in the matter. On 25 March 1616 Burbage was paid 4*l.* 18s. for painting the earl of Rutland's 'shelde and for the embleance' (*Rutland MSS.* iv. 494, 508). At Dulwich College is an undoubted painting by Burbage. It was presented by William Cartwright, the actor, in the 17th century, and is described in Cartwright's own catalogue (still preserved among the college manuscripts) as 'a woman's head on a boord done by Mr. Burbige, ye actor.' Another of Cartwright's pictures at Dulwich College is a portrait of Burbage himself, which has been doubtfully ascribed to his own brush. It has been engraved in Harding's 'Shakespeare illustrated,' 1793. The painting resembles the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare, which has been unjustifiably regarded as another work of the actor.

[Burbage's biography has been written by Mr. J. P. Collier, in his *Lives of the Actors in Shakespeare's Plays* (1846), pp. 1-58, and in his *Hist. of English Dramatic Poetry* (1879). Collier, however, relied on some forged documents, e.g. (1) a certificate of the shares of the Blackfriars Theatre, dated November 1589, from the Ellesmere Collection; (2) verses on Alleyn, Kemp, Burbage, and others, first printed in Collier's *Memoirs of Alleyn*, p. 13; (3) a petition of the players to the Privy Council in 1596, from the State Paper Office; and (4) an undated record of the shares in the Blackfriars and Globe Theatres held by various actors, from the State Paper Office. All authentic documents have been printed from the original manuscripts by Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, in his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (1885). See also Mr. F. G. Fleay's *Hist. of the Stage* (1890) and *Actor Lists, 1578-1642*, in the *Royal Historical Society's Transactions* (1881), ix. 44-81; Warner's *Cat. Dulwich College MSS.*, pp. 202, 205, 341; the *Variorum Shakespeare* (1821); *Collections of Documents relating to the Stage* (Roxb. Club); Ingleby's *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse* (ed. Miss L. Toulmin Smith), for New Shakspeare Soc.] S. L.

BURCH, EDWARD (*d.* 1771), sculptor and general engraver, was admitted as a student to the Academy schools in 1769, after having previously received some training in St. Martin's Lane. He obtained early notice on account of 'the great delicacy, truth, and finish' of his studies. He exhibited at the Academy exhibitions from 1771 till 1808, sending altogether eighty-six works. His contributions are described by Redgrave as consisting of models and portraits in wax, casts

from gems, intaglios, and classical heads. He married a lady of great beauty, and from that time took to miniature-painting. He painted portraits of Mrs. Fitzherbert and of Mary, duchess of Gloucester. George III sat to him for a bust. He was elected A.R.A. in 1770, and R.A. in 1771. It was in 1794 that he was appointed librarian of the Royal Academy, and held the office till he died. The date of his death is generally fixed at 1814. Redgrave, with more caution, says 'he lived to an advanced age, became nearly blind, and died in Brompton some time before 1840.' In 1840, according to accounts which give 1730 as the year of his birth, he would have been 110, an age which (even when royal academicians are in question) it seems not unfair to describe as 'advanced.'

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*, 1878; Graves's *Dict. of Artists* who have exhibited in the London Exhibitions, &c., 1884; Bryan's *Dict. of Painters*, 1884; Rose's *Biog. Dict.* 1857.] E. R.

BURCHARD, SAINT (*d.* 754), the first bishop of Würzburg, is said to have been of a noble English family, but beyond this fact there is nothing authentic known respecting his origin. He was one of the most active associates of his countryman, St. Boniface, archbishop of Mayence, in the evangelisation of the partly German, partly Slavonic peoples who then inhabited the neighbourhood of the Main. In the autumn of 741 he was consecrated bishop of Würzburg by Boniface, who at the same time established two other bishoprics, Buraburg and Eichstädt, to which he appointed his friends Witta and Willibald. Boniface made known these appointments to Pope Zacharias, whose letter of ratification addressed to Burchard is still extant. The fact that papal confirmation was sought for these appointments is regarded as an important step in the development of the papal authority over the German church. Burchard's name is also associated with another great incident in this movement towards ecclesiastical unity, the Germanic council of 747, at which the German bishops formally acknowledged their subordination to the holy see. Burchard was the messenger who conveyed the decisions of this council to the pope. It is alleged that he was charged by the German princes with the mission of procuring papal sanction to the deposition of Childeric III and the elevation of Pepin to the Frankish throne. Although this statement rests on no contemporary authority, it is not intrinsically improbable. Burchard built the church of St. Martin at Würzburg, and translated thither the remains of St. Kilian, the first

apostle of Franconia. In 751 he resigned his see in favour of Megingaud, and retired with six monks to the monastery of Hohenburg (Homburg), where he died, probably on 2 Feb. 754, although his biographer, Egilward (twelfth century), states that he lived until 791. He was canonised by Benedict VII in 984. A number of sermons, which are ascribed to Burchard on apparently good grounds, are extant in manuscript in the cathedral library at Würzburg, and specimens of them are printed by Eckart, *Comm. de Rebus Franc. Or. i.* 837. His festival in the Roman calendar is 14 Oct.

[Vita S. Burchardi in Canisius, *Ant. Lect. ed.* Basnage, vol. iii.; Vita S. Burchardi (ascribed to Egilward) in Surius, *Vitæ Sanctorum*, 14 Oct.; Eckart, *Comm. de Rebus Franciæ Orientalis*, vol. i. 389 ff. 837; Hahn, *Jahrbücher der fränkischen Geschichte*, 25 ff.; S. Bonifacii Epp., ed. Wurdwein.] H. B.

**BURCHELL, WILLIAM JOHN** (1782?–1863), explorer and naturalist, was son of Matthew Burchell, nurseryman, Fulham, and was born about 1782. In 1805 he was appointed by the East India Company ‘schoolmaster and acting botanist’ at the island of St. Helena, which post he held up to 1810. On 15 Feb. 1808 he was made a fellow of the Linnean Society of London. While at St. Helena he became personally known to General Janssens, the last Dutch governor of the Cape, and to Dr. Martin Lichtenstein, afterwards the well-known Berlin naturalist, who was then a young physician on Janssen’s staff. Provided with a recommendation from the home government to the Cape authorities and with letters of introduction from Janssens and Lichtenstein to Dutch and German residents, Burchell left St. Helena for the Cape, for the purpose of exploring the interior. He reached Table Bay on 18 Nov. 1810, and after some time spent in Cape Town in making preparations and in acquiring the Colonial-Dutch patois, to which he rightly attached much importance as enabling him to converse with all classes, he started on his travels in June 1811, with a well-equipped frontier-wagon, which cost 88*l.* complete, and a party of Hottentots, the number of whom never exceeded ten and who were several times replaced during his wanderings. These were his sole companions and assistants during his travels. The venture, he tells us, was regarded in the colony as an imprudent one. Trekking across the Karroo and through the Roggeveldt, he struck the Gariep, or Orange river, in latitude 29° 40′ 52″ S. and longitude 28° 27′ 20″ E.; thence traversing the Bosjesman country at considerable peril, he entered the land of the

Corahs (Korannas) and sojourned some time at Adam Kok’s station at Klaarwater, in what now is Griqualand. Thence he travelled to Kaabi’s kraal, returning to Klaarwater and afterwards to Graaf Reynett in the colony. Traversing the Bosjesman districts once more, he returned to Klaarwater, and afterwards spent some time among the Bachapins at Latakun (Old Lattaku, West Bechuanaland), where he was in August 1812. This ends the published portion of his explorations, but his travels extended over three years longer. He states that his African collections comprised 63,000 natural objects, 500 drawings, and a mass of astronomical, meteorological, and other observations and notes. In 1817, after his return home, Burchell presented to the British Museum a selection from his specimens, mostly of the larger mammalia, forty-three perfect skins, most of them with entire skulls, and many unique specimens. These are now at South Kensington. He also wrote two or three very judicious pamphlets on the subject of Cape emigration. In 1822 he brought out two quarto volumes of his African travels, a work remarkable for the excellence of its literary style and the fidelity of the numerous illustrations, all drawn on wood or stone (coloured) by the author. Some of the panoramic views were executed on the then practically unknown principle of scenographic projection on the surface of a revolving cylinder. The work deals with the explorations made in 1811–12. A third volume was projected but never published. Burchell appears at this time to have contributed a few zoological papers to foreign scientific journals (see *Cat. Scient. Papers*, vol. i.) In 1825 he planned out for himself a journey across South America from Brazil to Peru, returning by Mendoza and Buenos Ayres. He left England in March 1825, stayed two months collecting at Lisbon, and landed in July at Rio, which he did not leave until September 1826. While at Rio Janeiro he executed the series of views from which Burford’s panorama of the city was painted [see BURFORD, ROBERT], made numerous astronomical and meteorological observations, formed extensive collections of botany, entomology, and mineralogy in the surrounding districts, and also visited parts of Minas Geraes. From Rio he proceeded by sea to Santos, where he remained three months collecting. Cubatao was his next station, where in a solitary hut in the depths of the Brazilian forests he remained two months. At San Paolo he remained seven months. Then, hiring mules and muleteers, he proceeded to Goyaz, the first European who ever entered that province. While there



intelligence of the failing health of a beloved parent induced him to relinquish the remaining portions of his explorations, which would have occupied several years. He journeyed north from Goyaz to Porto Real, remained there until the proper season for descending the river, reached Para in June 1829, and thence returned home. The only published account of these explorations—in which, as in Africa, Burchell had no associate—is contained in two letters to the late Sir William Hooker, printed in the 'Botanical Miscellany,' vol. ii. In one he states that the botanical part of his collection already included 5,000 species, and that the entomological portion was eight or nine times as large as his African one, other departments being equally well represented, except South American mammalia and fishes; and in another written in 1830, after his return to Fulham, he says: 'I have 15,000 species of plants, all gathered by myself in their natural places of growth, in various parts of the world. I say nothing about the other parts of my collection, which are equally extensive.' Burchell is said to have been offered a handsome pension by the Prussian government on condition of his taking his collections complete to Berlin and residing there; but this he declined in the hope of one day publishing the results of his discoveries in his own country. The hope was never realised. In 1834 the university of Oxford conferred on Burchell the honorary degree of D.C.L. He died at his residence, Churchfield House, Fulham, on 23 March 1863, in his eightieth year. His memory is perpetuated in the scientific names of many animal and plant species discovered by him. His plant collections were presented to Kew Gardens after his decease, and his botanical manuscripts are now in the library there. Burchell was not only an indefatigable naturalist but a good artist and musician, and to those who knew him well an agreeable companion. Dr. Swainson has said of him that 'he must be regarded as one of the most learned and accomplished travellers of any age or country, whether we regard the extent of his acquirements in every branch of physical science or the range of countries he explored; and science must ever regret that one whose powers of mind were so varied, and so universally acknowledged throughout Europe, was so signally neglected in his own country' (LARDNER, *Cyc. Nat. Hist.* vol. 'Bibliog. and Biog.' p. 383).

[Information from private sources, and from Burchell's writings; Brit. Mus. Cat. Printed Books; Cat. Scient. Papers, vol. i.; Hooker's Botanical Miscellany, vol. ii.; Linnean Soc. Proc.

vii. (1864) p. xxxvi; Sir R. Murchison's address before Royal Geog. Soc. 1863, in *Journal Royal Geog. Soc.* xxxiii. p. cxxiv; Times, 27 March 1863.]

H. M. C.

BURCHETT, JOSIAH (1686?-1746), secretary of the admiralty, of humble origin, was at the age of fourteen taken by Pepys, the then secretary of the admiralty, about 1680, into his service as body servant and clerk. After remaining with Pepys for more than seven years, he incurred his master's displeasure, apparently by insolence, and was discharged in August 1687. He was for some time in great straits for a livelihood, and wrote at least three most abject letters to Pepys, the last dated 2 Feb. 1687-8, in the hope of softening his master's wrath. Whether he succeeded or not is uncertain; it is more probable that at the time of the revolution, when Pepys was thrown out of office and imprisoned, he passed himself off on Russell as a martyr for his political creed, and so obtained some appointment in the navy. A little while after he was certainly serving as Russell's secretary, whether through the campaign of 1692 seems doubtful, but at any rate during the years of Russell's command in the Mediterranean, 1694-5. He was appointed at first joint-secretary of the admiralty (February 1693-4), and in 1698 sole secretary. Russell was then first lord. Burchett continued in that office till 1742. He also represented Sandwich as a whig in parliament, 1705-13, and again 1722-41. He died 2 Oct. 1746.

The even tenour of his official life was unbroken and undisturbed, but the fact that it included the whole French war during the reigns of William III and Anne, during which every document of importance passed through his hands, shows that his knowledge of naval events must have been both extensive and accurate. In 1703 he published in 8vo 'Memoirs of Transactions at Sea during the War with France, 1688-1697,' which he afterwards incorporated in a larger work, 'A Complete History of the most remarkable Transactions at Sea, from the earliest accounts of time to the conclusion of the last war with France, wherein is given an Account of the most considerable Naval Expeditions, Sea Fights, Stratagems, Discoveries, and other Maritime Occurrences that have happened among all nations which have flourished at sea; and in a more particular manner of Great Britain from the time of the Revolution in the year 1688 to the aforesaid period' (1720, fol.) For this very extended undertaking Burchett's studies and opportunities had in no way fitted him; and the pages in which he has attempted the

ancient and foreign history have no value whatever; his chapters on earlier English history, and even on the Dutch wars, are but little better, and of his volume of 800 pages rather more than half is thus almost worthless. The last half has, however, an exceptional value. Writing of events concerning which he had very full and accurate information, his statements of facts are of the highest authority, and his expressions of opinion carry great weight. Unfortunately, he has committed many and grave sins of omission, and whether from a reticence cultivated till it had become an instinct, out of respect for his friends, or from a dread of making enemies, he has neglected numerous details, and occasionally events of considerable importance, the result being that while a student may fairly accept his positive evidence on any disputed question, his negative evidence is very far from conclusive.

He married (1) Thomasine, daughter of Sir William Honeywood, and (2) on 22 July 1721 the widow of Captain Robert Aris, commissioner of the navy at Plymouth (*Hist. Reg.* 1721, p. 31). His only daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir Charles Hardy, the elder [q. v.]

[Life, Journals, and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, edited by the Rev. John Smith, ii. 105; Diary, &c. of Samuel Pepys (Mynors Bright), vi. 156; Report of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on the petition of Josiah Burchett, 10 May 1717, in Home Office Records (admiralty), No. 46. Both in the Public Record Office, and to some extent in the British Museum, there is an enormous mass of Burchett's official correspondence, which, however, has no biographical importance.] J. K. L.

**BURCHETT, RICHARD** (1815-1875), subject painter, was born at Brighton on 30 Jan. 1815. He commenced his art-training at the Birkbeck Mechanics' Institute, in Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, and about 1841 entered the School of Design then established under the board of trade at Somerset House, in the rooms built for the Royal Academy. Here he so distinguished himself by his attainments in geometry, that he became an assistant-master. He was one of the leaders in the revolt of the students against the management of the school, when about fifty students left it; and, on an inquiry being instituted, Burchett was examined as a representative of the students, the result being that the art school was removed to Marlborough House, and later to South Kensington. Burchett was then appointed one of the assistant-masters, and in 1851 became head-master. In 1855 he published his excellent treatise on 'Practical Geo-

metry,' and in the following year his 'Linear Perspective.' Burchett exhibited five historical pictures at the Royal Academy between 1847 and 1873, the subject of the first being 'The Death of Marmion.' He assisted in the decoration of the dome of the Great Exhibition buildings of 1862, and painted a window in Greenwich Hospital. With the assistance of his pupils he also executed a series of portraits of the Tudor family in the royal ante-chamber at Westminster. He died, while on a visit to Dublin, 27 May 1875. There is in the School of Art at South Kensington a tablet to his memory erected by his pupils.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878); Athenæum, 5 June 1875; MS. notes in British Museum.] L. F.

**BURCKHARDT, JOHN LEWIS** (1784-1817), traveller in the East, was born at Lausanne 24 Nov. 1784, of a family which had long been settled at Basel. His father, Colonel J. R. Burckhardt, had served in the French army, and in consequence of the turn of political feeling was obliged to live in retirement away from his family. He was, however, able to give his son a good education; and after a course of instruction at a school at Neuchâtel, and of private tuition at the family house (the 'Kirchgarten') at Basel, he sent him to Leipzig University in 1800, and four years later to Göttingen. The boy was popular among his fellow-students at both universities, and was respected for the talents and zeal for knowledge which he already displayed. In July 1806 Burckhardt came to England, with a letter of introduction from the Göttingen naturalist, Blumenbach, to Sir Joseph Banks, at that time one of the chief supporters of the 'Association for promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa.' He soon volunteered to carry on the work of exploration, and his offer was accepted. He received his instructions at the end of January 1809, and sailed for Malta on 2 March, after employing the six weeks' interval in attending lectures on chemistry, astronomy, and medicine, in studying Arabic in London and Cambridge, and inuring himself to hardship by making long walks bareheaded, sleeping on the ground, and living on vegetables. At Malta he stayed seven weeks to improve his knowledge of Arabic, and to equip himself as a Mohammedan trader of India, in which character he proposed to travel in Syria, because he could thus explain any imperfections in his speech which would at once reveal that he was not a native. If he was asked to give a specimen of Hindustani, he used to treat his Syrian

auditors to a choice exhibition of guttural Swiss-German, which completely satisfied them. He was landed, owing to the duplicity of a ship-captain, in Karamania, near Tarsus, reached Antioch, where his Indian disguise did not save him from some unpleasant treatment as a possible 'giaour,' and thence made his way with a caravan to Aleppo, where he proposed to pass his novitiate as an orientalist. Between two and three years' study not only made him a fluent Arabic speaker, but gave him such a knowledge of the language that he was allowed to be more learned than the Ulema themselves; and knotty points of interpretation were brought to him for solution by the doctors of the law at Aleppo, just as twenty years later the Ulema of the Azhar at Cairo used to apply to Lane to lay down the law for them in intricate matters of Islamic doctrine and exegesis. Burckhardt varied his long sojourn at Aleppo by a six-months' journey (in 1810-11) to Palmyra, Damascus, Baalbekk, Lebanon, and the Haurán, during which he was twice deserted by his guides, and encountered numerous difficulties and dangers from the disturbed state into which the country had been thrown by the Wahháby revolt. In 1812, after a further course of Arabic study, he set off to Syrian Tripoli and the Haurán, journeyed through Palestine, visited Petra, where he sacrificed a goat to Aaron, in order to allay the terrors of his Bedawy guides, and thence struck across the desert to Cairo, arriving in September 1812.

Arrived in Egypt, his main object was to meet with an opportunity of joining a caravan to Fezzan, whence he intended to explore the sources of the Niger. While waiting for this opportunity he made an expedition up the Nile, to see the monuments of ancient Egypt, which were then for the first time being revealed to European students. He started in January 1813, and before he returned to Aswán at the end of March he had explored the Nile valley as far as Mahass on the northern frontier of the province of Dongola. Being still delayed in his project of discovering the Niger sources by the disturbed state of the deserts, he made a lengthy sojourn at Esné, and then, in March 1814, succeeded in making his way through the desert by Berber and Shendy, and, following Bruce's footsteps into Abyssinia, came out at Suakim on July 20. Thence he crossed over to Jeddah, where he suffered from fever, and found himself in great straits for money, since his ragged appearance after his desert hardships belied the credit which he should have obtained from his Egyptian bankers' letters. Fortunately, Mohammed Aly, the viceroy of Egypt, was at the time in the neigh-

bourhood of Mekka, prosecuting his Wahháby campaign, and, hearing of the famous traveller's proximity, summoned him to his presence, and soon relieved him of his difficulties. Burckhardt expressed a wish to visit Mekka as a Mohammedan pilgrim, and the pasha, although he was aware of Burckhardt's nationality, consented, provided he could satisfy a competent committee of Muslim examiners. Two learned doctors of the law thereupon questioned him on the religion of Islam, and ended by pronouncing him not only a Muslim, but an exceedingly learned one. After this Burckhardt supped with the Kady, or chief religious judge of Mekka, said prayers with him, and recited a long chapter of the Koran; and having thus placed himself on the best of terms with the authorities, he proceeded to perform the rites of pilgrimage at Mekka, go round the Kaaba, sacrifice, &c., and in every respect acquitted himself as a good Muslim. No Christian or European had ever accomplished this feat before; and the penalty of discovery would probably have been death. Burckhardt, however, mixed freely with the pilgrims, without once being suspected, and spent September, October, and November of 1814 in Mekka, and in the following January joined a caravan to Medina, in order to visit the prophet's tomb. Here he was again prostrated by fever until April, when he returned in an exhausted condition, via Yembo, to Cairo, arriving in June. Some months were now occupied in revising and completing the valuable journals of his several expeditions for transmission to the African Association. Still the opportunity he desired for his Niger exploration did not occur, and he solaced himself by assisting in the work of excavation then being carried on in Egypt by Belzoni under the auspices of Mr. Salt, the British consul [see BELZONI]. He had not yet recovered from the fatigues and fevers of his Arabian travels, and was compelled to seek the sea air of Alexandria for his health. Plague appearing in Cairo, he started off on a fresh tour to Suez and Sinai in 1816, returning in June in the hope of carrying out the long-cherished Niger scheme. Months passed, however, spent in preparing his narratives of travels for the association, and in writing valuable letters to England, and still the expedition was delayed; and in 1817 he was attacked with dysentery, and after eleven days' illness died 15 Oct. 1817. He was buried in the Mohammedan cemetery, under his eastern name of the Pilgrim Ibrahim ibn Abdallah.

Burckhardt possessed the highest qualifications of a traveller. Daring and yet

gical Magazine, March 1865; *Gent. Mag.* January 1865; *Daily News*, 4 Jan. 1865; *Nonconformist*, 4 Jan. 1865; *Patriot*, 5 Jan. 1865; *Congregational Year-book*, 1866.] A. H. G.

**BURDER, SAMUEL** (1778-1837), divine, was related to George Burder [q. v.], and brought up as a dissenter. After being minister of an independent congregation at St. Albans he conformed to the church of England, and was ordained by Bishop Barrington about 1809. He was for some time at Clare Hall, Cambridge, but his name does not appear in the list of graduates. He was preacher at St. Margaret's, Lothbury, at St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, and afterwards at Christ Church, Newgate Street. He was appointed (before 1816) chaplain to the Duke of Kent, and in 1827 to the Earl of Bridgewater. He died 21 Nov. 1837. He was the author of 1. 'The Moral Law . . . an Antidote to Antinomianism,' 1795. 2. 'A Christian Directory,' 1800. 3. 'Owen's Display of Arminianism,' 1802 and 1807; several editions and a German translation by Rosenmüller, 1819. 5. 'The Scripture Expositor,' 1809. 6. 'Oriental Literature applied to the Illustration of the Sacred Scriptures,' 1812. 7. 'Memoirs of eminently Pious British Women,' 1815. 8. 'Oriental Customs,' 1831. Burder's works on oriental customs were popular compilations.

[*Gent. Mag.* for 1827, i. 361, 1832, ii. 88, 1837, i. 215-16; *Biog. Dict. of Living Authors*, 1816; *Orme's Bibliotheca Biblica*.]

**BURDER, THOMAS HARRISON** (1789-1843), physician, was born in 1789 at Coventry, where his father [see BURDER, GEORGE] was a congregationalist minister. His general education was imperfect. It was at first intended that he should be a chemist and druggist, but after a while he decided to adopt the medical profession. After pursuing his studies for about five years in London he went to Edinburgh in 1812, where he had the honour of being elected one of the presidents of the Royal Medical Society, and where he took the degree of M.D. in 1815. He determined to settle in London as a physician, and was for a time attached to the Westminster General Dispensary. But he suffered from almost constant ill health, which rendered him quite unequal to bear the harassing fatigues of medical practice, and obliged him, during the nineteen years that he struggled on in London, to give it up sometimes for weeks, sometimes even for months together. He had married his cousin, Elizabeth Burder, in 1828, and his father had passed the last four years of his life under their roof; but after his death in

1832 Dr. Burder began to think seriously of leaving London altogether, and this plan he carried out in 1834. The change of air and mode of life added much to his comfort, but did not completely restore his health; and he died at Tunbridge Wells in 1843 at the age of fifty-four. He left no family, and his widow died in the following year. He was one of the writers in the 'Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine' (1833-5), and the materials for one of his articles ('Headache') were drawn in a great measure from his own painful experience. Throughout his life he was from time to time inclined to devote himself entirely to ministerial work, and at one time had serious thoughts of joining the church of England. He continued, however, to belong to the congregationalists, though he did not become a member of the 'church' or 'society' of that body till he was nearly forty. About six years before he left London he became acquainted with Dr. James Hope [see HOPE, JAMES]; and at a later period, when he discovered that Dr. Hope was influenced by the same religious feelings as himself, this acquaintance ripened into warm affection. After he had finally relinquished his profession a suggestion from Dr. Hope induced him to address to him three letters, which appeared in the 'Evangelical Magazine' for 1836, under the title of 'Letters from a Senior to a Junior Physician on the importance of promoting the religious welfare of his patients,' and which were inserted in his 'Memoir' and in the 'Memoir of Dr. Hope,' and also published in a separate form at Oxford in 1845. These 'Letters' (which he at one time entertained the idea of expanding and further illustrating), and the pattern of personal holiness exhibited in his correspondence published after his death, are the only remains of a man of more than ordinary abilities.

[Dr. Theoph. Thompson's Sketch; Rev. John Burder's Memoir; Life, with Extracts from his Correspondence, Oxford, 1845.] W. A. G.

**BURDETT, SIR FRANCIS** (1770-1844), politician, was the third son of Sir Robert Burdett, fourth baronet, and member of an ancient family. He was born on 25 Jan. 1770. After some years at Westminster School he was sent to Oxford, and subsequently undertook a tour through France and Switzerland. During the early days of the French revolution he resided in Paris, where he heard the debates in the National Assembly and attended the meetings of some of the numerous political clubs. In 1793 he returned to England, and in August of that year married Miss Sophia Coutts, daughter of Thomas

Coutts [q. v.] the banker. Three years later he entered parliament for Boroughbridge in the Newcastle interest. He also joined the Constitutional Association for promoting a Reform in Parliament.

He had not been long in parliament before the ministry of the day found themselves confronted by a vigorous opponent. In May 1797, upon Grey's motion for parliamentary reform, he uttered a vehement indictment against the government and against their arbitrary encroachments upon popular rights. He stigmatised the war against France as a futile attempt to stifle the flame of liberty. Burdett continued this high tone in succeeding sessions, and was speedily recognised by the public as a champion of the liberty of speech. Imputations naturally arose on the part of his opponents that his sole aim was the applause of the mob. But the true cause of his rapid rise in popular estimation was his constant effort to expose the genuine grievances of the day—the increasing weight of taxation in consequence of the war, the continued restraints upon the expression of public opinion, and the abuse of power over those who were offensive to the ministry. He had repeated opportunities of protesting against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and was bold enough on one occasion to suggest that it should be repealed altogether, rather than rendered inoperative by continued suspensions. He resisted the measure for excluding Horne Tooke from the House of Commons. He rendered a great public service by obtaining inquiry into the mismanagement of Coldbath Fields Prison, where suspected persons were usually detained under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Acts. It was shown that the governor had made no distinction between his treatment of these persons and that accorded to convicted felons. An order was issued that Burdett should no longer be permitted to visit any prison in the kingdom, but eventually the authorities gave way and the condition of the unfortunate prisoners was ameliorated.

In 1797 Burdett made the acquaintance of Horne Tooke, and there speedily grew up between them the closest friendship. Alike in philology and in politics Burdett became the pupil of the veteran whig. At the general election of 1802 Burdett was proposed for the county of Middlesex, in opposition to Mr. Mainwaring, chairman of quarter sessions, the magistrate who had the most strenuously resisted inquiry into prison abuses. Burdett was elected by a considerable majority and sat for nearly two years, during which legal proceedings were going on with the object of nullifying the return.

At length in 1804 his election was declared void, and a new contest took place between him and Mainwaring's son, who headed the poll by a majority of five. This return was amended in the following year, and Burdett's name substituted for that of Mainwaring; and further amended in February 1806, Burdett being thus finally excluded. This unexampled litigation cost the parties untold sums of money, and Burdett forthwith resolved that he would never again contest a parliamentary constituency.

At the general election of 1806 Burdett subscribed 1,000*l.* towards the candidature of Paull for Westminster. Paull was brought forward by the party anxious for an improved tone of morals with reference to parliamentary elections. Paull was defeated, but the party determined that both he and another candidate of their own choice should succeed next time.

In the following year another dissolution of parliament gave the wished-for opportunity. Burdett was requested to stand, but he adhered to his resolve not to become a candidate at another contested election. This precisely suited the Westminster committee, who were determined to send their man to parliament free of every sort of expense. Meanwhile a misunderstanding arose with Paull, who challenged Burdett to a duel. Both were wounded, and were carried up to London together in Paull's carriage. The committee were compelled to throw Paull overboard, and after a lively contest of fifteen days Burdett was found at the top of the poll, Lord Cochrane being second. The exultation was immense. A public dinner was held, and an anniversary festival instituted for 23 May. A charring followed, and the popular baronet was borne through the streets upon a triumphal car.

The Westminster election of 1807 was the first triumph of the parliamentary reformers. The expenses proper were under 800*l.*, but this amount was augmented to nearly 1,800*l.* through the costs attendant on the dinner, the charring, and several actions at law brought against Burdett by the returning officer and others. All this cast much obloquy upon the committee, but the high reputation of their representatives in parliament more than repaid them for any sacrifices they made. Burdett continued to sit for Westminster for thirty years.

There were now several abortive attempts to raise the great question of reform, in all of which Burdett took a prominent part. He spoke against the practice of corporal punishment in the army, and made an unsuccessful endeavour to get a parliamentary

return of ten years' floggings. In 1809 he seconded Wardle's motion for inquiry into the transactions which brought the Duke of York into temporary disgrace. He supported Madocks's inquiry into the alleged parliamentary corruption of ministers, Curwen's Reform Bill, and Whitbread's motion on placemen and pensioners in parliament. On one occasion he was called to order for saying that 'since the sale of seats in this house was openly avowed, it was no longer to be called the commons' house of parliament' (COLCHESTER'S *Diary*, ii. 193). An incident at length occurred which seemed to give the government an opportunity of silencing him. A well-known radical orator, John Gale Jones, had been imprisoned by the House of Commons for raising a discussion upon the practice of the house as to the exclusion of strangers. Burdett, moving that Jones be discharged from custody, was supported on a division by only 14 against 153. He thereupon issued to the public a revised edition of his speech. It was first printed in Cobbett's 'Register,' and subsequently reprinted as a shilling pamphlet, which likewise had an immense sale. A Mr. Lethbridge was put forward to accuse Burdett of breach of privilege. Much debate was exercised as to what was to be done with him. Extensive research was made into precedent. At length the speaker issued a warrant for his arrest, but Burdett refused to surrender except to superior force. Mr. Speaker Abbot did not know if it were justifiable to break open doors, and suggested consulting the magistrates. Lord Eldon and other legal authorities could give no advice. Lord Redesdale suggested an act of attainder if the culprit still refused to yield. Meanwhile the Westminster mob began to gather. The house was garrisoned by volunteers, and although Sheriff Matthew Wood implored the government to abstain from calling out the military, lifeguards were stationed in the streets. The Westminster committee, led by Francis Place, went to support Burdett, and proposed that the officers of the guards should be arrested in detail by the civil power if they refused to withdraw their troops. At length, on the fourth day of the warrant, a forcible entry was made into Burdett's house, and Burdett was conveyed to the Tower, the town being guarded by many thousands of soldiers.

Burdett remained in the Tower for several weeks, until parliament was prorogued. He brought actions at law against the speaker and the sergeant-at-arms, but did not succeed in obtaining a verdict in his favour. On the day of his quitting the Tower, he quietly

departed by water. This proceeding caused him a temporary loss of popularity, as his constituents had prepared a triumphal procession, and were obliged to content themselves with dragging an empty car through the streets to Piccadilly. Mr. Place, who was chief wire-puller to the Westminster committee, never forgave the apparent slight, and did not speak to Burdett again for years.

Burdett was re-elected for Westminster in 1812 and again in 1818, his colleagues being successively Lord Cochrane and Sir Samuel Romilly. In 1819 George Lamb took Romilly's seat, and in 1820 it was filled by Hobhouse, who shared the representation with Burdett until after the passing of the Reform Bill. During this long period Burdett steadily maintained the principles upon which he had entered public life. His motion for a committee on the parliamentary representation, in 1817, although unsuccessful, moved the question a great step forward. In 1820, by a too warm animadversion upon the conduct of the authorities, consequent upon the Peterloo affair, he exposed himself to a government prosecution at the Leicester assizes, which resulted in a conviction, and he was accordingly sentenced to a fine of 2,000*l.* and imprisonment for three months. In May 1828 the House of Commons carried by a small majority Burdett's resolution affirming the expediency of considering the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics. When the Reform Bill was at last carried, Burdett sat down as one satisfied with what had been done. The conservative reaction of 1835 found him in conflict with a large section of his constituency, and early in 1837, in deference to their clamour, he resigned his seat, but was immediately re-elected. At the general election, however, which followed the queen's accession, he threw his influence on the conservative side. He represented North Wiltshire thenceforth until his death, on 23 Jan. 1844. The baroness Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906) was his youngest daughter.

To Burdett is confessedly due the merit of having made public speech again possible in England. He endured personal sacrifices for his opinions. He was not even what would be called a party man, and there were in some sections of aristocratic society persons who kept carefully aloof from him. His dislike of O'Connell's political principles had something to do with his later stand on the side of Toryism. He was not a close attendant of the parliamentary sittings, but it was understood among his constituents that he hardly cared for a seat except as connected with matters of reform.

Apart from politics, Burdett devoted much

attention, in correspondence with Bentham, to the subject of law reform. Hobhouse had a high opinion of his colleague, and declared that Burdett was the best constitutional lawyer in England (*Memoirs of T. Moore*, vii. 139). His ample purse was always open to the support of a worthy cause. When Francis Place began the movement which developed into the Birkbeck Mechanics' Institution, a great deal of its early success was due to handsome subscriptions from Burdett and to those which resulted from his example. He gave money freely in support of the reform movement. His favourite recreation was fox-hunting. As he grew in years he presented a perfect type of the English country gentleman; and the generous disposition of his youth remained with him to old age.

Abundant materials for the study of Burdett's career and his influence on public opinion will be found in the manuscript collections of Francis Place and in the newspapers of his day. He had also the distinction of being very well abused by anonymous and other pamphleteers—a certain token of the high value of his services to his countrymen.

[Addit. MSS. 27789, 27823, 27838-42, 27845, 27846, 27850, passim; Tegg's *Memoirs*, 1804; *Memoirs*, 1810; *English Cyclopædia*; *Gent. Mag.* (March 1844), pp. 314-17; *Hansard's Parl. Debates*; *Cobbett's Register*, passim; *Random Recollections of the House of Commons*, 242; *Globe*, 23 Jan. 1844; *Times*, 24 Jan. 1844; *The Trial of Sir F. B. at Leicester*, 23 March 1810; *Authentic Narrative of the Westminster Election*, 1819; *Correspondence between Mr. Cobbett, Mr. Tipper, and Sir Francis Burdett* (1819); *Stephens's Life of Horne Tooke*, ii. 233, 306; *Henry Hunt's Memoirs*, vol. ii. passim; *Lord Colchester's Diary*, i. 403, ii. 150, 178, 186, 193, 241 et seq., iii. 68, 120, 144, 371, 465; *Romilly's Memoirs*, ii. 306, 308, 315, 319, 320, 340, iii. 192, 360; *Memoirs*, &c., of Thomas Moore, ii. 158, v. 64, 65, vi. 78, 317, vii. 139; *Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vii. 436 et seq., viii. 263; *Lord Hatherley's Memoirs*, i. 7; *Life of Lord Lyndhurst*, 248, 303; *Dr. Parr's Memoirs*, i. 393, 431, ii. 32, 200 et seq.; *Diary of H. Crabb Robinson*, i. 384; *Journal of Thomas Raikes, Esq.*, i. 144, ii. 64, 269, iii. 143, 175, 183, 185, iv. 344, 345; *Bentham's Works*, iv. 566, x. 104, 460, 471, 491 et seq., 550, 551, 592, xi. 50; *The Croker Papers*, ii. 211; *All the Year Round*, xvii. 230-7.] E. S.

**BURDON, WILLIAM** (1764-1818), miscellaneous writer, was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1764, was educated at the free grammar school there, proceeded to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1782, and graduated B.A. 1783, and M.A. 1788, when he was elected a fellow of his college. He resigned his fellowship eight years later, on declining to take holy orders. He married in 1798 a

daughter of Lieutenant-general Dickson. He was a man of wealth, and owned coalmines at Hartford, near Morpeth, where he lived for a part of each year. He died at his London house in Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square, on 30 May 1818. His wife had died in 1806. He was a voluminous writer on political and literary subjects. His chief works are as follows: 1. 'Examination of the Merits and Tendency of the Pursuits of Literature,' 1799. 2. 'A Vindication of Pope and Grattan from the Attacks of an anonymous Defamer,' 1799. 3. 'Various Thoughts on Politics, Morality, and Literature,' 1800. 4. 'Materials for Thinking,' 1803, 1812. 5. 'The Life and Character of Buonaparte,' 1804. 6. 'Letters on the Affairs of Spain,' 1809. He also wrote many pamphlets on the political questions of the hour, and translated in 1810, from the Spanish of Estrada, 'A Constitution for the Spanish Nation,' and an 'Introduction to the History of the Revolution in Spain,' besides circulating an 'Examination of the Dispute between Spain and her Colonies.' In 'Cobbett and the Reformers impartially examined,' 1813, he proves himself a very moderate reformer. Burdon was the editor of the 'Memoirs of Count Boruwlaski,' which appeared in 1820.

[*Gent. Mag.* 1818, pt. ii. 87; *Watt's Bibl. Brit.*; *Biog. Dict. of Living Authors*, 1816.]

**BURDY, SAMUEL** (1760?-1820), author, was born at Dromore, co. Down, about 1760, and was the only son of Peter Burdy, a merchant of that town. The family was descended from a Huguenot who had fled to Holland and came to Ireland in the army of King William III (*Ardglass*, p. 118). Burdy obtained a sizarship by examination at Trinity College, Dublin, on 22 March 1777; obtained a scholarship in 1780, and graduated B.A. in 1781. He was ordained in 1783, and in the same year was appointed curate of Ardglass, a parish in the county of Down. Burdy had been introduced to Bishop Percy by Hely Hutchinson, the provost of Trinity College (*Nichols, Illustrations of Literature*, viii.), and was admitted to some intimacy in the bishop's family. He fell in love with the bishop's daughter, and Percy, who prided himself on belonging to the great Northumberland family, resented the possibility of an alliance with a curate, and for more than a year refused even to see Burdy. At the end of that time Burdy wrote a letter of apology, which shows that while he submitted to her father's wishes he remained in love with the daughter. The bishop ceased to be actively hostile, and used to lend books to Burdy, but the curate lived and died unmarried. He was only once

promoted, and then to the perpetual curacy of Kilclief, a small preferment in the county of Down. This was soon after 1800, and after twenty years he ended his life there. In 1781 Burdy had made the acquaintance of the Rev. Philip Skelton, then in his old age. They were suited to one another, and became firm friends for the remaining six years of Skelton's life. Skelton lived in Dublin, and for three years Burdy used to visit him often. When the younger man left Dublin they corresponded till 4 Nov. 1786. In February 1787 Burdy saw his friend again, and, as he says, 'parted for the last time from that dear and worthy man.' Both were natives of Down, and both were worthy examples of the sturdy race which has made the ancient Ulidia the most prosperous part of Ireland. An inflexible adherence to principle characterised both, and in both existed what Burke finely calls 'that chastity of honour which feels a stain like a wound;' and with these great qualities both had a natural humour and a happy turn of expression in conversation and on paper. After Skelton's death Burdy set to work to record his friend's life and conversation. He visited Tyrone, Monaghan, and Donegal, to collect reminiscences of Skelton, and in 1792 he published at Dublin in 8vo 'The Life of the late Rev. Philip Skelton, with some curious anecdotes.' The life was republished in London in two volumes, with the lives of Pocock, Pearce, and Bishop Newton, in 1816. In 1824 a third edition appeared, prefixed to an edition of Skelton's works, edited by R. Lynam; but this edition is worthless, as the editor has altered the text of Burdy's biography. The life of Skelton is a piece of literature which does honour to Ireland. Lord Macaulay spoke of it (Rev. Whitwell Elwin) as a delightful book, and one giving the best account of life in Ireland of any work of its time. Dr. William Reeves, dean of Armagh, who has investigated most of the facts of Burdy's life, and generously allowed his collections to be used for the purposes of this biography, remarks 'that the life of Skelton is characterised by the closest adherence to plain truth in particulars of time, person, and place, and having tested his statements by independent testimony in these departments I can state of the writer that he has been singularly successful as a biographer.' Soon after its publication the book was attacked for its provincial language, and the author defended himself with success (*Vindication of the Life of Skelton*, 1795). It is pleasantly flavoured by many phrases and some words characteristic of the English spoken in Ulster, such as the peculiar adverbial use of 'still,' the word 'stationer' for a

pilgrim, 'scollops' for bundles of brushwood, and 'lock' for a quantity. Before his life of Skelton, Burdy had published in 1792 'A Short Account of the Affairs of Ireland during the years 1783, 1784, and part of 1785.' In 1802 he published in octavo in Dublin 'Ardglass or the Ruined Castles, also the Transformation, with some other poems.' During his curacy of sixteen years at Ardglass he had often mused over the history of its five ruined castles; hence the poem. The verses are not very poetic. They show that Burdy had visited the Isle of Man in 1794, that Homer, Newton, and Locke were his favourite reading, and that he had observed with exactitude several points of natural history, such as the difference between the way in which gannets and gulls catch fish. The lesser poems are of little merit, but now and then contain amusing glimpses of country life in Ireland. The *Belinda* who is several times the subject of praise and of lament is probably the bishop of Dromore's daughter. In 1817 Burdy published at Edinburgh in octavo 'A History of Ireland.' It is not a work of research, but gives a lucid summary of affairs up to the union, and may well be read in the absence of a better book of the kind. Burdy died in 1820. In his will, dated 27 Oct. 1819, he desires to be buried on the north side of the church of Kilclief. His grave is marked by no monument, and the present biography is the first which has appeared of him.

[Burdy's preface to his *Life of Skelton*; MS. collections of Rev. William Reeves, D.D.; MS. collections from Records of Dublin Probate Court and of Trinity College, Dublin, by Rev. William Reynell, B.D., both lent by their authors for this biography.] N. M.

BURELL, JOHN. [See BURELL.]

BURFORD, first EARL OF (1670-1726). [See BEAUCLERK, CHARLES.]

BURFORD, ROBERT (1791-1861), panorama painter, was born in 1791. In 1812 he first exhibited at the Royal Academy 'A View of Westminster Hall.' In conjunction with H. A. Barker [q. v.] he opened a panorama where later stood the Strand Theatre (demolished in 1907 for the 'Tube' railway station), and then removed it to Leicester Square, where for many years it formed one of the chief attractions of London. Burford exhibited there a succession of panoramic views of the chief places of interest in Europe, all of which he visited himself in order to obtain accurate drawings. Mr. Ruskin visited the exhibition as a boy, and speaks in high praise of Burford's abilities in his 'Præterita' (1885), p. 200. He died at his residence, 35 Camden Road Villas, on 30 Jan.



1861, just after finishing a view of Naples and Messina. Among the panoramas exhibited may be mentioned the 'Battle of Waterloo,' 'Cabool,' 'Baden,' 'The Embarkation of the Queen at Treport,' 'Athens,' 'Constantinople,' 'Grand Cairo,' 'Ruins of Pompeii,' 'The Polar Regions,' 'The Battle of the Alma,' 'Siege of Sebastopol,' 'Venice,' 'Rome,' 'Rio Janeiro,' &c.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878); MS. notes in British Museum.] L. F.

**BURFORD, THOMAS** (fl. 1740-1765), mezzotint engraver, was born about 1710, and is said to have died in London in 1770. His prints, however, range from 1741 to 1765. He was a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists, and scraped some plates of landscapes and hunting, but was best known as an engraver of portraits. Mr. John Chaloner Smith, in his 'Catalogue of British Mezzotinto Portraits,' describes twenty plates by him, in addition to a set of twelve three-quarter length portraits of ladies in ovals representing the months, published in 1745; and a female figure, with the title of 'Plenty,' published in 1749. Among the portraits we have William, duke of Cumberland, after Murray; Frederick V of Denmark, George II, Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia, William Warburton, and Edward, duke of York.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878).] L. F.

**BURGES or BURGESS, CORNELIUS**, D.D. (1589?-1665), ejected minister, descended from the Burgesses of Batcombe, Somerset, was probably born in 1589. In 1611 he was entered at Oxford, but at what college is unknown. He was transferred to Wadham College, and graduated B.A. on 5 July 1615, and thence migrated to Lincoln College, of which he was a member when he graduated M.A. on 20 April 1618. He must have taken orders before graduation, if it be true that on 21 Dec. 1613 he obtained the vicarage of Watford, Hertfordshire, on the presentation of Sir Charles Morison. On 16 Jan. 1626 he was allowed to hold, along with Watford, the rectory of St. Magnus, London Bridge. This latter he resigned in 1641, his successor being admitted on 20 July. Soon after the accession of Charles I he was made one of the king's chaplains in ordinary, and on 16 June 1627 he was made B.D. and D.D. by his university (he was admitted *ad eund.* at Cambridge in 1647). At his exercises on the occasion John Prideaux, regius professor of divinity, told him he was well enough as a preacher, but no good disputant. It turns out, however, that this often-repeated quip simply means that Burges was not well

practised in the technic of logomachy; instead of saying *negatur major*, he outraged all propriety by saying *negatur id.* Wood represents him as being at this time a zealous son of the church, and as only taking to schismatical courses through the disappointment of his eagerness for preferment. That the churchmanship of Burges rested upon the basis of a Calvinistic theology is well shown in his 'Baptismal Regeneration of Elect Infants,' published at Oxford in 1629 [see **BURFORD, THOMAS**, fl. 1650]. A Latin sermon, preached in 1635 to the London clergy at St. Alphage's, London Wall, brought him before the high commission court. In this discourse he had blamed the connivance of bishops at the growth of Arminianism and popery. The proceeding caused him trouble and expense, and deepened his hostility to the party of Laud. He was accused of being 'a vexer of two parishes with continual suits of law.' This may mean that he resisted the demands of visitation articles in reference to ceremonial observance. An Oxford pamphlet of 1648 is Wood's authority for saying that he was 'looked upon by the high commission as one guilty of adultery.' It is plain that there was no evidence to substantiate the charge. The prestige of Burges steadily increased. In September 1640 he conveyed to the king at York the petition of the London clergy against the 'etcetera oath,' and succeeded in getting it dispensed with. Clarendon goes so far as to say that the influence of Burges and Stephen Marshall was greater with both houses of parliament than that of Laud had ever been with the court, a statement which, as Calamy observes, 'carries a pretty strong figure in it.' To link Burges and Marshall together, as though their views and policy were identical, is an error. Wood also puts Burges and Marshall at the head of those who preached in 1640, 'that for the cause of religion it was lawful for the subjects to take up arms against their lawful sovereign.' Wood does not seem to have seen the 'Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and about London,' drawn up by Burges in January 1649, and subscribed by fifty-six other ministers who followed his lead. This very able paper is of the first importance for the true understanding of the attitude of loyal men on the puritan side throughout this crisis (**CALAMY**, *Abrégement*, 61). Burges came to the front rank of leaders on the ecclesiastical question in 1641, in connection with the effort made by the House of Lords for an accommodation of ecclesiastical differences. On 12 March the lords' 'committee for innovations' called in the assistance of a body of divines to take part in a

sub-committee for examining alleged innovations in doctrine and discipline unlawfully introduced since the Reformation. Of seventeen divines who answered the summons six, headed by William Twisse, and including Burges, Marshall, and Calamy, constituted the section most opposed to the existing ecclesiastical system or its abuses. The four bishops and their friends on the sub-committee agreed to the proposed reforms; while, on the other hand, Twisse and his friends made no proposals antagonistic to episcopacy. The court party was stubborn against all concession; a growing party on the other side was for a more drastic treatment of episcopacy. The lords' attempt to find a *modus vivendi* was abandoned. In the commons a measure was introduced, still not attacking episcopacy as such, but for the suppression of deaneries and chapters. John Hacket, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (a member of the sub-committee), was put forward on 12 May to defend the menaced corporations at the bar of the house. The house called for Burges to speak in reply to him, which he did on the same afternoon at an hour's notice. His speech is said to have contained invective; he shared the puritan objection to instrumental music in church services, and made a point of the dissoluteness of cathedral singing-men. At the close of his reply he gave it as his opinion that, while necessary to apply the cathedral foundations to better purposes, 'it was by no means lawful to alienate them from public and pious uses, or to convert them to any private person's profit.' This acknowledgment was afterwards turned against him, for he himself became a purchaser of alienated chapterlands. Burges declared that he had spoken in haste; his mature judgment was in favour of the right of the state to apply to its own purposes the lands which had been assigned for the support of offices since abolished. He had advanced 3,500*l.* to the parliament, and took the lands in payment. The date of his resignation of one of his livings should be noticed: he ceased to be a pluralist within two months of his speech against useless dignities. In the conflict with the king, Burges disclaimed altogether the attitude of rebellion, and his 'Vindication' proves his case. He sided with the parliament in consequence of the assurances conveyed in the 'propositions and orders' of both houses on 10 June 1642, viz. that any subsidies received by the parliament should be employed only in maintaining 'the protestant religion, the king's authority, his person in his royal dignity, the free course of justice, the laws of the land, the peace of the kingdom, and the

privileges of parliament, against any force which shall oppose them.' For a short time he was (according to Wood) chaplain to Essex's regiment of horse. Subsequent proceedings, at a time when the parliament was overridden by the army, he openly declared to be subversive of the fundamental constitution of the kingdom. Burges's name stands thirty-second on the list of divines appointed by the ordinance of 12 June 1643 to meet at Westminster. Twisse was named in the ordinance as prolocutor. On 8 July the assembly appointed Burges one of the two assessors or vice-presidents, and as Twisse was in feeble health, and John White, the other assessor, had fits of gout, on Burges, 'a very active and sharpe man' (as Baillie calls him), fell a good deal of the duty of keeping the assembly in order, at least until the appointment of Charles Herle to succeed Twisse, who died 19 July 1646. Burges was also convener of one of the three committees into which the assembly divided itself at the beginning of its work. His liturgical knowledge (he had a fine collection of the various issues of the common prayer-book) may be traced, Mitchell thinks, in the composition of the 'Directory.' Burges was one of the few who, in 1643, opposed the imposition of the 'solemn league and covenant,' and he carried his opposition so far as to petition the House of Commons to be heard against it. He was not anxious to create an irreparable breach with the episcopal party. It is curious to find the great Lightfoot on this occasion abusing Burges as 'a wretch to be branded to all posterity, seeking for some devilish ends, either of his own or others, or both, to hinder so great a good of the two nations.' The commons on 2 Sept. suspended Burges from the assembly as a 'turbulent doctor,' and would not readmit him till on 15 Sept. he had made his humble apology. However, the covenant was not signed until a clause had been inserted, limiting the sort of 'prelacy' against which it was aimed, so that the advocates of a reformed episcopacy could swallow it. Having once taken the covenant, Burges revered its binding obligation, and could never be prevailed upon to renounce it. Four shillings a day was assigned by the ordinance to each assembly-man; but the allowance was paid in irregular dribblets, and Burges was one of those who declined their share, that the poorer members might come somewhat better off. On 12 March 1644 he was appointed (on the petition of the common councillors of London, December 1643) lecturer at St. Paul's, with a pension of 400*l.* a year, and the dean's house as a residence. On 6 Feb. 1645 he was ordered to give up Watford. When the king

was brought to trial, Burges was the foremost, at great personal risk, in protesting against the proceeding with his usual freedom and vigour. On 14 Jan. 1649, the day preceding that on which the king was brought from Windsor to be arraigned before the high court of justice, Burges preached at Mercers' Chapel, denouncing the measure in the strongest terms. He and his friends had taken up the cause of the parliament, as he declared in the 'Vindication,' published while the trial was in progress, 'not to bring his majesty to justice (as some now speak), but to put him in a better capacity to do justice.' About 1650 Burges obtained an appointment at Wells as preacher in the cathedral. In July 1656 there was a warm dispute about his exclusive right to officiate there. Burges objected to an arrangement by which the inhabitants of St. Cuthbert's parish were to hold their services in the cathedral. The ground of his objection does not appear; Stoughton conjectures that the other congregation was of the independent sort. His preaching was unwelcome. The citizens walked up and down the cloisters all sermon-time, and the constables had to be called in. About this time Burges invested his property in the purchase of alienated church lands, including the manor of Wells and the deanery which he rebuilt. He is said to have behaved with great rapacity, to have stripped the lead from the cathedral, to have used the proceeds to enlarge the deanery in which he lived, and to have let out the gate-houses as cottages. At the Restoration his investment (for which he had been offered over 12,000*l.* in the previous year) was taken from him without recompense. Hence he was reduced to want, his pension was gone, he was suffering from cancer in the neck and cheek. He still had a house at Watford, and there he lived, attending the church in which he had formerly preached; he was compelled to part with his library for bread. He made application to Sir Richard Browne, lord mayor of London in 1660, who promised to provide for him if he would preach a recantation sermon in St. Paul's, and on his refusal flung him a gratuity of 3*l.* Calamy describes him as ejected from St. Andrew's, Wells (which is the cathedral); this must have taken place before the Act of Uniformity. He was a worn-out man, yet, but for his maladies, he might have kept his old lead. It was his hand that drew up the 'Reasons' of the country ministers desiring reforms in the church at the Restoration, to which the authorities turned a deaf ear. He died at Watford, where he was buried in the church on 9 June 1665. He was married and left a son. By his will, dated Watford, 16 May 1665, he

bequeathed his collection of prayer-books, the sole treasures saved from his library, to his 'dear and much-honoured mother, the renowned university of Oxford.' The opposite writers speak of him with a bitterness which may be explained by his proceedings at Wells. Wood gloats over his miseries, Echard and Zachary Grey load his memory with reproaches. There was a spice of the demagogue in his temper; he had the popular ear, and liked leadership. Yet in ecclesiastical politics he was for moderate measures; in civil affairs he stood as the consistent advocate of constitutional freedom.

He published: 1. 'A Chain of Graces drawn out at length for Reformation of Manners,' 1622, 12mo. 2. 'A New Discovery of Personal Tithes; or the 10th part of men's cleere gaines proved due,' &c., 1625, 8vo. 3. 'The Fire of the Sanctuarie newly uncovered, or a compleat tract of zeal,' 1625, 12mo (this was answered in an anonymous pamphlet, 'A Whip,' &c., 1643; and the pamphlet answered by Francis Quarles in 'The Whipper Whipt: being a reply upon a scandalous pamphlet called The Whip abusing that excellent work,' &c., 1644, 4to). 4. 'Baptismal Regeneration of Elect Infants professed by the Church of England, according to the Scriptures, the Primitive Church, the present Reformed Churches, and many particular Divines apart,' Oxford, 1629, 4to. 5. 'The First Sermon preached before the House of Commons at their publike Fast, 17 Nov. 1640,' 1641, 4to (from Jer. i. 5, published originally with a sermon by Marshall; it ran through three editions). 6. 'A Vindication of the Nine Reasons of the House of Commons against the Votes of Bishops in Parliament; or a Reply to the Answers made to the said Reasons in defence of such votes,' 1641, 4to (this is anonymous, but is given to Burges both by Wood and Calamy; the 'Answers' were by Bishop Williams). 7. 'A Sermon before the House of Commons, 5 Nov. 1641, 4to (from Ps. lxxvii. 10). 8. 'The Necessity and Benefit of Washing the Heart, a sermon before the House of Commons, 30 March,' 1642, 4to (from Jer. iv. 14). 9. 'The Vanity and Mischief of the Thoughts of an Heart Unwashed, a sermon before the House of Commons on their day of humiliation, 30 April,' 1645, 4to (also from Jer. iv. 14; this and the preceding were reprinted together, 'Two Sermons preached to the House of Commons at two publike Fasts,' &c., 1645, 4to). 10. 'The Necessity of Agreement with God; a sermon preached before the House of Peers, 29 Oct., being the monethly Fast,' 1645, 4to. 11. 'Sion College, what it is and doth. A Vindication of that Society against

Two Pamphlets,' &c. 1648, 4to. 12. 'A Vindication of the Ministers of the Gospel in and about London from the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the Parliament, as if they promoted the bringing of the king to capitall punishment,' &c., 1648, 4to (i.e. January 1649; reprinted, Calamy, 'Cont.,' 737; 'Harl. Misc.' ii. 512; Scott's edition of Somers's 'Tracts,' v. 258). 13. 'Case as lecturer in Paul's' (Wood, who calls it 'a little pamphlet'). 14. 'A Case concerning the Buying of Bishops' Lands, with the lawfulness thereof, and the difference between the contractors for the sale of those lands and the corporation of Wells,' 1659, 4to (among those who wrote in reply was George Fox, the quaker, 'An Answer to Dr. Burgess's his book, entituled A Case &c.,' 1659, 4to). 15. 'No Sacrilege nor Sinne to aliene or purchase the lands of Bishops or others, whose offices are abolished,' 2nd edit. 1659, 8vo. 16. 'No Sacrilege . . . Cathedral Lands as such,' &c., 3rd edit. 1660, 4to (these three are substantially the same tract, successively revised; this last, published after No. 18, has a postscript in reply to John Pearson, afterwards bishop of Chester). 17. 'Prudent Silence, a sermon in Mercers-Chappel to the Lord Mayor and the City, 14 Jan. 1648, shewing the great sin and mischief of destroying kings,' 1660, 8vo (from Amos v. 13; dedicated to Charles II, and also to the Houses of Parliament). 18. 'Reasons showing the Necessity of Reformation of the Public Doctrine, Worship, Rites and Ceremonies, Church Government, and Discipline, &c., offered to Parliament by divers Ministers of sundry counties in England,' 1660, 4to (Baxter says that Burges drew up these 'Reasons'; Pearson and Henry Savage replied to them). 19. 'Some of the Differences and Alterations in the present Common Prayer-Book from the book established by the Act in the 5th and 6th of Ed. VI and 1st of Q. Eliz.,' 1660, 4to. 20. 'Antidote against Antisobrius' (Wood, who says it was 'printed about 1660'). Wood mentions also sermons on 2 Chron. xv. 2, and Ezra x. 2, 3, but had not seen them.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 681, and *Fasti*; Calamy's *Account*, 1713, p. 586; *Contin.* 1727, ii. 736; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, Dublin, 1759, ii. 365, 368, iv. 332; Palmer's *Nonconf. Memorial*, 1803, iii. 217; Collier's *Ecl. Hist.* (Barham), 1841, viii. 203 sq. 215; Marsden's *Hist. Early Puritans*, 1860, pp. 421, 441; Stoughton's *Ecl. Hist. Ch. of the Commonwealth*, 1867, ii. 229; Hunt's *Religious Thought in Engl.* 1870, i. 207 sq.; Masson's *Life of Milton*, 1873, iii. 11; Hook's *Lives of the Abps. of Cant.* (Laud), 1875, xi. 338 sq.; Mitchell's *Westminster Assembly*,

1883; Gardiner's *Hist. of Engl.* 1884, ix. 207; Somersetshire Archaeological Soc. *Proceedings*, xii. ii. 37-41. See also J. O. Halliwell's *Collection of Pieces in Zumerzet Dialect*, p. 4.]

A. G.

BURGES, GEORGE (1786?-1864), classical scholar, was born in a remote station in Bengal about 1786. His father dying soon after his birth, he was sent to England, and educated at the Charterhouse under Dr. Raine. Thence he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1802, and gained a scholarship there in 1803; he graduated B.A. in 1807 and M.A. in 1810. He obtained one of the members' prizes in 1808, and again in 1809. At Cambridge he acted for many years as a private tutor; he had a great reputation for his knowledge of Greek, and is said to have spoken it like a native. He once had considerable private property, but lost it through speculations and inventions. Bishop Blomfield, whom he had attacked with great acrimony, procured for him, through Lord Melbourne, a pension of 100*l.* a year in 1841. Burges was a tory, and his politics appear to have inspired some of his classical criticisms. When in 1840 Lord Brougham translated the 'De Corona' of Demosthenes, Burges met it with a long review in the 'Times,' assailing Brougham as well as his translation with extreme virulence.

In his own classical writings, although his learning was great and his criticism acute, he was led away by his arbitrary and querulous dissent from rival editors, and appeared to regard emendation more as an exercise of ingenuity than a means for restoring the original texts. He was a frequent contributor to Valpy's 'Classical Journal,' and in its pages constantly attacked Blomfield, who replied in the 'Museum Criticum,' each accusing the other of plagiarism. He published the 'Troades' of Euripides in 1807; the 'Phœnisæ' in 1809; the 'Supplices' and 'Prometheus' of Æschylus in 1831; he translated the Greek 'Anthology,' and the bulk of Plato, for Bohn's classical library, in 1848; edited Poppo's 'Prolegomena,' with criticisms, in 1837; translated the new readings in Hermann's posthumous edition of Æschylus in 1848; and edited the 'Fragment of Hermesianax' in 1839. Besides these classical works he wrote and dedicated to Byron a play called 'Erin, or the Cause of the Greeks,' by 'An Asiatic Liberal,' in 1823; and also wrote a pamphlet on the use of native guano in 1848. Burges used to contribute to the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and for the 'Era' he wrote a series of papers called 'Hungry Handless,' to show the social evils of excessive machinery. The latter part of his life he spent

at Ramsgate, and died 11 Jan. 1864, aged 78.

[Gent. Mag. 3rd ser. xvi. 268-9; Athenæum, 23 Jan. 1864; Classical Journal, xliii. 204; Museum Criticum, vii. 488; British Museum Catalogue; Watt's Biblioth. Brit. (where he is confused with the Rev. George Burges, B.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge, who died in 1853).] A. G.-N.

**BURGES, SIR JAMES BLAND** (afterwards **LAMB**) (1752-1824), politician, was born on 8 June 1752. He was the son of Mr. George Burges, whose immediate ancestors were Berkshire gentry. George Burges entered the army, and distinguished himself at Culloden by capturing the standard of Prince Charles's body-guard, borne by the Duke of Athole. He contracted a romantic marriage with Lord Somerville's daughter. After services in Scotland and at Gibraltar, for which he received the thanks of the prime minister, the Duke of Newcastle, he became a commissioner of the Scottish excise, 1761-8, and afterwards comptroller-general of the Scottish customs from 1768 till his death, 16 March 1786, in London.

Burges was educated at Westminster School and University College, Oxford. On leaving Oxford in 1773 he went to Europe, visiting the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, France, and Italy. At Rome he had a private audience of Pope Clement XIV. Returning to England, Burges studied law. On 19 June 1777 he married the Hon. Elizabeth Noel, daughter of Lord Wentworth. He was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn the same year, and was now appointed a commissioner in bankruptcy. Mrs. Burges dying in childbirth two years after her marriage, in 1780 Burges married Anne, daughter of Colonel Montolieu, baron de Saint Hypolite, by whom he had ten children. He made the acquaintance of Pitt, and at a dinner at Burges's a passage of arms occurred between Pitt and Gibbon, which led to the indignant retirement of the historian. In 1782 Burges was offered the appointment of minister to the court of Warsaw, which he declined. The scheme of the sinking fund, usually associated with the name of Pitt, was actually originated by John Lamb, the friend of Burges, and the latter unfolded the project to the statesman. Pitt warmly expressed the obligation he was under for the financial details furnished him on Lamb's behalf. When the existence of Pitt's ministry was threatened in consequence of the opposition to the mutiny bill, Burges virtually saved it by the discovery that the mutiny bill was not necessarily a money bill, and that many instances had occurred of mutiny

bills being first introduced in the House of Lords.

In 1787 Burges was returned to parliament for the borough of Helston in Cornwall. He took a conspicuous part in favour of Warren Hastings during the early days of the impeachment, and while his attitude gained him the lasting friendship of Hastings it lost him for a time the favour of Pitt. At the close of Sheridan's speech Burges was put forward by Pitt to answer him, but the house was impatient. The following day Pitt himself greatly astonished the house and his friends by attacking Hastings. Burges insisted on dividing the house, however, but was defeated by 175 to 68 votes. Burges intervened to prevent a duel between Burke and General Caillaud, whom the former had accused of the deliberate murder of an Indian prince. In May 1788 Burges gave notice of a motion for an account of the money expended on the trial of Warren Hastings, and he was cordially supported by Pitt. Sheridan and Burke were extremely indignant with Burges, but his motion was carried by a majority of sixty to seventeen. Subsequently, when Sheridan made his great speech on the *Oude Begums*, Burges was unwise enough to obtrude upon the house once more matters of finance, a step for which he was severely and sarcastically rebuked by Burke.

Burges steadily supported Wilberforce in his anti-slavery agitation, and rendered valuable assistance in mitigating the horrors of the Middle Passage. He also prepared a bill for the improvement of the condition of prisoners for debt; but although he twice carried it past the second reading it was on both occasions lost through the opposition of the legal profession. At the time of Pitt's pecuniary embarrassment Burges contributed 1,000*l.* towards the payment of his debts. In 1789 the Duke of Leeds offered him the post of under-secretary of state in the foreign department, which Burges accepted. In his new office he initiated many useful reforms, and in conjunction with Thurlow succeeded in disposing of delicate questions with Naples and Honduras. On the resignation of the Duke of Leeds, Burges offered to retire with his chief, but Pitt persuaded him to remain. In consequence of a double return for the borough of Helston at the general election of 1790 a parliamentary committee was appointed to inquire into the circumstances, and Burges lost his seat; but he still remained at the foreign office. It appears from the Burges papers that the dagger which Burke used in the House of Commons on a memorable occasion was one supplied to him by Burges. War was at this time believed to be imminent,

and Pitt requested Burges to write a pamphlet to prepare the public mind. Pitt emphatically told the French envoy that England would support Holland if attacked by France. As the result of a discovery accidentally made by Burges this was fully expected; but the danger ultimately blew over. When the doctrines of the author of 'The Rights of Man' began to be propagated among certain classes in England, Burges wrote to his friend, Colonel Simcoe, lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, that 'the very first opportunity will be laid hold of to make an example of these libellers and treasonable propagators of French principles.'

Burges was one of the three commissioners when the privy seal was temporarily placed in commission during Earl Spencer's absence. In August 1794 he was offered his choice of going as minister to Copenhagen or to Switzerland, the object being to appoint a new under-secretary in his room. In a letter to Lord Grenville, Burges declined both appointments. Burges was thrown into frequent contact with the royal family. His epigrams and poems especially attracted the attention of the Princess Elizabeth, and she prepared a series of drawings with her own hand to illustrate his poetical effusion, 'The Birth and Triumph of Love.'

During the serious riots of 1795 in London, Pitt, Nepean, and Burges were the only public officials who daily appeared at the government offices. Burges received at this time marks of approval of his official acts from abroad, among them being the gift of a fine diamond snuff box, of the value of 400*l.*, from the Empress Catherine II, presented to him on the ground that he had always been a good friend of Russia. In 1795 Burges retired from the foreign office to make room for a personal friend of Lord Grenville. He received a baronetcy, and had also conferred upon him the sinecure title and post of knight marshal of the royal household, with remainder to his son.

Burges now devoted himself to literary pursuits. He formed the acquaintance of Cumberland, the dramatist, who took a great interest in a portentous achievement of Burges, entitled 'Richard the First.' This voluminous poem consists of eighteen books, written in the Spenserian metre (2 vols. 1801). Burges was also a playwright, and two of his pieces were produced on the stage. The one entitled 'Riches' was an adaptation of Massinger's 'City Madam.' The other was 'Tricks upon Travellers.' The author wrote six other plays, the best a comedy named 'The Crusaders,' being a representation of German life in a somewhat distant age. Burges was also the

author of a treatise on 'The Law of Insolvency,' a romantic poem in twelve cantos entitled 'The Dragon Knight' (1818), and a work purporting to contain 'Reasons in favour of a New Translation of the Holy Scriptures' (1819). He also wrote a number of tales and satirical poems, as well as a series of letters under the signature of 'Alfred.' He wrote, in conjunction with Cumberland, a sacred poem entitled 'The Exodiad' (1807-8). Burges and another undersecretary of state of congenial tastes and opinions were the founders of the 'Sun' newspaper, begun with the sanction of Pitt.

In 1810 Burges lost his wife, in the following year his friend Cumberland died, and in 1812 his son, Wentworth Noel, was killed at Burgos. In 1812 Burges married for a third time, his wife being Lady Margaret Fordyce, daughter of the Earl of Balcarres, and widow of Alexander Fordyce [q. v.] Burges had formed an attachment in his youth for his third wife, then Lady Margaret Lindsay; but the young lover was sent abroad, and out of this attachment sprang the universally admired ballad of 'Auld Robin Gray,' Burges being the young Jamie of this poem, which was written by Lady Margaret's sister, the Lady Anne Barnard [q. v.] Lady Burges died in 1814.

In 1821 Burges came into possession of the estate of his friend John Lamb, and assumed by royal license the name of Sir James Lamb. He died on 11 Oct. 1824. In character he is represented as belonging to the type of the old English gentleman.

[Selections from the Letters and Correspondence of Sir James Bland Burges, Bart., with Notices of his Life, ed. Hutton, 1885; The Birth and Triumph of Love, 1796; Richard the First, 1800; Sir J. B. Burges's Dramas, 2 vols. 1817; Sir J. B. Burges's Dragon Knight, 1818; Annual Register, 1824.] G. B. S.

BURGES, JOHN (1745-1807), physician, was born in London in 1745, and educated at Westminster and Christ Church, Oxford. The dates of his degrees are B.A. 1764, M.A. 1767, M.B. 1770, M.D. 1774. He became a fellow of the College of Physicians 1775, was censor six times between 1776 and 1797, and an elect 1797. He held office as physician to St. George's Hospital from 1774 to 1787. As his health was delicate, he did not attempt general practice. He gave several gratuitous lectures on scientific subjects. His chief occupations were the study and the collection of the materia medica. In forming his collection he received much assistance from his relative, Sir James Bland Burges [q. v.], sometime under-secretary in the foreign office. At his death, in 1807,

he left his collection to Mr. E. A. Brande, who in 1809 presented it to the College of Physicians. It has since been considerably increased by gifts and purchases.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. ii. 307, from a manuscript memoir of Dr. Burges, by E. A. Brande, in the College Library.]

**BURGES, MARY ANNE** (1763-1813), authoress, the youngest daughter of George Burges, comptroller-general of the customs, Scotland, by his wife, the Hon. Anne Whichnour Somerville, was born at Edinburgh, 6 Dec. 1763. She was a lady of excellent virtues, and her accomplishments included Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, with some Swedish and German (Intro. to *Good Intent*, 10th ed. p. iv). In geology she had especial delight, and being a friend of De Luc's, she took a large share in his last publication. In botany she was proficient, and she also prepared an exhaustive account of the British Lepidoptera (which does not seem to have been printed), illustrating it with her own hand. In music she was as skilful in composition as in execution, and yet she did not neglect domestic duties. In 1800 she brought out anonymously the book by which she is known, 'The Progress of the Pilgrim Good Intent,' which is in effect a continuation of the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' Good Intent being the great-grandson of Christian's eldest son. Miss Burges in her preface asks John Bunyan to look with paternal regard upon the labours of his descendant. It went through three editions in 1800, four more in 1801, with three in Dublin and two in Charlestown (America) in the same year, and it had a third American issue, from Salem, in 1802. Shortly after publishing this book Miss Burges, who was living at her own house, Ashfield, near Honiton (Intro. p. iv), where she enjoyed an easy income (*ib.* p. vi), was afflicted with much ill-health. She died on 10 Aug. 1813, aged 49 (*ib.* p. iv), and was buried at Awliscombe. After her death her brother, Sir James Bland Lamb [q. v.] [see **BURGES, Sir JAMES BLAND**], brought out a new edition of her 'Good Intent,' disclosing the authorship, and there was a tenth edition in 1822. She was one of her brother's regular correspondents.

[Intro. to *Good Intent*, 10th ed. 1822, pp. iv-vii, Preface, p. xii; private information; Hutton's Bland Burges Papers 1885.] J. H.

**BURGES, WILLIAM** (1827-1881), architect, was born on 2 Dec. 1827, and was the son of William Burges, civil engineer. He matriculated at University College, London, and attended lectures on engineering at King's College, London; but his decided

taste for architecture led to his entering, at the age of seventeen, the office of Edward Blore, the architect [q. v.], and in 1849 the office of Digby Wyatt. About this period a great impetus had been given to the study of mediæval architecture, and to this subject Burges applied himself with the greatest enthusiasm. He visited Normandy, and subsequently Belgium, Germany, France, and Italy, making numerous drawings and measurements of buildings, &c. In 1856 Burges gained the first award in the international competition for Lille Cathedral, and about this time the works of decoration at the Salisbury chapter-house were planned and carried out chiefly by him. In 1859 he designed the cathedral of Brisbane (Queensland), and rebuilt the east end of Waltham Abbey Church. In 1862 he prepared his designs for the cathedral at Cork, the most important ecclesiastical building which he ever carried out. Three years later he was employed by the Marquis of Bute on the restoration and, practically, the rebuilding of Cardiff Castle. About the year 1875 he began his restoration of Castle Coch, a mediæval ruin near Cardiff. Burges was also engaged in the alteration and adornment of Worcester College Chapel, Oxford, and was the architect of the college of Hartford, Connecticut, of Ripon grammar school, of the Speech Room at Harrow School, and of other buildings. He prepared remarkable designs for the New Law Courts in the Strand, and for the decoration of St. Paul's Cathedral, which were not, however, officially accepted. Besides these works he designed a great quantity of jewellery, furniture, and other objects which were executed under his immediate superintendence. Burges had a strong preference for French gothic, and possessed a very considerable antiquarian knowledge. The designs made by him for original buildings were characterised, as has been well remarked, 'by force and massiveness of general style and composition, combined with great picturesqueness of detail.' Although he had not the extensive practice of several architects contemporary with him, his work was always distinguished by its originality, and bore the distinct impress of his own personal thought and taste.

Burges was a fellow of the Royal Institution of British Architects, and was elected a few months before his death an associate of the Royal Academy. He wrote several papers on architectural subjects, and published in 1870 a volume of his architectural drawings. His death took place at his house in Melbury Road, London, on 20 April 1881. He bequeathed to the British Museum a selection

from his illuminated manuscripts and antiquities, the latter consisting principally of European and oriental armour.

[Transactions of the Roy. Inst. of Brit. Architects, 1881-2; Academy, 30 April 1881; Athenæum, 30 April 1881; British Architect, 29 April 1881; Builder, 30 April 1881, 10 May 1884, pp. 683, 684.] W. W.

**BURGESS, ANTHONY** (*A.* 1652), divine, was a son of a schoolmaster at Watford, but not related to Cornelius Burgess the minister, or John Burgess [*q.v.*] his predecessor at Sutton Coldfield. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1623, and became fellow of Emmanuel. Here he was a tutor of the famous John Wallis, who mentions him with respect in the autobiographical notes prefixed to Hearne's edition of 'Langtoft.' He became vicar of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire. During the civil war he took refuge in Coventry, and lectured the parliamentary garrison. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly. After the Restoration he was ejected from Sutton Coldfield, and lived at Tamworth. The bishop of Lichfield (Hacket) is said to have begged him to conform, declaring that he was fit to be professor at a university.

He published various separate sermons, including a funeral sermon on Thomas Blake, which Wood had not seen, but a copy of which is in the British Museum, and 1. 'Vindiciæ Legis, a Vindication of the Moral Law . . . (against Antinomians) in twenty-nine lectures at Lawrence Jury,' 1646. 2. 'The True Doctrine of Justification asserted . . . (against Arminians, &c.), in thirty lectures at Lawrence Jury,' 1648. 3. 'Spiritual Refining' (120 sermons), 1652. 4. 'Expository Sermons (145) on the 17th chapter of the Gospel according to St. John,' 1656. 5. 'The Scripture Directory . . . a Practical Commentary upon the whole third chapter of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, to which is annexed the Godly and Natural Man's Choice, &c.,' 1659. 6. 'Doctrine of Original Sin asserted,' 1659.

[Palmer and Calamy, iii. 350; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), iii. 432; Chronicle of Peter de Langtoft (Hearne), 1725, i. cxlviii; Sylvester's Baxter, iii. 93.]

**BURGESS, DANIEL** (1645-1718), presbyterian minister, was born at Staines, Middlesex, in 1645. His father, Daniel Burgess, who, after holding the livings of Staines and of Sutton Magna, Wiltshire, was appointed rector of Collingbourne Ducis, Wiltshire, through the influence of his brother Isaac Burgess, high sheriff of the county, was ejected in 1662, and was probably the author of the

sermon on Eccl. xii. 1 (1660, fol.) mentioned by Watt and Allibone. Burgess was placed under Busby at Westminster School in 1654, and entered commoner of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1660. He studied hard, but did not graduate, declining to conform. The statement that he took orders at Oxford needs confirmation; deacon's orders he may have had, but more probably only the license of a presbytery. Leaving the university, he acted as domestic chaplain to Foyl of Chute, Wiltshire, and afterwards to Smith of Tedworth. In 1667 Roger Boyle, first earl of Orrery, lord president of Munster, took him to Ireland, where he remained seven years. He was head master of the school founded by Lord Orrery at Charleville, co. Cork, and had pupils from the Irish nobility and gentry. He afterwards acted as chaplain to Lady Mervin, near Dublin [? Susanna, daughter of Sir William Balfour, widow of Baron Glenawley (*d.* April 1679), and wife of Henry Mervyn of Trelick, county Tyrone (ARCHDALL, *Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, 1789, ii. 300).] He was ordained by the Dublin presbytery. At Dublin he married. In 1674 his father's state of health took him to Marlborough; he preached there and in the neighbourhood, and was sent to Marlborough gaol. He came to London in his fortieth year (1685), and ministered to a large congregation at a hired meeting-place in Brydges Street, Covent Garden. He had influential friends; the Countess of Warwick chose him as tutor for her grandson, the future Lord Bolingbroke; in July 1688 Rotherham, one of the new barons of exchequer, took him as his chaplain on the Oxford circuit (letter in 5th Rep. of *Hist. Manuscripts Commission*, p. 378; Burgess is described as 'a man of extraordinary ripe parts'), and in 1695 he preached the funeral sermon for the Countess of Ranelagh. His congregation moved in 1695 to a meeting-house in Russell Court, Drury Lane, and in 1705 a meeting-house was built for him in New Court, Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Before it was paid for differences arose in his congregation, ending in a large secession from his ministry. On 1 March 1710 the Sacheverell mob gutted Burgess's meeting-house, and made a bonfire of its pulpit and other fittings. The government offered a reward of 100l. for the apprehension of the rioters, and repaired the building. Burgess's fame as a preacher was great, and his exuberant animation was something new in the London pulpit. He was a conspicuous example of pith and vivacity at a time when a dry dignity was beginning to be exacted of preachers as a virtue. Swift, who admits his ability, unjustly taxes him with



mixing unction with 'incoherence and ribaldry' (*Tatler*, 10 Sept. 1709). Tom Brown, who takes his Indian to Russell Court, deals chiefly with the congregation, but his hint of Burgess's 'pop-gun way of delivery' is in harmony with his style of composition. It is full of epigram, terse, quaint, clear, and never meaningless or dull. Caulfield reproduces a curious contemporary print of Burgess and his congregation. Among current stories of his pulpit wit the best is that which makes him say that the Jews were called Israelites because God did not choose that his people should be called Jacobites. His very sensible discourse on 'Foolish Talking and Jestings described and condemned' (Eph. v. 4), 1694, 16mo, is of moment in view of his own practice and repute. Briefly, he contends that 'no jesting is lawful but what is medicinal, and restorative of spirits for nobler thoughts' (p. 69). In theology he was Calvinistical. Burgess's last years were damped by the defection from his flock and by sickness. 'If I must be idle,' he said, 'I had rather be idle under ground than idle above ground.' He died on 26 Jan. 1713, and was buried on 31 Jan. in the church of St. Clement Danes. Matthew Henry preached his funeral sermon.

Of Burgess's publications Bogue and Bennett give, after Henry, an imperfect list of thirty-two without dates, beginning with 'Soliloquies,' which he printed in Ireland, and ending with a Latin defence of nonconformity, 'Appellatio ad Fratres externos.' Among his works are: 1. 'A Call to Sinners,' 1689, 8vo (written at the request of Baron Rotherham, for the use of condemned criminals). 2. 'Seasonable Words for English Protestants,' 1690, 4to. 3. 'The Characters of a Godly Man,' 1691, 8vo. 4. 'Eighteen Directions for Saving Conversion to God,' 1691, 8vo. 5. 'The Death and Rest, Resurrection and blessed Portion of the Saints' (Dan. xii. 13), 1692, 12mo. 6. 'A Discourse of the Death and Resurrection of good Men's Bodies,' 1692, 8vo. 7. 'The Confirming Work of Religion,' 1693, 8vo. 8. 'The Sure Way to Wealth . . . even while Taxes rise and Trades sink,' 1693, 8vo. 9. 'Rules for hearing the Word of God,' &c., 2nd ed. 1693, 8vo. 10. 'Holy Union and Holy Contentment, &c.' 1695, 8vo. 11. 'Rules and Motives to Holy Prayer,' 1696, 8vo. 12. 'Causa Dei; or Counsel to the Rich,' 1697, 8vo. 13. 'The Golden Snuffers' [Ex. xxxvii. 23], 1697, 12mo (a favourite illustration with him, see *Foolish Talking*, p. 93. This was the first sermon preached to the Societies for the Reformation of Manners). He superintended the third edition (P 1681) of Robert Fleming's 'The Fulfilling of the Scripture.'

The famous whig tract, 'The Craftsmen: a Sermon . . . composed by the late Daniel Burgess, and intended to be preached by him in the High Times, but prevented by the Burning of his Meeting House,' in 'Indep. Whig,' ii. 236, and separately, 2nd ed. 1720, 8vo, is by Thomas Gordon. Burgess married a Mrs. Briscoe, and had two daughters and a son.

DANIEL BURGESS, M.A. (d. February 1747), son of Daniel Burgess (d. 1713), seems to have had the status of a minister, for 'Daniel Burgess' appears among the signatures to the non-subscribers' advices for peace at Salters' Hall, 10 March 1719; but in 1702 he received a government appointment, and in 1714 was sent to Hanover as secretary and reader to the Princess Sophia. He held the same post to the Princess of Wales, and, according to Calamy, 'of his own head' made the first motion to Viscount Townshend for an English *regium donum*, which was paid (500*l.* half-yearly) through him from April 1723. He published 'A Letter to the Bishop of Salisbury, occasioned by his Son's Letter to the Earl of Halifax,' 1715, 8vo (anon.); and 'A Short Account of the Roman Senate,' 1729, 4to.

[Henry's Funeral Sermon for Burgess, 1713; Calamy's Continuation, 1727, p. 872; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, ii. 92 (wrongly numbered 94), 336, 373; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, 1802, pp. 298, 330; Prot. Diss. Mag. vol. vi.; Bogue and Bennett's Hist. of Dissenters, 1809, ii. 270 seq.; Salmon's Chron. Hist. 1733, p. 320; T. Brown's Works, 9th ed. 1760, iii. 100; Caulfield's Portraits, 1819, i. 82; Calamy's Hist. Account of my own Life, 2nd ed. 1830, ii. 465 seq.; Walter Wilson's MSS. in Dr. Williams's Library.] A. G.

BURGESS, HENRY, LL.D. (1808-1886), divine, born in 1808, was educated in the Dissenting College at Stepney, where he obtained a high standing in Hebrew and classical learning. After ministering to a nonconformist congregation, he was ordained deacon in 1850 and priest in 1851 by Dr. Lee, bishop of Manchester. He took the degree of LL.D. at Glasgow University in 1851 and that of Ph.D. at the university of Göttingen in the following year. He held the perpetual curacy of Clifton Reynes, Buckinghamshire, from 1854 to 1861, when he was appointed by the lord chancellor to the vicarage of St. Andrew, Whittlesea, Cambridge-shire, in recognition of his services to theological learning. That benefice he held till his death on 10 Feb. 1886.

His principal works are: 1. A translation from the Syriac language of the 'Metrical Hymns and Homilies of St. Ephrem Syrus,

with Philological Notes and Dissertations on the Syrian Metrical Church Literature,' 2 vols. 1835. 2. 'The Country Miscellany,' 2 vols. 1836-7. 3. 'Poems,' 1850, dedicated to the Marchioness of Bute. 4. Translation of the 'Festal Letters of St. Athanasius,' 1852, a work which, after being long lost in the original Greek, was recovered in an ancient Syriac version, and edited for the Oxford 'Library of the Fathers' by the Rev. H. G. Williams. 5. 'The Reformed Church of England in its Principles and their legitimate Development,' 1869. 6. 'Essays, Biblical and Ecclesiastical, relating chiefly to the Authority and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures.' 7. 'The Art of Preaching and the Composition of Sermons,' 1881. He prepared the second edition of Kitto's 'Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature,' and he was for some years editor of the 'Clerical Journal' (1854-68) and the 'Journal of Sacred Literature.'

[Times, 16 Feb. 1886; Men of the Time (1884), 189; Crockford's Clerical Directory (1882), 161.]  
T. C.

**BURGESS, JOHN (1563-1635)**, who held a unique position in the so-called puritan section of the English clergy, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, and graduated at that university as B.A. in 1586.

From his having been rector of the small living of St. Peter Hungate in Norwich as early as 1590, when he can hardly have been more than twenty-seven years old, it may be conjectured that he was a Norfolk man. When proceedings were taken against Cartwright and his supporters, and the rigour of the dominant party in the church began to be felt by all except the narrowest conformists, Burgess, whose sympathies were all with the puritan party, threw the responsibility of choosing what course he should adopt upon his congregation at Norwich. For himself he accepted loyally the position which Cartwright had taken up at the first—for the surplice and the cross in baptism, they were *not unlawful, they were inexpedient*. From that position Burgess never departed through his life; with him it was always a question of degree; the ceremonies at one time might be so inexpedient as to be ruinous to the church that adopted them, at another so unimportant the one way or the other that they were not worth disputing about. In the one case it was a man's duty to suffer the loss of all things rather than submit to them, in the other case it was his duty to submit for peace sake and to avoid schism or strife. With this view of the case he left himself in the hands of his congregation; if they

would not be scandalised by his wearing the surplice and using the ceremonies, he would conform; if their consciences would be wounded by his submission, he would not. They answered that if he wore the surplice 'they would never profit by his ministry,' and accepting the verdict he resigned. Very soon they all bitterly regretted their decision, but it was too late.

Not long after this Burgess removed into the diocese of Lincoln, and had for his diocesan William Chadderton, who was translated from Chester in 1595. Here he held some benefice the name of which has not been ascertained, and Chadderton seems to have left him unmolested during the remainder of Queen Elizabeth's reign.

Throughout the first year after James I's accession the nonconformist party gave the king no peace. On 16 July 1604 a proclamation was issued requiring all ministers to conform to the new book of ecclesiastical canons before the last day of November following. The nonconforming clergy were much distressed and alarmed, and it is clear that Burgess was regarded as a leading man among the conscientiously disaffected. While the convocation was deliberating on the canons he was called upon to explain the ground he took and to preach before the king at Greenwich on 19 June 1604. Burgess chose his text from Psalm cxxii. 8, 9. The sermon was a poor performance and somewhat offensive in its tone, but one passage seems to have provoked the king beyond measure, though it is difficult to say why. Burgess likened the ceremonies to Pollio's glasses, 'which were not worth a man's life or livelihood,' and for this and other expressions he was sent to the Tower. He was not kept long in prison; on sending a written copy of his sermon with a most humble letter of submission to the king and another to the lords of the privy council, he was released, though he tells us he was 'of mind either to refuse subscription . . . or else to be assured by the bishop . . . that there was no such variation in the doctrine or intention of the church as [he] and others suspected.' With this view he drew up his 'Apology,' which was addressed to Bishop Chadderton, and sent to him in manuscript; another copy was presented to the king by Sir Thomas Jermyn of Rushbrook, Suffolk, whom Burgess calls 'mine honorable friend.' Burgess evidently was proud of this performance; the pamphlet was circulated somewhat widely, and Dr. Covell, afterwards subdean of Lincoln, was ordered to prepare an answer, 'and thus,' says Burgess, 'that writing which was private became public without my knowledge of it; but no man can truly say that in

that book I say anything at all to prove these ceremonies unlawful to be used, whatever be there said against the urging of them.' When the day appointed for subscribing to the canons arrived, Burgess refused, resigned his living, and was silenced; thereupon he left England and retired to Leyden, where for the next six or seven years he studied medicine and took the degree of doctor of physic. He seems to have returned to England in 1612 or 1613; in June of the latter year James I wrote a letter to the university of Cambridge complaining that he had been allowed to take the degree of doctor of physic without subscription to the three articles of the 36th canon, branding him as one 'who upon a humour or spirit of faction or schism apostatising from his orders and ministry, hath betaken himself to the profession of physic.' The university, in consequence of the king's letter, passed a statute enacting that none should take the doctorate in any faculty without previously subscribing. The king had not yet done with him. Burgess had taken up his residence in London, and by a stretch of the royal prerogative he was prevented from practising physic in London on the ground that he had been in holy orders. Hereupon he removed to Isleworth, and here he rapidly acquired a very large and lucrative practice. Sir Theodore Mayerne, the great court physician, warmly defended him, and among other illustrious patients was Lucy, countess of Bedford, who for a time was so much under his influence that Donne, in one of his letters, complains that Burgess had induced her ladyship to treat him with coldness at a time when he sorely needed her help. In June 1616 Bacon wrote to Villiers suggesting that he should intercede for Burgess with the king, saying that the doctor was then prepared to subscribe, desired to resume his ministry, and that there was some talk of the benchers of Gray's Inn choosing him as their preacher. It does not appear that he ever was chosen, but he was elected to a readership at Bishopsgate, and six months afterwards he was offered and he accepted the living of Sutton Coldfield in Warwickshire, which had been resigned by Dr. Chetwynd on his promotion to the deanery of Bristol in July 1617. On the 5th of that month he preached at Paul's Cross, where, writes Chamberlain to Carleton, 'Mr. Secretary (Winwood) and his lady were present, and as great an auditory as hath been seen there. . . . For my part,' he adds, 'I can discover nothing so extraordinary in him but opinion.' Burgess's friends in London were not pleased at his removal to the country; perhaps they thought that he might have

expected higher preferment if he remained near the court. He himself had reason to know that James I never loved him, and that there was nothing to expect from royal favour. When Sir Horatio Vere went out to engage in the war of the Palatinate in 1620, Burgess accompanied him as his chaplain; he does not seem to have remained long with the English force, and he was succeeded by his future son-in-law, Dr. Ames. In January 1625 Bishop Morton collated him to the prebendal stall of Wellington in the cathedral of Lichfield, which he subsequently resigned for that of Hunsacre in the same church.

At Sutton Coldfield he continued to reside till the end of his life, being, as Wood tells us, 'held in much respect among the godly.'

On 10 July 1627 Burgess was one of fifty-nine Cambridge men who incorporated at Oxford, 'at which time liberty was allowed to him by the venerable congregation that he might study in the public library, being then a conformist to the church of England.' Four years after this he published his last work, 'An Answer Rejoyned to that much applauded Pamphlet of a Namelesse Author, bearing this Title, viz. "A Reply to Dr. Morton's General Defence of three nocent Ceremonies, &c." . . . Published by his Majesty's special command, London, 4to, 1631.' The book, though the subject is worn out and repulsive, is a pathetic and generous one, and the preface, in which he glances at his previous career, is characterised by great earnestness and nobility of sentiment.

Burgess died 31 Aug. 1635, aged 74, 'or thereabouts,' as Wood says, and was buried in the chancel of Sutton Coldfield church, where a monument exists to his memory. He seems never to have quite relinquished his medical practice, for as late as August 1634 he was admitted an extra licentiate of the College of Physicians. Possibly this may have been no more than a complimentary degree. In the preface alluded to above he boasts 'I have parted with more profit by taking up Conformity and a Benefice than any man in England hath done by his Inconformity and loss of his benefice; therefore it was not a benefice that drew me on.'

Burgess married Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Wilcox, whose works he edited in folio in 1624. By her he had at least three daughters, one married to Dr. William Ames [q. v.], nonconformist divine; one to William Hill, master of the school at Sutton Coldfield; a third to one Sherman, of whom nothing is known. He also had a son, Dr. John Burgess of Sutton Coldfield, whose 'medical common-places' are preserved in Sloane MS. 250.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 691, ii. 641, 647, iii. 800; Fasti, ii. 434; Heylyn's *Hist. of Presbyt.* 377, 380; *Cal. of State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1603-10, p. 127; Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 59, 60; Ussher's *Works* (Elrington), xvi. 333; *Court and Times of James I.*, i. 262, 303, 424, ii. 28; Bacon's *Letters* (Spedding), v. 372, 373; Le Neve's *Fasti*; Arthur Wilson's *James I.*, anno 1603-20; Donne's *Letters* 4to, 1654, 218; Burgess's *Answer Rejoyned*, 4to, 1631, Preface, 14 et seq.; Munk's *Coll. of Phys.* i. 201; MS. of Burgess, sermon (in the writer's possession) preached at Greenwich—it is incomplete.] A. J.

**BURGESS, JOHN** (*d.* 1671), ejected minister, was the son of a Devonshire clergyman and a graduate. He obtained the rectory of Ashprington, Devonshire, on the sequestration of John Lethbridge (*d.* 2 Sept. 1655). It is remarkable that on Burgess's ejection in 1662 the patron, Edward Giles of Bowden, gave him the next presentation, which Burgess disposed of for 500*l.* He removed to Dartmouth to reside with Allen Geare, M.A., ejected from St. Saviour's (*d.* December 1662); and afterwards to London, where he had a daughter married to Thomas Brooks. He lived at Hackney, where he and others kept up a small private congregation; and at Islington, where he had a boarding-house connected with John Singleton's school. He was probably an independent. Calamy calls him a man of extraordinary abilities. He died in 1671. Philip Henry gives an account of his funeral at Islington on 7 Sept. 1671, attended by over a hundred ministers.

[Calamy's *Account*, 1713, p. 242; Continuation, 1727, p. 282; Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, 1714, p. 292; Palmer's *Nonconf. Memorial*, 1802, ii. 3; *Univ. Theol. Mag.* 1803, p. 184; Lee's *Diaries and Letters of Philip Henry*, 1882, p. 242.] A. G.

**BURGESS, JOHN CART** (1798-1863), flower and landscape painter, born in 1798, was a grandson of the portrait-painter, William Burgess (*d.* 1812) [q. v.]. He commenced the profession as a painter of flowers and fruit in water-colours, and first exhibited at the Royal Academy three flower pieces in 1812; at that time residing at 46 Sloane Square, Chelsea. He also exhibited in Suffolk Street and at the British Institution. His works were much admired, and in brilliancy and beauty of execution rivalled those of Van Huysum. Marrying at the age of twenty-seven, the requirements of a growing family compelled him to relinquish painting for the more lucrative occupation of teaching, and for many years he held a prominent position as a master. Among his pupils he numbered

several members of the royal family. Burgess died at the residence of his son, Mr. John Burgess, Leamington, on 20 Feb. 1863. In 1811 he published a book on flower-painting and a treatise on perspective which has gone through several editions. Two studies by him are in the British Museum.

[Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists* (1878).] L. F.

**BURGESS, RICHARD** (1796-1881), biblical scholar, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated, and was ordained deacon in 1820, priest 1823, by Dr. Vernon-Harcourt, archbishop of York. In 1828 he was domestic chaplain to Lord Aylmer, and chaplain to the English residents at Geneva. In 1831 he became chaplain to a Church of England congregation at Rome. He was made rector of Upper Chelsea in 1836. He continued his incumbency for twenty-five years. In 1861 a testimonial worth 1,200*l.* was presented to him by his parishioners and friends. Mr. Gladstone, on behalf of the crown, presented him in 1869 to the rectory of Horningsheath-with-Ickworth, near Bury St. Edmunds, and the prebendal stall of Tottenhall in St. Paul's Cathedral was conferred upon him in 1850. He died on 12 April 1881 at Brighton, aged 85. Burgess was honorary secretary to the Foreign Aid Society, honorary member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, corresponding member of the Pontifical Archæological Academy at Rome, and for eight years the honorary secretary to the London Diocesan Board of Education. He was deeply interested in the subject of national education, and wrote several pieces on national schools, school teachers, education by rates or taxes, besides letters to Sir James Graham, Sir George Grey, Dr. Hook, the Bishop of London, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, on kindred subjects. He was a voluminous writer. In addition to a variety of sermons, his chief works are: 1. 'Description of the Circus on the Via Appia near Rome, with some account of the Circensian Games,' Lond. 1828, translated into Italian in 1829 by Giuseppe Porta. 2. 'The Topography and Antiquities of Rome, including the recent discoveries made about the Forum and the Via Sacra,' 2 vols. Lond. 1831. 3. 'Lectures on the Insufficiency of Unrevealed Religion, and on the succeeding influence of Christianity, delivered in the English Chapel at Rome,' Lond. 1832. 4. 'Greece and the Levant, or Diary of a Summer's Excursion,' 2 vols. Lond. 1835. 5. 'An Enquiry into the state of the Church of England Congregations in France, Belgium, and Switzerland,' Lond. 1850. 6. 'Sermons for the Times,'

Lond. 1851. 7. 'The Confessional,' Lond. 1852. 8. 'Constantinople, and Greek Christianity,' Lond. 1855. 9. 'A City for the Pope, or the Solution of the Roman Question,' Lond. 1860.

[Cooper's Men of the Time (10th edit.); Brit. Mus. Cat.; Times, 19 April 1881.] J. M.

**BURGESS, THOMAS** (*d.* 1786), painter, received his art education at the St. Martin's Lane academy, and on becoming in 1766 a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists, sent to its exhibitions numerous portraits, conversation-pieces, and studies of various life. In 1778, when living in Kemp's Row, Chelsea, he was represented for the first time at the Royal Academy by three pictures, 'William the Conqueror dismounted by his eldest Son,' 'Hannibal swearing Enmity to the Romans,' and 'Our Saviour's Appearance to Mary Magdalen.' He afterwards exhibited a portrait of himself and some landscapes. In 1786 appeared 'The Death of Athelwold,' his last contribution to the Academy. As a teacher Burgess attained a high reputation, and for some time kept a drawing school in Maiden Lane which had considerable success.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878), p. 62.] G. G.

**BURGESS, THOMAS** (1784?-1807), painter, a son of William Burgess (*d.* 1812) [q. v.], and grandson of Thomas Burgess (*d.* 1786) [q. v.], made his first appearance at the Royal Academy in 1802, when he contributed 'Market Gardener's House at Walham Green.' In 1803 he exhibited 'Landscape and Flowers;' in 1804, 'Ruins of a Fire in Soho;' and in 1805 and 1806, 'Derbyshire and Devonshire Views.' Of a delicate constitution, he was attacked with consumption, and died at his father's house in Sloane Square, Chelsea, on 23 Nov. 1807, aged 23, an artist of great promise.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists, 1878, p. 62; Gent. Mag. lxxvii. ii. 1177.] G. G.

**BURGESS, THOMAS, D.D.** (1756-1837), successively bishop of St. David's and Salisbury, born 18 Nov. 1756, was the son of a grocer of Odiham in Hampshire. He was sent in 1763 to Odiham grammar school, and thence in 1768 to Winchester. In 1775 he became a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. In 1777, while still an undergraduate, he re-edited Burton's 'Pentalogia.' He took his B.A. on 17 Dec. 1778, won a prize essay in 1780, published a new edition of Dawes's 'Miscellanea Critica,' which won for him the friendship of Tyrwhitt, and in

1782 took his M.A., and became a tutor of his college. In 1783 he was elected a fellow. In 1784 he was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Cornwall of Winchester. In 1785 he was appointed examining chaplain to Bishop Shute Barrington of Salisbury, and was prebendary of Salisbury, 1787-1803. Up to 1791 he remained at Oxford, publishing various classical works; but he gradually 'turned his attention to sacred studies'—learned Hebrew, and 'imbibed deep and serious views of divine truth.' He assisted in the promotion of Sunday schools in the diocese of Salisbury, wrote a pamphlet against slavery and the slave trade (1788), and became the friend of Hannah More and other members of the evangelical party. In 1791 Bishop Barrington was translated to Durham, and Burgess, still his chaplain, quitted Oxford for the north. In September 1791 he was appointed by the bishop to one of the valuable prebends of Durham Cathedral, and in 1795 to the 'sweet and delightful' living of Winston in the same county. In Nov.-Dec. 1798 he held the prebend of Islington at St. Paul's. In 1799 he married a Miss Bright. He continued to write, and took a prominent share in religious and educational movements. In June 1803 his old friend Addington, then prime minister, appointed him bishop of St. David's.

The bishopric of St. David's was at that time hardly worth 1,200*l.* a year, and, being regarded merely as a stepping-stone to further promotion, its occupants not unfrequently completely neglected the duties of their office. But Burgess's continued tenure of his Durham prebend gave him an adequate income, and he devoted himself with such zeal to the reformation of his diocese as to make a deep mark on the history of the Welsh church. He found the clergy ill educated, careless of their duties, often drunken and immoral. The livings were too poor to attract university men, and a year at the grammar school of Ystradmeurig was thought enough to qualify a youth fresh from the plough, and imperfectly acquainted with the English language, for holy orders. Burgess's first step to improve classical education was to license four grammar schools, at which seven years' study was required before ordination. In 1804 he established the 'Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Church Union in the Diocese of St. David's,' which aimed at raising the standard of classical education, at providing English and Sunday schools for the poor, at spreading religious books, and at founding libraries and a superannuation fund for the poorer clergy. Before long the bishop began to collect subscriptions with a view to establishing a

properly equipped college on the Oxford and Cambridge model, for the education of his clergy, both in general subjects and in theology. He regularly set aside part of his income for the purpose, and persuaded many of his clergy to devote a tenth of their small means to the same object. By 1820 he had collected 11,000*l.*, and, having obtained grants from the king and the universities, in 1822 he laid the foundation-stone of St. David's College at Lampeter in Cardiganshire. His translation to another see occurred before the college was opened in 1827; but he continued to watch over it with the greatest interest, and left in his will considerable legacies to an institution which he regarded as the chief work of his life, and which has had an important influence in spreading higher education in Wales.

Meanwhile Burgess continued to perform his duties 'with a zeal worthy of the best ages of Christianity.' His confirmations and ordinations were conducted with a carefulness quite remarkable at that time. By a large personal sacrifice of fines for renewing leases, he permanently increased the income of his see. His attendance at Eisteddfodau showed his desire to approach the national sentiment of his flock, and he refused to induct clergy ignorant of Welsh into Welsh-speaking parishes. In 1804 he took a prominent share in establishing the Bible Society. In 1823 he drew up, at the king's command, a plan for the foundation of the Royal Society of Literature, of which he was the first president. He still found time for copious literary work, consisting of charges, sermons, devotional treatises, grammars, exhortations to the study of Hebrew, fragments of biblical criticism, of controversial theology and ecclesiastical politics, and attempts at ecclesiastical history. At one time he wrote tracts, which essayed to prove the Pauline origin, the 'evangelical' doctrine, and the independence of Rome of the old British church. At another he attempted to vindicate the authenticity of 1 John v. 7 against more powerful critics than himself. He wrote and spoke in parliament against the catholic claims. Between 1814 and 1820 he denounced the unitarians in a long series of tracts. For several years in succession he exhausted the patience of the Royal Society of Literature by a demonstration that the newly discovered treatise 'De Doctrina Christiana' could not be written by Milton, because its orthodoxy on the question of the Trinity was more than doubtful. In nearly all that he wrote Burgess had some cherished principle or opinion to defend, for the sake of which he threw away discretion and impartiality.

During his long career he published more than a hundred works; a list of which can be found in Harford's 'Life' (appendix and ch. xxxiii.), and which occupy more than fifteen pages of the British Museum Catalogue.

In 1825 Burgess was translated to the richer see of Salisbury, and left some of his most important works at St. David's in an unfinished state. But his health needed an easier post, and the complaints of his inattention to formal business in his new see show that at the age of nearly seventy his great activity was beginning to abate. He, however, made his mark upon his new diocese, as well as on his old one. In 1829 he fought desperately the last battle against catholic emancipation by letters to the Duke of Wellington, published in the newspapers, and by a violent harangue in the House of Lords. He established in Salisbury a church union society, analogous to that in St. David's, and showed great energy in visiting, confirming, educating, and ordaining. For several years he suffered from weakness of vision, and in 1835 he was seized with an apoplectic fit. His health now rapidly sank. He still had enough energy to protest in 1836 against Lord Melbourne's Irish church policy. He died on Sunday, 19 Feb., and was buried at Salisbury on 27 Feb. 1837.

[Harford's Life of Bishop Burgess.] T. F. T.

**BURGESS, THOMAS, D.D. (1791-1854),** catholic prelate, was born in Lancashire 1 Oct. 1791, and educated at Ampleforth, where he became a professed monk of the order of St. Benedict 13 Oct. 1807. In 1830 he was secularised, and in conjunction with Father Edward Metcalfe he endeavoured to raise up a new collegiate establishment at Prior Park, near Bath. After he had stayed there some time Bishop Baines transferred him to Cannington, then appointed him to the charge of Portland Chapel, Bath (1832), and finally ordered him to Monmouth. On the resignation of Dr. Hendren, the first bishop of Clifton, Burgess was elected to succeed him, and was consecrated 27 July 1851. His death occurred at Westbury-on-Trym 27 Nov. 1854.

[Tablet, December 1854, pp. 760, 773, 788; Catholic Directory (1854), 77; Gent. Mag. new ser. xliii. 109; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 255.] T. C.

**BURGESS, WILLIAM (1749?-1812),** painter, son of Thomas Burgess (*n.* 1786) [q. v.], achieved his first success as early as 1761, when he was awarded a premium by the Society of Arts. 'He exhibited portraits

and conversation-pieces with the free Society of Artists in 1769 and 1771, and at the Royal Academy, commencing in 1774, portraits in chalk, small whole-lengths, groups, "Gipsy Boy and Girl," and occasionally landscape views. He last exhibited in 1799. Like his father, he was probably better known as a successful teacher of drawing, in which occupation he made more money than by his pictures. Burgess died in Sloane Square, Chelsea, on 12 May 1812, at the age of 63. He was the father of H. W. Burgess, landscape-painter to William IV.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878), p. 62; *Gent. Mag.* lxxxii. i. 501.] G. G.

**BURGESS, WILLIAM** (1755?-1813), engraver, in conjunction with his son, Hilkiah, published a set of prints of the Lincolnshire churches, and of Lincoln and Ely cathedrals. To the profession of an artist he united that of a baptist minister, and presided over a congregation of that sect at Fleet in Lincolnshire for twenty years. He was also the author of a controversial pamphlet on the works of Dr. Adam Clarke. He died suddenly at Fleet on 11 Dec. 1813, in his fifty-ninth year (*Gent. Mag.* lxxxiii. ii. 701).

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878), p. 62.] G. G.

**BURGESS, WILLIAM OAKLEY** (1818-1844), mezzotint engraver, was the son of the parish surgeon of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, London. He was born in 1818, and early in life became a pupil of Thomas Goff Lupton, the mezzotint engraver, with whom he remained until he was twenty. He applied himself with great earnestness to his art, and acquired much delicacy in its practice. His death, which took place on 24 Dec. 1844, in the twenty-seventh year of his age, was caused by an abscess in the head, supposed to have arisen from a blow of a skittle-ball some years before.

Burgess's best engravings are after the works of Sir Thomas Lawrence. They include a larger and a smaller plate of the Duke of Wellington, both of which are remarkable for their admirably graduated tones, as well as the portraits of General Sir John Moore and of Charlotte, duchess of Northumberland, which were published in the series of fifty plates of 'Engravings from the choicest Works of Sir Thomas Lawrence,' 1835-45.

[Historical Register, 4 Jan. 1845; Art Union, 1845, p. 101.] R. E. G.

**BURGH, BENEDICT** (d. 1472), clerk and translator, became rector of Sandon, Essex, in 1440, archdeacon of Colchester in

1465, prebendary of St. Paul's in 1472, and was afterwards made 'high canon of St. Stephen's' at Westminster. He continued Lydgate's 'Secretes of Philosophers.' The whole work was edited by Mr. Robert Steele for the Early English Text Society in 1893. Burgh also translated Cato's precepts into English verse. The opening words of Caxton's translation of Cato's precepts, printed on 23 Dec. 1483, are: 'Here begynneth the prologue or prohemye of the booke callid Caton, whiche booke hath ben translated out of Latin in to Englysshe by Mayster Benet Burgh, late Archedecken of Colchester and hie chanon of Saint Stephens at Wesmestre, which ful craftly hath made it in balade ryal for the erudicion of my lordre Bousher, sone and heyr at that tyme to my lord the erle of Estsex.' Burgh then was probably tutor of the young Lord Bouchier, and was certainly dead in 1483.

[Newcourt's Repertorium, ii. 517; Le Neve's Fasti, ed. Hardy, ii. 341; Caxton's Cato in the Library of the British Museum; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 49; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 140.] W. H.

**BURGH, HUBERT** de (d. 1243), chief justiciar, is said to have been the son of a brother of William FitzAldelm, steward of Henry II and lord of Connaught (Dugdale's *Baronage*). He was employed by Richard I. When John divorced his wife, Isabella of Gloucester, in 1200, he sent Hubert and other ambassadors from Rouen to the king of Portugal, to ask his daughter in marriage. Although the king was so unkindful of the safety of his ambassador as to marry Isabella of Angoulême during the course of their embassy, they nevertheless returned in safety. The next year Hubert, who now appears as the king's chamberlain, was sent with a hundred knights to guard the Welsh march. The famous story that forms the groundwork of Shakespeare's 'King John,' act iv. sc. 1, 2, rests on the authority of Ralph of Coggeshall, who says that Hubert was castellan of Falaise; that he had charge of Arthur of Brittany, after he was taken at Mirabel; that he kept him in strict custody in fetters fastened round his ankles with three rings; that John, enraged at the gallant attacks of the Bretons, sent a messenger to Falaise with orders to mutilate and blind his nephew, and that Hubert had the messenger turned out of the castle, believing that the king would repent him of his cruel order. In the hope of checking the forays of the Bretons, he pretended, we are told, that the king's command had been obeyed, and that Arthur was dead. When, however, the

Bretons heard this, they grew fiercer than before, and Hubert was soon forced to declare the truth. John was glad when he heard it, for some of his knights told him that had it been otherwise no man would have dared to hold a castle for him against the king of France for fear of reprisals. Arthur was shortly afterwards taken from Hubert's care, and sent to Rouen (RALPH COGGESH. 139-143). Considerable doubt has been thrown upon this story [see ARTHUR OF BRITANY]. Ralph of Coggeshall is no bad authority, as he was generally careful to get his information from the best sources; but the whole transactions connected with Arthur's fate are full of uncertainty. When Philip of France had pronounced the second sentence of forfeiture against John, Hubert was sent to declare the king's readiness to answer all charges in his lord's court, and to demand a safe-conduct for him. In 1204, when almost the whole of the rest of Poitou had fallen into the hands of the French, Hubert gallantly held the castle of Chinon against them. After a siege lasting for a whole year, the castle, which men had always deemed too strong to be taken, was so shattered that Hubert was forced to leave it. He then met the enemy in the open field, and after a stout fight was badly wounded and taken prisoner. In 1214 he appears as seneschal of Niort (*Close Rolls*) and of Poitou, and as a party to the truces made in that year with the court of La Marche and the king of France (RYMER, *Fœdera*, i. 63, 64, 2nd edit.; GVL. ARMORIC. *Recueil des Hist.* xvii. 91, 104). He received various grants from John, and at different periods of the reign was sheriff of seven counties. He was on the king's side at Runnymede, and his name is mentioned in the first clause of the great charter as one of those by whose advice it was granted, and in the list given by Matthew Paris of the lords who upheld the twenty-five conservators of the charter. He first appears as justiciar in June 1215, the month in which the charter was signed by the king. On the landing of Louis in 1216, John committed Dover Castle to his keeping. He vigorously defended it against the assault of the French, and slew so many of the enemy that Louis determined to reduce it by blockade. Hubert is said to have roughly repulsed the messengers of Louis, who offered him Norfolk and Suffolk to hold in fee if he would join his party. The siege began 22 July, and by 14 Oct. the castle had suffered so severely that Hubert made a truce with Louis as far as the siege was concerned, in order that he might see whether the king would send him help. Louis seems now to have broken up the blockade (RALPH

COGGESH. 182; WILL. COV. i. 232; WENDOVER, iv. 4).

Although the Earl of Pembroke was made regent on the accession of Henry III, Hubert continued to hold the office of justiciar. In the summer of 1217 any chance of success which Louis still had depended on the arrival of the reinforcements sent by his wife, and despatched in a fleet commanded by Eustace the Monk. Hubert, believing that if these troops effected a landing the kingdom would be undone, urged William Marshall and the bishop of Winchester to join him in attacking the fleet. They refused on the ground of their ignorance of nautical matters. He then gathered the ships of the Cinque Ports, and picked out the stoutest men of his garrison at Dover. After receiving the sacrament from his chaplain Luke, he charged the men he left in Dover Castle, adjuring them by Christ's blood that, if he should be taken, they should rather let him be hanged than give up the castle; 'for,' said he, 'it is the key of England.' The fleet was blessed by the bishop of Salisbury, and set sail 24 Aug. The number of Hubert's ships is somewhat differently stated; at the highest computation he had no more than sixteen large and twenty small vessels, while the French fleet consisted of eighty large and many smaller ships. While the French running before a fresh breeze made straight for the North Foreland, the English steered a slanting course, holding their luff, as though making for Calais ('obliquando tamen dracenam, id est loaf'). Eustace therefore kept a straight course, not thinking that he should be attacked by so small a force. As soon, however, as the English ships had got well to windward, the French running to leeward all the time, they bore down on the enemy, and so came into collision with their rear. The rest of the French fleet being dead to leeward was unable to come to the help of the ships attacked, and was overpowered in separate detachments. Only fifteen or seventeen ships escaped, fifty-five were taken, and the rest were sunk. Eustace the Monk was beheaded, and no quarter was given save to nobles and knights, who were spared for the sake of ransom. The fight lasted a whole day. As the commander of our fleet in this, the first of our great naval victories, Hubert de Burgh is entitled to the credit of the masterly movement which enabled our few ships to overpower the vastly superior force of the enemy (MATT. PARIS, iii. 29; *Ann. de Waverleia*, *Ann. de Wigornia*, *Ann. Monast.* ii. 288, iv. 408; explanation supplied by Prof. J. K. LAUGHTON). Hubert on his landing was met by a triumphal procession of ministers of state,



nobles, soldiery, and people, headed by five bishops in their robes, with crosses and banners, chanting and praising God for a victory that men deemed nothing less than miraculous. A French version of this battle is that a single French ship carrying Eustace the Monk left the main body of the fleet to attack a few English vessels that were crossing the channel; and that this ship was attacked by four English ones, and, being unsupported by the rest, was destroyed. Eustace was slain, and the French fleet then put back to their own shore (GUL. ARMORIC. *Recueil*, xvii. 111). Hubert's victory led to the treaty of Lambeth, 11 Sept. 1217, to which he was a party, and to the evacuation of England by the French.

The death of the regent in 1219 gave Hubert the first place in the kingdom after the legate. His special work was 'to replace the working of the administrative system in English hands' (STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* ii. 32). In this work he had to contend against a powerful foreign interest. The real head of the foreign party, which aimed at appropriating all administrative offices, was Peter des Roches, the Poitevin bishop of Winchester, upheld for a while by the legate Pandulf; the ostensible leaders were William of Aumale, the Earl of Chester, and Falkes de Breauté. In his struggle with this party Hubert upheld the right of Englishmen to all offices in their own administrative system; he was thus 'the first of our statesmen to convert the emotion of nationality into a principle of political action' (SHIRLEY, *Introd. Royal Letters of Hen. III.*). The first sign of the coming struggle was a dispute about the appointment of a seneschal for Poitou. Pandulf and the bishop of Winchester were in favour of giving the office to a Poitevin, while Hubert wished for an Englishman. The efforts of Archbishop Langton and Hubert brought about the resignation of Pandulf, and the justiciar thus gained the supreme power. He had many enemies, and their number was increased by his imprudent severity. When, in 1222, a riot broke out in London, he seized and hanged the ringleader, Constantine, one of the chief men of the city, with his nephew, and one of his principal abettors, and took a large number of prisoners, whom he caused to be mutilated before they were released. These severe measures were not forgotten by the Londoners. Some part of the hatred of the nobles against Hubert arose from jealousy. The young king trusted him implicitly. He had great wealth, partly derived from royal grants, and partly from his marriages. His first wife was Joan, daughter of William, earl of Devon, lord of the Isle of Wight, and widow of William Brewer, the younger; his second was Bea-

trice, daughter of William of Warenne, and widow of Lord Bardulf; his third, Isabella, daughter and heiress of William, second earl of Gloucester, the repudiated wife of King John, and at the time of her marriage with Hubert the widow of Geoffrey Mandeville, fifth earl of Essex. All these marriages greatly enriched him. In 1221 he made a yet higher match; for when the marriage of Alexander II of Scotland and Joan, King Henry's sister, was celebrated at York, Hubert married Margaret, Alexander's sister, in the same city. The anger of the nobles against Hubert was aggravated by the demand that the royal castles which had been committed by John into the keeping of different lords should be surrendered to the crown, a measure highly needful for the maintenance of orderly government, and for the attainment of the national policy of which Hubert was the representative. An attempt was made by William of Aumale in 1221 to resist this demand, and its utter failure served for a while to strengthen Hubert's position. The discontent, however, was too deep to be easily quelled, and the Earl of Chester next came forward as the mouthpiece of the foreign party which desired to disturb the peace of the kingdom. In January 1222 the archbishop held a council at London to compose the disputes that had arisen between the Earl of Chester on the one side and the Earl of Salisbury and the justiciar who are called regents ('*regis rectores et regni*,' WILL. COV. ii. 251) on the other. A threat of excommunication kept matters quiet for a time. In order to make the position of the discontented lords completely untenable, Hubert in 1223 procured a letter from Honorius III, declaring Henry competent to govern, and commanding the barons to obey him. Towards the end of the year he conducted a successful campaign in Wales. On his return he found the discontented lords engaged in a conspiracy to seize the Tower of London, in order to force the king to dismiss him. He prevented their design. Then the archbishop and bishops persuaded the leaders of the party to come to the king. They laid their complaints before him, declaring, according to one writer unfavourable to Hubert, that he was a waster of the royal treasure and an oppressor of the people. Hubert turned fiercely on the Bishop of Winchester, accused him of being at the bottom of the disturbance, and called him a traitor. The bishop in answer vowed that he would get the justiciar turned out of office if it cost him every penny he had, and left the council in a rage (*Ann. de Dunstap.* iii. 84). Peace was made between the parties by the archbishop. The overthrow of Falkes

de Breauté [q. v.] the next year destroyed the power of the party to which he belonged. The national policy of Hubert was crowned with success, and for the time his position was secured (*Const. Hist.* ii. 34-6).

The depression of the alien party left Hubert virtual master of the king and kingdom. He used his power to strengthen the throne, and to keep England at peace at home and abroad. At the same time he lost no opportunity of enriching himself and his relations. Little or nothing is known of his descent, and there are indications that his family was at least not held to be equal with those of the great nobles of England, who saw with disgust the riches and honours that were heaped upon him. It was, however, no part of his policy to depress the barons, and indeed the marriages between members of the royal family and the house of the Earls Marshall are evidence (as Dr. Stubbs has pointed out, *Const. Hist.* ii. 43) that he sought to enlist them for the support of the throne. On the death of William, earl of Arundel, in 1224, Hubert was made guardian of the earldom and of the young heir, Hugh, and the next year he was made guardian of the lands and of the heir of Hugh Bigod, earl of Norfolk. These and such like grants must have caused some anger among the nobles, who thus saw themselves shut out from opportunities of considerable power and profit. At the Christmas council of 1224 Hubert demanded a grant on behalf of the king. In answer the barons asked for a renewal of the great charter. A confirmation was granted, 11 Feb. 1225, and was signed by the justiciar. In 1226 a report was raised that William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, the king's uncle, had been lost at sea. Hubert at once asked the king to allow his nephew, Reimund, to marry the Countess Ela. The king agreed, subject to the consent of the lady. When Reimund went wooing, he was received with much indignation. The countess told him that she had heard of her lord's safety, and that, even had it been otherwise, she was too noble to marry a man of his rank. On the earl's return he complained bitterly to the king of the justiciar's conduct in sending a base fellow ('degenerem virum quendam') to woo his wife while he was alive, and vowed that if Henry would not do him right, he would seek his revenge himself, whatever evil he might bring on the kingdom. The justiciar made up the quarrel by giving him valuable presents, and invited him to eat at his house. The earl accepted the invitation, and soon afterwards fell sick and died. Among the special characteristics of the age is to be reckoned the prevalence of poisoning. Men were suspected of this crime

on the most frivolous grounds (MATT. PARIS, *Introd.* vii. ed. Luard). When Hubert's enemies were at last able to make their voices heard, they accused him of causing the deaths of the earl and of Falkes de Breauté, which both happened in 1226, though Falkes died at St. Cyriac, and there seems no ground for supposing that either of them met with foul play. Before long Hubert obtained the widow of William Mandeville, earl of Essex, as wife for Reimund, and another of his nephews, Thomas of Blundville, a clerk of the exchequer, was at his instance made bishop of Norwich. His brother Geoffrey already held the bishopric of Ely (1225-8).

Hubert was now strong enough to adopt a decisive policy. At a council held at Oxford in February 1227, the king by his advice declared himself of full age, and dismissed his governor, the Bishop of Winchester, who left England, and remained abroad for nearly five years. A new seal was made; the forest charters were declared obsolete, and notice was given to the religious houses that, if they wished to retain their privileges, they must sue for a renewal of their charters—a process entailing payment. These measures were put down to the justiciar, who, it is said, arbitrarily fixed the sum each convent had to pay. Harsh as these measures seem, it must be remembered that the state was greatly prejudiced by the existence of private rights and privileges, and that of those then existing many had been granted in a wasteful spirit, and many had doubtless been assumed without any grant (*Ann. Dunstap.* iii. 105). In the advice the justiciar gave on these matters he followed out that policy of resumption which he had before applied to the royal castles, and wisely laboured to secure the crown the means needed for the purposes of government, without burdening the people at large. At the Oxford council Hubert was made earl of Kent. In the course of a quarrel that arose about this time between the king and his brother Richard, earl of Cornwall, he is said to have advised Henry to seize the earl and imprison him. The ready support the earl received at this crisis from the other nobles is a sign of their dislike of the justiciar's administration. When, in 1228, war broke out with the Welsh, and the castle of Montgomery was besieged, Henry granted the honour and castle to the justiciar, and went with him to raise the siege. The expedition was on the whole disastrous, many of the king's men were in alliance with Llewelyn, and the army was badly provisioned. The failure was put down to the justiciar (*Ann. Dunstap.* iii. 110. Some legal proceedings, in which the men of Dunstaple

came off badly, are to be noticed in connection with the life of Hubert, as they doubtless afford the key to the unfavourable notices given of him in the Dunstaple annals). In spite of the ill success of the king in this war, he longed to undertake a more serious expedition. Envoys from the nobles of Gascony, Aquitaine, and Poitou, and from the chief men of Normandy, urged him to war with the French king. Hubert, who knew the emptiness of the treasury, and the need of peace, succeeded in staving off the matter for a season. But the king, no less headstrong than fickle and incapable, was set on a French expedition, and overruled the justiciar. At Michaelmas 1229 a large force was gathered at Portsmouth ready to embark. At the last moment it was found that there were not half enough ships for the transport of the army. The king fell into a violent rage, and laid the whole blame on the justiciar. In the hearing of all, he called him an 'old traitor,' and declared that this was the second time he had brought failure on him, and that he had been bribed by the French queen. Utterly carried away by his anger, he drew his sword, and would have slain the justiciar, had not the Earl of Chester and other bystanders interposed. Hubert withdrew himself for a while until the king's wrath had cooled (WENDOVER, iv. 204). In spite of this violent scene, he still remained at the head of affairs. He kept the king from sending a body of knights to join the discontented nobles of Brittany. 'It would,' he said, 'be simply sending them to die.' He went with the army in 1230 on the expedition the king made to Poitou and Gascony. The result showed the wisdom of the advice he had vainly given; no good was done, and much money was wasted. On his return he was sent to quell a rising of the Welsh, who were laying waste the country about Montgomery; he beheaded all his prisoners, and sent their heads to the king. Instead of intimidating the Welsh, this severe measure only made them fiercer.

Although Hubert had crushed the alien lords, another and more subtle attack was made by aliens on the rights of Englishmen, on the side of the church. Papal collectors drew vast sums out of the country, and English benefices were made the spoil of Italian priests. A widespread confederacy was secretly made to resist this foreign aggression, and many acts of violence were committed on papal officers and alien clergy. The justiciar was believed to have abetted these disturbances. Nothing could have more surely turned the king away from him than this belief, for Henry delighted in subjecting

himself to Rome. In 1231 Hubert had a dispute with the Archbishop of Canterbury. As guardian of the lands of the young Earl of Gloucester, he held the castle and town of Tonbridge. Archbishop Richard claimed them as held of the see. The king declared that the earl held of him in chief, and that the wardship of his lands pertained to the crown. The archbishop carried his cause to Rome. When he came there he said what evil he could against the justiciar. He declared that Hubert's wife Margaret was too near akin to his former wife Isabella, and also, as it seems, that he had neglected to fulfil a vow of pilgrimage. He complained that he was the king's one counsellor, all others were as nothing, and that he had invaded the rights of the church of Canterbury. The king's proctors spoke in vain on behalf of their master and the justiciar. Hubert had, however, been absolved from his vow of pilgrimage, and as to his marriage he managed, so it is said (*Ann. Dunstap.* iii. 128), to obstruct the hearing of the case by legal hindrances. In the course of this year the Bishop of Winchester returned to England. His return decided the downfall of the justiciar. Renewed incursions of the Welsh gave him an opportunity of bringing matters to a crisis. In company with other counsellors he represented to the king the scandal of these constant forays. Henry replied by complaining that his treasury was empty. The counsellors answered that his poverty arose from his grants. Acting on the bishop's suggestion, the king took away the treasurership from Hubert's friend Ranulf Brito, and gave it to the bishop's nephew, Peter of Rievaulx. The bishop was now all-powerful with Henry, yet even as late as June 1232 Hubert received a grant for life of the justiciarship of Ireland. On 29 July, however, acting on the advice of the Bishop of Winchester, the king turned him out of office, and demanded an account of all receipts and payments during his own reign and the reign of his father, together with an account of his proceedings in the matter of the Italian priests. Hubert pleaded a charter of quittance granted by John, but the bishop declared that the charter had lost all force by the death of the grantor. The next move against him was a series of distinct charges, viz. that he had prevented the marriage of Henry III and Margaret of Austria; that he had prevented the recovery of Normandy; that he seduced Margaret of Scotland, and married her in the hope of gaining the crown of that kingdom, and the like. His property and offices were taken from him, Dover Castle he had to give up to the new treasurer, and the wardship of the Earl of Gloucester to

the bishop. A large number of additional charges, founded on hearsay and some of the wildest character, were next brought. He had poisoned, it was said, William, earl of Salisbury, William Marshall, earl of Pembroke, Falkes de Breauté, and Archbishop Richard, and had gained the king's favour by sorcery. The Londoners complained that he had put Constantine to death unjustly, and without trial, and the king caused a proclamation to be made through the city that he was ready to receive complaints against him.

A day was fixed for hearing the charges against Hubert, but he knew that his cause was prejudged, and fled for sanctuary to Merton Priory. When the king heard this, he sent a letter to the mayor of London, bidding him instantly summon the citizens and bring Hubert before him by force, alive or dead. Late as it was in the evening, the mayor caused the city bell to be rung out. The citizens came together and rejoiced greatly when they heard what was required of them (WENDOVER, iv. 250). Two of the wiser among them, however, perplexed at this order to violate sanctuary, and alarmed at the possible consequences of this tumultuary proceeding, roused the Bishop of Winchester from sleep and asked his advice. He recommended them to obey the king's orders. Before it was light a vast host, reckoned at 20,000 men, marched like an army towards Merton. The Earl of Chester, however, warned the king of the danger of raising the mob, and Henry forbade the citizens to proceed. The only one among the royal counsellors who spoke for Hubert was his former chaplain Luke, for whom in the days of his prosperity he had procured the archbishopric of Dublin (MATT. PARIS, v. 531). At his request some little time was allowed the fallen minister to prepare his answers to the charges brought against him. Hubert left Merton, having, it was believed, a safe-conduct from the king. He joined his wife at St. Edmunds, and thence went to Brentwood, which belonged to his nephew, the bishop of Norwich. The king believed that he intended to flee the kingdom, and sent armed men to take him. Hubert took refuge in the Boisars chapel, hard by the bishop's house. The king's men took him thence by force. A smith was called to fetter him. He asked for whose legs the fetters were intended, and when he was told that they were to bind Hubert de Burgh, he swore that he would have nothing to do with the job. The men then bound Hubert with cords, placed him on a horse, led him to London, and lodged him in the Tower. When the Bishop of London heard of it he hastened to the king, and

declared that unless he sent Hubert back again he would excommunicate all concerned in this breach of the peace of holy church. Hubert was accordingly taken back to the chapel, which was strictly watched by the sheriffs of Hertford and Essex. No one, not even his son, was allowed to go to him. Two servants brought him food. While he was thus besieged he heard of the death of his enemy the Earl of Chester. 'May the Lord be merciful to him,' he said, and, taking the psalter, he read the service for his soul. Although the king forbade any one to mention his name, the Archbishop of Dublin did not cease to plead for him. The king said that he might either leave England, swearing never to return, or suffer imprisonment for life, or own himself a traitor. Hubert refused to accept any of these proposals, but promised, if the king wished it, to leave England for a while. At last his supplies of food were cut off, and rather than die of hunger he delivered himself up to the sheriffs. He was taken to London fettered, and again imprisoned in the Tower. It was told the king that he had a large treasure deposited at the new Temple. The master refused to give it up without authority. Hubert, however, declared that he would submit to the king's pleasure. The royal messengers found a vast amount of plate, money, and jewels, and transferred them to the treasury. Hubert's enemies declared that his dishonesty was now proved, and pressed the king to put him to death. Henry had, however, by this time 'come a little to himself' (MATT. PARIS, iii. 233). 'I have heard,' he said, 'that from his boyhood he was a faithful servant, first to my uncle Richard and afterwards to King John my father, and if he has done me ill I will never slay him unjustly.' He allowed Hubert all the lands he had inherited or bought for his maintenance, and gave him in charge to four earls, who lodged him in Devizes Castle, and who, on 28 Feb. 1233, released him from his chains (*Ann. de Theob.* i. 88). Soon after this both the king and the Bishop of Winchester received letters from Gregory IX urging his release. The bishop, however, eagerly desired his death, and prayed the king that he would give him the custody of Devizes Castle, in order, it was believed, that he might thus be able to slay him. Hubert heard this from his friends at the court, and accordingly, one night about Michaelmas, he made his escape from the castle with the help of the two servants who attended on him, and took refuge in Devizes church. In the morning, when the warders missed him, they went in a body to the

church, and with fists and sticks drove him and his two servants back to the castle, where they placed him in stricter confinement. The Bishop of Salisbury, however, came in haste to Devizes and bade the men take Hubert back to the church. They refused, saying that they would rather see their prisoner hanged than be hanged themselves, and he thereupon excommunicated them. Then he and the Bishop of London went to the king and compelled him to restore Hubert to the church. In anger at this, Henry bade the sheriff of Wiltshire blockade the church and starve him out. On 30 Oct. Richard Siward and Gilbert Basset, who were wasting the lands of the Bishop of Winchester and of other evil counsellors, rode up to the church, carried him off either willing (*Ann. Dunst.* iii. 138) or unwilling (*WYKES*, iv. 76) to Aust, where they took ship and so crossed to the castle of Richard Marshall at Chepstow. There Hubert stayed, and when Earl Richard went to Ireland in the following year he took charge of his household and castles.

In 1234 Archbishop Edmund succeeded in overthrowing the Bishop of Winchester, and shortly afterwards brought about a reconciliation between the king and Hubert, who expressed his thankfulness to God in a prayer which has been recorded by the chronicler (*MATT. PARIS*, iii. 291). Hubert's outlawry was annulled as unjust and unlawful, his honours and earldom were restored, and he was again made one of the king's counsellors. The marriage of his daughter Margaret to Richard of Clare, the young Earl of Gloucester, brought him into some trouble in 1236, for the earl was as yet a minor and in the king's wardship, and the marriage had been celebrated without the royal license. Hubert, however, protested that the match was not of his making, and promised to pay the king some money, so the matter passed by for the time. His name is among the witnesses to the confirmation of the charter granted in this year. In a kind of general pacification of the feuds of the nobles brought about by the legate Otho in 1237, Hubert was reconciled to his old enemy the Bishop of Winchester and others of the same party. When, in the next year, the king was threatened by a general insurrection of the nobles, headed by the Earl of Cornwall, Hubert was the only one who upheld him. Of him the barons now had little fear, for they knew that he had vowed never to bear arms again. His old age tempted Henry to persecute him once more. In 1239 the king revived a great many of the old charges against him, for he considered that if Hubert died while the case was still pend-

ing all his goods would be at his mercy. The charges were read in the presence of the king, and perhaps by the king himself: they ended with a ridiculous story of an attempt on the king's life. Hubert reminded Henry that he had never been a traitor to him or his father. 'Had I wished to betray you,' he said, 'you would never have obtained the kingdom.' He committed the task of drawing up his defence to Laurence, a clerk of St. Albans, who had been his faithful friend in all his troubles and had acted as his steward during his imprisonment. The hearing of the case was fixed for 30 Aug. Laurence did his work so well that, in spite of the efforts of the king and the pleaders of the royal court, the earl's innocence was thoroughly established. (For the charges and Laurence's defence see *MATT. PARIS*, vi. 63-74, Addit.) In order, however, to satisfy the king, judgment was given that he should surrender four castles. 'The earl,' we are told, 'whose long-tried faithfulness had so often saved England for the English, bore all the king's ungrateful persecution and all his unworthy insults, nay even all the assaults of fortune, with calm patience' (*MATT. PARIS*, iii. 620). Before long he made his peace with Henry and recovered his castles (*Ann. de Theok.* i. 112). He died 'full of days' at Banstead on 12 May 1243, and was buried in the house of the Black Friars in London, a convent he had enriched with many gifts, and above all with that of his noble palace, standing not far from Westminster. This palace was bought of the Black Friars by Walter Gray, archbishop of York, and so bore the name of York Place until it became the king's and was called Whitehall (*RAINE, Fasti Eboracenses*, 291). Hubert had two sons: John, who inherited his estates, but probably not his title, and Hubert. His daughter Margaret, who married Richard, earl of Gloucester, died before her father. He is said (*DUGDALE, Baronage*) to have had a second daughter. His elder son John, knighted in 1229, could scarcely, as has been supposed, have been the child of his last wife, married in 1221. This wife, Margaret, daughter of William the Lion, outlived him and married Gilbert Marshall.

[Roger of Wendover (*Eng. Hist. Soc.*); Matthew Paris's *Chron. Maj.*, ed. Luard (*Rolls Ser.*); *Annales de Theokesberia, &c.*, *Annales Monastici*, ed. Luard (*Rolls Ser.*); Walter of Coventry, ed. Stubbs (*Rolls Ser.*); Ralph of Coggeshall, ed. Stevenson (*Rolls Ser.*); *Royal Letters*, Hen. III, ed. Shirley (*Rolls Ser.*); *Gulielmus Armoricus, Recueil des Historiens*, xvii.; *Dugdale's Baronage*, i. 693; *Stubbs's Constitutional History*, ii. 1-50.]

W. H.

M

BURGH, JAMES (1714-1775), political writer, was born at Madderty, Perthshire, where his father was minister of the parish. His mother, Margaret, was sister of William Robertson, father of the historian. James was educated at St. Andrews, with a view to the ministry, but gave it up on account of ill-health, and went into business. Failing in this, he went to London, where he corrected the press for Bowyer, and made indexes. He then became usher in a school at Great Marlow, where he published a pamphlet called 'Britain's Remembrancer,' in honour of the suppression of the rebellion of 1745. It went through several editions, and was highly praised. After being usher for a short time at Enfield, he set up an academy at Stoke Newington in 1747. Here he remained till 1771, publishing many works, and making money. He then retired to devote himself to his chief work, 'Political Disquisitions.' He suffered severely from stone, and died on 26 Aug. 1775. He had married a widow, Mrs. Harding, in 1751, who survived till 1788.

Burgh's works are: 1. 'Thoughts on Education,' 1747. 2. 'Hymn to the Creator of the World, with a Prose Idea of the Creator from his Works,' 2nd edition, 1750. 3. 'A Warning to Dram-drinkers,' 1751. 4. 'The Dignity of Human Nature,' 1754, 1767, 1794 (four books upon prudence, knowledge, virtue, and revealed religion). 5. 'The Art of Speaking,' 1762, 7th edition, 1792 (a school-book, with passages for recitation). 6. 'Proposals . . . for an Association against the iniquitous Practices of Engrossers, Foresters, Jobbers, &c., and for reducing the Price of Provisions, especially Butchers' Meat,' 1764. 7. 'An Account of the . . . Cessares, a people of South America,' in nine letters from Mr. Vander Neck, 1764 (a political utopia after Sir T. More's fashion). 8. 'Crito, or Essays on various Subjects,' 1766 (written to expound his political and educational views, and to explain the origin of evil, after an interview with the Princess Dowager of Wales, Dr. Hales, her clerk of the closet, and apparently Lord Waldegrave, who thought that the world might be improved by an association for a supply of good periodical writing. A second volume appeared in 1767, with more political remarks, and a further explanation of the origin of evil). 9. 'Political Disquisitions,' two volumes in 1774, and a third in 1775. This is an inquiry into public errors, defects, and abuses, and contains a good many statistics as to the state of the representation, taxation, and so forth, which show that Burgh was a strong reformer for his time, in spite of his relations with the

princess. When Dr. Parr was asked whether he had read this book, he said in reply, 'Have I read my Bible, sir?' (NICHOLS, *Illustrations*, vi. 61). Burgh also published various papers in the newspapers in defence of annual parliaments, a place-bill, and the claims of the American colonists. A little book printed for his pupils was pirated by a bookseller in 1754 as 'Youth's Friendly Monitor.'

[Biog. Brit. art. by Kippis, from personal knowledge and Burgh's widow's information; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 263, 430.] L. S.

BURGH, SIR JOHN (1562-1594), military and naval commander, a lineal descendant of Hubert de Burgh, was a younger son of William, fourth lord Burgh of Gainsborough, and brother of Thomas, fifth lord Burgh, lord-deputy in Ireland. The first mention of him that has been preserved is in 1585, when he raised a body of men in Lincolnshire for service beyond the sea, embarked with them at Hull on 25 Aug., and commanded them in the campaigns in the Netherlands, under the Earl of Leicester, and afterwards under Lord Willoughby. He was knighted by Leicester and appointed governor of Doesburg; in the early months of 1588 he was for some little time governor of the Briel, possibly as his brother's deputy (Brit. Mus. *Egerton MS.* 1943, f. 1), at which time he wrote to Lord Willoughby, imploring his favourable consideration, as he had had no pay for nineteen months, and was in extreme need. In September 1589 he commanded one of the regiments which went to France with Lord Willoughby to the support of Henry IV, from whom, although already knighted, he received the honour of knighthood on the field of Ivry, in recognition of his distinguished conduct in the battle.

On his return to England he became associated with Sir Walter Raleigh, and was in 1592 appointed by him to command his ship the Roebuck, one of a squadron fitted out by the queen, Raleigh, the Earl of Cumberland, and others, to intercept the Spanish treasure ships. The little squadron put to sea under the command of Burgh, another squadron being detached under Sir Martin Frobisher. On 3 Aug. Burgh (near the Azores) fell in with the *Madre de Dios*, or, as she was then called, the Great Carrack, and captured her after a running fight of some sixteen hours' duration. Her value, with her freight, was estimated at something like 500,000*l.*, and after a great deal of irregular plundering it did actually amount to more than 140,000*l.* The disputes as to the shares of what remained ran exceedingly high. Of irregular plunder Sir John's share was but small, and was de-

clared by the commissioners to be within reason; but the disappointed men refused to accept this decision, and much recrimination followed. Out of this probably arose a quarrel with Mr. John Gilbert, whose name suggests some relationship to Raleigh. The quarrel resulted in a challenge sent by Burgh, in which he desired his antagonist not to use boyish excuses, or he would beat him like a boy (March 1593-4; *Cal. S. P. Dom.* 1591-4, p. 477). Gilbert accepted the challenge, claiming the choice of weapons and choosing single rapiers. In default of exact evidence the agreement of dates leads to the conclusion that the duel took place, and that Burgh was killed. He was buried in St. Andrew's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, where, in the following year, a tablet was erected to his memory. This has now disappeared; but, according to a copy of the inscription preserved by Croll (*The Antiquities of St. Peter's or the Abbey Church of Westminster*, by J. C. 1711, p. 198), Burgh is said to have been taken away 'morte immaturâ,' in the thirty-second year of his age, on 7 March 1594. The inscription seems to imply, and—by Croll and others, including the late Dean Stanley—has been understood to imply, that Burgh was slain in boarding the Great Carrack. It distinctly states, however, that he brought the Carrack to England, and was most honourably received. The bold and crafty enemy whom Burgh despised, and at whose hands he fell, may very well have been Mr. Gilbert. Burke (*Extinct and Dormant Peerages*, 1846), giving an English version of this inscription, renders it 'he fell by an untimely death in the fifty-third year of his age;' and it is so repeated in later editions. This evidently is a mistake. The age of fifty-three seems incompatible with the 'morte immaturâ præreptus,' as well as with the known age of William, lord Burgh, born in or about 1525 (*NICOLAS, Historic Peerage*), of whom Sir John was the third son. Burgh's name has been spelt in different ways. Mr. Edwards, who in most points is scrupulously accurate, gives it as Borough, and that while immediately referring to a holograph letter with a clear and legible signature, Jo. Burgh. It may therefore be well to say that Sir John Burgh was a distinct person from that William Burroughs, the comptroller of the navy, who commanded the Lion in Drake's expedition to Cadiz in 1587.

[Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, 1585-1594; Brit. Mus. Lansdowne MS. 70, many of the papers of which are abstracted in Edwards's *Life of Raleigh*, ii. 59 et seq.] J. K. L.

BURGH, RICHARD DE (d. 1243), Irish settler, is said to have been the son of William Fitzaldhelm [q.v.], one of the early invaders

of Ireland (DUGDALE, *Baronage*, 'Burgh;' LODGE, *Peerage of Ireland*, 'Clanricarde;' BENEDICTUS, i. 25); he is, however, described in the Close Rolls (*Calendar*, p. 551) as the son of William de Burgh, who received a large grant in Connaught from John, and was afterwards disseised by him. Richard appears to have made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. James at Compostella in 1222 (*Close Rolls*). The order of St. James had been founded about fifty years before; the saint was held in high estimation by the chivalry of England, and pilgrimages to his shrine were popular, for they had the character of military adventures, as well as of acts of devotion. On Richard's return he received grants of all the lands in Connaught, of which he and his father had been disseised by John, and thus became lord of a great part of the province. In 1223 the king sent him a Bristol ship laden with supplies, to help him in his war there (*Close Rolls*, 1223-5; *Excerpt. Rot. Fin.* p. 128). In the war with Aedh of Connaught in 1230 he led one of the divisions of the army under the command of Geoffrey de Marisco, and took part in a battle in which the Irish were defeated and Aedh was taken prisoner. When Peter des Roches succeeded in driving Richard, the Earl Marshall, into rebellion by his unjust treatment of him, he determined to draw him into Ireland that he might destroy him there. Accordingly he and his party wrote to the lords in Ireland, and excited them against him. This letter, which was sealed by the king, came, among others, to Richard, who joined the conspiracy made against the earl, and invaded his lands. The earl went over to Ireland to defend his lands, and Richard went with Geoffrey de Marisco and the rest to meet him. They offered to be his allies, and incited him to make war against the king's possessions that they might destroy him and divide his inheritance. None sought his life more eagerly than Richard. When the conspirators openly turned against him and prepared to give him battle (1 April 1234), Richard armed one of his Irish followers, a man of great strength, with his own armour, and charged him to slay the earl. The Irishman failed in his attempt, but the earl was mortally wounded somewhat later in the battle. During the expedition of Henry III to Poitou Richard and other Irish lords were persuaded by Maurice Fitzgerald to fit out a fleet and sail to join the king. They were met by the ships that guarded the coast of France. A storm separated the fleets, but the barons evidently had the worst of the engagement. Frightened alike by the rough weather and the attack of the French, they landed on a

part of the coast that was unknown to them. Many perished of the hardships they had to undergo. Among them Richard died in the early part of 1243. He married Egidia, daughter of Walter de Laci, and left an heir, Walter [q. v.], and other children. He is the ancestor of the house of Clanricarde [see BURGH, ULICK DE].

[Calendar of Close Rolls; Roger of Wendover, iv. 213; Matt. Paris, iii. 197, 265, 273, iv. 198, ed. Luard, Rolls Ser.; Ann. Buell. Rer. Hibern. Script. (O'Connor), ii. iv. 39; Annales de Dunstaplia, Oseneia, Ann. Monast. iii. 137, iv. 78, Rolls Ser.; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, ed. Archdall.] W. H.

BURGH, RICHARD DE, second EARL OF ULSTER and fourth EARL OF CONNAUGHT (1259?-1326), was the eldest son of Walter de Burgh [q. v.], first earl of Ulster, by his wife Avelina, sister of Richard FitzJohn, baron of the Isles of Thomond (*Cal. Genealog.* ii. 540). He succeeded to his father in 1271, but, being at that time a minor, was brought over to the king at Woodstock before the end of 1274, while his lands were entrusted to the custody of William Fitzwarene in 1 Edward I (SWEETMAN, ii. 941, 1077, 1520, 1629). It may be inferred that he came of age about 1280; for though he had not taken seisin of his Ulster estates by 4 Nov. 1279, he had already been at open war with his former guardian before July 1282. Hence it is probable that he was born in 1259 (*ib.* 1601, 1918, with which cf. 1629). He had married before the end of February 1281 (*ib.* 1794), Margaret, said to be a daughter of John de Burgh, baron of Lanville, and great-grandson of Hubert de Burgh [q. v.]

De Burgh was constantly embroiled with the native Irish kings, especially of Connaught, his own lordship. Thus in 1286, when he makes his first great appearance in Irish history, he deposed Brian O'Neill from the supreme sovereignty of the natives of Ireland, and conferred the office on Niall Culanach O'Neill. Five years later he had to restore Niall, who had been in the meanwhile driven out by his rival, whom the earl in the course of a few months expelled from the country (*Annals of Loch Cé* sub annis). On Niall's death he placed another nominee of his own on the throne (*ib.*) In Connaught he played a similar part. In 1286 he burst into the province, plundering monasteries and churches, and receiving hostages everywhere, and before the year was out used the army of Connaught to reduce the septs of Cenet Eogtain and Cenel-Connaill. In 1292 he attacked Magnus O'Connor, king of Connaught, the representative of that branch of the house of the last great Irish king before the conquest, which

his ancestor, William de Burgh, had driven from the throne, and forced him to do submission at his castle of Milic. In the same manner De Burgh and his brothers William and Theobald are found supporting the claims of Aedh O'Connor, the descendant of their great-grandfather's nominee, Cathal Crobderg (1296). Many years later (1309-10) the De Burghs were instrumental in securing the accession of Aedh's son, Felim O'Connor, who, however, did not scruple in the Scotch invasion of 1315 to negotiate with Edward Bruce, till the success of his rival, Roderic O'Connor, forced him to supplicate the earl's assistance. The Irish chronicles mention by name three castles that were built by De Burgh, viz. Ballimote in co. Sligo (1300), Greencastle in Galway (1305), and Sligo Castle (1310). In 1316 Felim O'Connor destroyed Milic Castle, the great Connaught fortress that had been founded in the early days of the English conquest (1203) by William de Burgh (*Annals of Loch Cé*).

De Burgh was summoned to serve against the king of France in 1294, and again in 1297, on the understanding that he should attend the king in person (SWEETMAN, iv. 396, 399, 452). All through the latter years of Edward I's reign, and the earlier years of Edward II, till 1322, he received summons regularly for the Scotch expeditions (*Parl. Writs*, i. passim). Thus he led more than sixteen hundred men from Ireland for the Balliol campaign of 1296; and at the second conquest of 1304 it was he who received (February) the submission of the Scotch governor, John Comyn (*Hist. Doc. of Scotland*, ii. 124; *Ecceq. Rolls of Scotland*, No. 1451; PALGRAVE, i. 282). Before setting out on this expedition he is said to have made thirty-three knights in Dublin Castle (*Bodley MS.* Laud 526, ap. GILBERT, ii. 321). In these campaigns he spent his money so lavishly on the king's behalf, that in 1308 more than 2,000*l.* was still owing to him by the crown, out of an original debt of 4,000*l.* (*Irish Close Rolls*, 7 b).

A great part of De Burgh's life was occupied with his hereditary feud with the Geraldines. In 1294 this feud reached a climax, when Lord John FitzThomas of Kildare suddenly made the Earl of Ulster a prisoner, and detained him in his castle from 6 Dec. to 12 March, when he was released by order of a parliament at Kilkenny. Edward declared that he would decide between them (October 1295), and summoned both nobles to attend him abroad (May 1297), their dispute being for the time postponed. In the interim the earl took the matter into his own hands, and the quarrel was not settled till 1302 (30 Ed-



ward I), when John FitzThomas was sentenced to forfeit 120 librates in Connaught (SWEETMAN, iv. 268, 399, 514; GILBERT, *Chartularies*, ii. 323; *Book of Howth*, 53). Ten years later (1312) the two families were still further reconciled by the marriage of Thomas, the son and heir of Lord John FitzThomas, with a daughter of De Burgh; and of another daughter, Catherine, with Maurice FitzThomas of Desmond (*Book of Howth*, 129, 133, 363). In 1311 the earl seems to have been at war in Thomond with Thomas de Clare, who in this year took William de Burgh a prisoner (*ib.* 128, with which cf. *Fifteenth Century Chron.* and *Loch Cé* sub ann.). About the same time, according to Mr. Gilbert, he attempted to dislodge the De Verduns and De Mortimers from Meath (*Viceroy*s, 133).

When Edward Bruce invaded Ireland in May 1315, and having gained possession of Ulster was proclaimed king, De Burgh raised an army to oppose him, and followed his retreat towards the Bann. When Felim O'Connor, his ally, began to waver, he fell back into Connaught with the loss of his brother William, who was taken prisoner by the Scotch (10 Sept.), but released in the course of the next year. In July 1316 the earl and the other Irish lords took an oath to defend their country; but notwithstanding this, on the approach of Bruce towards Dublin, he was apprehended by the mayor and confined in the castle (February 1317), while two ambassadors were despatched to Edward II to consult as to his fate. This imprisonment was probably due to a fear lest he should prove only half loyal in the contest that was about to ensue with his son-in-law Robert Bruce. He was released by Ascension day, but not before the son of his old rival, Thomas FitzJohn, had led the Ultonians against the Scots (*Fourteenth Cent. Chron.* and *Fifteenth Cent. Chron.*, ap. GILBERT'S *Chartularies*; *Annals of Loch Cé*).

De Burgh was the most powerful of the English nobles in Ireland, in which country, according to Mr. Gilbert, his name preceded that of the viceroy in the royal writs. Besides the lordship of Connaught and the earldom of Ulster he inherited estates in Munster by right of his mother, Avelina, one of the heiresses of Richard FitzJohn (SWEETMAN, iv. 638). Earlier in his life he appears to have held the Isle of Man, which, however, he had restored to the king by 1290 (*Hist. Doc. of Scotl.* i. 156). Towards the close of his career he was occasionally summoned to attend the English parliaments, as, for example, those of Westminster in Lent 1308, and Lincoln in 1318. He was appointed lieutenant of Ireland 15 June 1308, but his commission was

next day cancelled in favour of Piers Gaveston. Early in 1310 he was present at the great Kilkenny parliament for the pacification of the Irish barons. Sixteen years later, after attending a parliament at the same place, he gave a farewell banquet, and retired to the monastery of Athassil, near Cashel, where he died almost immediately, before Midsummer day 1326 (*Fourteenth and Fifteenth Cent. Chron.*; cf. *Irish Rolls*, 35, &c.).

Richard de Burgh was the father of a large family. His eldest son, Walter, died in 1304 (*Loch Cé*), and the great De Burgh estates devolved on the issue of a younger son, John (d. 1313), who in 1308 married Elizabeth, sister of Gilbert de Clare, last earl of Gloucester (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 81 b, 99 b; *Ann. Lond. et Paul.* i. 156, 264). Another son, Thomas, died in 1316 (*Fourteenth Cent. Chron.*) To these may be added Edmund (*Irish Rolls*, 40), and, according to Lodge, William. Of his daughters, one, Elizabeth by name, married Robert Bruce, then earl of Carrick (*Fifteenth Cent. Chron.*, cf. sub ann. 1302); a second, Matilda, married Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester (*Escheat Rolls*, i. 271); and a third, Joan, married first Lord Thomas FitzJohn, and secondly Sir John d'Arcy, the justiciar (*Fifteenth Cent. Chron. Book of Howth*, 155). Katherine de Burgh, a fourth daughter, married Lord Maurice FitzThomas (*ib.*; cf., however, LODGE, i., who adds Margaret and Eleanor).

[Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, i., which must, however, be used with caution; Irish Close and Patent Rolls; Escheat Rolls, i. ii.; Parliamentary Writs, i. ii.; Calendar of Patent Rolls from John to Edward IV; Fine Rolls (ed. Roberts), i. ii.; Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland (ed. Sweetman), ii. iii. iv.; Calendarium Genealogicum, i. ii.; Report on the Dignity of a Peer, ii.; Annals of Loch Cé (ed. Hennessey); Trokelowe (ed. Riley); Annales Londin. et Paulin. ap. Chronicles of Ed. I and II (ed. Stubbs); Documents relating to Scotland (ed. Palgrave), i.; Gilbert's Viceroy of Ireland; Exchequer Rolls of Scotland (ed. Stuart and Burnett), i.; Hist. Documents of Scotland (ed. Stevenson), i. ii. The Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin (ed. Gilbert), ii., contain copies of two manuscripts (Add. MS. 4792 and Bodley MS. Laud 526), which are assigned from their handwriting to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries respectively. The Book of Howth and Bodley MS. Laud 613 contain many transcripts of documents relating to early Irish history.] T. A. A.

BURGH, ULICK DE (1604-1657), fifth EARL and MARQUIS OF CLANRICARDE, born at London in 1604, was the only son of Richard, fourth earl of Clanricarde, by his wife Frances, daughter and heir of Sir Francis Walsingham, and relict of Sir Philip

Sidney and of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, who was executed in 1601. Richard de Burgh, fourth earl of Clanricarde, actively served Queen Elizabeth against the hostile Irish and their Spanish allies. He was appointed governor of Connaught, member of the privy council in Ireland, and, in 1624, created Viscount Tunbridge and Baron of Somerhill, a manor which he owned in Kent. The titles of Viscount Galway and Earl of St. Albans were conferred on him in 1628. The treatment which he experienced from the lord deputy, Wentworth, was said to have accelerated his death in November 1635. Richard de Burgh was succeeded by his son, Ulick de Burgh, as fifth earl of Clanricarde, who in 1622 had married Lady Anne Compton, only daughter of William, earl of Northampton. Clanricarde sat in the parliament of 1639-40, and accompanied Charles I in his expedition against the Scots. By patent from the crown Clanricarde was governor of the town and county of Galway, and, as owner of vast estates in that district, he exercised great influence there. During the movements which commenced in Ireland in 1641, Clanricarde resided chiefly at his castle at Portumna in the county of Galway, and maintained communication with the administrators of the government at Dublin, some of whom were believed by the Irish to be in the interests of those in England adverse to Charles I. Clanricarde did not join the Irish confederation, of which his heir and several of his relatives were members. Many of the Irish confederates doubted the sincerity of Clanricarde's professions of loyalty to the crown. His estates in England were at that time under the control of the parliament, which employed his uterine brother, Robert, earl of Essex, to act as captain-general, after he had been proclaimed traitor by Charles I. Notices of Clanricarde's proceedings from 1641 to 1644 will be found in the 'History of the Irish Confederation and War in Ireland,' by his contemporary Richard Bellings [q. v.], which was published in 1882. Under authority from Charles I, Clanricarde was in January 1642-3 nominated a commissioner to meet the representatives of the Irish confederates and receive a statement in writing from them. At this interview, which took place at Trim in Meath on 17 March 1642-3, the 'Remonstrance of Grievances' of the Irish Roman catholics was received by Clanricarde as the chief commissioner, and subsequently transmitted to the king. Clanricarde was appointed by the viceroy, Ormonde, to command the English army in Connaught in July 1644. The title of marquis was conferred on Clan-

ricarde in February 1644-5, and he was made a member of the privy councils in England and Ireland. He aided in promoting the treaty of peace between the confederates and Charles I in 1646, and, after its rejection by the Irish, endeavoured to have negotiations reopened. Clanricarde, influenced mainly by Ormonde, opposed the views of Rinuccini, nuncio to Ireland from Pope Innocent X. Rinuccini and his adherents believed that Clanricarde's professed neutrality was but assumed, and considered that his proceedings had been productive of disastrous results to the cause of the Irish catholics. A cessation of arms with Lord Inchiquin, president of Munster, concluded in 1648, was repudiated by the people of Galway, under the advice of Rinuccini. Clanricarde, in conjunction with Inchiquin, laid siege to Galway, and, having cut off its supplies of provisions, enforced the proclamation of the cessation and exacted a considerable sum of money from the town. Ormonde, previously to quitting Ireland, executed a commission on 6 Dec. 1650, by which he appointed Clanricarde to act as his deputy in the government there on behalf of Charles II. Clanricarde accepted the office on Lord Castlehaven's representations. His efforts against the parliamentarians were ineffective, owing mainly to the distrust with which he and his associates were regarded by a large section of the Irish royalists. They condemned his action in relation to Galway, the last Irish town which held out for Charles II. The surrender of Galway to the parliamentarians in May 1652 was followed by the dissolution of the chief military organisations of the royalists in Ireland. Clanricarde, having communicated with Charles II at St. Germain through the Earl of Castlehaven, received the king's directions to accept the best conditions he could obtain from the parliamentarians for himself and his adherents. On 28 June 1652 articles, by which Clanricarde was permitted to leave Ireland, were concluded between him and the commissioners authorised by the parliament of England. Clanricarde's rental in Ireland at this time is stated to have been 29,000*l.* per annum. He was included among the persons 'excepted from pardon for life and estate,' under the 'Act for the settling of Ireland,' passed in the parliament at London on 12 Aug. 1652. After his withdrawal from Ireland, Clanricarde resided at his seat at Somerhill, Kent, where he died in July 1657, and was buried at Tunbridge. Having left no direct male heir, Clanricarde's title devolved upon his cousin Richard, eldest son of his uncle William, who became sixth

earl of Clanricarde under Charles II. Clanricarde was eulogised for his loyalty by his contemporary Clarendon, and by Carte. A different estimate of the acts and character of Clanricarde was entertained by a large proportion of the Irish royalists. In their view he was largely actuated by a regard for his own interests. Some of Clanricarde's letters and papers, relative to Irish affairs from 1650 to 1652, were printed in octavo at London in 1722, under the title of 'Memoirs of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Clanricarde, Lord Deputy-general of Ireland . . . published from his Lordship's original MSS.' This, which Bishop Nicholson styled a 'lean, loose, and incoherent' collection, was reprinted at Dublin in 1744. John, eleventh earl of Clanricarde, published at London in 1757 a large folio volume, which he entitled 'Memoirs and Letters of Ulick, Marquis of Clanricarde, Earl of St. Albans, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland . . .', printed, for the first time, from 'an authentic manuscript.' In a dedication to the king, the Earl of Clanricarde stated that the volume contained the 'genuine memoirs' of his ancestor. The letters in the first part of the volume date from October 1641 to the end of August 1643. The second part, consisting of sixty-five pages, is composed of letters and papers which commence in February 1650-1 and terminate in August 1652. A manuscript volume of the seventeenth century, containing matter similar to that thus printed in 1757, was for a time in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia, which in 1866, at the suggestion of the late Hepworth Dixon, presented it to the British government. Other collections, which Clanricarde is stated to have left, in relation to his public transactions, are not now known to exist. Many original documents in connection with Clanricarde and his career were published for the first time in 1881 in the work entitled 'A Contemporary History of Affairs in Ireland, 1641-52.'

[Carte and Clarendon MSS., 1641-52 (Bodleian Library, Oxford); Ormonde Archives (Kilkenny Castle); Manuscripts of Royal Irish Academy and Trinity College, Dublin; Rinuccini MSS. (Holkham, Norfolk); State Papers, Ireland (Public Record Office, London); *Vindiciæ Catholicorum Hiberniæ*, 1650; *Vindiciæ Eversæ*, 1653; *Alithinologia*, 1666-7; *Memoirs of Earl of Castlehaven*, 1680; *Clarendon's Hist. of Rebellion and Civil Wars in England and Ireland*, 1720, 1843; *Carte's Life of Ormonde*, 1736; *Collins's Letters and Memorials of State*, 1746; *Peerage of Ireland*, 1789; *Nunziatura in Irlanda*, 1844; *Genealogies of Hy-Fiachrach*, 1844; *Description of West Connacht*, 1846; *Annals of Kingdom of Ireland*, 1851; *Hist. of*

*Viceroy's of Ireland*, 1865; *Documents illustrative of Hist. of Scotland*, 1870; *Hist. of Irish Confederation and War in Ireland*, 1641-3, 1882; *Reports of Royal Commission on Hist. MSS.*] J. T. G.

BURGH, SIR ULYSSES BAGENAL, second BARON DOWNES (1788-1863), general, only son of Thomas Burgh, comptroller-general and commissioner of the revenue of Ireland, was born at Dublin on 15 Aug. 1788. Thomas Burgh was grandson of Ulysses Burgh, bishop of Ardagh, and second cousin of William Downes, who was lord chief justice of Ireland from 1803 to 1822, and his two sisters had married respectively the chancellor of the exchequer and the lord chief baron of Ireland. With such influence the rapid promotion of Ulysses Burgh, when he decided to enter the army, was certain. He was gazetted ensign in the 54th regiment on 31 March 1804, and was promoted lieutenant on 12 Nov. 1804, and captain on 4 Sept. 1806. He was employed in ordinary garrison duty with his regiment at Gibraltar and in the West Indies till 1808, when he exchanged into the 92nd and accompanied Sir John Cradock, afterwards Lord Howden, to Portugal as aide-de-camp. When Sir Arthur Wellesley succeeded Cradock, he in his turn took Burgh, whose father was his intimate friend, as an aide-de-camp. Burgh was present at Talavera, where he was slightly wounded (*Wellington Despatches*, iii. 350). He brought home the despatch announcing the victory of Busaco on 29 Sept. 1810, was promoted major for the news, and was back again in Portugal by January 1811. He was then present at the battle of Fuentes d'Onor, at the combat of El Bodon, at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, and the battle of Salamanca, and again took home the news of Wellington's triumphal entry into Madrid. He was promoted lieutenant-colonel on 25 Sept. 1812. He quickly returned to the Peninsula, and was present at the battles of Vittoria and the Pyrenees, at the storm of San Sebastian, at the battle of the Nivelle, where his horse was killed under him; at the battle of the Nive, and the battle of Toulouse, where he was again wounded. At the end of the war in 1814 he was made K.C.B. and K.T.S., and received a company in the 1st or Grenadier guards. In 1815 he married an Irish heiress, Maria Bagenal of Athy.

Burgh's service in the field was now over, but Wellington remembered him. He was M.P. for Carlow County, 1818-26, and for Queenborough, 1826-30. He became surveyor-general of the ordnance in March 1820, and colonel in May 1825, and in March 1826 he succeeded to the title of Lord Downes, which had been

conferred on his father's second cousin, the lord chief justice, in 1822, with special remainder to himself. He was in 1833 elected an Irish representative peer, and remained surveyor-general of the ordnance during the Duke of Wellington's ministry till 1830. On the retirement of his chief from political life, Lord Downes also retired, and occupied himself with the ordinary life of a country gentleman. He became in due course major-general on 10 Jan. 1837, lieutenant-general on 9 Nov. 1846, colonel of the 29th regiment on 15 Aug. 1850, full general on 20 June 1854, and was made G.C.B. in 1869. He was colonel of the 54th foot, 1845-50. He died at Bert House, Athy, county Kildare, on 26 July 1863, and his peerage became extinct.

[Royal Military Calendar; Times obituary notice, 30 July 1863.] H. M. S.

BURGH, WALTER DE, called EARL OF ULSTER (*d.* 1271), was the second son of Richard de Burgh (*d.* 1243), perhaps by his wife, Egidia, daughter of Walter de Laci, second lord of Meath (SWEETMAN, *Cal. of Irish Doc.* i. Nos. 2700, 3012; ROBERTS, *Fine Rolls*, 128). He succeeded to the lordship of Connaught on the death of his brother Richard about 1248 (SWEETMAN, 2865, 3062; *Annals of Loch Cé*, 383 sub hoc anno). According to later genealogists he was the grandson of Henry II's Irish justiciar, William FitzAldelm, who, in his turn, is said to have been brother or cousin of Hubert de Burgh; but there does not seem to be any contemporary evidence to support either of these statements. It is, however, certain that his father, Richard de Burgh, was nephew to his great English namesake Hubert [*q. v.*], who was himself justiciar of Ireland in 1232; and that his grandfather, William, is surnamed De Burgh in documents of 4 Henry III. and 7 Ed. I. (*Pat. Rolls*, ap. *Book of Howth*, 422-3; SWEETMAN, i. 954, ii. 1548). This William, who is reported to have died in 1205 (*Loch Cé*, i. 235; *Bodley MS.* Laud 613, p. 65) was Lord of Connaught; and his son, Richard de Burgh, was confirmed in the signory of the same province by more than one charter of John and Henry III (SWEETMAN, 653, 1518, &c.)

In November 1249 all the Irish lands of De Burgh were committed to the custody of Peter de Bermingham. Next year, however, the young heir was permitted to pay a fine of three hundred marks apparently for the right of immediate possession. This payment was to be made by half-yearly instalments, and De Burgh had to give security that he would not marry without the king's consent (*Fine Rolls*, 44, 78). He does not, however, seem to have come of age before 1253, in

which year (6 April) part of his lands were still in the king's hands. A month earlier he had been excused his father's debt of 600*l.* due to the Dublin exchequer for a fine of 11½ marks of gold (SWEETMAN, ii. Nos. 157, 175). From the year 1255 he was engaged in constant expeditions against the natives of Connaught. The chief king of Connaught at this time was Felim O'Conor, whose father, Cathal Crobhderg, had been established on the throne mainly by the aid of De Burgh's grandfather William, to the detriment of Cathal Carrach, who represented the elder branch of the descendants of Roderic O'Conor (*Loch Cé*, sub anno 1202). Both William and Richard de Burgh had had large possessions in Connaught. The latter in especial held the forfeited lands of 'Oethus, late king of Connaught,' for a yearly payment of 500 marks, and the service of ten or twenty knights to the king of England (SWEETMAN, i. Nos. 954, 1518; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 16*b*). These estates, and perhaps something of the regal claim involved in such a title, descended to De Burgh, and help to explain his constant interference in Irish matters.

In 1255 De Burgh made a short-lived treaty with Aedh, the son of Felim O'Conor, and the favourable terms accorded to the Irish prince on this occasion may have been partly due to the effects of the embassy that Felim had sent earlier in the same year to Henry III (*Loch Cé*, 407-8). Next year he led a host of twenty thousand men to ravage Connaught, having for his allies on this occasion the sept of Muinter-Raighilligh (the O'Reillys of Breigne-O'Reilly); and afterwards plundered parts of the same province. A second peace followed (Athlone, 1257). This again may have been due to Henry III's influence, as we read that in this year the 'king of the Saxons' gave Felim O'Conor a charter for 'the king's five cantreds,' probably the five cantreds near Athlone, which were specially excluded from the early grants of Connaught to the De Burghs (cf. SWEETMAN, i. 2217-19). In 1260 De Burgh plundered Roscommon, and in 1262 took part in the great English expedition, when a site was marked out for the castle at the same place. Peace was again concluded, and Aedh O'Conor chivalrously trusted his person to the English, and as a mark of his confidence slept in the same bed with De Burgh. This year also saw an expedition against the Macarthy's of Desmond. Similar friendly meetings or hostile expeditions characterised the years 1263, 1264, 1266, 1267, and 1270. In the last year a general war broke out between the English and the Irish of Connaught, owing to the dissensions of De Burgh and

Aedh O'Connor, who had succeeded his father in 1265. On this occasion De Burgh, who was then styled Earl of Ulster, was induced to give his brother William as a hostage to O'Connor. On his retreat he slew Turlough O'Brian with his own hands, in return for which the king of Connaught put William de Burgh to death (*ib.*) Next year (1271) De Burgh died in his castle of Galway, after a week's illness (*ib.* 479; cf. SWEETMAN, ii. 929).

Besides his vast possessions in Connaught, De Burgh seems to have had other estates in Ireland. His father had received a grant of Desmond manor in 11 Henry III (ap. *Book of Howth*), and from a document dated 3 Aug. 1253 we learn that the same Richard had held lands of Maurice Fitzgerald (SWEETMAN, ii. 282). It was probably from some dispute as to these estates that the quarrel between De Burgh and the latter noble arose in 1264, on which occasion the 'Earl of Ulster' seized all Fitzgerald's castles in Connaught, and 'the major part of Erin was destroyed between them' (*Loch Cé*, 449; cf. SWEETMAN, 776). Peace seems to have been restored by 10 June 1265, if we may trust the terms of a letter of Henry III, exhorting De Burgh not to lend assistance to the rebellion of Prince Edward (*ib.*)

In the latter years of his life De Burgh appears to have been styled Earl of Ulster (*Loch Cé*, 449; SWEETMAN, ii. 929). According to the generally accepted account, he inherited this earldom in right of his wife, Maud, who is said to have been daughter and heiress of Hugh de Laci, earl of Ulster, who died in 1242 (MATT. PARIS, iv. 232). There does not seem to be any evidence in support of this theory, which makes its first appearance in certain 'Fragmenta Historiæ Hibernicæ,' preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Bodley MS. Laud 526, ap. GILBERT, *Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin*, ii.), further back than which date no allusion to this Maud de Laci can be traced. Her name is not to be found in contemporary documents, which show that Walter de Burgh's wife—the mother of Richard, his son and successor in the earldom of Ulster—was Avelina or Amelina, third sister and coheiress of Richard FitzJohn (*Cal. Geneal.* ii. 540-1, 563; SWEETMAN, iv. 638, 950, &c.) It is possible that he may have put forward some vague claim in virtue of his maternal descent from Walter de Laci, who held Ulster for a few years by the gift of King Henry (*ib.* i. 1371-2). But it is more likely that this dignity, which had passed through so many hands in the course of fifty years, lapsed to the crown on the death of Hugh de Laci in 1242 or 1243; for there is

abundance of evidence to prove that in the reign of Henry III Prince Edward, whom his father had created lord of Ireland in 1254, enfeoffed De Burgh with the 'county of Ulster,' in exchange for the manor of Kilsilau. This event is expressly said to have occurred when William de Rochelle was justiciar, i.e. between the years 1254 and 1256 (SWEETMAN, ii. 860, 1520; *Cal. Geneal.* 288). It is this enfeoffment probably that Lodge refers to 1264; and it is to this direct grant of Prince Edward that we must trace the foundation of the De Burgh Ulster earldom rather than to a marriage with a fictitious daughter of Hugh de Laci.

De Burgh is said to have been buried in Athassel Abbey, the favourite foundation of his race (Lodge). He was succeeded by his son Richard, a minor. According to Lodge, his other children were Theobald (*d.* 1303), William, and Thomas (*d.* 1315), 'to whom some add Hubert and Gibbon.' To these may be added Egidia, who married James Stuart of Scotland (STEVENSON, *Documents*, ii. 102).

[Lodge's Peerage of Ireland (ed. Archdall) and Dugdale's Baronage are full of uncritical assertions, and all their statements require to be checked by constant reference to contemporary documents. Calendar of Irish Documents (ed. Sweetman), vols. i. ii.; Calendar of Patent Rolls (Record Office); Fine Rolls (ed. Roberts); Calendarium Genealogicum, i. ii.; Annals of Loch Cé (ed. Hennessey, Rolls Series); Matthew Paris (ed. Luard); Matthew of Westminster (ed. 1601); Gilbert's Viceroy's of Ireland and Chartularies of St. Mary's, Dublin (Rolls Series). The Book of Howth (ed. Brewer and Butler) and Bodley MS. Laud 613 contain a large collection of copies of documents relating to the history of Ireland in the thirteenth century.] T. A. A.

BURGH, WALTER HUSSEY (1742-1783), Irish statesman and orator, was the son of Ignatius Hussey of Donore, co. Kildare, and Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas de Burgh of Oldtown, in the same county, and was born on 23 Aug. 1742. After attending the school of a Mr. Young in Abbey Street, Dublin, he entered the university, where he graduated B.A. in 1762. At the university he showed considerable proficiency in classics, and also distinguished himself by a poem written on the occasion of the marriage of George III. He adopted the additional name of Burgh on inheriting one half of the property of his maternal cousin, Richard Burgh of Drumkeen, who died in 1762. After entering the Temple, London, he was called to the Irish bar in 1769, and in November of that year he was elected member for Athy in the Irish parliament, through the influence

of the Duke of Leinster. In 1776 he was chosen for Dublin University. His success as a barrister was almost unprecedentedly rapid, as within little more than a twelve-month he occupied a place in the very first rank. Among his more intimate friends in his early years at the bar was Henry Grattan, with whom he afterwards became closely associated as a politician. As early as 1777 he was made prime serjeant, then the most important office open to a barrister in Ireland. But though both amiable and prudent, his patriotism was much stronger than his love of peace or his love of office. A letter of his in reference to his candidature to represent Dublin University, published in *'Anthologia Hibernica,'* vol. i., indicates the firmness and independence of his political views, and the high sense he entertained of the duties of a representative in parliament. He declined on principle to pledge himself to the particular course of action desired by some of his constituents, but his subsequent conduct in parliament did not belie the lofty principles which he enunciated. Equally with Grattan, if not even in preference to him, he shares the chief honour of effecting the removal of Ireland's commercial disabilities. In concert with him he moved in 1779 the resolution 'that it is not by temporary expedients, but by free trade alone, that this nation is to be saved from impending ruin.' As the government gave no sign of compliance with the national demand for unrestricted free trade, he took up an attitude antagonistic to them by supporting the resolution that the 'appropriated duties should be granted for six months only.' It was in this speech that he described the political situation in memorable words. 'Talk not to me,' he said, 'of peace. Ireland is not at peace. It is smothered war. England has sown her laws as dragon's teeth, and they have sprung up as armed men.' The tumultuous applause provoked by this imagery was taken up by the gallery, from which it was thundered to the crowd at the door, and as the import of the words passed from mouth to mouth, they caused a thrill of excitement through the whole city. After concluding his speech, he again rose and resigned the office he held under the crown. When shortly afterwards the restrictive acts on the Irish trade were totally repealed, Burgh advised Grattan, in view of the power of England, to adopt a more conciliatory attitude, and not to press measures insistence upon which might tend to widen the breach between the two countries. As soon, however, as the question of Ireland's independence was raised, he strenuously supported the resolutions of Grattan that 'the king, with the consent of the par-

liament of Ireland, is alone competent to enact laws to bind Ireland, and that Great Britain and Ireland are inseparably united, but only under a common sovereign.' In supporting the resolutions he believed that he was cutting off all hopes of future promotion under the government, and after recording his vote he said to a friend sitting near, 'I have now sacrificed the greatest honour an Irishman can aim at.' After the adoption of the declaration of rights in 1782, he again accepted his old office, and shortly afterwards was appointed chief baron of the exchequer. While on circuit at Armagh he caught a cold which developed into fever, of which he died on 29 Sept. 1783. He was buried in the cemetery of St. Peter's Church, Dublin. By his wife Anne, daughter of Thomas Burgh of Bert, co. Kildare, whom he married in 1767, and who died in 1782, he had one son and four daughters. On the motion of Grattan a grant of 2,000*l.* a year was voted to the children, with the benefit of survivorship.

Great as were the oratorical triumphs of Burgh, only fragmentary sentences of his speeches have been handed down to us. These, and a few instances of his witty remarks in conversation, are the only authentic remains of his rare and brilliant mental gifts. But if his fame is thus almost wholly traditional, the tradition is both considerable and unanimous. According to Lord Plunket, 'no modern speaker approached him in power of stirring the passions,' and at times he is said to have excelled even Grattan in the splendour and graphic power of his imagery; his eloquence was moreover only the adornment of a solid framework of argument and masterly exposition. His parliamentary tact was equal to his oratory; he possessed an extraordinary ability for gauging the feeling of the house, and framing a motion which would gather and concentrate the prevailing opinion; as he said of himself in reference to the members of the house, he 'could suck out their brains.' His voice was of great range and power, his chief defect in the use of it being that his tones were too uniformly loud; his action was graceful and strikingly effective, though it was said to have tended slightly towards attitudinising. But whatever minor defects belonged to his manner, his eloquence won universal recognition. Both as a man and an orator he was equally popular at the bar, in the House of Commons, and among the great mass of the people. As a politician, his noble and unselfish aims place him on a level with Grattan, and fully justify the eulogy of Flood: 'He did not live to be ennobled by patent; he was ennobled by nature.' His chief weaknesses were a tendency to extra-

gance and a love of parade. He was accustomed to drive to court with six horses and three outriders, and although he both possessed a large professional income and inherited a considerable estate, he was latterly deeply involved in money difficulties.

[Burke's Landed Gentry; Gent. Mag. liii. pt. ii. 893, 903; Life of Grattan, i. 402-7; Barrington's Historic Memoirs of Ireland, i. 36 (containing portrait); Phillips's Curran and his Contemporaries, 38-44; O'Flanagan's The Irish Bar, 30-42; Froude's English in Ireland.]

T. F. H.

**BURGH, WILLIAM DE**, sixth LORD OF CONNAUGHT and third EARL OF ULSTER (1312-1332), was the son of John de Burgh, by his wife Elizabeth, sister of Gilbert de Clare, the last earl of Gloucester. Born on 13 Sept. 1312, he was fourteen when he succeeded to the title and estates of his grandfather, Richard de Burgh [q. v.] (*Fifteenth Cent. Chron.*) His uncle Edmund and his cousin Walter, son of William de Burgh, were appointed his guardians, with the custody of his Irish lands (*Irish Rolls*, 33*b*, 34*b*). Edward III. dubbed him knight on Whit Sunday 1328, and at the same time gave him possession of his estates. In the same year he was present at Northampton when the truce between England and Scotland was confirmed. From Northampton he went to Berwick for the betrothal of his cousins, David Bruce and the English princess Joan; after which Robert Bruce crossed over to Carrickfergus in company with the young earl, but returned to Scotland almost immediately.

About Lady day 1329 he was present at the great Dublin parliament when it was decreed that each baron should punish his own servants if they broke the peace. In honour of this law he gave a great feast in Dublin Castle. In 1330 the old feud between the De Burghs and the Geraldines broke out again, and Roger Utlawe, the justiciar, committed both Lord Maurice Fitzthomas and the Earl of Ulster to the custody of the marshal at Limerick. They cannot have been confined long, as De Burgh was in England in 1331; while in October of the same year Lord Maurice Fitzthomas was once more a prisoner in Dublin Castle, whence he was not released till 1333 (*Fifteenth Cent. Chron.*; *Book of Howth*). His release is probably to be connected with the murder of the Earl of Ulster, who was slain by Robert de Mandeville, between Newtown and Carrickfergus, on 6 June 1333.

Like his father and his other ancestors for many generations, De Burgh was constantly

at war with the native Irish. He came to Ireland in 1328, and in the same year led an expedition against Brian O'Brian. True to the policy of his race, the Earl of Ulster supported the claims of the descendants of Cathal Crobderg, and thus was brought into conflict with his cousin, Walter de Burgh, who, bent on securing the throne of Connaught for himself, was constantly attacking Turlough. On the death of this king (1330) the earl seems to have been at open war with Sir Walter, whom he took prisoner, and starved to death in Greencastle in Galway (1332). Two years previously he had led a second expedition against Brian O'Brian; for the purpose of expelling him from the district of Thurles, near Cashel (*Loch Cé: Fifteenth Cent. Chron.*)

At the time of his death De Burgh was still a minor (*Irish Rolls*, 38*b*), and, according to a later account, in his twentieth year (*Fifteenth Cent. Chron.*) His wife was the daughter of Henry Plantagenet, third earl of Lancaster (LODGE; *Book of Howth*, 327). By her he left a daughter and heir, Elizabeth, who was entrusted to the custody of her great-uncle, Edmund de Burgh (*Irish Rolls*, 40). This lady married Lionel, third son of Edward III., who thus, by right of his wife, became nominal lord of the immense Irish estates of the De Burghs (*Fifteenth Cent. Chron.*) De Burgh's widow married Ralph Ufford, justiciar of Ireland (*d.* 1346), whom she survived (*ib.*)

[For authorities see BURGH, RICHARD DE and WALTER DE.] T. A. A.

**BURGH, WILLIAM DE** (*d.* 1204). [See under FITZALDHELM, WILLIAM.]

**BURGH, WILLIAM** (1741-1808), controversialist and politician, was intimately connected with the Irish church, as his father, Thomas Burgh, M.P., of Bert, co. Kildare, was the son of Ulysses Burgh, bishop of Ardagh, and his mother was the only daughter of Dive Downs, bishop of Cork and Ross. His sister, Margaret Amelia, married in 1764 John Foster, speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and was created Baroness Oriel in 1790 and Viscountess Ferrard in 1821. A second sister, Anne Burgh, married Walter Hussey Burgh, lord chief baron of the Irish court of exchequer. Burgh was born in Ireland in 1741, and was the owner of considerable estates there, but lived for the chief part of his life in England. He represented the borough of Athy, Kildare, in the Irish parliament of 1769-76, and at that time gave his support to the whig cause. At a somewhat later period in his life he was

numbered among the principal patrons of the York association for parliamentary reform, but on the outbreak of the French revolution he joined the ranks of the Tories. With Wilberforce he was on the closest terms of intimacy, and advocated with enthusiasm the abolition of the slave trade, but he opposed with equal ardour the union of Great Britain and Ireland. William Mason was another of his friends, and Burgh edited at York in 1783 a new edition of Mason's poem, the 'English Garden,' to which he added a commentary and notes. The poet desired Burgh to see through the press a complete edition of this work, but the wish was never gratified. After having lived at York for nearly forty years, Burgh died there in his house on the north side of Bootham Street on 26 Dec. 1808, aged 66, and was buried in the lady chapel of the minster, where there is still standing a monument, by Richard Westmacott, to his memory, representing a woman holding in her left hand a book and in her right a cross, with a poetical inscription by J. B. S. Morritt of Rokeby. His wife, Mary Warburton, daughter and heiress of George Warburton, an Irish gentleman, outlived her husband and was buried in the same vault with him, when his sisters became the principal legatees. In compliance with her husband's wish, several hundred volumes from his library were added to the collections of York Minster Library. The fine miniature of Milton by Samuel Cooper passed by successive bequests from Sir Joshua Reynolds to Mason, then to Burgh, and next to Morritt.

Burgh's name leaped into notoriety on the publication, in 1774, of 'A Scriptural Confutation of the Arguments against the one Godhead of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost produced by the Rev. Mr. Lindsey in his late Apology.' The first edition was issued under the disguise of 'A Layman,' but the authorship was soon known, and was formally acknowledged on the appearance of the second edition in 1775 in the words 'By William Burgh' on the title-page. This issue was dedicated to Edmund Burke, and in Burke's 'Works and Correspondence' (1852, i. 265-7) there is included a long letter, dated February 1775, returning the proofs of a 'most ingenious and most obliging dedication,' and setting out Burke's views on toleration. Some 'Remarks' on this work 'by a member of the church of Christ' were published at York in 1775 and republished with 'addenda' in the same year. A sequel to the 'Scriptural Confutation' was thereupon written by Burgh and printed at York in 1778 under the title of 'An Inquiry into the Belief of the Chris-

tians of the first three centuries respecting the one Godhead.' His publications provoked the criticism of the Unitarians, but he was rewarded for his efforts on behalf of the trinitarian system of religion with the degree of D.C.L. by the university of Oxford, 9 April 1788. Burgh is referred to in the preface to Dr. Alexander Hunter's edition of Evelyn's 'Silva,' and one of its illustrations, a 'Winter View of Cowthorpe Oak,' was engraved from a drawing by Burgh.

[Gent. Mag. (July 1809), pp. 611-15; Davies's York Press, 271-7, 282-3, 299-301, 337, 340; Corresp. of Walpole and Mason, i. 186, 431, ii. 233; Lindsey's Sequel to Apology (1776), pp. vi-xii; Wilberforce's Life, passim.]

W. P. C.

BURGHALL, EDWARD (d. 1665), puritan, left behind him a diary, called 'Providence improved,' which throws much light on the state of Cheshire throughout the period of the great rebellion. From this diary the main facts of Burghall's life can also be gathered. Before the civil war he was schoolmaster at Bunbury in Cheshire, and was probably appointed to the post about 1632 (*Diary*, 12 May 1632, 'Mr. Cole, schoolmaster of Bunbury, departed this life'). As early as 1556 the name of Burghall is connected with Bunbury, a William Burghall being on the list of pensioners of the chauntry of Bunbury dissolved in 1546 (ORMERON, *Cheshire*, ii. 140). The parish school at Bunbury, of which Burghall was master, was founded in 1594, and was endowed with '£20 per annum, one house and some land' (ib. 141). The vicar of Bunbury till the year 1629 was William Hinde, a celebrated puritan and biographer of John Bruen of Stapleford. Barlow, who has inserted Burghall's 'Diary' in his 'Cheshire,' states that Burghall was the author of Bruen's life (BARLOW, *Cheshire*, p. 150). But there is no mention of Burghall either on the title-page of Bruen's life or in the work itself. It was undoubtedly written by William Hinde, and edited after his death by his son Stephen Hinde, as indeed Barlow in a subsequent note points out (p. 151, n.; see also WOOD, *Athenae*, ii. 431; RAINES, *Introd. to Nicholas Assheton*, vol. xv. of Chetham Society). In 1643, during the siege of Nantwich, Burghall says that his goods were seized and himself driven from his home by Colonel Marrow; he thereupon went to Haslington in Cheshire, 'where he had a call,' and tarried there from 1 May 1644 till 1646 (*Diary* for 18 March 1644). In the latter year he became vicar of Acton in Cheshire, taking the place of Hunt, who was sequestered (ORMERON, iii. 187).



In company with fifty-eight Cheshire ministers he signed the attestation to the solemn league and covenant in 1648 (CALAMY, *Continuation*, i. 171). In this document his name is spelt Burghah, and by Calamy Bursal. In 1650 he preached and published a sermon at the dedication of the free school at Acton (*ib.*) From the year 1655 he complains that he was much molested by the quakers, and speaks of their opinions with great asperity (*Diary* for 1655, 1660; CALAMY, *Abridgement of Baxter's Life and Times*, ii. 128).

When the Act of Uniformity was passed, Burghall, after preaching farewell sermons at his churches of Wrenbury and Acton, was on 3 Oct. 1662 suspended from the vicarage of Acton, and on the 28th his successor Kirks was appointed. The diary ends in the year 1663. When expelled from the vicarage he was reduced to poverty; the last note in the diary complains that he was defrauded of his right to the tithes. A school was formed by public subscription for his maintenance (ORMEROD, iii. 185, n.; LYSONS, *Magna Brit.* vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 471, from answers to the queries of Bishop Porteus in the bishops' registry, 1778). Burghall died 8 Dec. 1665, steadfast in his religious faith (CALAMY, *Continuation*, i. 171). His diary was left in manuscript. It was printed in 1778 in an anonymous 'History of Cheshire,' in two vols., which incorporated King's 'Vale Royal' with this and similar narratives (LYSONS, *Magna Brit.* ii. ii. 466; ORMEROD, iii. 222-8). It is more accessible in Barlow's 'Cheshire' (1855). Its title is 'Providence improved;' and it begins with the year 1628. Before the civil war the entries only record what the author regarded as the special interventions of Providence in the neighbourhood of Bunbury. In the year 1641 Burghall first notices political events, and afterwards gives a very detailed account of the military operations in Cheshire. The reason was that Byron took his church at Acton and made it a basis for the siege of Nantwich. The narrative throws additional light on some disputed points in the history of the war. Barlow in one of his notes to the diary (many of these notes, he says, were furnished by Mr. Aspland) states that Burghall married a sister of John Bruen, but he does not give any authority for the statement; and all the marriages of Bruen's sisters are shown in Ormerod's pedigree of the Bruen family (ORMEROD, *Cheshire*, ii. 175).

[Burghall's *Diary*; Ormerod's *Cheshire*; LYSONS's *Magna Brit.* vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 466-71; Calamy's *Abridgement*, ii. 128, *Continuation*, i. 171; Palmer's *Nonconf. Memorial*, i. 255; Chet-

ham Society, vols. viii. and xv.; Siege of Nantwich (1774).] A. G.-N.

BURGHES, MICHAEL (1653?-1727), engraver and draughtsman, born at Amsterdam about 1653, settled at Oxford in 1673. He engraved the print in the 'University Almanac' for 1676, and most of those which followed it up to 1720. He succeeded David Loggan [q. v.] as 'sculptor' to the university in 1692. He made many small views of buildings at Queen's College and Christ Church. He also engraved the following portraits: William Sommer, the antiquary; Francis Junius, after A. van Dyck; Richard Barefoot, letter-carrier to the university, 1681; head of James II in an almanac, 1686; William Penderill of Boscobel in Salop; Robert Eglesfield, founder of Queen's College; Sir W. Read, chemical physician; and the Visage of Christ, engraved in the manner of Claude Mellan. In mezzotinto Burghes executed a portrait of Anthony à Wood. On several of his plates he added to his name 'Academiæ Oxon. chalcographus,' but sometimes marked them with the initials M.B. only. He died, according to Hearne, on 10 Jan. 1726-7.

[Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists* (1878); MS. notes in British Museum.] L. F.

BURGHESH, BARTHOLOMEW, Lord, the elder (d. 1355), was the second (or perhaps the third) son of Robert, lord Burghersh, and succeeded to his father's title and estates on the death of his elder brother Stephen. He was the nephew on the mother's side and namesake of Bartholomew, lord Badlesmere, one of the most powerful of the barons. He married Elizabeth, one of the three coheiresses of Theobald, lord Verdon, an alliance by which his wealth and power were increased. Lord Badlesmere was a bitter enemy of Thomas, earl of Lancaster, and we find Burghersh taking an active part in the unhappy contests of parties in Edward II's reign as an adherent of his uncle, whom in 1317 he accompanied in an expedition to Scotland. In October 1321, when Leeds Castle, Kent—the gates of which had been shut against Queen Isabella by Lady Badlesmere—surrendered to Edward, who had with unwonted spirit raised a force of thirty thousand men to avenge the insult offered to his wife, Burghersh, who was one of the garrison, was taken prisoner and incarcerated in the Tower of London. This imprisonment was probably the means of saving him from the fate of his uncle after the disastrous battle of Boroughbridge. He was spared to aid in the overthrow of his unfortunate sovereign. On the landing of Isabella, on 24 Sept. 1326, his brother Henry

[q. v.], the bishop of Lincoln, hastened to join her, and with Orilton, bishop of Hereford, took the initiative in the measures which speedily led to Edward's deposition and murder. The important posts of constable of Dover Castle and warden of the Cinque Ports, which had been held by his father, were given to Burghersh, and he held both offices, with but slight intermission, to his death. In the unsettled relations between England and France, which lasted through the greater part of Edward III's reign, the responsibility devolving on the holder of these offices, which implied the command of the chief channel of communication between the two countries, was of the highest moment, and it evidences the confidence reposed in Burghersh that he should have held them almost continuously during so important an epoch. The commission, given originally in the name of Edward II, but really proceeding from the party conspiring only too successfully against him, was renewed by his son in the first year of his reign. The first royal missive to him in this capacity, contained in Rymer, is an order to have sixty does taken from the king's park of Brabourne, and salted for the use of the parliament about to meet at Westminster. This is followed by an order to use his authority to put a stop to predatory incursions on the French coast. Burghersh evidently very speedily obtained the complete confidence of the young king, which he retained uninteruptedly to the end of his life. His services were rewarded by large grants of land and manorial privileges, escheated to the crown, or in some other way falling to the sovereign to dispose of. The king despatched him repeatedly on diplomatic errands. In 1329 he was sent to Philip of France to explain the reasons for the delay in the rendering of his homage, and in the same year as an ambassador to the pope, to plead for pecuniary aid from the revenues of the English church, a tenth of which was granted to the king for four years (*Chronicles Edward II, III*, Rolls Series, i. 348). Rymer contains a series of royal orders issued to him in his capacity of constable of Dover relating to prohibitions or licenses to cross the sea when the peace of the country was threatened, and to make arrangements for the passage of the king and other distinguished persons. He was entrusted with other offices calling for vigour of action and practical wisdom. In 1337, on the assumption by Edward of the title of king of France, he was made admiral of the fleet from the mouth of the Thames westward. He was also appointed seneschal of Ponthieu, warden of the Tower, and chamberlain of the king, in which capacity his

presence is often recorded at the delivery of the great seal. In one of Edward's grievous straits for money he was entrusted with the pawning of the crown and other jewels. As keeper of the king's forest to the south of the Trent in 1341 he was commissioned to provide timber for the construction of engines of war and 'hourdes' or wooden stages for the defenders of castle walls. As a good and experienced soldier he was continually in attendance on the king in his Scotch and French wars, taking part in the great victory of Crecy, 26 Aug. 1346. The confidence reposed in Burghersh as a diplomatic agent was equally great. He was frequently sent, as may be seen in Rymer—often in company with Bishop Bateman of Norwich [q. v.]—to treat with the pope at Avignon, with Philip of Valois, with the counts of Brabant and Flanders, and other leading powers, on the truces and armistices so repeatedly made and broken, and to arrange the often promised but long deferred final peace between the two contending nations. As characteristic of the age, it is curious to find that, under an excess of religious zeal, Burghersh, before the breaking out of the war with France, when the realm was comparatively quiet, had laid aside his arms and assumed the cross. Edward, unable to dispense with the services of so valuable a helper, when starting for Gascony in 1377, petitioned the pope to release him from his vow. Two years after Crecy we find him again taking part in the French wars, and despatched to Avignon to treat with the pope for a firm and lasting peace between the two countries. The next year (1349) he accompanied the earl of Lancaster to Gascony, to suppress the rebellion there. In 1355, when Edward was leaving England for a fresh invasion of France, Burghersh was appointed one of the guardians of the realm, but died at the beginning of August of that year. He was buried in the chantry of St. Catherine, which he had founded in Lincoln minster for the soul of his brother Henry, bishop of Lincoln, and their father, Robert Burghersh. Monuments to all three, with effigies of the two brothers, are still to be seen.

[Authorities as under BURGHERSH, HENRY.]  
E. V.

**BURGHERSH, BARTHOLOMEW**, LORD, the younger (d. 1369), the son of Bartholomew Burghersh the elder, adopted his father's profession of arms and rivalled him in military distinction. His recorded career begins in 1339, when he accompanied Edward III in his expedition to Flanders and took part in the first invasion of French terri-

tory. We find his name also as attending the king on his third inglorious and unprofitable campaign in Brittany in 1342-3. In 1346 he was one of the retinue of the Black Prince, then in his fifteenth year, in the ever memorable campaign of Crecy, and in the following year was present at the siege of Calais, being rewarded for his distinguished services there by a rich wardship. In 1349 he was in the campaign in Gascony. On the institution of the order of the Garter in 1350 he was chosen to be one of the first knights companions. In 1354 he fulfilled a religious vow by taking a journey to the Holy Land. On his return home he joined the Black Prince in the expedition—the largest and most formidable yet directed against France—in 1355. He was one of the most eminent of the commanders of the invading army, and had a leading share in the events of the campaign, especially in the battle of Poitiers, 19 Sept. 1356 (FROISSART, bk. i. c. 161). A daring exploit of Burghersh is recorded by Froissart shortly before the battle. In company with Sir John Chandos and Sir James Audley, and attended by only four-and-twenty horsemen, he made an excursion from the main body of the army, and, falling on the rear of the French army, took thirty-two knights and gentlemen prisoners (*ib.* c. 157). His prowess and skill were again tried about the same time, when, on his return with a small foraging party near Berry, he was attacked from an ambuscade by a much more formidable force, which, however, he managed to keep at bay till relieved by the Black Prince (*ib.* c. 219). During this campaign his father, Lord Burghersh, died, and he received livery of his lands as his heir. In 1359 he again accompanied Edward III on his last and most formidable invasion of France, ending in the decisive treaty of Bretigny, 8 May 1360. He was deputed to aid in the negotiation of this treaty between 'the firstborn sons of the kings of England and France' at Chartres, for which letters of protection were given him. He and his brother commissioners were taken prisoners in violation of the bond, and Edward had to interpose to obtain their liberation (RYMER, sub ann.) During this campaign Knighton records his successful siege of the castle of Sourmussy in Gascony, in which he appears to have evidenced no common skill (KNIGHTON, 2622). In 1362 he was appointed one of the commissioners on the state of Ireland. When, in 1364, King John of France, to make atonement for the Duke of Anjou's breach of faith, determined to yield himself back to captivity, to die three months after his landing at the Savoy Palace,

Burghersh was one of the nobles deputed to receive him at Dover and conduct him by Canterbury to Edward's presence at Eltham (FROISSART, bk. i. c. 219). In 1366 he was one of the commissioners sent to Urban V, who had rashly demanded the payment of the arrears of the tribute granted by King John. His death took place in 1369. By his desire he was buried in the lady chapel of Walsingham Abbey. He was twice married: first to Cecilia, heiress of Richard Weyland, and secondly to his cousin Margaret, sister of Bartholomew, lord Badlesmere. He left an only daughter, Elizabeth, married to Edward, lord Despenser.

[Authorities as under BURGHESH, HENRY.]  
E. V.

**BURGHESH, HENRY** (1292-1340), bishop of Lincoln, was third son of Sir Robert Burghersh, lord Burghersh, whose family took their name from Burghersh or Burwash in Sussex. His mother was the sister of the powerful noble, Bartholomew, lord Badlesmere. Having chosen an ecclesiastical career, the young man devoted himself to the study of civil and canon law in the foreign universities. When only twenty-five years of age, 17 Nov. 1316, he was appointed to the prebendal stall of Riccall in York Minster (LE NEVE, iii. 209). On the death of John Sendale, bishop of Winchester, in 1319, the young man's all-powerful uncle, Badlesmere, sought the dignity for him. Badlesmere was the main bulwark of Edward against Thomas of Lancaster, and his influence is illustrated by the urgency with which Edward assailed the pope (John XXII) on behalf of Burghersh, who was still studying law at Angers. On 2 and 9 Nov. and 15 Dec. 1319 the king made three distinct applications to the pope in favour of Burghersh, accompanying his letters to the pope with others to the cardinals of the curia and his own nuncios calling upon them to use their influence on his behalf. The letters rise in earnestness of entreaty and in commendation of Burghersh, whom he declares, contrary to the fact, to be of legitimate age for consecration, and to be endowed with all necessary learning, especially of a legal character, and every suitable virtue. The king's urgency failed. The rich see of Winchester was bestowed on a foreigner, Rigaud Asser. The correspondence, which is curious and painfully instructive, as showing the complete subjugation of the church of England to the papal see, may be found in Rymer, ii. i. 405, 406, 407, 411. The bishop of Lincoln, John of Dalderby, universally revered for his sanctity, died on 12 Jan. 1320. The dean and chapter, in pursuance of their

undoubted rights, elected their dean, Henry of Mansfield, to the vacant see. Mansfield, however, declined the episcopate. The second choice of the chapter fell on Antony Bek (1279-1343) [q. v.], the chancellor of this church, who was not indisposed to accept the office. Again the electors were balked. Lord Badlesmere was then at the papal court at Avignon on a mission from Edward (ADAM MURMUTH, p. 31). He availed himself of the opportunity to plead the cause of his nephew, in whose behalf, only three days after Bishop Daldersby's decease, and probably on the very day of its notification to him, 16 Jan. 1320, his royal master had already addressed a fourth letter to the pope, followed by a fifth letter on 6 March (RYMER, II. i. 414 ff. 814 ff.) His application was warmly supported, and the large bribes offered, 'pecuniæ non modicæ interventionem' (*Gesta Edw. de Carnarvon*, Rolls Series, II. 60), furnished a powerful inducement. The election of Antony Bek was shamelessly annulled, and the dean and chapter of Lincoln were informed that the pope had reserved the appointment to himself by way of provision, and had selected Henry Burghersh, though not of canonical age, being only in his twenty-ninth year; this 'defect of age,' in the words of the papal letter to Edward, 'being compensated by the abundance of the young man's merits and virtues, as he was well furnished with knowledge of letters, illustrious by nobility of family, remarkable for moral and virtuous living, and adorned with other manifold gifts' (RYMER, *Fœd.* II. i. 425). The scandal of such an appointment called forth unmeasured reprobation from those to whom the independence of the church and realm was dear. Perhaps to avoid public offence the consecration was performed at Boulogne, 20 July, in the presence of Edward II. His consecrator was Salmon, bishop of Norwich, Adam of Orilton, bishop of Hereford, the infamous conspirator against Edward II, being one of the assistant prelates. Burghersh did not rise above the average moral standard of the English episcopate when it was almost at its lowest. Walsingham charges him with avarice beyond his fellows, and a bold contempt of the rights of others. He was, in common with the leading prelates of his time, far more of a statesman than a bishop. The utmost that John of Schalby, his registrar, can say in his favour is that he bore the 'royal persecutions' patiently, and obtained the right of sanctuary for the bishop's palace and canons' houses at Lincoln, already granted to the cathedral church.

The Bishop of Lincoln's court favour was not of long duration. His uncle, Lord Bad-

lesmere, joined in the attack of the barons on the Despensers, and with his old enemy, the Earl of Lancaster, and the rebellious lords made war upon the king. After the battle of Boroughbridge, 16 March 1322, in which Lancaster and his allies were defeated, Badlesmere took refuge in his nephew the Bishop of Lincoln's manor of Stow Park. Here he was captured and taken to Canterbury, where he was beheaded (LELAND, *Collect.* II. 465; ADAM MURMUTH, p. 37). The bishop's temporalities were seized by the king, who, in a series of letters to the pope, called upon his holiness to deprive Burghersh of his see. Similar letters were addressed to the college of cardinals and to Philip of France, and able theologians were despatched to plead the king's cause against the bishop at the papal court (RYMER, II. i. 464, 500, 504, 510, 515). The pope at last replied that he would be ready to attend to any charges for canonical offences, but it was most unreasonable to ask him to visit unproved offences with severe penalties (u. s. p. 536). Meanwhile Edward was as usual in great want of money, and the Bishop of Lincoln, by way of reprisal, used his authority to thwart his demands for subsidies from the clergy. A convocation of the clergy of the province of Canterbury, held at Lincoln 14 Jan. 1323, to confirm the subsidy already voted at York, resolutely refused to accede to the demand. Burghersh's name is not definitely mentioned, but there can be no doubt that the violent opposition of the clergy was actively supported by the bishop, in whose cathedral the convocation was held (W. DE DENE, *Anglia Sacra*, I. 362). The vigorous measures taken by the king against the arch-traitor, Adam de Orilton [q. v.], bishop of Hereford, would seem to have alarmed the Bishop of Lincoln into an outward profession of loyalty and obedience. Edward rewarded his insincere professions by taking him again into his royal favour and giving him restitution of his temporalities. This generosity was recompensed by the basest duplicity. When Queen Isabella landed in Suffolk, 24 Sept. 1326, 'proclaiming herself,' as Bishop Stubbs writes, 'the avenger of Earl Thomas and the enemy of the Despensers,' one of the earliest and most zealous of her adherents was Burghersh. He, with his brethren of Norwich and Hereford, styled in the vigorous language of a contemporary chronicler, with allusion to the queen's name, 'Baal sacerdotess, alumni Jesabellæ,' obtained for her supplies of money from the other bishops, who were all either avowedly hostile or coldly indifferent to their royal master. Burghersh was among the guests at the Christmas banquet held at Wallingford by the leaders of

the queen's party after Edward's capture and imprisonment at Kenilworth. He also accompanied Orilton to that fortress in January 1327, after the deposition of Edward by the parliament, being sent in advance of the other commissioners to procure his resignation of the crown in favour of his son. In February 1328 he was commissioned by the parliament at York, in conjunction with the queen's tool, Ayreminne, bishop of Norwich, to conclude peace with the Scots, and to negotiate the marriage of the king's young sister Joan with David, the son and heir of Robert Bruce, which was carried into effect the next year. In the following March he succeeded his fellow-conspirator Orilton as treasurer, on the latter going to the papal court at Avignon, where he obtained for himself a papal provision to the see of Worcester, and in May 1328 he received the great seal as chancellor on the resignation of John Hotham, bishop of Ely; thus at the early age of thirty-seven attaining the highest office in the state. Two months after the murder of the king, Reynolds, archbishop of Canterbury, died, and an unsuccessful attempt was made by the queen's party to secure the primacy for Burghersh, to which Simon Mepham was appointed. When Edward proceeded to France to do homage for his continental possessions, Burghersh, the confidential friend of Isabella and of Mortimer, accompanied him as his guardian, and, according to Knighton (TWYSDEN, *Decem Script.* col. 2555), by a timely retreat rescued the young king from the treacherous designs of Philip, who was purposing to make him his prisoner.

Edward's first child, the future Black Prince, was born at Woodstock 15 June 1330, and Burghersh, the bishop of the diocese, which then included the county of Oxford, baptised him. The following autumn saw the fall of Isabella and Mortimer. Burghersh was too completely identified with them to escape altogether. He was actually with Mortimer and the queen at Nottingham when the former was apprehended, and was sent to the Tower on St. Luke's day, 18 Oct. 1330. He was deprived on 28 Nov. of his office as chancellor in which he was succeeded by Stratford, bishop of Winchester, afterwards primate, who as archdeacon of Lincoln had proved one of his most unremitting opponents, and had been employed by Edward II to convey the charges against him to the papal curia and to prosecute the cause. Burghersh, however, speedily regained a considerable amount of power and influence, and played a conspicuous part in the early years of the reign of Edward III as the spokesman of the court party (STRUBBS, *Const. Hist.* ii. 367, 384). In 1333

he supported the Oxford authorities in suppressing the attempt on the part of the northern students at Oxford, who had been defeated in an affray with the southern students, to establish a new rival university at Stamford (*Oxf. Hist. Soc. Collectanea*, i. 9). Having been out of office four years, he once more became treasurer in 1334, but was again dismissed in 1337. In the January of the preceding year he had formed one of a commission, with the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Durham and Carlisle, for negotiating the short peace with Scotland, speedily nullified by the massacre by the Scots of the English governors appointed by Edward (*Gest. Edw. Tert.* Rolls Series, ii. 127). Burghersh's removal from the treasurership does not appear to indicate any decided breach between him and the king, for the following year, the half of the wool of England having been granted to Edward for the expenses of the projected war with Philip of Valois, he was sent into Flanders, with Sir Walter Manny and a large force, to protect the fleet which was conveying the wool to be sold to the Flemish clothiers at the king's own price. A large quantity of wool, valued at 150,000*l.*, having been discovered in the hands of the English merchants at Dordrecht, the whole was seized by the bishop and Manny and the proceeds devoted to purchasing the support of the dukes of Gueldres, Hainault, and Brabant in the contemplated French war (*ib.* ii. 133; KNIGHTON ap. TWYSDEN, 2570). Edward evidently found Burghersh an efficient and capable minister, whom he was glad to employ in any state matter calling for businesslike capacity unfettered by over-scrupulosity. He was in England again in the early part of 1340, and was despatched by the king to the south to hurry forward the equipment of vessels for the fleet with which on 24 June Edward gained the great naval victory of Sluys (WALSINGHAM, *Hist. Angl.* i. 226, Rolls Series). In his capacity of 'principal adviser of the king in foreign affairs,' the character given him by the continuator of Adam of Murimuth (p. 114), he accompanied his royal master to Flanders, where he seems to have remained till his premature death at Ghent, 4 Dec. 1340. His body was brought to England, and was buried in his cathedral church, at the east end of the north aisle of the retrochoir, where his brother, Sir Bartholomew, had founded a chantry at the altar of St. Catherine's. His monument, with his effigy in episcopal habit, still remains, but much mutilated and deprived of its lofty canopy. According to a curious tale recorded by Walsingham (*ib.* i. 254), his unquiet spirit was doomed to walk as the ghostly keeper of

the park at his manor of Tynghurst in Buckinghamshire, which he had enlarged at the expense of his neighbours, until their wrongs should be redressed by the restoration of their lands. Knighton gives Burghersh a high character as regards business capacity and his power of influencing others: 'He was a man noble and wise in counsel, of great boldness, yet of polished manners; singularly endowed with personal strength, and very remarkable for his power of getting brave men about him' (TWYSDEN, col. 2577). Of his work as bishop we know but little. His registers show, however, that he was not inactive in the discharge of his episcopal functions, when not otherwise engaged in diplomacy or state affairs, and that during his earlier years he was generally resident in his diocese. The number of letters dimissory given by him to candidates for holy orders leads to the conclusion that he was somewhat remiss in the duty of ordination. His frequent absences from the realm on state affairs compelled him to leave the management of his diocese for a long time together to suffragans or commissaries. He secured the gratitude of the vicars choral of his cathedral by a vigorous interference for the recovery of neglected payments to their body. We are told also that he regulated the consistorial court of his diocese and issued a code of statutes for its guidance. Burghersh's career as a bishop is far from edifying, but few are more instructive as to the character of the church of England and its rulers in the first half of the fourteenth century. An able administrator, an acute statesman, a practical man of business, usually carrying to a successful issue any task he undertook, he was destitute of political morality, and shamelessly intrigued for political or ecclesiastical advancement. He exhibited little or no religious feeling.

[Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 34-7; Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i. pt. ii. vol. ii. pts. i. and ii., iii. 1 passim; Adam of Murimuth's Chronicle; Walsingham's Hist. Angl.; Knighton ap. Twysden; Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and II (Rolls Series); William of Dene, Anglia Sacra, vol. i.; Stow's Annals; Froissart, bk. i. c. 146, 157, 249; Canon Perry's manuscript History of Bishop Burghersh.] E. V.

BURGHERSH, LORD. [See FANE.]

BURGIS, EDWARD (1673?-1747), catholic divine, was the son of a clergyman of the church of England. On becoming a Dominican friar he assumed the christian name of Ambrose. He passed through the highest offices of his order with distinguished credit, and died at Brussels on 27 April 1747.

He wrote: 1. 'The Annals of the Church' (down to A.D. 300), 1712. 2. 'The Annals of the Church' (for five centuries), 5 vols., London, 1738.

[Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 451; Palmer's Obit. Notices of the Friar-Preachers, (1884), 13.] T. C.

BURGHLEY, BARONS. [See CECIL, WILLIAM, first BARON, 1520-1598; CECIL, THOMAS, second BARON, 1542-1622.]

BURGO, DR. [See BURKE, THOMAS (1710?-1776).]

BURGOYNE, HUGH TALBOT (1833-1870), captain in the royal navy, only son of Sir John Fox Burgoyne [q. v.], entered the navy in 1847. On the completion of his time as midshipman, he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant on 11 Jan. 1854; and shortly afterwards (20 March) appointed to the *Boscawen*, in which he served for a few months in the Baltic. When the *Boscawen*, with the other sailing ships, returned to England, he was appointed on 16 Sept. to the *Swallow*, in which he went out to the Mediterranean. The *Swallow* was attached to the fleet before Sebastopol, and on 29 May 1855, after Genitchi had been shelled, Burgoyne volunteered to land, in company with Lieutenant Buckley and Mr. Roberts, and set fire to a quantity of Russian stores. It was a dangerous piece of service gallantly performed, and was rewarded with the Victoria cross when that order was instituted in the following year [see BUCKLEY, CECIL WILLIAM]. Burgoyne's want of seniority prevented his being promoted at once, but he was appointed to the command of the *Wrangler*, despatch gunboat, in which he continued actively employed during the rest of the war. He was made commander on 10 May 1856, and on 16 July 1857 was appointed to the *Ganges*, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Baynes in the Pacific. He continued in her during the whole commission, and when she paid off was advanced to be captain on 15 May 1861. In 1863 he accompanied Captain Osborn to China, as second in command of the Anglo-Chinese flotilla, and when Osborn threw up the appointment [see OSBORN, SHERARD] on a disagreement with the Chinese government, they immediately offered the vacant appointment to Burgoyne, with an unusually liberal pay. Burgoyne, however, declined it, being no more disposed than Osborn had been to submit himself to the local authorities. The junior officers followed his example, and the flotilla was broken up. Shortly after his return to England, Burgoyne was appointed, on 27 Sept. 1865, to command the *Wivern*, a small turret-

ship, in which he continued for the next two years, when he was appointed, 22 Oct. 1867, to the *Constance* frigate, on the North American station. Towards the close of the following year the *Constance* was paid off, and Burgoyne was appointed to superintend the building and fitting out of the *Captain*, an experiment of a full-rigged ship, with turrets and a low freeboard, which the admiralty had decided to try on a very large scale [see COLES, COWPER PHIPPS]. The *Captain* was put in commission on 30 April 1870, and in a first cruise in the Channel, and as far as Vigo, during the month of July, appeared to those on board to be a remarkably easy and comfortable sea-boat, and was currently spoken of as being the steadiest platform for guns that had ever been afloat. It was not then understood that this unusual steadiness was really a sign of the most serious danger; and Burgoyne reported officially that the ship had 'proved herself a most efficient vessel both under sail and steam, as well as easy and comfortable.' In August she accompanied the Channel fleet as far as Gibraltar. On 6 Sept. the fleet, on its return voyage, was broad off Cape Finisterre; Sir Alexander Milne, the commander-in-chief, visited the ship, and was much struck by her extreme lowliness in the water, so that with a pleasant royal breeze 'the water was washing over the lee side of the deck fore and aft, and striking the after turret to a depth of about 18 inches to 2 feet.' He said to Captain Coles, who, as the designer of the ship, had come in her in a private capacity, 'I cannot reconcile myself to this state of things so very unusual in all my experience.' Still there was no thought of danger, and Sir Alexander went back to his ship puzzled rather than alarmed at the novel appearances on board the *Captain*. During the evening the weather changed for the worse; it came on thick with a drizzling rain, and the wind got up. The ships were screened from each other's sight, but there had been plenty of warning, and the gale was of no alarming strength. It was about twenty minutes after midnight on the morning of the 7th that a fresh squall struck the ships. Under any other circumstances it would have passed with a bare notice, but it proved fatal to the *Captain*. As the squall struck her she heeled over, had no power of recovery, turned completely over bottom upwards, and sank. The greater number of her officers and men were below, and went down with her; but of those who were on deck only eighteen managed to scramble into the launch, which had been thrown out when the ship was on her beam ends, and were saved. Burgoyne, with some few men, had

got on to the bottom of the pinnace; and as the launch drifted near, the men jumped and were picked up. Whether from exhaustion, or from a determination not to survive the loss of the ship, Burgoyne refused to jump, and he was never seen again.

Two brass mural tablets, commemorating by name the officers and ship's company of the ill-fated *Captain*, have been placed in St. Paul's Cathedral.

[Wrottesley's *Life of Sir John Fox Burgoyne*, ii. 445; O'Byrne's *Victoria Cross*, 45; *Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court-martial on the loss of H.M.S. Captain*, published by order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.]

J. K. L.

**BURGOYNE, SIR JOHN (1739-1785)**, general, seventh baronet, of Sutton, Bedfordshire, and cousin of Lieutenant-general the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, was born in 1739, and entered the army at an early age. After serving in the 7th fusiliers and other corps, he obtained the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 58th foot in Ireland in 1764. Some years later he was transferred to that of the 14th light dragoons, then on the Irish establishment. The 'Calendar of Home Office Papers,' 1770-2, pars. 224, 639, shows these appointments to have been dictated by political as well as professional considerations. In 1781 Burgoyne was commissioned to raise a regiment of light dragoons for service in India, the first European cavalry sent out to that country. This corps, originally known as the 23rd light dragoons, was formed out of drafts from other regiments, and had its rendezvous at Bedford. Standards, now in possession of the 19th hussars, were presented to it by George III, and early in 1782 it embarked, with other reinforcements, on board the *East India* fleet under convoy of Admiral Sir R. Bickerton, and landed at Madras towards the end of the year. Under its changed name of the 19th light dragoons it subsequently won great renown on Indian battle-fields. Burgoyne was promoted to the rank of major-general on the Madras staff in 1782. He married Charlotte, daughter of General Johnstone of Overston, Northamptonshire, and by this lady, who afterwards married, secondly, Lieutenant-general Eyre Power Trench, he left several children. He died at Madras in 1785.

Burgoyne's eldest son, **SIR MONTAGUE ROGER BURGOYNE**, eighth baronet, was also a cavalry officer, and like his father ultimately became a major-general. He entered the army as cornet in the Scots Greys in 1789, and in 1795 became lieutenant-colonel of the short-

lived 32nd light dragoons. He was afterwards for some years one of the inspecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps. He died at his mother's residence in Oxford Street, London, on 11 Aug. 1817. Shortly before his death Burgoyne was the object of a curious and vexatious prosecution, in which the vicar of his parish sued him for penalties under an old law for not having attended divine service during a period exceeding twelve months. The proceedings fell through.

[Burke's Baronetage; De Fonblanque's Life of Right Hon. John Burgoyne, p. 6; Annual Army Lists; War Office Military Entry Books and Marching Orders (Regulars); Gent. Mag. (lxxxvii.) i. 189, ii. 368.] H. M. C.

BURGOYNE, JOHN (1722-1792), dramatist and general, was the only son of Captain John Burgoyne, a man of fashion, who died in the rules of the king's bench, and grandson of Sir John Burgoyne, bart., of Sutton Park, Bedfordshire. He was educated at Westminster School, where he made friends with Lord Strange, eldest son of the Earl of Derby, who at every important crisis in his life was his faithful friend. Burgoyne became a cornet in the 13th light dragoons in 1740, and purchased a lieutenancy in 1741, when the regiment was stationed at Preston. From Preston he frequently went over to Knowsley to see his old schoolfellow, and his intimacy there culminated in his elopement with Lady Charlotte Stanley, the sister of Lord Strange, in 1743. The lady's brother was quite content with the match, but her father was so angry that he only gave her a small sum of money, and declared he would never see her again. With this money Burgoyne bought a captaincy in the 13th dragoons, and for three years Captain and Lady Charlotte Burgoyne spent a very pleasant life in London. At the end of that period, however, they were so overwhelmed with debt that he sold his commission, and they retired to live quietly in France on the proceeds of the sale. They settled down in a little cottage near Chanteloup, the seat of Choiseul, and during seven years of exile Captain Burgoyne made himself a master of the French language and literature, and obtained a good insight into contemporary politics and the condition of continental armies. He was meanwhile reconciled to his father-in-law, the eleventh earl of Derby, who subsequently left Lady Charlotte Burgoyne 25,000*l.* and an annuity of 400*l.* He returned to England, and by Lord Derby's interest obtained in 1756, on the outbreak of the seven years' war, a captaincy in the 11th dragoons, which he

exchanged in May 1758 for a captaincy and lieutenant-colonelcy in the Coldstream guards. He now first saw service in the expeditions to Cherbourg and St. Malo in 1758 and 1759, and in the latter year he proposed to the Horse Guards to raise a regiment of light horse. Light cavalry were really unknown in England at this time. Burgoyne had heard much on the continent of the famous Pandours and Cossacks and of the Prussian hussars, and he propounded a scheme for raising two regiments of light horse. They were raised in August 1759 by Lieutenant-colonel Elliott, afterwards Lord Heathfield, and Burgoyne, were approved, and were named the King's Light Dragoons and the Queen's Light Dragoons respectively. After this success he was elected M.P. for Midhurst in 1761, and in 1762 was sent to Portugal as brigadier-general under Count la Lippe Buckeburg, to assist the Portuguese against Spain. The transports anchored in the Tagus on 6 May 1762, and Burgoyne received the command of the outposts. He stormed the town of Valencia d'Alcantara in July, taking three standards and a general, and on 5 Oct. stormed the entrenched camp of Villa Velha, which closed the campaign.

In 1768 he was elected M.P. for Preston, through the Derby influence, with free leave to say what he liked, and began as a candid friend of the ministry. His chief subjects were foreign policy and the war office, and his most successful speeches were against the government on the Falkland Isles in 1771, and on the government of India in 1772. This India motion is the most striking proof of his ability as a statesman, and in his motion for a select committee, on 13 April 1772, he proposed the principle, afterwards incorporated into the India bills of Pitt and Fox, that some government control should be instituted over the proceedings of the East India Company. When the report of the committee was brought up, on 3 May 1773, he made a violent attack on Lord Clive, and brought about his condemnation by the House of Commons, though Wedderburn managed to keep off an impeachment. Burgoyne was a member of all the fashionable clubs, a friend of Sir Joshua Reynolds, an amateur actor, and a reckless gambler. In 1774 he wrote a play, the 'Maid of the Oaks,' which was acted at his seat, the Oaks, near Epsom, on the occasion of the marriage of his wife's nephew, then Lord Stanley, to Lady Betty Hamilton. In 1775 Garrick brought it out at Drury Lane, with Mrs. Abington in the chief rôle. Like Burgoyne's other efforts, the play is rather tedious to read. His political career, though it brought down the anger of



Junius, won him favour at court, in spite of occasional flashes of independence, and he was made colonel-commandant of the 16th light dragoons in 1763, governor of Fort William in Scotland in 1769, and major-general in 1772, when his income from these military appointments amounted to 3,500*l.* a year, on the strength of which he spent considerably more.

In September 1774 Burgoyne was sent out to America to reinforce General Gage. It was with the utmost reluctance that Burgoyne consented to leave his invalid wife (see his curious private memorandum on his appointment in FONBLANQUE'S *Political and Military Episodes*, 120-35). He arrived at Boston in May 1775, and at once heard the news of the skirmish at Lexington. From the moment of his arrival Burgoyne was chafed by his forced inaction, and he bitterly complains that, owing to the number of generals and brigadiers, he had nothing to do. He occupied himself in a correspondence with the American general Lee, who had served with him in Portugal, and in writing home letters of bitter complaint. He witnessed the battle of Bunker's Hill, and returned home in disgust in November 1775. It was then determined to attack the colonists at once in the south, in New England, and in Canada. Burgoyne was attached to Sir Guy Carleton, the commander-in-chief in Canada, as second in command. He reached Canada in June 1776, the very month in which Lady Charlotte Burgoyne died, and found Carleton in command of 12,000 men. With him Burgoyne advanced, and, after a naval battle with a newly built flotilla on Lake Champlain, occupied Crown Point and reconnoitred Ticonderoga. Disgusted at Carleton's inaction, Burgoyne returned home, and at the request of the prime minister drew up a plan of campaign for the next year. He proposed that an army of 12,000 men, accompanied by 2,000 Canadians as guides and pioneers, and 1,000 Indians as scouts, should advance from Canada, take Ticonderoga, and then advance for two hundred miles through the forests to Albany in the state of New York, where a junction should be formed with a division from the army of Sir William Howe. His energy impressed the king and the ministry, and he returned to America in the spring of 1777 with supreme command of a force to make this march. On his arrival he soon found that his army would not consist of the 12,000 soldiers he had expected, and he eventually started, after issuing a bombastic proclamation, with only 6,400 soldiers and 649 Indians, from the Three Rivers in May 1777. The

army was far too small, and not well found in stores and ammunition; but it was full of enthusiasm, and he was well supported by his officers. His advance was at first successful, and after reoccupying Crown Point he took Ticonderoga on 6 July, after six days' siege. The king wished to confer the order of the Bath on Burgoyne; and when Lord Derby refused this on his behalf, he insisted on promoting him lieutenant-general on 29 Aug. 1777. Burgoyne slowly moved forward after too much delay. He failed in his attack on a small American force at Bennington, and then crossed the Hudson. But difficulties accumulated; Arnold cut off his retreat, and Schuyler, with 16,000 men, blocked his advance. He was disheartened by the news that the force under Clinton had not stirred; yet he determined to keep on advancing. Schuyler continued to retreat before him, until he was superseded by Gates, who believed the time was come to stand at bay. Accordingly, on 24 Sept., Burgoyne found the American army, of nearly 20,000 men, strongly entrenched on Behm's Heights, and immediately attacked it, though his own troops were reduced to 5,000 men. The attack was futile, and he had to attempt to retreat. But the American general would not allow him to escape; he harassed every mile of his retreat, and at last surrounded him at Saratoga. All Burgoyne's provisions and ammunition were expended, and he found himself obliged to surrender to Gates on 17 Oct. 1777.

Burgoyne at once obtained leave from General Washington in a most courteous letter (FONBLANQUE, p. 214) to return to England, and had to face a storm of disapprobation. In the House of Commons he found no friends but Charles James Fox and his immediate supporters, and on 26 May 1778 had to answer a motion by Mr. Vyner, 'to condemn the state and condition of the army which surrendered at Saratoga,' in which he asked why Burgoyne had been allowed to return to England. He defended himself in an able speech, which he afterwards published; but a select committee to examine the state of the army was appointed by a large majority. He had also to meet the anonymous attacks of the public press, and published his 'State of the Expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons by Lieutenant-general Burgoyne and verified by Evidence,' in which he proved that his army was one-half the size he had demanded, and in every way badly provided. The attacks on him continued; and after pretending to order him to return to America as a prisoner of war, which he refused to do,

the king deprived him of the command of the 16th light dragoons and of his government of Fort William, and he was thus left with only his pay as a general officer. This conduct threw him more and more into the hands of the opposition. His support was warmly received. Fox and Sheridan insisted that he was an ill-used man, whose defeat was due to the incapacity of the ministry; and when the whigs returned to power under Lord Rockingham, Burgoyne, on 7 June 1782, was made commander-in-chief in Ireland, and a privy councillor there, and colonel of the 4th regiment. He went out of power with Fox on the fall of the coalition ministry in December 1783, and helped with his pen to turn Pitt's administration into ridicule. He contributed to the 'Rolliad' and the 'Probationary Odes,' and wrote nearly the whole of the witty but bitter and scurrilous 'Westminster Guide.' But the friends of Fox had commenced a long period of exclusion from office, and Burgoyne withdrew more and more from politics and confined himself to the literary and social life, in which he shone, and made practically his last political appearance as a manager of the impeachment of Warren Hastings in 1787.

His love for the stage and his success with the 'Maid of the Oaks' turned his mind especially to dramatic writing, and in 1780 was produced the comic opera, 'The Lord of the Manor,' for which he wrote the libretto, founded on Marmontel's 'Sylvain,' Jackson of Exeter writing the music. This was followed by his translation of Sédaine's libretto to Grétry's opera, 'Richard Cœur-de-Lion,' in 1785, and by his comedy, 'The Heiress,' in 1786. In this play, which was written at Knowsley and dedicated to Lord Derby, Miss Farren made her great success and charmed the heart of Lord Derby, who afterwards married her. Burgoyne himself had formed a connection with Susan Caulfield, a popular singer, by whom he had four children between 1782 and 1788, who were brought up by Lord Derby. 'The Heiress' had a marvellous success, went through ten editions in a year, was translated into French, German, Italian, and Spanish, and is to be found in Villain's 'Chefs d'œuvre du Théâtre Étranger.' Of it Horace Walpole says, 'Burgoyne's battles and speeches will be forgotten; but his delicious comedy of the "Heiress" still continues the delight of the stage, and one of the most pleasing domestic compositions.' The idea of the 'Heiress' was taken from Mrs. Lennox's novel 'Henrietta' (FONBLANQUE, pp. 401-6). Burgoyne did not long survive this last success; and after being present at the Haymarket Theatre in good

health on 3 June 1792, he died suddenly next day at his house in Halford Street, Mayfair, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on 13 Aug.

[For life: Political and Military Episodes derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, General, Statesman, and Dramatist, by E. B. de Fonblanque, 1875. For works: The Dramatic and Poetical Works of the late Lieutenant-general John Burgoyne, 2 vols. 1808. For American campaigns: Ordinary histories of the United States; Creasy's Decisive Battles of the World; Max von Elking's *Das Leben des Generals Reidesel*, Leipzig, 1856; the *Orderly Book of Lieutenant-general John Burgoyne*, edited by E. B. O'Callaghan, M.D., Albany, N.Y., 1860; Lieutenant-general John Burgoyne and the Convention of Saratoga, by Charles Deane, Worcester, N.Y., 1878; also the following contemporary tracts: The Substance of General Burgoyne's Speeches on Mr. Vyner's Motion, 26 May, and Mr. Hutt's, 28 May 1778, with an Appendix containing General Washington's Letter to General Burgoyne, 1778; A Letter from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to his Constituents, upon his late Resignation, with Correspondence between him and the Secretaries of War relative to his Return to America, 1779; A State of the Expedition from Canada, as laid before the House of Commons and verified by Evidence, 1779; Remarks on General Burgoyne's State of the Expedition from Canada, 1780.]

H. M. S.

BURGOYNE, SIR JOHN FOX (1782-1871), engineer officer, was the eldest of the four illegitimate children of Lieutenant-general the Right Hon. John Burgoyne [q. v.], by Miss Susan Caulfield. He was born on 24 July 1782. On General Burgoyne's death in 1792, his nephew, Edward, twelfth earl of Derby, took charge of the children. In 1793 Burgoyne was sent to Eton, where he was the fag of Hallam, the historian, and on 19 Oct. 1796 he entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. On 29 Aug. 1798 he was gazetted to the royal engineers.

In April 1800 he was ordered to join Sir Ralph Abercromby's army in the Mediterranean, but was left behind at Malta to assist in the reduction of Valetta. He was promoted first lieutenant in July 1800. From Malta he was ordered to Sicily, where General Fox made him his aide-de-camp, and he was promoted second captain in March 1805. He was sent as commanding engineer with General Mackenzie Fraser's force to Egypt in February 1807, and was present in that capacity at Rosetta. On his return to Sicily, Sir John Moore chose him to accompany his expedition to Portugal as commanding royal engineer. The expedition led to nothing;

but Moore took him in his former capacity in the expedition to Sweden in the summer of 1808, and finally to Portugal. He was too junior to fill the post of commanding royal engineer; but Moore appointed him commanding engineer with the light or reserve division. This division had to cover the retreat of the general to Corunna. Burgoyne blew up the bridges of Benevente and Castro Gonzalo at the last possible minute, and thus twice delayed the pursuit for several hours. With the reserve division he marched to Vigo, and there embarked for England. He joined Wellesley in Portugal in February 1809, and was present at the passage of the Douro and the taking of Oporto, and was promoted captain in July 1809. During the advance into Spain he was left behind in Portugal to fortify the lines of Torres Vedras; but in 1810 he again joined the army as commanding royal engineer with the 3rd or Picton's division. In this capacity he was present at the battle of Busaco and in the retreat to the lines of Torres Vedras; but his greatest service this year was in blowing up Fort Concepcion on 20 July. In the year 1811 his only command was as director of the right attack in the first futile siege of Badajoz. In January 1812 he commanded in the trenches before Ciudad Rodrigo on alternate days, led the 3rd division on the day of the storm, and was for his services gazetted major by brevet. In March he performed the same duties at the siege of Badajoz, again leading the 3rd division to the storm. For this service Burgoyne was promoted lieutenant-colonel by brevet. He was present at the battle of Salamanca, and directed the reduction of the forts at Salamanca and of the Retiro at Madrid. In 1813 he was present at Vittoria, and succeeded to the post of commanding royal engineer at the siege of San Sebastian, which he conducted to a successful close. He superintended the passage of the Bidassoa, and was present at the battle of the Nivelle. Colonel Elphinstone, a senior officer to Burgoyne, accompanied the main army in the advance, while Burgoyne, to his great disgust, was left behind to superintend the siege of Bayonne by Sir John Hope. For his various services he was only gazetted a C.B. at the end of the war, while Colonel Elphinstone was made a baronet [see **ELPHINSTONE, SIR HOWARD**]. He refused a civil knighthood, as a slight to his corps, but cheerfully accepted the order of the Tower and Sword conferred upon him by the Portuguese government. He was sent to America as commanding royal engineer, and was present in that capacity at the attack on New Orleans and at the reduction of Fort Bowyer. On his return

to England in 1815 he offered himself for service in the coming campaign, but had the mortification to be absent from Waterloo.

In the first few years of peace Burgoyne commanded the royal engineers in the army of occupation in France from 1815 to 1818, at Chatham from 1821 to 1826, with Sir William Clinton's force in Portugal in 1826, and at Portsmouth from 1828 to 1831. In 1831 he was offered by Mr. Stanley, then Irish secretary, the chairmanship of the board of public works in Ireland, and he filled this post for fifteen years. He was promoted major-general in due course on 28 June 1838, and was in the same year given the K.C.B., which he had won fairly in 1814. In 1845 he accepted the appointment of inspector-general of fortifications, which he held for twenty-three years. His opinion was eagerly sought on every sort of question, and he sat on innumerable commissions, from one on the penny post to one on the proposed site of Waterloo Bridge. He served as Irish relief commissioner in the famine of 1847, and as a juror in the military section in the Great Exhibition of 1851. He was gazetted lieutenant-general in 1851, and made a G.C.B. in 1852.

Burgoyne was sent to Turkey in 1853 to examine the ground before the coming war in the East; and when the English army sailed under Lord Raglan's command, he accompanied it in a sort of nondescript capacity. He superintended the disembarkation of the army on the Crimean peninsula, chose the spot, and advised the flank march after the battle of the Alma to the south side of Sebastopol. Once in camp before Sebastopol, Burgoyne insisted on the necessity of reducing the Malakoff in order to take the city, and became more than ever the second man in the English army (HEAD, *Sketch of the Life and Death of Sir J. Burgoyne*, p. 34). His value was not appreciated in England. It was obvious that Sebastopol would not be quickly taken, and the British public made a scapegoat of the engineer officer who had advised the march to the southern side of the fortress. He had been appointed a colonel-commandant of the royal engineers in November 1854. He was recalled in February 1855, and reached England in April to find himself virulently assailed by the press. He waited quietly for the tide to turn, and in the next year became very popular. He was made a baronet in 1856, created a grand officer of the Legion of Honour, and a knight of the first class of the order of the Medjidie, and gazetted a full general, presented with the freedom of the city of London, and received the honorary degree of D.C.L. from the university of

Oxford. In 1858 he represented the queen at the second interment of the great Napoleon in the Hôtel des Invalides at Paris; in 1865 he was appointed constable of the Tower of London; and in 1868, when he resigned his post of inspector-general of fortifications, he was made a field-marshal, and granted a pension of 1,500*l.* a year by parliament. All his hopes were centred in his only son, Captain Hugh Burgoyne, R.N. [q. v.], who had been one of the first recipients of the Victoria cross; and when that son was lost in the Captain, in the Bay of Biscay, in September 1870, he felt that he had little left to live for. He himself died a year afterwards, at 5 Pembroke Square, on 7 Oct. 1871.

[The chief authority for Burgoyne's life is the *Life and Correspondence of Field-marshal Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart.*, by his son-in-law, Lieut.-col. the Hon. George Wrottesley, R.E., 2 vols. 1873; see also *A Sketch of the Life and Death of Field-marshal Sir John Burgoyne*, by Major the Rt. Hon. Sir Francis Head, bart., R.E., 1872. Many of his published articles are reprinted in the *Military Opinions of Gen. Sir J. F. Burgoyne*, collected and edited by Capt. the Hon. G. Wrottesley, R.E., A.D.C., 1859; see also a curious article on the Courtesies of War in *Blackwood's Mag.* Nov. 1860, and a pamphlet, *Our Defensive Forces*, 1870, in which he recommended the short service system. For his services in the field see the *Sieges of the Peninsula*, by Major-gen. Sir J. T. Jones, bart., G.C.B., and *Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea*.] H. M. S.

**BURGOYNE, MONTAGU** (1750-1836), politician, younger son of Sir Roger Burgoyne of Sutton, Bedfordshire, was a member of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Lord North gave him the sinecure office of chamberlain of the till office in the exchequer, worth 1,600*l.* per annum. He was for many years verderer of Epping Forest, and resided at Mark Hall, Harlow. He was candidate for Essex in 1810, but was defeated by John Archer Houlston. He was author of: 1. 'A Letter . . . on the Necessity of a Reform in Parliament,' 1809. 2. 'Account of Proceedings at the late Election for Essex,' 1810. 3. 'Speech to the Freeholders of Essex on the last day of the Election,' 1812. 4. 'A Collection of Psalms and Hymns.' 5. 'An Address to the Governors of Public Charity Schools . . . and a particular account of the Potton School of Industry, connected with allotments of land for the labouring poor in the counties of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Cambridge,' 1830. Burgoyne was a warm friend of the allotment system. He married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Eliab Harvey. It is said that Mr. and Mrs. Burgoyne were entitled to receive, if they

did not actually receive, the flitch of bacon at Dunmow.

[Gent. Mag. May 1836, p. 550.]

**BURGSTD, WALTER DE.** [See **BIRSTEDE**.]

**BURGUNDY, DUCHESS OF** (1446-1503). [See **MARGARET**.]

**BURHRED** or **BURGRÆD** (reigned 852-874), king of the Mercians, succeeded Beorhtwulf [q. v.] in 852. Encouraged probably by the descents of the northern pirates, the Welsh, under Roderic Mawr, revolted from Mercia in 853. Burhred and his witan asked help of his over-lord Æthelwulf, the West-Saxon king. His request was readily granted, and the two kings devastated North Wales, conquered Anglesey, and brought the land again under the dominion of the Mercian king. The next year Burhred married Æthelswyth, the daughter of Æthelwulf, at Chippenham. When in 868 the Danes established themselves in Nottingham and threatened Mercia, Burhred and his witan sought the help of Æthelred and Ælfred. The West Saxons and Mercians joined forces and marched to Nottingham. The Danes refused to give battle, and the English laid siege to the town; they were unable to take it, and Burhred made peace with the invaders. Overawed, as it seems, by this united action, the Danes were for a while forced to remain inactive. Before long, however, the Mercian kingdom owned the Danish supremacy. When Ecgbert, the Northumbrian king, was turned out of his kingdom in 872, he and Archbishop Wulfhere are said to have been received by Burhred (compiler in *Chron. Maj.* i. 407). In 874 the Danes conquered Mercia. Burhred fled before them; he went over sea and dwelt at Rome. Before long he died there, and was buried in St. Mary's Church in the English school.

[Anglo-Saxon Chron. i. 122-5, 132, 142, Rolls Ser.; Asser, 469, 470, 475, 478, Mon. Hist. Brit.; Æthelweard's Chron. 511, 513, Mon. Hist. Brit.; Florence of Worcester, i. 74, 92, Eng. Hist. Soc.; Matt. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, i. 407, Rolls Ser.; Green's *Conquest of England*, 80, 101, 106.]

W. H.

**BURHILL** or **BURGHILL, ROBERT** (1572-1641), divine, born at Dymock, Gloucestershire, was descended from the Burghills of Thinghill, Herefordshire. He entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, on 13 Jan. 1587-8, and proceeded B.A. on 5 Feb. 1590-1, M.A. on 12 Dec. 1594, B.D. on 7 July 1603, and D.D. on 2 June 1632. He became a probationer fellow of his college on 20 March 1584-5, obtained the rectories of Northwold,

near Thetford, Norfolk, and of Snailwell, Cambridgeshire, and a prebend in Hereford Cathedral on 20 Jan. 1603-4. His wide learning, which embraced a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, attracted the attention of Sir Walter Raleigh, who received assistance from him in the composition of his 'History of the World' (OLDYS, *Life of Walter Raleigh*). He died at Northwold in October 1641, and was buried in the chancel of the church there. A monument was erected to his memory by Samuel Knight, archdeacon of Berkshire, about 1740. He was a voluminous contributor to controversial divinity. He intervened in 1606 in a controversy between John Howson (bishop of Oxford, 1619-28) and Dr. Thomas Pye as to the marriage of divorced persons. In a Latin tractate (Oxford, 1606) Burhill supported Howson's contention that marriage in such cases was unlawful, and refuted Pye's opposite arguments. His pamphlet was bound up with a second edition of Howson's 'Thesis.' To the controversy excited by Bishop Andrewes's 'Tortura Torti,' a reply to Cardinal Bellarmine, Burhill contributed 'Responsio pro Tortura Torti contra Martinum Becanum Jesuitam,' London, 1611; 'De Potestate regia et Usurpatione papali pro Tortura Torti contra Parellum Andr. Eudæmon,' Oxford, 1613; and 'Assertio pro Jure regio contra Martini Becani Jesuitæ Controversiam Anglicanam,' London, 1613, together with a defence of John Buckeridge's answer to Cardinal Bellarmine's apology. Burhill's printed works also include a Latin panegyric on James I, inviting him to visit Oxford (Oxford, 1603), and a preface to a sermon (London, 1602) of Miles Smith, bishop of Gloucester, 1612-24. In Corpus Christi College Library at Oxford is a manuscript commentary by Burhill on the difficult passages in Job; in the Bodleian are another manuscript tractate in support of monarchy and episcopacy, and a manuscript Latin poem in ten books, entitled 'Britannia Scholastica, vel de Britanniae rebus scholasticis.'

[Wood's *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, iii. 18-19; Fasti, ed. Bliss, i. 250, 267, 299, 466; Edwards's *Life of Raleigh*, i. 543-4.] S. L.

BURKE, EDMUND (1729-1797), statesman, the second son of Richard Burke, an attorney resident in Dublin, appears to have been born—for the exact date is not absolutely certain—on 12 Jan. 1729, N. S. There is no ground for the often-repeated statement that his family belonged to Limerick. His father was a protestant; his mother, whose maiden name was Nagle, was a Roman catholic. Although brought up in his

father's religion, Burke was accustomed to look on Roman catholicism as the religion of many he loved, and thus early learnt the lesson of toleration. This lesson must have been still further impressed on him when, in 1741, he was sent to a school at Ballitore, co. Kildare, kept by Abraham Shackleton, a member of the Society of Friends, from whom he declared that he gained all that was really valuable in his education. With Shackleton's son Richard he formed a friendship which lasted through life. In 1743 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, and remained there until 1748. He seems to have studied diligently, but in a desultory fashion, taking up various subjects with eagerness, and dropping each in turn for some new pursuit (*Works*, i. 12). He made himself familiar with Latin authors, and especially with Cicero, 'the model on which he laboured to form his own character, in eloquence, in policy, in ethics, and philosophy' (Sir P. Francis to Lord Holland, p. 17). Although it has been asserted that he knew little of Greek, a letter of C. J. Fox states that he knew as much of that language as men usually do who have neglected it since their school or college days, and that the writer had heard him quote Homer and Pindar (DILKE, *Papers of a Critic*, ii. 312). He gained a scholarship by examination in 1746. His letters to Richard Shackleton during this period are such as any earnestly minded and ambitious youth might have written, and the verses sent with them do not show any special power. As in after life, his favourite recreation was to be among trees and gardens. He took his B.A. degree in the spring commencements of 1748, having been entered at the Middle Temple the year before, and in 1750 came up to London to study law. He did not apply himself steadfastly to work. His health was weak, and he seems to have spent much time in travelling about in company with his kinsman William Burke [q.v.], staying at Monmouth, at Turley House, Wiltshire, more than once at Bristol, and at other places. We scarcely know anything of this period of his life; for with the exception of one rather obscure fragment (PRIOR, 41), there is not a letter of his extant between 1752 and 1757. He seems to have broken off all communication even with R. Shackleton, for writing to him, 10 Aug. 1757, he says that he sends him a copy of his 'Philosophical Inquiry' 'as a sort of offering in atonement,' and speaks of himself as having been 'sometimes in London, sometimes in remote parts of the country, sometimes in France, and shortly, please God, to be in America' (*Works*, i. 17).

In 1756 he was lodging over a bookseller's shop near Temple Bar. He appears to have frequented the theatres and one or two debating societies, and to have made the acquaintance of some famous men, such as Garrick, with whom he formed a warm and lasting friendship.

Literary work was more to Burke's taste than legal study. He was never called to the bar, and the rejection of the profession for which he was designed angered his father, who in 1755 withdrew either wholly or in part the allowance of 100*l.* a year he had hitherto made him. Burke was thus forced to depend on literature for his livelihood. He had probably already written his 'Hints for an Essay on the Drama,' a short piece which remained unpublished until after his death. In 1756 he produced two works which at once gained him a high place in literature. The first of these, his 'Vindication of Natural Society, in a Letter to Lord —, by a late Noble Writer,' was called forth by the publication of Bolingbroke's works in 1754, and is a satirical imitation both of his philosophy and his style. Applying Bolingbroke's arguments against revealed religion to an examination of what is ironically called 'artificial society,' Burke exhibits the folly of demanding a reason for moral and social institutions, and, with a foresight which was one of the most remarkable traits of his genius, thus early distinguished the coming attack of rationalistic criticism on the established order, and marked it as his special foe. The lofty style and eloquent diction of Bolingbroke were so skilfully imitated in this little pamphlet, that even such critics as Warburton believed the satire to be a genuine work, and the careful study of the original left its mark on the style of the imitator (MORLEY, *Life of Burke*). 'The Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas on the Sublime and the Beautiful' had been begun before Burke was nineteen, and had been laid aside for some years. This treatise, strange as some of its dicta are, was held by Johnson to be 'an example of true criticism' (BOSWELL, *Life*, iii. 91), and seemed to Lessing well worthy of translation. Burke's father was so pleased with this book that he sent him 100*l.* (BISSET, 36). Burke never ceased to take a warm and discriminating interest in all artistic matters, and is said to have 'embraced the whole concerns of art, ancient as well as modern, foreign as well as domestic' (BARRY, *Works*, ii. 538). He was still in weak health, and accepted an invitation to stay with his physician, Dr. Nugent, in order to escape from noisy lodgings. He married the doctor's

daughter Jane in the winter of 1756-7. According to one account, Burke became an inmate of Dr. Nugent's house while on a visit to Bath, where the doctor lived before he removed to London. Up to the time of her marriage Mrs. Burke was a Roman catholic, but she conformed to her husband's religion. Burke's marriage was a happy one; his wife was a gentle-tempered woman, and he was noted among his friends for his 'orderly and amiable domestic habits' (BOSWELL, *Life*, vii. 250). They had two sons: Richard, born 1758, and Christopher, who died in childhood.

Early in 1757 Burke published 'An Account of the European Settlements in America.' As regards the authorship of this book, he told Boswell, 'I did not write it. I will not deny that a friend did, and I revised it.' 'Malone tells me,' adds Boswell, 'that it was written by William Burke, the cousin of Edmund, but it is everywhere evident that Burke himself has contributed a great deal to it' (BOSWELL, *Letters to Temple*, p. 318). The early sheets of 'The Abridgment of the History of England' were also printed in this year, though the book itself was not published until after Burke's death. The crisis of the war in 1758 probably moved Burke to undertake the production of the 'Annual Register,' the first volume of which appeared in 1759. For this work Dodsley paid him 100*l.* a year. He never acknowledged his connection with this publication, and the amount of his contributions to it has never been ascertained. He evidently continued to write the 'Survey of Events' for some years after he entered political life, and even after he ceased to write it, about 1788, probably inspired and directed its composition. His literary successes brought him into society. Mrs. Montagu, writing in 1759, describes him as free from 'pert pedantry, modest, and delicate' (*Letters of Mrs. E. Montagu*, iv. 211). He was now residing with his father-in-law in Wimpole Street. He was in want of money, and was anxious to obtain the appointment of consul at Madrid. His cause was espoused by Dr. Markham, head-master of Westminster (afterwards archbishop of York), who prevailed on the Duchess of Queensberry to write to Pitt on his behalf (PRIOR, 62). The application was rejected, and Pitt was thus the means of keeping his future antagonist from leaving the field of action.

Before the end of 1759 Burke was introduced by Lord Charlemont to William Gerard ('Single-speech') Hamilton (*Memoirs of Lord Charlemont*, i. 119). He engaged himself as a kind of private secretary to Hamilton, and the work his employer required of him shut him out from all authorship save in the

'Annual Register.' On the other hand, his intimacy with Hamilton made him known to many persons of importance. In 1761 Hamilton was made secretary to the Earl of Halifax, and Burke went with him to Ireland. It was the year of the first outbreak of Whiteboyism, a movement which he attributed to local grievances, and not to political discontent (*Works*, i. 21). The policy of repression pursued by the government led him, probably about this time, to draw up some reflections on the penal code which remained unfinished, and were published after his death (*ib.* vi. 1). After a year in Dublin he returned to England with Hamilton, who in the spring of 1763 obtained for him a pension of 800*l.* a year. Burke, however, felt that he was doing himself an injustice in giving up all his time to Hamilton's service, and wrote plainly to his patron that he must be allowed some time for literary work, and that he could only accept the pension on that condition. In the autumn he was again in Ireland, but in May 1764 Hamilton lost his office, and Burke returned to live with his father-in-law in Queen Anne Street. Before he left Ireland he drew up an address to the king setting forth the hardships suffered by the Irish catholics, and left it with a friend. Fourteen years afterwards this document was forwarded to George III, and, it is said, did much towards reconciling him to the first instalment of religious toleration in Ireland (*ib.* i. 376). On his return to England Burke became a member of the club founded in the spring of that year at the Turk's Head in Gerrard Street. His powers of conversation made him one of its chief ornaments. Johnson declared that if you met him for the first time in the street, after five minutes' talk 'you would say, This is an extraordinary man. He is never,' he said, 'humdrum, never unwilling to talk, nor in haste to leave off.' 'Burke's talk,' he remarked on another occasion, 'is the ebullition of his mind; he does not talk from a desire of distinction, but because his mind is full.' Partly perhaps because he thus spoke out of the abundance of his heart, he was not witty. 'No, sir,' Johnson said, 'he never succeeds there. 'Tis low, 'tis conceit' (*Boswell, Life*, iv. 23, 225). He had the power of making men love him. His friendship with Garrick, Reynolds, and Johnson was in each case only broken by death. To Garrick he looked in time of need. Reynolds made him one of his executors, and left him 2,000*l.* Johnson, when on his deathbed, said to him, 'I must be in a wretched state indeed when your company would not be a delight to me.' Anxious to have such a man as Burke at his disposal,

Hamilton offered him a yearly sum on condition that he devoted himself wholly to his service. Burke refused to sell himself, and his jealous patron broke off his connection with him. Indignant at his imperious conduct, Burke, in April, threw up the pension he had received through his intercession. During the period of his poverty he had cared little for money. However small his means were, he was always ready to give to others. While still struggling unknown in London, he met Emin, the Armenian adventurer, then friendless and in distress, and took him to his lodgings. Offering him half a guinea, he said, 'Upon my honour, this is all I have at present; please accept it' (*J. EMIN, Life and Adventures*, 90). By 1765, however, it is probable that his prospects were brighter. During his stay in Ireland in 1763 he befriended James Barry, the painter [*q. v.*], brought him back with him to London, and in 1765 undertook to defray the greater part of the expense of sending him abroad to study (*Barry's Works*, i. 9-26). This seems to show that he had by this time some command of money, and certain notices, which are given below, as to the means of his family in 1766, render it probable that his brother and cousin had already embarked in speculation. In after days Burke saved Crabbe from a debtors' prison, lodged him in his own house, treated him as an honoured guest, and used his interest to gain the poet a livelihood.

In July 1765 Lord Rockingham, who had just been appointed first lord of the treasury, made Burke his private secretary. This appointment he owed to the good offices of his kinsman William Burke; it was the signal for all who grudged the rise of a man unconnected with any of the great houses to spread evil reports of him, and it was not long before the old Duke of Newcastle hurried to Lord Rockingham primed with slanders. The minister had been deceived; his new secretary was not merely an Irish adventurer, but a papist and a jesuit from St. Omer. Rockingham frankly told Burke what he had heard, and the spirit with which the secretary behaved won his entire confidence (*Memoirs of Lord Charlemont*, ii. 231). From this time onwards he looked on Burke as a personal friend as well as a useful ally. He advanced him large sums of money, and at his death directed that his bonds should be destroyed (*Works*, i. 504). These bonds are said to have been for 30,000*l.* The report that Burke was a catholic was not allowed to die out. Utterly without foundation as it was, the accusation was too mischievous to be dropped by the pensioners of the powerful

cliques of nobles and place-men, who were soon to have cause to hate and fear him, and sometimes supported by idle tales and often in its simple falsity it was brought against him over and over again all through his life. Before the end of the year William Burke, then under-secretary to Conway, arranged with Lord Verney, with whom he was connected in business transactions, that Burke should be returned to parliament for Wendover, one of the earl's boroughs, while he himself was elected for another. Burke was returned on 23 Dec. (*Members of Parliament*, ii. 123), and took his seat 14 Jan. 1766. Johnson presaged his friend's successful career: 'Now we who know Mr. Burke,' he said, 'know that he will be one of the first men in the country' (*Boswell, Life*, vi. 80). His first speech was made on 27 Jan., on a motion that the petition sent from the American Congress should be received by parliament. Contrary to the opinion of the majority of the ministerial party to which he belonged, he argued that the petition should be received on the ground that it was in itself an acknowledgment of the right of the House (*Walpole, Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, ii. 272; *Bancroft, Hist. of U. States*, iii. 551). A week later he acted with his party by speaking in favour of the Declaratory Resolutions. While allowing the right of taxation, he recommended a temporising policy. Now, as ever, he refused to treat politics as an abstract science, and held duties rather than barren rights to be the true basis of political action. 'Principles,' he said, 'should be subordinate to government.' He had now established his position among the leading men of the house. 'He made,' Johnson wrote, 'two speeches on the repeal of the Stamp Act, which were publicly commended by Mr. Pitt, and have filled the town with wonder' (*Boswell, Life*, ii. 321). In the course of a debate held during the same session on the restriction on American trade Burke exhibited his attachment to the principle of commercial freedom, and bitterly jeered Grenville on his reverence for the Navigation Act (*Walpole, George III*, ii. 316).

Burke seems by this time to have overcome his former weakness of constitution, though he suffered from a sharp attack of illness during his first session. Tall and vigorous, of dignified deportment, with massive brow and stern expression, he had an air of command. His voice was of great compass; his words came fast, but his thoughts seemed almost to overcome even his powers of utterance. Invective, sarcasm, metaphor, and argument followed hard after one another; his powers of description were

gorgeous, his scorn was sublime, and in the midst of a discussion of some matter of ephemeral importance came enunciations of political wisdom which are for all time, and which illustrate the opinion that he was, 'Bacon alone excepted, the greatest political thinker who has ever devoted himself to the practice of English politics' (*Buckle, Civilization in England*, c. vii.) Although he spoke with an Irish accent, with awkward action, and in a harsh tone, his 'imperial fancy' and commanding eloquence excited universal admiration. No parliamentary orator has ever moved his audience as he now and again did. His speech on the employment of the Indians in war, for example, is said at one time to have almost choked Lord North, against whom it was delivered, with laughter, and at another to have drawn 'iron tears down Barré's cheek' (*Walpole to Mason*, 12 Feb. 1778; *Letters*, vii. 29). Unfortunately, his power over the house did not last; his thoughts were too deep for the greater part of the members, and were rather exhaustive discussions than direct contributions to debate (*Morley, Life*, 209), while the sustained loftiness of his style and a certain lack of sympathy with his audience marred the effect of his oratory. His temper was naturally hasty, and he was deficient in political tact (*Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, i. 86). Jealously excluded from office, with narrow means and disappointed hopes, he became soured and violent, and as he encountered neglect and rudeness, lost his dignity while he retained his vehemence. He wrote as he spoke, not in any set literary fashion, but with ease and vigour, taking Dryden's prose for his model, while at the same time he was under the influence of Bolingbroke's rapid style (*Memoirs of F. Horner*, i. 348). Neither in speaking nor writing did he avoid using words of foreign origin, and he constantly heightened the effect of his appeals by a quick transition from the sonorous expression of lofty sentiments to a terse saying clothed in homely English. In some of these sayings, indeed, he overpassed the bounds of good taste, while his loftier flights were not always free from bombast. His utterances, however, were not all declamatory. When occasion demanded, he spoke with quiet dignity, and some of his writings, such as the *Historical Surveys* in the 'Annual Register,' his protests written for the lords, and even certain of his pamphlets, are models of statesmanlike expression.

On the resignation of the Duke of Grafton, one of the secretaries of state, it was evident that the Rockingham administration would shortly come to an end. Conscious of the



advantage he would gain by holding a high office even for a little while, Burke was ambitious and self-confident enough to imagine that he might be chosen to fill the duke's place for the short time of office that yet remained to his party. A seat at the board of trade was suggested, perhaps actually offered to him. That, however, was not his object, and he declined it (*Works*, i. 154; *Chatham Correspondence*, iii. 111). On 7 June 1766 Rockingham was summarily displaced; Grafton came into office, and Burke's hopes perished. Indignant at the treatment his leader had received, he set forth the services of the outgoing ministers in a little pamphlet called 'A Short History of a Short Administration,' and heightened its effect by a letter in the 'Public Advertiser' ironically purporting to answer it (*Ann. Reg.* 1766, 213).

In the summer of 1766 Burke visited Ireland, and spent a short time with his mother at the house of his sister Juliana, the wife of Mr. French of Loughrea. While there he received the freedom of the town of Galway. He also visited a small estate called Clohir on the Blackwater, which he had received the year before on the death of his brother Garrett, an attorney. It has not been satisfactorily ascertained how this estate came into the hands of Garrett Burke. It is stated that it was conveyed to him by a catholic family in order to evade the rigour of the penal laws, and that he claimed it for himself (DLK). Burke in 1777 was threatened with a lawsuit to recover this property. His legal position was evidently safe. He declared in a letter addressed probably to the solicitor of the claimant, Robert Nagle, that he had no reason to think that there had been any original wrong in the matter, and that he could not, in justice to his brother's memory, admit the claim, but that he was willing to do what he could 'voluntarily and cheerfully' for the Nagle family (*New Monthly Mag.* 1826, xvi. 153). In 1790 he sold Clohir to Edmund Nagle for 3,000*l*.

On Burke's return from Ireland Lord Chatham wished to attach him to his administration. He insisted, however, on following Rockingham, though Grafton declared that 'he would not have been obdurate if his demands had not been too extravagant' (WALPOLE, *George III*, ii. 378). In the course of the next session Burke forwarded the interests of his native land by opposing a motion to forbid the importation of Irish wool, and his speech on this occasion was rewarded by the grant of the freedom of Dublin. An attack on the East India Company on 9 Dec. 1766 called forth what Walpole declared to be

'one of his finest speeches, in which he ridiculed Chatham as 'a great Invisible Power' that left no minister in the House of Commons. It is scarcely too much to say that to the active opposition of Burke during this session is to be attributed the distinct position assumed by the Rockingham whigs. Yet while he was firmly attached to his party, and unsparingly mocked at the disorganisation which prevailed in Grafton's ministry, Goldsmith was mistaken, as far as this period of his career at least is concerned, in saying in 1773 that Burke by leaving literature for politics gave 'to party what was meant for mankind' (*Retaliation*). For though he held loyalty to his party to be the duty of every man 'who believes in his own politics' ('Present Discontents,' *Works*, iii. 170), he showed his independence by alone refusing to vote for Dowdeswell's proposition for reducing the land-tax (WALPOLE, *George III*, ii. 421). In May 1767, when the house lightly adopted Townshend's plan for laying duties on the American trade, Burke declared that the ministry would find out their mistake. 'You will never,' he said, 'see a shilling from America' (CAVENDISH, *Rep.* i. 39). By the acknowledgment of his opponents he was 'the readiest man on all points, perhaps, in the house,' and his pre-eminence shocked and disgusted them. It was grievous to them to find themselves helpless before the attacks of this 'Irish adventurer,' a man whom they would jealously exclude from the high offices of state. To the magnates of his own party Burke now made himself indispensable. He wrote 'protests' for them, and during the vacation discussed affairs at their country houses with an energy they could scarcely understand, but of which Rockingham and the dukes of Newcastle and Richmond were glad to avail themselves (*Works*, i. 73, 75). On the meeting of parliament on 24 Nov. he spoke on the address with great applause, pointing out the futility of the king's speech, and taunting the ministers with having no policy for the relief of the poor during the prevailing scarcity, though the distress was so severe that riot would follow the despair of the people, and 'the law, if enforced upon them, must be by the bloody assistance of a military hand' (*Parl. Hist.* xvi. 386).

On 1 May 1768 Burke wrote to Shackleton: 'I have made a push with all I could collect of my own, and the aid of my friends, to cast a little root in this country. I have purchased a house, with an estate of about six hundred acres of land, in Buckinghamshire, twenty-four miles from London, where I now am' (*Works*, i. 77). This estate was

Gregories, situated about a mile from Beaconsfield, and after 1770 generally called by its owner after that town. As Burke at the time of his marriage was certainly a poor man, this purchase is strange, and has given rise to much controversy. The purchase-money was about 20,600*l.*, of which 14,000*l.* was raised by two mortgages, which remained on the property until the reversion was sold by Burke's widow (SIR J. NAPIER, *Burke, a Lecture*, p. 61). How the remainder was raised, how Burke could have ventured on so large a purchase, and how he expected to meet the expenses of living in such a place, have never been satisfactorily explained. The explanation must be sought in the share he had in the profits derived from the speculations of certain members of his family. It has been satisfactorily proved that his brother Richard and his kinsman William, with whom he lived on terms of the closest intimacy, gambled desperately in stocks, and that Lord Verney was engaged with them (DILKE). All three were ruined by the fall of East India stock in June and July 1769. In the June of that year Burke was one of the proprietors of the East India Company, though in a letter written in 1772 he denied that he ever had 'any concern in the funds of the company' (*Works*, i. 199). It is also certain that he wrote the same month to Garrick asking for the loan of 1,000*l.*, and that from that time onwards he was always in the greatest need of money, on one occasion joining with W. Burke in a bond for so small a sum as 250*l.* For some time, however, the speculations of the Burkes prospered. In 1765 Burke was in a position to bear a large share in the expense of sending Barry to Italy. Writing to Barry in October 1766, W. Burke says: 'Whether Ned is employed or not is no matter of anxiety to us;' and again in December, when expecting the downfall of the Rockingham ministry: 'It suits my honour to be out of place, and so will our friend Mr. E. B.; but our affairs are so well arranged that, thank God, we have not a temptation to swerve from the straightest path of perfect honour' (BARRY, *Works*, i. 24, 61, 77). Among the three Burkes there was the strictest alliance. Burke's house in London, and afterwards in the country, was the home of his brother and cousin, and at this time at least they all had one purse. In 1768 then, Burke, believing that the success that had hitherto attended the speculations of his brother and cousin would continue, was emboldened to buy Gregories, and to involve himself in the expenses which such a purchase naturally entailed. When in 1769 the crash came, it was too late to go back. As

regards the 6,000*l.* which was necessary to complete the purchase, it has been assumed that this sum was lent by Lord Rockingham (MORLEY, *Life*, 35). On the other hand we find that in 1783 a suit in chancery was brought against Burke by Lord Verney to recover a sum of 6,000*l.*, stated to have been lent to him in the spring of 1769 on the solicitation of his cousin William. In his answer Burke admitted borrowing 6,000*l.* in that year, but denied that he had it of Lord Verney, declaring also that the only relationship between him and William, as far as his knowledge went, consisted in the fact that their fathers called each other cousins. The pleadings in this suit make it probable that this 6,000*l.* was some sum that had accrued to Burke from the stockjobbing transactions of his brother and cousin; that, not being personally liable for their defalcations, he saved this sum out of the fire; and that Lord Verney afterwards tried to prove that he had a right to it. The share Burke almost certainly had in the profits arising from the speculations of his kinsmen is perhaps the foundation of the amazing assertion that he received about 20,000*l.* from 'his family' (PRIOR). There is no direct evidence that he took part in these transactions, and there is no reason for supposing that they exercised any influence on his political conduct (on this matter see DILKE, *Papers of a Critic*, ii. 331-84). He certainly shared the good fortune of his kinsmen, and, though not ruined to the same extent that they were, shared also the consequences of their failure. From 1769 onwards he was never free from difficulties. He received help from some generous friends, such as Lord Rockingham, Garrick, and others. He was not a man to retrieve his losses by carefulness. He lived at Beaconsfield not extravagantly, but not frugally, driving four black horses, and spending 2,500*l.* a year, exclusive of his expenses in London during the sessions of parliament (STANHOPE, *Life of Pitt*, ii. 250). His letters to the great agriculturist, Arthur Young, show that when he was in the country he was an eager farmer, intent on cultivating his land in the most scientific and profitable fashion (*Works*, i. 123-32).

On the opening of the session of 1768-9, Burke exposed the dangers into which the carelessness of Grafton's ministry was leading the country as regards both its American policy and its acquiescence in the annexation of Corsica by France, a power which he always regarded with suspicion. In reply to Grenville's manifesto against the Rockingham party, he published early in 1769 his 'Observations on a late Publication on the

Present State of the Nation.' In this pamphlet, after a brilliant criticism of Grenville's economic statements, he considers the proposed remedies; he rejects the idea of an enlarged franchise, on the ground 'that it would be more in the spirit of our constitution by lessening the number to add to the weight and independency of our voters,' and sets aside the proposal for American representation as 'contrary to nature' (*Works*, iii. 70). He always looked on any meddling with the constitution as a dangerous matter, and this reverence for the established order sometimes led him to speak and write as though its preservation were of greater moment than the liberty which was the very reason of its existence, while by his favourite metaphor of 'equipoise' he represented the risk attending the slightest change ('Present Discontents,' *Works*, iii. 164; MORLEY, *E. B.*, *a Study*, 114). All his political wisdom was called for by the events of 1769. He strove vigorously, but unsuccessfully, against the action of the House of Commons with reference to Wilkes, condemning Lord Weymouth's letter to the Surrey magistrates, and pointing out that soldiers were not lawful executors of justice. In this debate and often during the session he was answered by the unblushing Rigby (CAVENDISH, *Rep.* i. 139-49). His arguments on this subject were received with clamour. On 15 April, when insisting that the house was engaging in a contest with the whole body of the freeholders of England by declaring Colonel Luttrell M.P. for Middlesex, he was interrupted 'by a great noise in the house,' some member meanwhile whispering with the speaker. His temper was roused. 'I will be heard,' he exclaimed, 'I will throw open the doors' (the lobby and even the passages of the house were crowded) 'and tell the people of England that when a man is addressing the chair in their behalf the attention of the speaker is engaged' (*ib.* 378). During this session he opposed the bargain by which the government mulcted the East India Company of 400,000*l.* a year, and condemned the unconstitutional demand made upon the house for the payment of a debt on the civil list before the production of accounts. He also moved for an inquiry into the conduct of the government with reference to the riot in St. George's Fields, the fruit of Weymouth's 'bloody scroll,' denying that 'the military power might be employed to any constitutional purpose whatever' (*ib.* 310). The summer Burke spent at Beaconsfield, where, as he writes to Rockingham, the rain put him to much expense in getting in his clover and deluged his hay (*Works*, i. 82). His farming anxieties, how-

ever, did not long interrupt a new work he had on hand (*ib.* 91). This was his 'Thoughts on the Present Discontents,' which was published on 23 April 1770. To this pamphlet is to be attributed the regeneration of the whigs by the revival of the principles of 1688, which had been wellnigh forgotten by the intrigues of the Bedford faction (MORLEY, *E. B.*, *a Study*, 15). Burke defended the popular discontent, declaring that 'in all disputes between the people and their rulers the presumption was at least upon a par in favour of the people' (*Works*, iii. 114). The fault lay with the administration; the power of the crown had revived under the name of influence, and the intrigues of the court cabal were taking the place of the interests of the people. Examining the popular remedies, he rejected the proposal for shortened parliaments, for frequent elections would, he believed, only increase the influence of the administration, nor would he shut all place-men out of parliament, for he held that corruption would thus be increased by concealment. The true remedies were to give weight to the opinion of the people by doing away with the secrecy of parliamentary proceedings, and to substitute loyal adherence to party for the influence of the court. The indignation with which the whig oligarchs received this pamphlet is depicted in the sneers of Walpole (*George III.*, iv. 129-47). Chatham, who was aggrieved by the position it took with reference to reform, wrote to Rockingham that it would do great harm to the party, probably not expecting that Rockingham would show the letter to Burke. He did so, however, and twenty years after Burke was still indignant at it, though he warmly acknowledged 'the great splendid side' of his opponent's character (ALBEMARLE, *Memoirs of Rockingham*, ii. 195). The anger of the advanced party was expressed by Mrs. Catherine Macaulay in a violent answer, entitled 'Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents.'

Burke soon carried the principles of his pamphlet into action by struggling for the political rights of the people. He is said, though on very doubtful authority (*Anecd. of Junius*, p. 15), to have defended the character of Johnson when attacked on account of the publication of the 'False Alarm' (there seems to be a confusion between Burke and Fitzherbert, *Cav. Rep.* i. 516). In the spring of the next year he upheld a motion on the law of libel, with the view of protecting the right of private persons to criticise the actions of their rulers, and took a prominent part in opposing the proceedings taken by the house against certain printers for publishing debates. Referring to the twenty-three divisions by

which, on 14 March 1771, he and his friends hindered the business of the house, during the debate on the prohibition of printed reports, he declared that he took shame to himself that he never resorted to this expedient before as a means of hindering such measures. 'Posterity,' he said, 'would bless the pertinaciousness of that day' (*ib.* ii. 395). The freedom of the press and the publication of parliamentary proceedings were its results. Burke strongly urged the removal of restrictions on the exportation of corn, pointing out in committee, on 28 Feb. 1770, the identity of the interests of the consumer and the grower (*ib.* i. 476); and again when, on 15 April 1772, a bill was before the house to regulate the corn trade, he opposed the discontinuance of the bounty on exportation (*Parl. Hist.* xvii. 480). In the same session of 1772 he supported a bill to protect the holders of land against the dormant claims of the church (*Works*, vi. 155). He was constantly assailed by anonymous pamphleteers, whose virulence was increased by the belief that he was the author of the 'Letters of Junius,' a report which he expressly denied, and for which there was not the slightest ground (*ib.* i. 133-8). It was nevertheless widely spread, and was encouraged by the hints of Francis (*Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, i. 220, 243; *Grenville Papers*, iv. 381, 391). During the summer of 1770 his wife's health caused him some uneasiness; she regained her strength the next year, and Burke writes cheerfully to Shackleton (July 1771); his kinsman William was living with him, his brother Richard was expected from the West Indies, and his son was doing well at Westminster. Burke's home life was happy; he entered into all work with energy, and discussed the principles of deep ploughing as eagerly as the fate of empires.

In 1772 Burke opposed a petition from certain clergy to be relieved from subscription to the articles, arguing that the church as a voluntary society had a right to dictate her own terms of membership, and exposing the absurdity of the proposal to substitute a compulsory subscription to the Scriptures (*ib.* vi. 80-90). He gave his cordial support in 1773 to the bill for the relief of protestant dissenters from the test provided by the Act of Toleration. His love of religious freedom was, however, subordinate to his dislike of rationalistic criticism. 'Infidels,' he said, 'are outlaws of the constitution, not of this country, but of the human race. They are never, never to be supported, never to be tolerated' (*ib.* vi. 100). The special cause of this vehemence was a visit he paid to Paris in February 1773, whither he went after leaving his son Richard at Auxerre to

acquire French. On this visit he saw the Dauphiness at Versailles, that 'delightful vision' which some sixteen or seventeen years after he described in memorable words (*ib.* iv. 212). He supped often with Mme. du Deffand, who wrote to Walpole that he spoke French with great difficulty but was most agreeable. At her house he met the Comte de Broglie, and at the house of the Duchesse de Luxembourg he heard the 'Barmécides of La Harpe. In the *salon* of Mdle. de l'Espinas he found himself in the society of the Encyclopædists, and had an insight into French morals and philosophy (*Lettres de Mme. la Marquise du Deffand*, ii. 377-93; *MORLEY, Life*, 67). He came back in March strengthened in his conservative principles. About this time his brother Richard, who had been ruined in 1769, appears as a speculator in land in St. Vincent. His title was disputed by government, and Burke was suspected of having been concerned in his gambling transactions (*DILKE; H. Walpole to Mason*, 23 March 1774, *Letters*, vi. 68). In the autumn of 1771 Burke had been appointed agent to the province of New York, with a salary of 500*l.* a year (*BANCROFT, Hist. of the U. States*, v. 215). A more lucrative offer was made to him the next year. The East India Company was in difficulties, and dreaded the seizure of its territory by government. The directors wished to send Burke, at the head of a supervisorship of three, to reform their administration. Burke took counsel with the Duke of Richmond, and refused the tempting offer for the sake of his party. That party was soon to receive an important addition. At least as early as 1766 Charles James Fox, then about seventeen, was intimate with Burke, admired his talents, and probably before long introduced him to Lord Holland (*Correspondence of C. J. Fox*, i. 26, 69). In February 1772 Fox left North's administration, and he and Burke united in opposing the Royal Marriage Act. The breach was patched up, but in 1774 Fox finally went into opposition and thus became an ally of Burke, whom he always looked up to as his master in politics. For the next eight years the two friends joined in violent opposition to North's administration. They led very different lives, for Burke neither drank nor played, and when, after a hard morning's work, he used to call for Fox on his way to the house, he would find him fresh and ready for work, for his day had then only just begun.

In the spring of 1774 Burke urged the repeal of the tea duty in a speech afterwards published ('On American Taxation,' *Works*, iii. 176), and vigorously opposed the penal bills for closing the port of Boston and an-

nulling the Massachusetts charter. The dissolution of parliament in September caused him some anxiety, for Lord Verney's affairs compelled him to have candidates stand for Wendover who could bear the charges of the borough (*ib.* i. 237). Rockingham, however, found him a seat at Malton. On his way to the election there he was robbed of 10*l.* by a highwayman (*ib.* 246). While he was at dinner on the day of his election, 11 Oct., a deputation from Bristol arrived at Malton and informed him that he had been nominated for that city. He set off at once, and, arriving at Bristol in the afternoon of the 13th, the sixth day of the poll, drove straight to the mayor's house, and, after a few minutes' rest, addressed the electors in the Guildhall (*ib.* iii. 227). At the close of the poll, 3 Nov., he was elected by a majority of 251. His colleague, Mr. Cruger, having declared himself willing to obey the instructions of his constituents, Burke explained the constitutional position of a parliamentary representative: 'He owes you,' he said, 'not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion' (*ib.* 236). His success afforded him great pleasure, and in a cheerful letter, dated 19 Nov., he describes how on his way home he visited his son Richard, then at Christ Church, Oxford, and 'drank a glass of wine with him and his young friends' (*ib.* 249). On 6 March 1775 he made an indignant protest against restraining the trade of the American colonies (*Parl. Hist.* xviii. 389), and on the 22nd brought forward his thirteen resolutions for conciliation (*ib.* 478; *Works*, iii. 241). He spoke for three hours. With the question of the right of taxation he would have nothing to do. 'It is not,' he said, 'what a lawyer tells me I may do, but what humanity, reason, and justice tell me I ought to do.' The resolutions were negatived by 270 to 78. Burke's health seems to have suffered from his unavailing exertions. On 15 May, in presenting a representation from the Assembly of New York, his American constituency, he said that he was too ill to make a long speech, and writing to Rockingham on 4 Aug. he spoke of an illness from which he had just recovered. 'My head and heart,' he said, 'are full of anxious thoughts.' Yet in spite of toil and sickness his spirits were elastic. Boswell, in a letter written at this time, thinks that 'he must be one of the few men that may hope for continual happiness in this life, he has so much knowledge, so much animation, and the consciousness of so much fame' (*Letters to Temple*, 212). He was the centre of attraction at one or two London salons, and especially at Mrs. Vesey's

gatherings. There, and in other drawing-rooms where he was at ease, he would take a book, if he did not care for the company, and read aloud, sometimes choosing French poetry, which he read as though the words were to be sounded as in English (*Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, ii. 267, iii. 170).

On the occasion of presenting a petition setting forth the injury arising to the Wiltshire clothiers from the American troubles, Burke made another attempt to bring the government to a peace, and the rejection of his motion by 210 to 105 was considered a triumph by the minority (*Parl. Hist.* xviii. 963). In November of the next year (1776) he seconded a motion for the revision of all acts aggrieving the colonies. On the rejection of this motion he, in common with the party to which he belonged, withdrew himself from parliament on all questions relating to America (*ib.* 1434; *Ann. Reg.* 1777, 48). This partial secession called forth his 'Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol,' which contains a defence of his opposition to the government measures. Although his attention was at this time chiefly directed to our colonial troubles, he joined with Sir W. Meredith in fighting against the brutality of the law and of general manners at home. He brought in a bill to hinder wrecking, and in 1779 made an earnest protest against the punishment of the pillory. On his return to full parliamentary attendance, he made a motion, 6 Feb. 1778, against the employment of Indians in the war with America, supporting it with a speech of three hours and a half, which excited such applause that the ministers, who as usual on these occasions had cleared the house of strangers, were congratulated on their prudence, for it was said that had the public heard Burke's speech their lives would have been in danger (*ib.* 1778; and see above). The government of Lord North, indeed, gave ample cause for the indignation Burke was not slow to express. A few days after this speech on the Indian question Lord Mulgrave, in a debate on the navy estimates, acknowledged that not a shilling had been laid out on the purposes for which the last vote had been made, and treated the appropriation as a mere matter of form. At this open defiance of the principles of the constitution Burke's anger blazed out. Snatching 'the fine gilt book of estimates' from the table, he flung it at the treasury bench, and, though the volume hit the candle and nearly hit Welbore Ellis, the treasurer of the navy, on the shins, no one seems to have dared to complain of this display of righteous wrath (*Parl. Hist.* xix. 730). On the motion for the trial of Sir Hugh Palliser for his conduct

in the action off Ushant, Burke warmly upheld the cause of Admiral Keppel (*ib.* xx. 54-71), and in January 1779, in company with Rockingham and other great men of his party, went down to Portsmouth to be present at his trial by court-martial. Some parts of Keppel's defence are in his handwriting, and he shared in the joy felt at the verdict, which at once absolved the admiral and abased the ministers.

Burke's resistance to any change in the form of the constitution he venerated was accompanied by a desire to amend its working. He saw that the constitution was paralysed by corruption, and, with the idea of securing political health by enforcing economic purity, he laid before the house, 11 Feb. 1780, a plan for the better security of the independence of parliament and the economical reformation of the civil and other establishments (*Works*, iii. 343). In a large and yet conservative spirit he sought to sweep away merely useless places and to destroy the accretions of jobbery which had grown round the court and had become at once a burden to the taxpayer and the food of ministerial corruption. He hoped to invigorate the constitution by sweeping away the useless places, the lavish pensions, and the ridiculous extravagance which enabled the court to keep a considerable number of members of parliament either in its immediate pay or bound to it by the expectation of future profit. North managed to defeat the bill by taking it in detail (MORLEY, *E. B., a Study*, 165).

Burke was too good an Irishman to be unmindful of the needs of Ireland. He saw clearly that the only means of bettering her condition was the admission of his countrymen to the privileges enjoyed by Englishmen, by the removal of trade restrictions, and by the relief of the catholics. Holding these views he naturally opposed the measure advocated in 1773 for imposing a tax on all absentee landlords, and in his 'Letter to Sir C. Bingham' pointed out that, among other evils, such a tax 'would go directly against the happy communion of the privileges' of the two kingdoms (*Works*, v. 502). In 1778 he joined Lord Nugent in obtaining some relief from the restrictions on trade, and finally, in 1779, succeeded in forcing Lord North to recognise the necessity of giving up the English monopolies (*Parl. Hist.* xx. 137, 1182, 1272). He also supported the slight relaxations of the penal laws made in 1778. On 18 May in the following year he advocated the relief of the Scotch catholics. Accordingly, on the outbreak of the Lord George Gordon riots in June 1780, his friends tried

to persuade him to go out of town. He resolved, however, that the mob 'should see that he was not to be forced nor intimidated from the straight line of what was right,' and walked through the streets as usual, letting the people know who he was. He met with no annoyance. His house in Charles Street was occupied by a guard of soldiers, and he and his wife spent the week under the roof of General Burgoyne (*Works*, i. 432-5). Burke's advocacy of the commercial rights of Ireland deeply offended the Bristol merchants, and his religious toleration increased their discontent (*ib.* 442). Parliament having been dissolved on 1 Sept. 1780, he went down to Bristol and explained his views to his constituents. After a canvass of two days he found his election hopeless, and declined the poll (*ib.* iii. 407-47; *Gent. Mag.* l. 618). He stood by Fox during the Westminster election, and then went down to Beaconsfield, 'wearied with the business, the company, the joy, and the debauch.' Lord Rockingham having provided him with a seat for his borough of Malton, Burke, in February 1781, again brought forward his bill for economical reform, but was defeated on the second reading by 233 to 190. On this occasion he was delighted at the speech made in support of his motion by William Pitt, and declared that he 'was not a chip of the old block but the old block itself' (SIR N. WRAXALL, *Hist. Mem.* ii. 342). On the opening of the November session of 1781 Burke commented severely on the folly of the king's speech, which, in spite of the surrender of Cornwallis, still dwelt on the maintenance of our rights in America. Right, he said, signified nothing without might, and he compared the ministry to a man who would shear a wolf (*Parl. Hist.* xxii. 717). During the spring of the next year he and Fox made a series of attacks on the conduct of the war, which at last forced North to retire.

On the accession of the Rockingham whigs to office Burke was not offered a seat in the cabinet, and the party thus threw away a 'real guarantee' against the preponderance of the Shelburne section in the administration (RUSSELL, *Life and Times of C. J. Fox*, i. 284). The constant exclusion of Burke from cabinet office was to some extent due to the fact that he was a difficult man to work with. Fox once said that he was 'a most impracticable person, a most unmanageable colleague; that he never would support any measure, however convinced he might be in his heart of its utility, if it had been prepared by another' (S. ROGERS, *Table-talk*, 81). This, however, was said after the rupture of their long alliance, and, though Burke evidently lost

his self-control at a later period, is only partially true of him in 1782. The most effectual cause of his exclusion was the narrow jealousy with which the whig oligarchs regarded the rise of the Irish adventurer. Burke was appointed paymaster of the forces. He actively forwarded the concession of self-government made to Ireland by the repeal of 6 Geo. I and other acts. 'Her cause,' he said on 16 April, 'was nearest to his heart, and nothing gave him so much satisfaction when he was first honoured with a seat in that house, as that it might be in his power to be of service to the country that gave him birth' (*Parl. Hist.* xxiii. 33). Burke's proposals for economical reform formed the chief subject of discussion in the cabinet. An attempt was made to place the matter in the hands of the crown. Burke drew up reasons to be urged by Rockingham on the king, showing that the reform ought to proceed from parliament (*Works*, i. 492). The king yielded. A compromise was effected; and though Burke was forced to give up a large part of his scheme, he was able to carry some substantial reforms affecting public offices. Among these was the regulation of the office he himself held. It had been the custom for the paymaster to keep the balances of public money in his own hands until the audit. Burke fixed the salary at 4,000*l.* a year, and paid in his balances to the Bank of England, thus increasing the income of the country by a large sum. He made his son Richard his deputy, with a salary of 500*l.* At the same time he was given to understand that 'something considerable' would be secured for his wife and son (*ib.* i. 500). By the death of Rockingham on 1 July Burke lost not only a true friend, but a wise leader who directed and controlled his fervour (*Life of Fox*, i. 319). In his difficulties with Shelburne Fox took counsel with Burke, who, while advising him to refuse to act 'as a clerk in Lord Shelburne's administration,' urged him to put off his resignation until the next session (*Mem. and Corresp. of C. J. Fox*, i. 457). Fox, however, resigned at once, and Burke followed him out of office.

Having thus lost office before the promised provision had been made for his wife and son, Burke sought to secure for his son the reversion of the rich sinecure of the clerkship of the pells. He failed in his attempt. His conduct in this matter has been severely blamed (*ib.* i. 451). He had, however, been led to expect some reward; he had certainly a far stronger claim than the crowd of noble place-men and pensioners who enjoyed the wealth of the country in idleness, and, however objectionable such arrangements were,

they formed the recognised mode of rewarding public services. Burke acquiesced in the extraordinary coalition between Fox and North, and on the overthrow of Shelburne's administration in February 1783 again accepted the office of paymaster in the Portland government. On his return to office he incurred considerable censure by reinstating two clerks, Powell and Bembridge, who had been dismissed by his predecessor for fraud. Powell was believed to have been mixed up with 'the Burkes' in their operations in India stock (DILKE), and his suicide and the conviction of Bembridge were held to be proofs of Burke's corrupt motives. He warmly defended his conduct, and in a debate on 2 May waxed so violently angry that Sheridan pulled him down on his seat from a motive of friendship. He declared that 'he acted upon his conscience and his judgment in protecting men he believed to be simply unfortunate' (*Parl. Hist.* xxiii. 801, 902). The ministers were pledged to take measures to promote the good government of India. Burke had for many years been deeply interested in the affairs of that country. He highly disapproved of North's Regulating Act, and as early as 1778 expressed his distrust of Hastings, the first governor-general appointed in accordance with it (MACKNIGHT, ii. 25). He served on the select committee on the affairs of the East India Company, and in 1783 drew up the 'Ninth Report,' one of the most luminous and exhaustive of English state papers' (MORLEY), on the trade of Bengal and the system pursued by Hastings, and the 'Eleventh Report,' dealing with the question of presents. He also prepared the draft of the famous East India Bill introduced by Fox in December (*Works*, i. 515), and supported it by a speech which Wraxall, who was no friend of his, declared to be the finest composition pronounced in the House of Commons while he was a member of it. On 18 Dec. the ministers were dismissed. Burke had been out of spirits during the continuance of the coalition ministry. Such reminders, indeed, as the 'Beauties of Fox, Burke, and North,' a collection of the bitter things he and Fox had said of their then colleague in past days, were scarcely needed to make him feel that he was out of place by the side of the minister whom he had so unmercifully assailed, and the lofty tone of the invectives he had uttered made the union seem especially unnatural. He found his influence weakened. On one occasion when he rose to speak, a number of members noisily left the house, and he resumed his seat in anger. His depression did not escape Miss Burney, who remarks upon it. Burke, who had lately made her acquaintance, greatly admired her.

He sat up all night reading 'Evelina,' and carried 'Cecilia' about with him, reading it at every leisure moment until he had finished it. His last official act was to procure Dr. Burney the appointment of organist at Chelsea College (MME. D'ARBLAY, *Diary*, ii. 271; *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, ii. 376; MACKNIGHT, iii. 58-60).

Burke's depression seems to have continued during the early months of 1784, and he took little part in politics. Having been elected lord rector of Glasgow, he visited the university in April, and was installed in his office. It is said that, on rising to deliver an address on this occasion, he for once found himself at fault, declaring that he had never before addressed so learned a body, though he afterwards made a speech which was received with much applause. The triumph of Pitt and the king, and the consciousness that public opinion was against him, led him, on the meeting of the new parliament, to move a representation to his majesty on the constitutional aspect of the late dissolution (*Works*, iii. 515). Two hours were occupied in reading this document; the house heard it with impatience, and negatived it without a division. He was now constantly greeted with rude interruptions when he rose to speak. 'I could teach a pack of hounds,' he said on one such occasion, 'to yelp with greater melody and more comprehension.' The anonymous attacks upon his character, 'the hunt of obloquy,' never ceased. One charge brought against him by the 'Public Advertiser' was so gross that he was forced to prosecute the printer, and obtained a verdict for 100*l.* damages and costs (*Ann. Reg.* 1784, p. 197). At Beaconsfield he found peace and happiness. There he entertained his old friends, with his own hands dispensed food and medicine to the poor, and now and then patronised a company of strolling players, and helped to replenish their wardrobe. He was a constant attendant at the parish church, and used to spend the time between morning and evening prayer in chatting with the parson.

Burke was now steadfastly set on making Hastings answer for his misdeeds. Great difficulties stood in his way; the house where Pitt was now supreme had ceased to treat him with respect, and his speech of 28 July on the ministers' India Bill, which certainly contained a passage at once vehement and ludicrous, was unfavourably received (*Parl. Hist.* xxiv. 1214). Pitt threw obstacles in his way, and Major Scott, the agent of Hastings, taunted him with the non-fulfilment of his threats. The opposition, however, took up the matter, and on 28 Feb. 1785 Fox moved for

papers relating to the debts of the nabob of Arcot. On this occasion Burke made a speech full of eloquence and of surprising knowledge of this intricate subject (*Works*, iv. 1). Even while fully engaged in preparing for his great attack, he was alive to wrong in every shape, and effectually interfered to prevent the establishment of a penal settlement in the unhealthy district of the Gambia river (*Parl. Hist.* xxv. 391, 431). When, in July, Pitt brought forward his resolutions on Irish commerce, by which Ireland would have attained perfect equality in trade, subject to a contribution to certain imperial objects, Burke, contrary, as it seemed, to his former policy, opposed the minister. His conduct has been blamed as factious (MORLEY, *E. B., a Study*, 188). Allowance should, however, be made for his susceptibility on all matters affecting his native country, quickened as it was in this case by his remembrance of American disaster, for he based his opposition on the ground that the resolutions were imposing a 'tribute' on Ireland, and indicated a policy such as had led to the contest with America (*Parl. Hist.* xxv. 647). His re-election at Glasgow was the cause of another visit to Scotland in the autumn of this year, and of a very pleasant tour over a considerable part of that country (*Works*, i. 522). In the course of this tour, on which he was accompanied by his son and his friend Windham, he visited Minto, the seat of Sir G. Elliot, where he astonished Dr. Somerville of Jedburgh, who gives an interesting account of his conversations with him, by the richness of his language and the universality of his knowledge (T. SOMERVILLE, *Own Life and Times*, 220-3). The early part of 1786 was taken up with the preliminaries of the attack on Hastings, in which Burke found an eager ally in Philip Francis, with motions for papers and the like. On 1 June he moved the Rohilla charge, and, though ably supported by Fox, was defeated by 119 to 67. Pitt, however, unexpectedly agreed to an article of the impeachment moved by Fox, and Burke thus gained his object. Other charges were moved by Sheridan, Windham, and Francis, but Burke inspired every speaker, and took an active part in the debates. At length, 10 May 1787, attended by a majority of the commons, he appeared at the bar of the House of Peers, and solemnly impeached Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanours (*Parl. Hist.* xxvi. 1149).

Burke still had much opposition to contend with, and the refusal of the house to appoint Francis a manager of the impeachment, 'a blow he was not prepared to meet,' much dis-



couraged him (*Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis*, ii. 243). On 13 Feb. 1788, the first day of the trial, Westminster Hall presented the famous scene described by Lord Macaulay (*Essay on Warren Hastings*). Burke, as head of the managers for the impeachment, solemnly entered the hall. He walked alone, holding a scroll in his hand, his brow 'knit with deep labouring thought' (MME. D'ARBLAY, *Diary*, iv. 59). On 15 Feb. he began his opening speech (*Works*, vii. 279), which formed an introduction to the whole body of charges. He spoke during four sittings. On the evening of the 17th, after describing the cruelties practised by Debi Sing on the natives of Bengal, he was overpowered by indignation, and seized with an attack which made it necessary for him to break off his speech. On the next day he concluded it with a stately peroration. The effects of his exertion do not seem to have passed away for some time, for on 1 May he wrote to the speaker excusing his absence from the house on the plea of illness and the necessity of a short rest (*ib.* i. 541). On 6 June, on a motion relating to the expenses of the trial, he eloquently complimented Sheridan on his speech on the princesses of Oude. In the course of this summer Burke was successful in a lawsuit with a neighbour, Mr. Waller of Hall Barn, who claimed some manorial rights over his estate. His constant need of money is proved by his grateful acceptance in July of a gift of 1,000*l.* from his friend Dr. Brocklesby (*ib.* 544).

When, in November 1788, Fox was called home from the continent by the news of the king's insanity, Burke expected to be summoned by his friend, who was now generally looked upon by his party as the future minister (*ib.* i. 545). Fox, however, did not send for him, and though Burke joined him in upholding the right of the Prince of Wales to the regency, and in opposing Pitt's restrictions, he was treated with neglect. Some difficulty arose as to finding a chancellor of the exchequer for the cabinet it was proposed to form in case the party succeeded in turning Pitt out of office, but Burke's name was not approved. At a private meeting of some of the leaders of the Portland party, held 9 Jan. 1789, it was determined to again appoint him to the insignificant post of paymaster, and to secure him a pension of 2,000*l.*, with the reversion of half to his son and half to Mrs. Burke, and to give office to his brother Richard. The Duke of Portland, Windham, and Elliot, who were his sincere friends, believed that this was 'acting in a manner equal to Burke's merits' (*Life and Letters of Sir G. Elliot*,

i. 261-3). Several special difficulties stood in the way of his nomination to cabinet office at this crisis. With the Prince of Wales and his set he had nothing in common save the politics of the party. 'I know no more,' he said, in December 1788, 'of Carlton House than I do of Buckingham House.' Always irritable, even with friends so true as Windham, he seems when vexed by opposition to have lost all control over himself (WINDHAM, *Diary*, 112, 167). His vehemence in debate increased with neglect. On 6 Feb., for example, he declared the conduct of the ministers 'verging to treasons, for which the justice of their country would, he trusted, one day overtake them and bring them to trial' (*Parl. Hist.* xxvii. 1171). He was accused, not altogether unjustly, of outraging propriety in his speeches on the king's condition (SIR N. WRAXALL, *Posth. Mem.* iii. 323, 346). His enemies, and indeed 'half the kingdom, considered him little better than an ingenious madman' (WINDHAM, 213). These causes, combined with his poverty, the scandalous stories of his enemies, the constantly repeated accusation that he was 'Junius,' and above all the exclusiveness of the whig aristocrats, hindered the due recognition of his services and talents. The dignified letter he composed for the prince accepting the regency is a sufficient proof that when unchafed by the insults of Pitt's rank and file, unvexed by neglect, and unexcited by debate, his wisdom and judgment were not less than in earlier years. He longed to 'retire' for good and all, but the Indian business 'kept him bound' (*Works*, i. 549). He resumed this business in April. Public interest in the trial had now declined. Burke had become unpopular, and the friends of Hastings were strong in the house. A violent expression used by Burke respecting the death of Nuncomar was made the occasion of a vote of censure, passed 4 May. Contrary to Fox's wish, Burke continued the trial the next day, and the difference of opinion occasioned a slight soreness between them (*Corresp. of C. J. Fox*, ii. 355). Burke has been accused 'of surrendering himself at this period of his career to a systematic factiousness that fell little short of being downright unscrupulous' (MORLEY, *E. B., a Study*, 27). He certainly worked hard for his party, for he had not as yet seen reason to differ from its general policy, and in such circumstances he ever held loyalty to his party to be incumbent on a statesman. He wrote, it is true, to Fox, on 9 Sept. 1789, suggesting that he should conciliate Dr. Priestley and his followers, in view of a general election (*Corresp. of C. J. Fox*, ii. 360). There is, however, nothing in this letter

contrary to the principles he held in 1773. He disliked and distrusted the unitarians then, and he did so now, but that was no reason why his party should lose their support for lack of a piece of ordinary civility such as he recommended. As early as 1780 Burke had drawn up regulations to mitigate the evils of the slave trade, and of the employment of slaves, in the form of a letter to Dundas (published in 1792). He therefore hailed with delight the attack made on the trade by Wilberforce. On 9 May 1788, in the debate on Pitt's motion for inquiry, he declared that he wished for its total abolition, and on 12 May 1789 warmly praised the speech with which Wilberforce introduced his resolutions (*Parl. Hist.* xxvii. 502, xxviii. 69, 96; *Life of Wilberforce*, i. 171).

Having been requested by a friend, M. Dupont, to send him his opinion of the revolutionary movements in France, Burke wrote to him in October, though the letter was not sent until some weeks after. In the meantime the open expression of sympathy with these movements, and especially the proceedings of the Revolutionary Society on 4 Nov., stirred him to write his 'Reflections on the Revolution' as a warning to its English admirers. Loving 'liberty only in the guise of order,' he saw in the events of 6 Oct. an impending attack on the order which through all his life he had so deeply revered. In a debate on the army estimates, 9 Feb. 1790, he spoke strongly against the French democracy. Fox, who saw in the taking of the Bastille the greatest and the best event that ever happened in the world, made him a soothing answer. Sheridan sharply opposed his views, and Burke at once declared himself separated from him in politics. The neglect of Burke by the Carlton House faction must, to some extent at least, have been due to Sheridan's jealousy, and his speech on this occasion was evidently intended to provoke Burke's wrath (*Parl. Hist.* xxviii. 370). On 2 March Burke opposed Fox's bill for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. His fear of the spread of revolutionary opinions in England made him untrue to the policy of toleration he had so long upheld. 'It was not a time,' he said, 'to weaken the safeguards of the established church.' Fox declared that Burke's speech filled him with grief and shame. The bill was lost (*ib.* 387). In the course of this year Burke was gratified by the appointment of his son, now a barrister, as legal adviser of the Irish Catholic Committee. Meanwhile the 'Reflections' was slowly written and rewritten. Some proofs were sent to Francis in February. He returned them with some strong expressions of disap-

proval, mocking at the celebrated passage about the queen as 'pure foppery.' Burke, in answer, declared that when he wrote it the tears 'wetted his paper' (*Works*, i. 574). At last, after a year's labour, the 'Reflections' was issued on 1 Nov. 1790. Before a year had passed eleven editions of it were called for. The king was delighted; it was, he said, 'a good book, a very good book; every gentleman ought to read it.' The Oxford graduates presented their congratulations through Windham; it was proposed to grant him the degree of D.C.L., but the motion was defeated. This annoyed him greatly, and when, in 1793, an honorary degree was offered him, he refused it on the ground that his name had been rejected previously. From Dublin he received the LL.D. degree. The effect of the 'Reflections' was extraordinary. It created a reaction against the revolution; it divided Englishmen into two parties and did much to ruin the whigs, and to produce a new political combination. Chief among the many answers it called forth in England is the 'Vindiciæ Gallicæ' of James Mackintosh. In a different strain, but with not less effect, it had already been met by Paine's 'Rights of Man.' One sentence in the 'Reflections,' representing learning as 'trodden down under the hoofs of a swinish multitude' (*ib.* iv. 215), drew forth a crowd of bitter retorts; it was explained as intended to refer to Bailly. Abroad the 'Reflections' created no less stir than at home, and Burke received the compliments of different foreign sovereigns. His political foresight is exhibited by his prophecy of the time when, all restraints that mitigate despotism being removed, France would fall a prey to arbitrary power. Nevertheless, in spite of these and other philosophical remarks, the book contains the pleadings of an advocate rather than the reflections of a philosopher. It exhibits ignorance of the character of the French constitution before the revolution; it fails to recognise the social causes of the movement, and, dwelling on the sufferings of the few, it ignores the deliverance of the many.

In the parliament which met in November 1790 Burke was again returned for Malton. As the friends of Hastings hoped that the dissolution would be held to have put an end to the impeachment, Burke moved for a committee to consider the state of the trial. Pitt and Fox alike joined with him in advocating the constitutional principle, which was affirmed after three days' debate, that an impeachment is not abated by a dissolution of parliament. Although Burke and Fox still met on friendly terms, it was evident that the strong views each held on

the subject of the revolution must before long formally break their alliance. The growing alienation of Burke from Fox and the party for which he had so long worked caused him pain and anxiety (ELLIOT, i. 364-70), and it was at this time probably that he said to Addington, 'I am not well, Speaker; I eat too much, I drink too much, and I sleep too little' (PELLEW, *Life of Sidmouth*, i. 85). Early in 1791 Burke published his 'Letter to a Member of the National Assembly' (*Works*, iv. 359). In a debate in April, Fox, provoked by this renewed attack, uttered a warm panegyric on the new French constitution. Burke rose to reply in visible emotion, but was forced to give way to the division (*Parl. Hist.* xxix. 249). Every effort was used to persuade Burke to let the matter pass, but 'knowing the authority of his friend's name,' he believed it necessary to bring his panegyric to trial (*Ann. Reg.* 1791, 115). The Quebec Bill would, he knew, give him an opportunity, and he acquainted some members of the administration with his intention. On 21 April Fox visited him and begged him to defer the final rupture, but it was too late. They walked down to the house together. In the course of a speech on the postponement of the bill, Fox, 'meeting what he could not avoid' to some extent, challenged Burke to express his decision, and Burke declared that 'dear as was his friend the love of his country was dearer still' (*Parl. Hist.* xxix. 362). On 6 May the house reassembled after the holidays, and, the Quebec Bill being again brought forward, Burke spoke at length on the revolution. He was called to order by various members and jeered at by Fox. Baited by one and another ignoble foe, he exclaimed:

The little dogs and all—

Tray, Blanch, and Sweetheart—see, they bark at me.

(PELLEW, i. 85). Fox spoke plainly of the difference of opinion between them. Burke in his reply referred to the desertion of friends. 'There is no loss of friends,' Fox whispered. Yes, he answered, there was a loss of friends—he knew the price of his conduct—he had done his duty at the price of his friend—their friendship was at an end. When Fox rose, some minutes passed before he could speak for tears (*Parl. Hist.* xxix. 361-88). Burke's separation from his party brought on him a storm of calumny. It was asserted that he led Fox on to speak of the revolution that he might prejudice the king against him. Burke complained of the report in a debate on 11 May, and as he and Fox defended each his own conduct, the breach between

them was widened (*ib.* 416-26). Burke stood alone, for he had cut himself off, for a while at least, from the party of which he had so long been the life and the instructor. He now undauntedly set himself to enlighten his friends and lead them back to the true principles of 1688. At the end of the session he went down to Margate with his wife and his niece, Miss French, who was now living with him, and finished his 'Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs' (*Works*, iv. 392). In December he brought out his 'Thoughts on French Affairs' (*ib.* 551), a pamphlet exhibiting the revolution as no mere political change, but as concerned, like the Reformation, with doctrines and opinions which would certainly spread unless checked by a coalition of powers. While at Margate he received a visit from Calonne, who came from the refugees at Coblenz to seek his advice. He sent his son Richard to represent him at Coblenz, a step which was allowed though not authorised by the government, while the Chevalier de la Bintinnaye was sent to represent the princes at Beaconsfield (*ib.* i. 633). No advice, however, could help men so impracticable as the Coblenz refugees. Richard returned home and was at once engaged by the Irish catholics, who hoped through him to gain his father's guidance. This mission called forth the letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, written in January 1792, in which the whole question of religious toleration in Ireland is discussed. In February Burke attended the funeral of his old friend Sir Joshua Reynolds, who left him his executor with a legacy of 2,000*l.*, and appointed him guardian of his niece, Miss Palmer, shortly afterwards married to Lord Inchiquin. Burke immediately sent 100*l.* by his son to two poor women by the Blackwater, one of them by birth a Nagle and probably one of his mother's family, adding 'God knows how little we can spare it' (*ib.* ii. 91). He took little part in the debates of this session. He opposed Grey's notice of motion on parliamentary reform. Anger at the sympathy the unitarians expressed with the revolution and fear of disturbing the established order again led him, in May 1792, to forget his tolerant principles and oppose Fox's motion for the repeal of certain penal statutes respecting religious opinions (*Parl. Hist.* xxix. 1381).

Burke now held a unique position. 'He is,' writes Elliot, 'a sort of power in Europe, though totally without any of those means, or the smallest share in them, which give or maintain power in other men.' He was in correspondence with Monsieur (Louis XVIII) the Count of Artois, and the French royalists. All hope of help from England was founded

on his advocacy. He deprecated the partition of Poland, and counselled Stanislaus to preserve a liberal policy. The Catholics of Ireland looked upon him as their champion. Without office himself, he was engaged in persuading a large section of the Whigs under the nominal headship of the Duke of Portland to join Pitt's supporters, and in spite of violence to private affection to separate themselves from Fox (*Corresp. of C. J. Fox*, iii. 20). As each succeeding act of the revolution became more bloody, his foresight was praised more widely. He eagerly urged the necessity of war, and Pitt listened to his advice with respect. In September 1792 he was at Bath for his wife's health. He went up to London during his visit in order to be present at the meetings of the committee for the relief of the French refugees, a matter in which he took the deepest interest (*Works*, ii. 145, 149). On the opening of the session he found Fox, whose following had now shrunk to fifty, as much opposed to his views as ever. Burke now definitely took his place on the ministerial side. In the debate on the Alien Bill, 28 Dec., having mentioned that an order had been given at Birmingham for 3,000 daggers, he suddenly produced a specimen which had been given him on his way to the house [see BURGESS, SIR JAMES BLAND], and threw it with some vehemence on the floor. 'This,' he said, pointing to it, 'is what you are to gain by an alliance with France' (*Parl. Hist.* xxx. 189). This melodramatic scene was caricatured by Gillray, and much mocked at by Fox's party. Sheridan taunted Burke with it on 28 Feb. following. On the same evening Fox declared that many of Burke's statements were untrue, and an unseemly wrangle ensued (*ib.* 537, 554). The declaration of war with France increased Burke's popularity. He maintained his influence with the leading politicians in spite of certain social drawbacks. At a time when political power was closely connected with social relations, Burke's house was badly managed. The meals were irregular (WINDHAM, 297; PRIOR, 180) and the company doubtful. Young Richard had come back from Ireland, having mismanaged his business there, 'quite nauseated by all mankind'; William Burke had come back from India as penniless as he went away, to be a charge on his kinsman; Richard, Burke's brother, was noisy, and his niece, Miss French, 'the most perfect she-Paddy that ever was caught' (ELLIOT, ii. 136). A vote of confidence in Fox having been passed by the Whig Club in 1793, Burke and several others seceded from it. With reference to this dispute Burke drew up his 'Observa-

tions for the Conduct of the Minority' during the session, for the private consideration of the Duke of Portland (*Works*, v. 68). This memorial was surreptitiously printed in 1797 by a dishonest secretary with the second title of 'Fifty-four Articles of Impeachment against the Right Hon. C. J. Fox.' Although Burke rejoiced at the declaration of the war with France, he strongly disapproved of the character it assumed. What he wished for was a war against Jacobinism on behalf of Louis XVII and of religion, while Pitt and our allies each sought some separate and selfish object. He would have made the war a crusade, a war against atheism and rebellion. It was monstrous in his eyes that while the Jacobins never pardoned, the allies treated the most bloody and merciless offenders as prisoners of war instead of calling them to strict account. These views he embodied in a new pamphlet, begun while he was at Beaconsfield in the autumn of 1793 (*ib.* 19, ii. 236; *Corresp. of C. J. Fox*, iii. 31). He deeply felt his alienation from Fox, and expressed his sorrow in a letter to Portland, who wished him to come to a meeting to be held in January 1794 in order to ascertain the possibility of a coalition. He was not, however, prepared for a reconciliation, nor did he see any desire for it on Fox's side (*Works*, ii. 243, 248). Early in the year he lost his brother Richard. He remained some time at Beaconsfield, and when he returned to London took little part in business for some time. During April he had more than one passage of arms with Sheridan. In a debate on the Volunteer Corps Bill Burke quoted some doggerel lines of an American writer:—

Solid men of Boston make no long potations,  
Solid men of Boston make no long orations.

Bow! wow! wow!

Sheridan in reply taunted him with his alleged inconsistency by quoting two other lines from the same source:—

He went to Daddy Jenky, by Trimmer Hall  
attended:

In such company, good lack! how his morals  
must be mended!

Bow! wow! wow!

Burke bitterly resented the sneer (*Parl. Hist.* xxxi. 210).

The trial of Hastings was now drawing to a close, and on 30 April Burke presented to the House of Commons the report he drew up for the committee appointed to inspect the Lords' Journals with reference to its duration (*Works*, viii. 39). A month later he began his nine days' speech (28 May to 16 June) in reply to the defence, containing a justification of the impeach-

ment. At its close his long labours in the cause were ended, and on 20 June he and the other managers received the thanks of the house. At the prorogation in July Burke retired from parliament. The same month the formal union which he had done so much to bring about was made between the Portland whigs and the ministry. Lord Fitzwilliam gave Burke's seat to his son Richard, and Burke went to Malton to witness the election. On 2 Aug. his son died. The blow shattered Burke's life, and he went down to Beaconsfield broken in heart. In the midst of his sorrow he took an active interest in the subscription for the relief of the French clergy, and sent 50*l.* to his son's old friend the Abbé de la Bintinnaye. On 30 Aug. he was informed that the king had granted him an immediate pension of 1,200*l.* a year, on the joint lives of himself and Mrs. Burke, and that during the next session an application would be made to parliament for the grant of a larger sum. As his debts were troublesome, he asked that this pension might be antedated to the beginning of the year. This was done. Pitt found means for the larger pension without applying to the house, and a further sum of 2,500*l.* a year was granted him for his own life out of the West India 4½ per cents (STANHOPE, *Life of Pitt*, ii. 245-50). Burke expressed his thankfulness for these grants, but was displeased that the second pension was not brought before the house. The civil list pension he seems to have sold at once for the payment of his debts (DILKE).

The recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland early in 1795 excited Burke's fears for the cause of religious toleration in his native land, and was the occasion of his second letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, written on 26 May (*Works*, vi. 47). He corresponded constantly on this subject with Dr. Hussey (afterwards bishop of Waterford), and took a strong interest in the foundation of the catholic college at Maynooth, of which Hussey was the first president. On 23 April he was present at the acquittal of Hastings, after a trial of seven years, 'that principal act which he said was to be the glory or the shame of his whole public life' (ib. ii. 309). He then went back to Beaconsfield and interested himself in the lives of his poor neighbours, in the growth of his trees and the management of his farm. At the end of the year he was occupied in writing a reply to a pamphlet by Lord Auckland entitled 'Remarks on the Apparent Circumstances of the War.' This reply remained unfinished, and was published after his death under the title of the 'Fourth Letter on a

Regicide Peace.' An attack made on his pension in the House of Lords by the Duke of Bedford and Lord Lauderdale caused him to lay aside this work to write his indignant 'Letter to a Noble Lord' (ib. v. 213). This reply in its turn called forth a crowd of answers. In the spring of 1796 he drew up a scheme for a school for the sons of French emigrants, which, with the co-operation of the government, he established at Penn, a village near Beaconsfield. Among the children of this school he seemed almost to forget his load of sorrow, and his former adversary, Mackintosh, who warmly admired him, when on a visit to Beaconsfield at Christmas in 1796 saw Burke romp with the little ones 'with cordial glee' (*Life of Sir James Mackintosh*, 87-94). The melancholy of Burke's life was also cheered by the kindness and the frequent presence of his friends Windham, now secretary at war, and Dr. Laurence. During the summer of 1796 he worked at the first two 'Letters on a Regicide Peace.' Their publication was delayed by a severe attack of illness in July. He went to Bath accompanied by his wife and William Burke, and returned somewhat better in September. A dispute having arisen with Owen, his publisher, he transferred the right of publishing his forthcoming letters to another house. Greatly to his annoyance, Owen brought out an unauthorised copy of his 'Letters on a Regicide Peace,' and the two editions appeared together, almost on the day on which Lord Malmesbury set out on his abortive embassy (MACKNIGHT, iii. 675). The exhibition of the character of these negotiations in the third letter was Burke's last work. His disease, found after death to have been internal abscesses, grew rapidly worse, and Windham persuaded him to again visit Bath in the end of January. 'Your life,' he wrote, 'is at this moment of more consequence than that of any man living' (*Works*, ii. 366). The war party indeed 'depended on Burke's pen and Hoche's sword.' He worked in the intervals of pain. Windham came to him as soon as business allowed, and Wilberforce, who visited him at Bath, remarked how his party came to the dying statesman as men sought Ahithophel, 'as if one who went to inquire of the oracle of the Lord' (*Life of Wilberforce*, ii. 211). While he lay ill, Owen published the unauthorised edition of 'Observations on the Conduct of the Minority,' but Burke was not told of it until an injunction to stop the sale had been obtained. At the end of May he returned to Beaconsfield, conscious that all hopes of any recovery were at an end, not grieving for himself, but dwelling with sorrow and in-

dignation on the troubles of Ireland (*Works*, ii. 396). He retained his faculties during his illness. On the last day of his life he spoke of his hatred of the revolutionary spirit in France, and of his belief that the war was for the good of humanity: he listened to some essays of Addison, in which he ever took delight, and then, after he had talked awhile and sent messages to his friends, he died just after midnight on Sunday morning, 9 July 1797 (*Gent. Mag.* lxi. pt. i. 621). Fox, with characteristic generosity, proposed in the house that he should be buried in Westminster Abbey and at the public expense. Burke, however, had wished otherwise, and on 15 July, in accordance with his directions, he was buried in the parish church of Beaconsfield, his pall-bearers being the leaders of that old whig party which for thirty years he had animated, instructed, and at last converted to conservatism. On the 13th George Canning wrote to one of Lord Malmesbury's embassy, 'There is but one event, but that is an event for the world—Burke is dead' (MALMESBURY, *Diaries*, iii. 398).

A collective edition of Burke's works was published, with his approval, in three volumes quarto, in 1792, comprising the works enumerated in the list given below down to the first letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe inclusive. At his death Dr. F. Laurence and Dr. W. King (afterwards bishop of Rochester) were entrusted with the care of his papers. They at once began to prepare a collective edition in sixteen volumes octavo; but the death of Laurence in 1808, when half the sixteen-volume edition was through the press, left Dr. King to carry on the work alone. The quarto edition of 1792 begins the posthumous works with vol. iv., and was completed in eight volumes in 1827. In the sixteen volumes of the octavo edition, published concurrently with the completion of the quarto edition, the orthography is made uniform—for as Burke used the services of others, both in writing and correcting for press, considerable differences exist in the early editions of his various works—references are verified, and the speech introducing the report presented 30 April 1794 is inserted. The first eight volumes, containing the works printed or in the press during the lifetime of the author down to the 'Third Letter on a Regicide Peace' inclusive, were published in 1803. A reissue of these volumes was made in 1808. The twelfth volume was issued in 1813, and the whole was completed in 1827. A new edition of the first eight volumes, with portrait and life, was issued in 1823. The contents of vols. i–xii., which took in the articles of

the charge against Hastings, were printed, with a biographical and critical introduction, in two volumes large octavo, double columns, in 1834. These editions, and all described in this notice except when especially stated otherwise, were published in London. In 1806 an octavo edition was begun at Boston, U.S., vols. i–iv. being published that year; vols. v. and vi. were published at New York in 1813, and vol. vii. at Boston in 1827. The whole set was issued at Boston in 1826–7. An edition published at Boston in 1839, in nine volumes octavo, comprises the entire contents of the English sixteen-volume edition, and also contains the 'Account of the European Settlements in America' not included in it. This edition, moreover, has the correspondence between Burke and Dr. Laurence, also published separately in 1827 (see *Edin. Rev.* No. 92), and was therefore better than any preceding edition. In 1852 another edition was issued in London, under the title of 'Works and Correspondence,' in eight volumes octavo. This edition is in some respects to be preferred to the Boston one; for the type is thicker and the paper better. The Boston edition has in certain cases adopted the American fashion of spelling, and the addition of the Laurence letters is balanced in the English edition by a large mass of well-arranged general correspondence, originally published as a separate work by Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Bourke. 'The European Settlements' is not included in the 1852 edition, and as the share Burke took in its composition cannot be ascertained the omission is not to be regretted. The references in the foregoing biographical notice are to the edition of 1852. A reprint of the 'Works' has been issued in Bohn's 'British Classics,' 1853, 8vo, with a preliminary volume containing Prior's 'Life' (5th ed.) and two supplementary volumes of speeches. The references to Prior in the above are to this, the revised edition of his 'Life of Burke.' Other collections of the speeches have been made, together with some of the political tracts—Dublin, 1777, 8vo; London, 4 vols., 1816, 8vo; with memoir by J. Burke, Dublin, 1854, 12mo. Besides the Laurence correspondence, a collection of Burke's letters, 1744–97, was edited by Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Bourke in 4 vols., 1844, 8vo. This collection forms the first two volumes of the 'Works and Correspondence,' 1852. A volume of select works is included in the 'World Library of Standard Works,' 1876, 8vo. The letters, speeches, and tracts on Irish affairs were edited by M. Arnold in 1881, and three volumes of 'Select Works'—1. 'Thoughts on the Present Discontents and Speeches on America,' 2. 'Re-

lections on the French Revolution.' 3. 'Four Letters on the Regicide Peace'—have been edited, with excellent introductions and notes, by E. J. Payne, Clarendon Press Series, Oxford, 1866-78, 8vo. Burke's 'Opinions on Reform' is a thin volume of extracts compiled by T. H. Burke, 1831, 8vo, and only deserves mention as illustrating the importance attached to his opinions at the time of its publication.

The works of Burke contained in the more complete collective editions are, besides letters: 1. 'A Vindication of Natural Society, &c., in a Letter to Lord —', by a late Noble Writer, 1756, 8vo; also in 'Fugitive Pieces,' vol. ii. 1762, 12mo; a new edition, in a 'Letter to Lord D—', Oxford, 1796, 12mo. 2. 'A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful,' 1756, 8vo; 2nd edition, to which is added a 'Discourse concerning Taste,' 1757; 8th edition, 1776, &c.; also in 1823 and 1824, 12mo; translated into French, with short Life by E. Lagentie de Lavaïsse, Paris, an. xi. 1803, 8vo, and into German by C. Garvé, Riga, 1773, 8vo. 3. 'A Short Account of a Short Administration,' 1766. 4. 'Observations on a late Publication intitled "The Present State of the Nation,"' 1769, 4to. 5. 'Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontent,' 1770. 6. Speech on American Taxation, 1774, 8vo, Bristol, 1777; translated, 'Reden on American Taxation and on Conciliation with America, &c. Gotha, 1864, 8vo. 7. Speeches at Bristol in 1771, London, 1774, 8vo. 8. Speech on Conciliation with America, 1775, 1778 (see 6). 9. Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, London, 1777, 8vo. 10. Letter to Two Gentlemen in Bristol on Trade with Ireland, London, 1778, 8vo. 11. Speech on Economic Reform, &c., London, 1780, 8vo, republished 1831, 8vo. 12. Speeches at the Bristol Election, 1780, 8vo, and Dublin. 13. 'On Fox's East India Bill,' 1784, 8vo, and Dublin. 14. 'Representation to His Majesty, moved 14 June 1784,' new edition 1785, 4to. 15. Speech on the Debts of the Nabob of Arcot, 1785, 8vo, and Dublin. 16. 'On the Army Estimates,' substance of speech, 1790, 8vo. 17. 'Reflections on the Revolution in France,' &c., 1790, 8vo; 8th edition, Dublin, 1791; 11th edition 1791; new edition, with alterations by editor (S. J.), 1793, 12mo; 1830, 16mo; new edition, London (printed at Edinburgh), with biographical notice, 1868; and in 1872 in Nonpareil Series of English Classics; translated, 'Sur la Révolution, &c., traduit par le B. de B., Londres,' 1790, 8vo; 'Réflexions sur la Révolution, &c., Lettre de B. au Traducteur (Du-

pont), Paris et Londres,' 1790, 8vo; 'Betrachtungen über die Französische Rev.' F. Gentz, Berlin, 1793. 18. Letter to a Member of the National Assembly, London, 1791, 8vo; reprints Dublin and Paris; translated, 'Lettre à un Membre,' &c., Paris, 1811 (1791), 8vo; 'Lettera del Signor B.,' &c., Ferrara, 1793, 8vo. 19. 'Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs,' London, 1791; 2nd edition, revised, 1791. 20. Letter to a Peer of Ireland (Lord Kenmare) on the Penal Laws, London, 1782, 1785; Dublin, 1791; edited by H. C. Clifford, 1824. 21. Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe, M.P., 1792, 8vo. 22. 'Hints for a Memorial to be delivered to Mons. de M. M.' 23. 'Thoughts on French Affairs,' 1797, 8vo (posth.). 24. 'Heads for Consideration on the Present State of Affairs.' 25. 'Remarks on the Policy of the Allies.' 26. 'Observations on the Conduct of the Minority.' This letter was of a private nature. It was sent to the Duke of Portland as a protest against the vote of the Whig Club in 1793. Through the dishonesty of Swift, Burke's secretary, it was printed and circulated in 1797, with the second title, 'Fifty-four Articles of Impeachment against the Right Hon. C. J. Fox,' 1797, 8vo. Burke was therefore compelled to issue a corrected copy, to which he appended his private letter to the duke, 1797, 8vo. 27. Letter to W. Elliot, Esq., dated 1795. 28. Preface to the 'Address of M. Brissot to his Constituents,' translated by William Burke, 1794. 29. 'Thoughts and Details on Scarcity,' originally presented to W. Pitt November 1795. Burke intended to recast the memorial, and advertised it under the title of 'Letters on Rural Economics addressed to Mr. A. Young.' These letters remained in a fragmentary state at his death, and were worked into the 'Thoughts and Details' by the editors, who published the 'Memorial,' 1800, 8vo. 30. A Letter to a Noble Lord, &c. 24 Feb. 1796, 8vo; editions 2-4, of Williams and of Owen, differ; 13th edition 1796; first American edition—a Letter from E. B., &c., with preface by P. Porcupine (W. Cobbett)—Philadelphia, 1796, 8vo; London, 1831, 8vo; Edinburgh, 1837, in Cabinet Library of Scarce Tracts, 8vo; translations —'Lettre du très honorable E. B.,' &c., Paris, 1796, 8vo; 'E. Burke's Rechtfertigung seines politischen Lebens,' Berlin, 1796, 8vo. 31. 'Thoughts on the Prospect of a Peace with the Regicide Directory,' letters i. and ii., editions 1-11, 1796, 8vo; translated, 'Lettres d'E. B. à un Membre de la Chambre des Communes,' &c., Paris (1796), 8vo. 32. The Third Letter on the Regicide Peace, by the late Right Hon. E. B., London, 1797, 8vo; this Letter was left in a fragmentary state,

the revision was completed, and some connecting parts supplied by his friends. 33. The Fourth Letter on the Regicide Peace, fragmentary, is addressed to Lord Fitzwilliam, and begins with an answer to Lord Auckland's pamphlet, 'Remarks on the Apparent Circumstances of the War,' 1795. It was written in December 1795, and was printed in 4to and 16 vol. octavo editions, 1812, being the first article in vol. v. of 4to, sometimes called the second posthumous volume, in vol. ix. of 8vo edition. 34. A Letter to the Empress of Russia, dated 1791. 35. A Letter to Sir Charles Bingham, dated 1773. 36. A Letter to the Hon. C. J. Fox, dated 1777. 37. A Letter to the Marquis of Rockingham, dated 1777. 38. An Address to the King (sent with 36). 39. An Address to the British Colonists in America. 40. A Letter to the Right Hon. E. Pery, 1778. 41. A Letter to T. Burgh, Esq., with title 'A Letter from Edmund Burke, Esq., in vindication of his conduct with regard to the affairs of Ireland,' London and Dublin, 1780. 42. A Letter to J. Merlott, Esq., 1780. 43. Letters and Reflections on the Execution of the Rioters in 1780. 44. A Letter to the Right Hon. H. Dundas, with the sketch of a Negro Code, drawn up 1780, 1792. 45. A Letter on the Duration of Parliaments, to the Chairman of the Buckinghamshire Meeting, 1780. 46. Tracts relative to the Popery Laws in Ireland. 47. A Letter to Sir W. Smith, 1795. 48. Second Letter to Sir Hercules Langrishe (cf. 21 above), 1795. 49. A Letter to R. Burke, Esq. (n. d.). 50. A Letter on the Affairs of Ireland, 1797. 51. 'Fragments and Notes of Speeches.' 52. 'Hints for an Essay on the Drama.' 53. 'An Essay towards an Abridgment of the English History.' 54. 'Reports IX. and XI. from the Select Committee on the East India Company,' 1783. 55. 'Articles of Charge against Warren Hastings,' presented 4 April 1786, published in four parts, 1786. 56. Speeches on the Impeachment, published, with Introduction, 1792, 8vo. 57. 'Report from the Committee appointed to inspect the Lords' Journals,' printed 1794. 58. Speeches on the Impeachment. Reply. Sundry fragments, notes, &c. The titles of the foregoing have in some cases been abbreviated. A satisfactory edition of Burke's works is still a want. Many of his letters are scattered through various printed books, such as Parkes's 'Memoirs of Sir P. Francis' and Hardy's 'Memoirs of Lord Charlemont'; some few are in periodical publications, in the 'Morning Herald' and other papers, and a large number probably are still unprinted and in private hands. Almon declares that

some at least of the letters signed Valens, which appeared at intervals, and especially in 1775-6, in the 'Evening Post,' were partly written by Burke. That he looked over them is likely enough, but they probably were the work of William Burke, to whom, indeed, Almon ascribes a share in them; they are by no means equal to Burke's own productions. A new edition of the works might contain some speeches not hitherto separately printed or in the collective editions, some of the surveys of the events of each year contributed to the 'Annual Register,' and at least those during the seven years' war, reprinted in a separate form as 'A Compleat History of the Late War; or Annual Register of its Rise, Progress, and Events in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America,' 1763, 8vo. The protest of the Rockingham lords against the Dividend Bill should be given as a specimen of the terse and lucid style which Burke used in drawing up such documents, and along with his reports and speeches on Indian affairs should be printed 'Heads of Objections to be Enquired into before it will be advisable to take P. Benfield again into the Company's service. . . . 1780, 4to.

[Memoirs of Burke have been published by Charles MacCormick, 1798, 4to, a coarse and badly written party attack; by Robert Bisset, A Life of E. B., comprehending an impartial account of his Literary and Political Efforts, 1798, revised 1800, 8vo, hasty and uncritical; by Sir James Prior, second edition enlarged, 1826, fifth edition revised, 2 vols., companion to Works in Bohn's British Classics, 1854—this, the first biography of any real value, still remains, on the whole, the best; by George Croly, 1840, 8vo, a political life, republished from Blackwood's Magazine; by P. Burke, 1851, 8vo, utterly valueless; by Macknight, History of the Life and Times of E. B., 1858, 3 vols. 8vo, prolix, pompous, and uncritical, but containing a large amount of information; by Sir Joseph Napier, A Lecture, Dublin, 1863, 8vo; by John Morley in English Men of Letters series, 1879, a short and admirable sketch, also by the same author Burke, A Historical Study, 1867, 8vo, the best estimate of Burke's political position; The Papers of a Critic, by C. W. Dilke, 1875, 8vo, chiefly from the Athenæum, contain a searching investigation into Burke's money affairs. A brilliant review of Burke's intellectual powers and of the place he fills in the history of social progress will be found in Buckle's History of Civilization in England, i. 455-76, ed. 1873. Burke's Works and Correspondence, ed. 1852; Graduates of Trinity College, Dublin; Sir Philip Francis's Letter Misive to Lord Holland; Memoirs of F. Horner, ed. L. Horner, 2nd ed.; Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu's Diary and Letters, ed. Matthew Montagu; Boswell's Life of Johnson, ed. 1835; Letters to Rev. J. W. Temple, 1857; Emin's Life and Adven-



tures; James Barry's Works, 1809; Hardy's Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont, 1812; Return of Members of Parliament; Parliamentary History, xvi-xxxi.; Cavendish's Reports of the Unreported Parliament; H. Walpole's Memoirs of the Reign of George III, 1845; Letters of H. Walpole, ed. P. Cunningham; Lord J. Russell's Memorials and Correspondence of C. J. Fox; Stanhope's Life of Pitt; Earl of Albemarle's Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham; Parkes's Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis, ed. Merivale; R. J. and S. Wilberforce's Life of W. Wilberforce, 1838; Grenville Papers, ed. W. J. Smith; Madame d'Arblay's Diary and Letters, 1842, and her Memoirs of Dr. Burney, 1832; T. Keppel's Life of Lord Keppel; Sir N. Wraxall's Memoirs of own Time, 3rd ed., and Posthumous Memoirs, 1836; Pellew's Life of Lord Sidmouth; Cornwallis Correspondence, ed. Ross; Rogers's Table-talk, ed. A. Dyce; Somerville's Own Life and Times; Sir Gilbert Elliot, earl of Minto, Life and Letters by the Countess of Minto; Windham's Diary, 1784-1810, ed. Mrs. H. Baring; R. J. Mackintosh's Memoirs of Sir James Mackintosh; Earl of Malmesbury's Diaries and Correspondence, 1844; Almon's Anecdotes, 1797; Moore's Life of Sheridan, 3rd ed.; Sir G. C. Lewis's Administrations of Great Britain; Bancroft's History of the United States; Annual Register, 1766, 1777, 1784; Gent. Mag. l. lxxix.; New Monthly Mag. 1826.] W. H.

**BURKE, EDMUND PLUNKETT** (1802-1835), judge, was born of Irish parents at Lisbon in 1802, and, being brought to England at an early age, was, till his fifteenth year, educated at home or by Dr. Robertson, a schoolmaster of some repute. At fifteen he was placed in the Lycée at Caen, Normandy, where during three years he greatly distinguished himself. He was then entered at Caius College, Cambridge, but, disliking mathematics, did not proceed to a degree, and devoted his great talents to the study of civil law. While still an undergraduate he wrote his 'Essay on the Laws and Government of Rome; introductory to the Civil Law,' a work which if not erudite, for he was ignorant of German, was surprising for his years and excited great attention at Cambridge. In 1830 he published a second edition with his name. He joined the Inner Temple and was called to the bar, but his private means being lost by the imprudence of a relation, he was too poor to buy books or pay fees for reading in counsel's chambers, and too proud to seek aid of his friends. Though diligent he was unsystematic, and made little legal progress. He wrote biographical notices for the 'Law Magazine,' but even here, though his research was extensive, his dilatory habits stood in his way. In 1832, on the reputation of his

book and his knowledge of French, he was appointed to a judgeship in St. Lucia, West Indies, and in 1833 the governor, General Farquhar, made him judge of the admiralty court. He died in 1835 of an injury received during a hurricane in St. Dominica.

[Law Magazine, xiii. 532.]

J. A. H.

**BURKE, JOHN** (1787-1848), genealogist, was the elder son of Peter Burke of Elm Hall, Tipperary, by his first wife, Anne, daughter and coheirress of Matthew Dowdall, M.D., of Mullingar. In accordance with a family arrangement, his younger brother Joseph succeeded to the estate at the father's death on 18 Jan. 1836. John Burke early engaged in literary work in London, but afterwards devoted himself to genealogical studies, and in 1826 he issued a 'Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom.' For the first time such a work was arranged alphabetically, and peers and baronets were treated together. The convenience of its method at once gave it great popularity. The 'Peerage' was republished at irregular intervals until 1847, when it reached its ninth edition. From that date it has been issued annually. 'A General and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerages of England, Ireland, and Scotland, extinct, dormant, and in abeyance,' was first published by Burke in 1831 (3rd edit. 1846); later editions, prepared by Sir J. B. Burke, appeared in 1866 and 1883. In 1831 Burke also issued what was intended to be the first of a series of annual handbooks, entitled 'The Official Kalendar for 1831,' but the series was not continued. Between 1833 and 1838 he published 'A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Commoners of Great Britain and Ireland,' in four 8vo volumes; another edition was issued in 1837-8; and a third edition in two volumes between 1843 and 1849. The title was altered in the later editions to 'A Dictionary of the Landed Gentry,' and a supplementary volume appeared in 1844, containing corrigenda and a general index. Burke was also the author of 'The Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Females, including Beauties of the Courts of George IV and William IV,' 2 vols. 1833; of 'A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England,' 1838 (re-issued 1841 and 1844); of 'The Knightage of Great Britain and Ireland,' 1841; of 'A General Armoury of England, Scotland, and Ireland,' 1842 (republished in Bohn's series in 1844 as Burke's 'Encyclopædia of Heraldry,' and by Sir J. B. Burke in an enlarged form in 1878); of 'Heraldic Illustrations, comprising the Armorial Bearings of

all the Principal Families of the Empire, with Pedigrees and Annotations,' 1844 (an illuminated supplement appeared in 1851); and of 'The Royal Families of England, Scotland, and Wales, and the Families descended from them,' in 5 vols. 1847-51. Burke was also the editor of a short-lived periodical, entitled 'The Patrician.' Burke died at Aix-la-Chapelle on 27 March 1848. He married his cousin Mary (*d.* 1846), second daughter of Bernard O'Reilly of Ballymorris, Longford, by whom he had two sons, Peter [q.v.] and John Bernard (1814-1892) [see SUPPLEMENT]. The latter was Ulster king of arms. He greatly assisted his father in his genealogical labours from 1840 onwards, and throughout his life devoted himself to similar pursuits.

[Burke's Landed Gentry, s. v. 'Burke of Elm Hall'; Gent. Mag. 1848, pt. i. 665; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L.

BURKE, PETER (1811-1881), serjeant-at-law, was the eldest son of John Burke [q.v.] of Elm Hall, co. Tipperary, and brother of Sir John Bernard Burke, Ulster king of arms. He was born in London on 7 May 1811, and educated at the college of Caen in Normandy. Having been called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1839, he joined the northern circuit and the Manchester and Lancashire sessions. He afterwards practised at the parliamentary bar, and appeared before the House of Lords in several important peerage cases. He was made a queen's counsel of the county palatine of Lancaster in 1858 and a serjeant-at-law in 1859. He was elected director or chief honorary officer of the Society of Antiquaries of Normandy for 1866-7. His death occurred at his residence in South Kensington on 26 March 1881. In addition to several legal works he published:—1. 'The Wisdom and Genius of Edmund Burke illustrated in a series of extracts from his writings, with a summary of his life,' 1845. 2. 'Celebrated Trials connected with the Aristocracy, in the relations of private life,' Lond. 1849, 1851, 8vo. 3. 'The Romance of the Forum, or Narratives, Scenes, and Anecdotes from Courts of Justice,' 4 vols. Lond. 1852, 1861, 12mo. 4. 'The Public and Domestic Life of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke,' Lond. 1853, 8vo. 5. 'Celebrated Naval and Military Trials,' Lond. 1866, 8vo.

[Men of the Time (1879), 169; Illustrated London News, 2 April 1881, p. 334; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.] T. C.

BURKE, ROBERT O'HARA (1820-1861), Australian explorer, was born at St. Cleram, county Galway, in 1820, and was

educated in Belgium. He entered the Austrian army in 1840, and rose to the rank of captain. In 1848 he joined the Irish constabulary, and in 1853 emigrated to Australia, and became an inspector of police in Victoria. In 1860 he was appointed to the command of an exploring expedition despatched for the purpose of crossing the Australian continent from south to north, which had originated in the contribution of a thousand pounds by Mr. Ambrose Kyte, and had been liberally supported by private subscriptions and government aid. One novel feature was the employment of camels, specially imported from India, from which great results were expected. The expedition quitted Melbourne on 20 Aug. 1860. Dissensions soon arose, and several members of the party returned. Burke reached Cooper's Creek on 11 Nov., and after waiting long for reinforcements, which from mismanagement failed to arrive, made a dash for the Gulf of Carpentaria on 16 Dec., leaving the bulk of his stores in charge of an assistant named Brahe, with directions to await his return for three or four months. The enterprise proved successful. Though not actually coming within sight of the sea, Burke and his associate Wills reached the tidal waters of the Flinders River, and won the fame of being the first white men to cross the Australian continent. But on their return to Cooper's Creek on 21 April, exhausted with hardships, they found that Brahe, interpreting his instructions too literally, and discouraged by disease among his companions, had abandoned his post that very day, leaving only a small stock of provisions behind him. Contrary to the advice of Wills, who urged following in Brahe's track, Burke unfortunately determined to strike for the South Australian stations, which he had been misled into believing much nearer to Cooper's Creek than was actually the case. He was driven back by want of water, and, too weak to make another attempt, was constrained to hang about Cooper's Creek, subsisting mainly on the food casually obtained from friendly natives, themselves scarcely able to subsist in the desert. Burke died of starvation on 28 June 1861; Wills [see WILLS, WILLIAM JOHN] about the same time; King, their only surviving companion, managed to exist with the natives until rescued on 21 Sept. by a relief expedition, commanded by Mr. Alfred Howitt, despatched in quest of the explorers, whose failure to return had been reported by Brahe. Another expedition, also commanded by Mr. Howitt, was sent to bring back the remains of the unfortunate travellers; and, after making several important discoveries, returned with them to Melbourne on 28 Dec.

1862. The public funeral took place on 21 Jan. following, and memorial statues, the work of Charles Summers, were erected in the principal street of Melbourne. Burke was a brave man, endowed with many fine qualities, but seems to have been somewhat deficient in temper, and hardly to have possessed the attainments requisite in the head of a scientific exploring expedition.

[Burke and Wills's Exploring Expedition, Melbourne, 1861; Wills's Exploration, London, 1863; Heaton's Australian Dictionary, London, 1879.] R. G.

BURKE, THOMAS (1710?-1776), historian of the Irish Dominicans, was born at Dublin about 1710. After having studied there he became a member of the Dominican order at Rome in 1726, and is stated to have attracted the special notice of Pope Benedict XIII. In 1731 he published at Rome, under the title of 'Promptuarium Morale,' a Latin and enlarged edition of a Spanish work on moral theology by Francisco Larraga. At the instance of the catholic clergy in Ireland, and with papal sanction, Burke compiled offices for the festivals of Irish saints. This work appeared at Dublin in duodecimo in 1751, under the title of 'Officia Propria Sanctorum Hiberniæ.' In 1752 Burke published at Dublin 'A Catechism, Moral and Controversial.' In the following year, while engaged upon a Latin work on dogmatic theology, the provincial chapter of the Irish Dominicans unexpectedly appointed him historiographer of their order for Ireland. Burke laboured with great industry on the history of his order. Owing to the destruction of documents of Roman catholics in Ireland, Burke was able to obtain but little historic material from the Dominicans there. He laid a copy of his work before the provincial synod at Dublin in 1757, by which it was referred to the authorities at Rome for examination. Burke published at Dublin, in 1758, 'Historical Collections out of several eminent Protestant Historians, and the strange confusions following in the reigns of Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth.' While the work, which Burke had compiled on the history of his order, was undergoing revision at Rome, he was, by papal brief dated 9 Jan. 1759, appointed to the vacant see of Ossory, and was consecrated at Drogheda in the following April. The results of Burke's labours as historiographer of the Dominican order in Ireland appeared in 1762 in a quarto volume, with the following title: 'Hibernia Dominicana: sive Historia Provinciæ Hiberniæ Ordinis Prædicatorum, ex antiquis manuscriptis, probatis auctoribus,

litteris originalibus nunquam antehac impressis, instrumentis authenticis, et archivis, aliisque invictæ fidei monumentis deprompta. . . . Per Patrem Thomam de Burgo, prælibati Ordinis alumnum, Sacræ Theologiæ Magistrum, et Protonotarium Apostolicum, necnon *Hiberniæ Dominicanæ* Historiographum, postea E[piscopum] O[ssoriensem]. Colonia Agrippinæ, ex typographia Metternichiana sub signo Gryphi, anno MDCCLXII.' It has been conjectured that the book was printed, under the supervision of the author, at Kilkenny. The work is divided into seventeen chapters. In these the author treats of the history of Ireland and its government, the introduction of the Dominican order, its convents there and on the continent, with catalogues of Dominican prelates, priors, writers, and eminent personages. The last chapter is devoted to an account of the then depressed state of the Irish catholics and of their sufferings under penal legislation from the time of Henry VIII. In an appendix is a succinct list of the religious establishments which had formerly existed in Ireland. At the end of the volume is a decree of 1761, from the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, in relation to ecclesiastical arrangements in Ireland. A new edition of the offices for Irish saints was in 1769 printed at Paris, with an intimation prefixed to it that the inaccuracies in the publication of 1751 on the same subject were to be ascribed to those to whom the preparation of the work had been entrusted by Burke. In 1772 Burke published an addition to his historical work, entitled 'Supplementum Hiberniæ Dominicanæ. . . . Per eundem auctorem, Patrem Thomam de Burgo, [Ordinis] P[rædicatorem], Ep[iscopu]m O[sso]rie[n]s[em].' The author, in a brief preface, mentions that the materials in the supplement were mainly the result of researches which he made during a visit to the continent in 1769. Among the most important of the contents of the supplement are extracts from archives of the Irish Franciscans, then preserved at Rome, and from the Rinuccini MSS., accounts of which by the writer of the present notice have recently been given in the reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. The supplement to the 'Hibernia Dominicana' closes with an instrument of the Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, dated at Rome 9 April 1772. Owing to the penal laws against Roman catholics in Ireland the political tendency of portions of 'Hibernia Dominicana' was regarded with apprehension by some of their prelates. In July 1775 a formal declaration, in relation to the book and its supplement, was signed by James Butler, Roman

catholic archbishop of Cashel, and six bishops. In this document they stated that the publications had occasioned general uneasiness and alarm in Ireland, and that they disapproved of sentiments contained in them, which tended to weaken allegiance to George III, and to disturb the public peace and tranquillity. The passages objected to were not indicated in the document, but they would appear to be those relative to the change of the royal succession in England, and the acts of James II, Prince James Francis Edward, and his sons, Charles Edward and Henry Stuart, cardinal of York. The leaves containing this portion of the work were excised from many copies of it. In September 1775 Burke issued a pastoral condemnatory of acts of the agrarian insurgents in Ireland styled 'Whiteboys.' Burke's death took place on 25 Sept. 1776. He was succeeded in the see of Ossory by John Thomas Troy, subsequently archbishop of Dublin. A copy of a portion of 'Hibernia Dominicana,' with annotations in the author's autograph, is preserved in the library of the Roman catholic college of Maynooth, Ireland.

[*Anthologia Hibernica*, 1793; Catalogue of Library of Richard Heber; *Hist. of Dublin*, 1854; Collections on Irish Church History, 1861; Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, 1876.] J. T. G.

**BURKE, THOMAS** (1749-1815), engraver, born in Dublin in 1749, was the pupil of John Dixon, the mezzotint engraver, but, like some other engravers of that period, abandoned mezzotint for the chalk method, which Francesco Bartolozzi had made so popular. He produced many excellent plates in both styles, chiefly from the works of Angelica Kauffmann. He died in London on 31 Dec. 1815. Among Burke's best scraped works may be mentioned the following portraits: Queen Charlotte, after Kauffmann; the Chevalier d'Eon, after Huquier; Thomas Dimsdale; John Henry Hampe, after Kauffmann; Richard, earl Howe, after Koster; and Frederick, lord North, after Dance; besides others in stipple, generally printed in brown or red colours, such as 'Telemachus at the Spartan Court,' after Kauffmann; 'The Battle of Agincourt,' after Mortimer; and the 'Nightmare,' after Fuseli.

[*Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists* (1878).]  
L. F.

**BURKE, THOMAS HENRY** (1829-1882), under-secretary of Ireland, born 29 May 1829, was second son of William Burke of Knocknagur, co. Galway, and Fanny Xaveria, only daughter of Thomas Tucker of Brook Lodge, Sussex, by his wife, Mary-

anne, sister of Nicholas, cardinal Wiseman. Burke's family was connected with that of Sir Ulick Burke of Glinsk, in the county of Galway, on whom a baronetcy was conferred by Charles I in 1628. Burke was appointed a supernumerary clerk in the office of the chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, Dublin Castle, in May 1847, and was placed on the permanent staff there in July 1849. In April 1851 he was appointed private secretary to Sir Thomas Redington, then under-secretary for Ireland. Burke subsequently served in the various departments of the chief secretary's office, including the Irish office, London. He acted as private secretary to the chief secretaries Edward Cardwell, Sir Robert Peel, and Chichester P. Fortescue, now (1886) Lord Carlingford. In May 1869 Burke was appointed under-secretary for Ireland, and filled that post till his death. On 6 May 1882 Lord Frederick Cavendish [q. v.] arrived in Dublin, and was formally installed as the chief secretary, in succession to Mr. W. E. Forster [q. v.], who had held the office since 1880. Early in the same evening, Lord Cavendish and Burke, while walking in Phoenix Park, near Dublin, were assassinated by the members of a secret society calling themselves the 'Invincibles.' Burke was interred in Glasnevin cemetery, and the viceroy, Earl Spencer, erected a memorial window to him in the Dominican Church, Dublin. Burke's services as an official were, on his death, publicly commended by members of the houses of Lords and Commons, and a pension was conferred by the government on his sister. [For an account of the subsequent detection of the murderers see CAREY, JAMES.]

[*Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, 1883; *Annual Register*, 1883; *Dublin journals*, 1882-3; *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*.] J. T. G.

**BURKE, THOMAS NICHOLAS** (1830-1883), Dominican friar, was born in the town of Galway in Ireland on 8 Sept. 1830. His father was a poor baker. At the age of seventeen he went to Rome and thence to Perugia, where he entered the order of St. Dominic, commencing his novitiate and the study of philosophy. From Perugia he was again sent to Rome, where he studied theology at the college of the Minerva and Santa Sabina. After having thus spent five years in Italy, he was sent by the superior of his order to England, where he was ordained priest in 1853. He spent four years on the English mission in Gloucestershire, and was then sent to Ireland to found a novitiate and house of studies for his order at Tallaght, near Dublin. This he successfully accom-

plished, and for the next seven years he was busily employed in the care of the new establishment, and in preaching missions in different parts of Ireland. He was next sent to Rome as prior of the monastery of Irish Dominicans at San Clemente. After the death of Cardinal Wiseman, Burke succeeded Dr. Manning as preacher of the Lenten sermons in English in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo. He continued to preach these sermons for five years. After his return to Ireland he was attached to St. Saviour's Dominican church in Dublin. In 1872 he visited the United States, having been appointed visitor to the houses of the Dominican community on the American continent. He delivered sermons and lectures in all parts of the Union, and acquired extraordinary popularity as an orator. The sum collected for American charities by his sermons reached 100,000*l*. His lectures in answer to Mr. J. A. Froude, the historian, on the relations between England and Ireland, caused much excitement and produced an animated controversy. The first of these lectures was delivered on 12 Nov. 1872, in the Academy of Music, New York. On leaving the United States he returned to the convent at Tallaght, where he died on 2 July 1883.

His works are: 1. 'English Misrule in Ireland,' a course of lectures in reply to Mr. Froude, New York, 1873, 12mo. 2. 'Ireland's Case stated, in reply to Mr. Froude,' New York, 1873. 3. 'Lectures and Sermons,' New York, 1873. 4. 'Lectures on Faith and Fatherland,' 1874. 5. 'St. Ignatius and the Jesuits,' a sermon, London, 1880, 8vo.

[Life by W. J. Fitzpatrick, F.S.A., 2 vols. London, 1885; Tablet, 7 July 1883; Men of the Time (1884), 191; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.] T. C.

**BURKE, WILLIAM** (d. 1798), supposed author of 'Junius's Letters,' the son of John and the kinsman of Edmund Burke [q. v.], was born in London, admitted into Westminster 1743, elected to Christ Church, Oxford, 1747, contributed a copy of elegiacs to the university collection on the death of the Prince of Wales in 1751, and took the degree of B.O.L. in 1755 (WELCH). [Some notices of William Burke will be found under EDMUND BURKE.] The two kinsmen were travelling companions in 1752, worked together on the 'Account of the European Settlements in America,' which seems to have been written by W. Burke, and joined in befriending Emin the Armenian. Burke came into notice in 1759, as the author of 'Remarks

on the Letter to Two Great Men,' an answer to Lord Bath's 'Letter to Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle' on the prospect of peace. In this pamphlet, and in another entitled 'An Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation,' 1761, Burke, who held the office of secretary to Guadaloupe in 1762, strongly advocated our retention of the island. In 1763 he appears as the friend of Lord Verney, and a confidential mediator between him and George Grenville (*Grenville Papers*, ii. 49). He was under-secretary to General Conway, the secretary of state for the southern department, and the following year was moved into the northern department. On the downfall of the Rockingham ministry Burke resigned his office, which brought him 1,000*l*. a year. 'To encourage me,' Edmund Burke wrote, 'he gave his own interests the first stab.' By this time it is evident that he must have embarked in speculation. He and Edmund Burke had already befriended James Barry and sent him to Italy, and in a letter written to Barry in 1766 Burke says that their affairs—evidently speaking of his kinsmen Edmund and Richard—were so 'well arranged' that they were not uneasy at the prospect of a change in the ministry which would entail loss of place (BARRY, *Works*, i. 77). To his friendship with Lord Verney, who seems to have been a partner in his speculations, Burke owed his return to parliament as member for Great Bedwin, Wiltshire, on 16 June 1766; in March 1768 R. Brudenell was returned in his place, but, as the latter chose another constituency, Burke regained his seat in the following May, and held it until the dissolution in September 1774 (*Members of Parliament*, ii. 132, 144). Burke did not take a prominent part in the debates of the house. 'As an orator,' H. Walpole says, 'he had neither manner nor talents, and yet wanted little of his cousin's presumption' (*Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, ii. 274). He was an active pushing man, well acquainted with the leaders of the whig party, though generally disliked by them. He lived much with his cousin Edmund, first in Queen Anne Street and afterwards at Gregories, and a strong attachment existed between them. For a time Burke's stockjobbing transactions prospered. In 1769, however, the crash came, and he was ruined (DILKE, *Papers of a Critic*, ii. 334-42). With Dr. Markham, his old schoolmaster, he had long been on terms of friendship. About the time of his disaster, however, their intimacy ceased, and in 1771 Markham, then bishop of Chester, in a letter addressed to Edmund Burke, accused him of saying something in, as it seems, a private

conversation with himself which rendered him liable to 'a criminal prosecution in a matter of state.' This accusation was part of an attack made by the bishop on Edmund Burke, who in the draft of his reply speaks warmly of his kinsman's character, and of the kindness he had shown him in introducing him to Lord Rockingham, in the resignation of his office, and on other occasions (*Works*, i. 158). Burke's relationship to his cousin gained him admission to the club in Gerrard Street, and accordingly he appears in Goldsmith's 'Retaliation.' Among the various stories told about the occasion of this poem, it is said that the notices Goldsmith first wrote of the Burkes were so severe, that Hugh Boyd [q.v.] persuaded the poet to alter them and entirely rewrite the character of William, for he was sure that if the Burkes saw what was originally written of them the peace of the club would be disturbed (BOYD, *Miscellaneous Works*, i. 188).

Having lost his seat for Great Bedwin, Burke, in the summer of 1774, contested Haslemere, Surrey, was defeated, and petitioned unsuccessfully, the election being confirmed in May 1775 (BEATSON, *Political Register*, ii. 255). Broken in fortune and harassed by judgments against him for debt, Burke vainly sought a place in the East India Company's service. The feeling against him was strong, and he found no friends. In 1777 he managed to get to Madras by carrying despatches for Lord Pigot, from whom he hoped to obtain employment. On his arrival at Madras he found Lord Pigot dead. He brought out with him letters of recommendation from Edmund and John Burke to Philip Francis, asking Francis to do something for him in case he should go to Bengal. These letters he sent to Francis, who wrote kindly to him, inviting him to his house, but telling him at the same time that he could do little to help him (*Memoirs of Sir P. Francis*, ii. 101). He did not accept Francis's invitation, for having been fortunate enough to obtain the appointment of agent to the Rajah of Tanjore he at once returned to England. In 1779 he went back to India as deputy paymaster of the king's troops, and in 1782 was made commissary-general of the forces in the East Indies. Lord Cornwallis considered that the sending of him out was 'an unnecessary job,' and said in a letter to Lord Rawdon, dated 1789, that he had done him what service he could, but that with Burke service meant putting large sums of money into his pocket, and that if he had done that he would have deserved to be impeached, giving two examples of the 'extraordinary' proposals which Burke made for his own

advantage, and to which he refused to consent (*Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 450-2, ii. 172). These notices disprove the statement of the editors of the correspondence of Edmund Burke, that Burke was 'much beloved' by the earl (BURKE, *Works*, i. 347). After his return to England in 1793 he lived chiefly, if not wholly, at Beaconsfield, and notices of the shattered state of his health occur in Edmund Burke's letters (*ib.* ii. 244, 312, 315). He survived his kinsman, and died in 1798. Burke is said by Horace Walpole to have written with ingenuity and sharpness, and to have done good service to his party with his pen. An attempt has been made to show that he was or may have been the author of 'Junius's Letters.' Besides the share he had in the 'European Settlements in America,' and the pamphlets on the peace negotiations, from 1764 onwards he appears occasionally to have written letters on political matters, chiefly under the signature of 'Valens,' in the 'London Evening Post' and other papers. Some of these letters are said to have been written in conjunction with Edmund Burke (ALMON, *Anecdotes*, i. 22, ii. 347, where some of these letters are printed). He also translated the address of M. Brissot to his constituents in 1794. This translation he submitted to Edmund Burke, who freely condemned it, amended it, and wrote a preface to it. Several of Burke's letters are contained in the correspondence of Edmund Burke, and in Barry's works.

[Welch's Alumni Westmon. (1852); Mac-knight's Life of Edmund Burke; Dilke's Papers of a Critic; Grenville Papers, ed. Smith; Cornwallis Correspondence, ed. Ross; Parkes's Memoirs of Sir P. Francis, ed. Merivale; Works of James Barry, 1809; Almon's Anecdotes; Boyd's Miscellaneous Works; Walpole's Memoirs of the Reign of George III, ed. Sir D. Le Marchant; Return of Members of Parliament; Beatson's Political Register; J. C. Symons's William Burke, the author of Junius.] W. H.

BURKE, WILLIAM (1792-1829), criminal, was born in the parish of Orrery, in the county of Cork, in 1792, and seems to have been a vagabond from his birth. He went to Scotland in 1818 as a labourer, and worked on the Union canal at Mediston. Little more is known of him until 1827, when he appears in Log's lodging-house, Tanner's Close, Edinburgh, an establishment kept by William Hare. An old pensioner, named Donald, dying in this house on 29 Nov. in that year, Burke and Hare, instead of having the body buried, sold it for 7*l.* 10*s.* to Dr. Robert Knox [q.v.], surgeon, for purposes of dissection. So large a sum so easily procured proved sadly ominous. Hare, the more

evil of the two women, suggested a further stroke of business, namely, to inveigle unknown and obscure wayfarers into the lodging-house and then kill them. During the following months they, assisted by their wives, murdered at least fifteen persons, their method of proceeding being to invite the victims into various houses, make them drunk, and then suffocate them in such a manner that no signs of violence appeared on the bodies. The corpses of all these were sold to Dr. Knox's school of anatomy for prices averaging from 8*l.* to 14*l.* At last, on 31 Oct. 1823, they suffocated, in Burke's house, a poor old woman, called Margery Campbell or Docherty, and disposed of the body in the usual manner; but the suspicions of the neighbours having been aroused, the police were communicated with, and the corpse was found in a box in a cellar in Dr. Knox's house. Burke was tried for the murder in the High Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh on 24 Dec. 1828, when William Hare, the partner in his crimes, being admitted king's evidence, his guilt was clearly proved, and he was hanged on 28 Jan. 1829 amid the execrations of a vast assemblage, who cried out 'Burke him!' 'Burke him!'

William Hare was a native of Londonderry, and, going to Scotland, also worked on the Union canal; he afterwards became a travelling huckster, and then, as before mentioned, a keeper of a lodging-house. Immediately after the trial of Burke an attempt was made to indict Hare for the murder of one of his victims, James Wilson, known as Daft Jamie, who had been put out of the way in the previous October. The law officers, however, decided that he could not legally be put on his trial, and on 5 Feb. 1829 he was set at liberty from the Tolbooth, Edinburgh. It is believed that he then sought refuge in England, and as it is more than probable that he changed his name, it is not surprising that no record has been found of his decease.

[The Trial of William Burke (1829), portrait; Supplement to the Trial of W. Burke (1829); MacGregor's Hist. of Burke and Hare, with portraits (1834); Lonsdale's Life and Writings of Robert Knox (1870), pp. 73-115; Cassell's Old and New Edinburgh, by James Grant (1882), ii. 226-30.] G. C. B.

**BURKHEAD, HENRY** (*f.* 1645), dramatist, a merchant of Bristol, was author of a tragedy, 'Cola's Fury, or Lirenda's Misery,' which was never acted, and probably was not written for the stage (BAKER). It was published at Kilkenny in 1646, on the cessation of arms granted by Lord Herbert, earl of Glamorgan, to whom it is effusively dedi-

cated. It is an attempt to dramatise the Irish troubles. Lirenda is an obvious anagram for Ireland. The plot is confused and the language bombastic. Yet the author was assured by one friend that if his play were published the 'fame of ne'er-enough-praised Shakespeare would decline,' and others praised his work in similar terms.

[Burkhead's Works; Baker's Biog. Dram.]  
R. C. B.

**BURKITT, WILLIAM** (1650-1703), divine and commentator, was born at Hitcham, Suffolk, on 25 July 1650. His father was the Rev. Michael, usually called Miles Burkitt (otherwise Birkhead), of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, who began his career as a zealous high-churchman, and ended his days in non-conformity. At the Restoration Miles Burkitt lost the rich rectory of Hitcham. Some time afterwards he was presented to the rectories of Irstead and Neatishead, Norfolk, but was ejected within three months by the Act of Uniformity (1662). He also lost the manor of Eleigh-Monks, Suffolk, belonging to the dean and chapter of Canterbury, which he had purchased from the commonwealth commissioners, and which cost him, with improvements, 2,500*l.* He continued to live at Eleigh-Monks, and ultimately prospered; when he died is unknown. 'Though,' he said, 'I have lost many scores of pounds by my nonconformity, yet, blessed be God, I never wanted.' His wife was a Sparrow, of Reede, Suffolk.

William Burkitt's position was that of an evangelical churchman. His early training was under Goffe, at Bildeston, Suffolk, and at the grammar schools of Stowmarket and Cambridge. He dates his religious conversion from an attack of small-pox while at the latter school. On 28 Jan. 1665 he was admitted a sizar at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, his tutor being William Gibbs. In 1666, when Cambridge was visited with the plague, he was one of the few students who remained in residence. He graduated B.A. in 1668, M.A. in 1672; but was never a fellow, as is sometimes stated. He left the university to become chaplain at Bildeston Hall, and after this was ordained by Bishop Reynolds at a very early age; for either in 1671, the year of his majority, or at the beginning of 1672, he was settled at Milden, Suffolk, first as curate in charge, afterwards as rector. In December 1692 he was preferred to the vicarage and lectureship of Dedham, Essex, where he ended his days. While at Milden he was intimate with William Gurnall, rector of the neighbouring parish of Lavenham, the author of 'The Christian in Compleat

Armour,' and in 1679 preached his funeral sermon. He preached also in 1691 a violent sermon at Lavenham against some baptists, who, under one Tredwell from London, were 'making proselytes by rebaptising them in a nasty horsepond.' Burkitt went to the barn in which the baptist meeting was held, and repeated his exhortation there. More commendable was his attitude towards the French protestant exiles. His generous efforts in their behalf, begun at midsummer 1687, and continued till 1692, resulted in the raising of 216*l.* 17*s.*, which he personally distributed to needy refugees in Suffolk and Essex. He exhibited also a zeal for foreign missions; 'by his great care, pains, and charges, he procured a pious minister to go and settle in Carolina.' Possibly this was one of the 'poor students' towards whose maintenance at Cambridge he liberally contributed. He was exceedingly charitable, and was diligent in his pastoral duties, preaching thrice a week (besides village services) in a plain style with a winning voice, visiting and catechising with assiduity, and, though greatly attached to the prayer-book, constantly using the liberty of extemporary prayer before sermon. His character was somewhat wanting in geniality. A malignant fever carried him off in a week's time. He died on Sunday, 24 Oct. 1703, leaving a widow, and having married thrice. His funeral sermon was preached by his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Parkhurst, M.A., vicar of Yoxford, Suffolk. He bequeathed his house and some land as a residence for the lecturer at Dedham.

He published: 1. 'A Sermon preached soon after the solemn Enterrment of Mr. William Gurnall,' 1680, 4to (from Heb. xiii. 7). 2. 'An Argumentative and Practical Discourse on Infant Baptism,' 1692, 8vo; reprinted 1722, 12mo (this was the substance of his Lavenham sermon, 1691; the preface gives a minute account of the circumstances. It was answered by Benjamin Keach, of the 'Scripture Metaphors,' 1681, in 'The Rector rectified and corrected; or Infant Baptism Unlawful,' 1692, 8vo). 3. 'The Poor Man's Help, and Young Man's Guide . . . unto which is added an earnest Exhortation . . .' 5th ed. 1701, 8vo; 6th ed. 1705, 8vo; another ed. 1715, 8vo; 32nd ed., with title, 'A Help and Guide to Christian Families,' &c., 1764, 8vo, has a supplement of forms of prayer and hymns, with separate title-page. 4. 'Family Instruction, a Catechism, explaining . . . the great and necessary Doctrines of Faith and Holiness' (Middleton). 5. 'Explanatory Notes, with Practical Observations on the four Evangelists,' 1700 fol. (Watt). 6. 'Expository Notes, with Practical Obser-

vations on the New Testament' (issued posthumously), 1724, fol. (portrait by White); other editions are 1729, 1734, 1739, 1752, 1753, 1760, 1772, 1779, all folio; 1814, 1819, 4to; abridged by Samuel Glasse, D.D., 1806, 4to, 2 vols.; another abridgment in one vol. 8vo (on this work Burkitt's reputation rests; its character is that of a compilation, the original matter being mainly the author's sermon notes; the work has sometimes been accused of heterodoxy. Doddridge says the 'sentiments vary in different parts of the work, as the authors from whom he took his materials were orthodox or not').

[Parkhurst's *Life of the Rev. W. Burkitt*, with a *Sermon on his Death*, 1704; *Calamy's Account*, 1713, p. 483; *Contin.* 1727, ii. 626; *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, 1714, ii. 209; *Memoirs of Rev. W. Burkitt*, Gloucester, n. d. (1720?); *Middleton's Biog. Evangelica*, 1786, iv. 110; *Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial*, 1803, iii. 8; *Lowndes's Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 1864, i. 316; *Browne's Hist. Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 1877, pp. 515, 517, 570, 592; extracts from *Pembroke College Registers.*] A. G.

**BURLEIGH, BARONS OF.** [See **BAUFOR**, **ROBERT**, second **BARON**, *d.* 1663; **BAUFOR**, **JOHN**, third **BARON**, *d.* 1688; **BAUFOR**, **ROBERT**, fifth **BARON**, *d.* 1757.]

**BURLEY, JOHN** (*d.* 1388), a Carmelite of Stamford, whom Leland mentions only in order to distinguish him from the better known Walter Burley. Pits, possibly confusing him with Walter, attributes to him commentaries on Porphyry, Aristotle, and Peter Lombard, and says that he opposed the division of his order in England into provinces, a division which was carried out. His name is not given in the 'Bibliotheca Carmelitana.'

[Leland, *De Script. Brit.* p. 355; Pits, *De Rebus Anglicis*, p. 428.] A. M.

**BURLEY** or **BURLEIGH, JOHN** (*d.* 1648), royalist captain, belonged, according to Clarendon, to a good family in the Isle of Wight. In a 'List of his Majesty's Navy Royal and Merchant Ships in 1642' (*Peacock, Army Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers*, p. 61) his name appears as captain of the Antelope. Clarendon states that being put out of his command when the fleet rebelled against the king he joined the army, in which he became a general of ordnance. At the end of the war he took up his residence in the Isle of Wight, and, unable to control his indignation when the king entered Newport a prisoner, he caused a drum to be beaten, to gather a force to rescue him from the castle. The attempt was so quixotic as scarcely to deserve any severer punishment than ridicule; but in such a serious light was it regarded by the parliament that a special commission of



oyer and terminer was sent to try him at Winchester, by whom he was found guilty of high treason and condemned to death. He was accordingly executed 10 Feb. 1647-8.

[Winstanley's *Loyall Martyrology*, pp. 12-13; Peacock's *Lists of the Roundheads and Cavaliers*, 61; Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, v. 381, vi. 198, x. 145.] T. F. H.

**BURLEY, SIR SIMON** (1336-1388), warrior and favourite, was born in 1336 (NICOLAS, *Serape and Grosvenor*, p. 206), of a Herefordshire family. His parentage is uncertain, but he appears to have been a younger brother rather than a son of the Sir John Burley who received the Garter at the accession of Richard II. Introduced at court by his relative Walter Burley [q. v.], he first served in the fleet which destroyed the Spanish corsairs in 1350. In 1355 he took part in Edward's abortive expedition from Calais, and in 1364 he appears in attendance on the Black Prince in Aquitaine. By him he was sent on the embassy to Pedro of Castille in 1366, and shared in his restoration and the victory of Najara in 1367 (FROISSART). On the war being renewed in 1369, he was attacked near Lusignan, when with a detached force, and made prisoner by the French, to the grief of the Black Prince, who had a high esteem for him (*ib.*). On the release of the Duchess of Bourbon he was exchanged (1370) and rejoined the Black Prince at Limoges. To him chiefly the prince bequeathed the education of his son Richard, on whose accession Burley at once obtained promotion and power. He came to London as the young king's envoy, and bore the sword before him on the occasion of his visiting the city (WALS. i. 330, 331). He was also made governor of Windsor Castle, and obtained grants of lands (*Rot. Vasc.* 1 Ric. II, m. 15, *Pat.* 2 Ric. II, p. 1, m. 42). He was made master of the king's falcons at 'the Mews,' constable of Guildford and Wigmore, and was given a residence in Thames Street, by Baynard's Castle (Stow, *Annals*). On 12 June 1380 (*Fædera*), the king being then fourteen, he was chosen as his tutor, and, being a skilful negotiator (FROISSART), as one of the commissioners to treat for his marriage, being then styled 'knight of the king's chamber' (*Fædera*). Six months later he was definitely appointed to negotiate for the hand of Anne of Bohemia (*ib.*). He went to her at Prague, and having obtained her consent (20 Feb. 1381), and concluded a treaty with her uncle, Wenceslaus of Brabant, returned successful to England, and was rewarded with the Garter 28 May 1381. These dates dispose of Stow's assertion (*Annals*, p. 284) that he was

guilty of encouraging the Wat Tyler rising (January 1381). He was then despatched afresh to escort Anne to England as under-chamberlain of the household, 'travelling with a great equipage' (FROISSART). He brought her from Brussels to Calais, whence they crossed in December (*Issue Roll*, Mich. 5, Ric. II, 21 Dec.) Froissart says that he had urged the Bohemian as against the Lancastrian match on Richard, and he thus became an ally of the queen. He was present at the reception of the Flemish envoys by Richard in 1382 (FROISSART), and on 24 Jan. 1383 he was appointed constable of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports. He took part in the Scottish campaign of 1385, at the head of twenty men-at-arms and thirty archers (*Archæologia*), and clung to Richard's cause when assailed in 1386. At the close of that year he was rewarded by being chosen as one of Richard's advisers in his struggle for absolute power. At the same time (30 Dec. 1386) he appeared as a witness in the Scrope and Grosvenor controversy. The Earl of Arundel acquiring popularity by a naval victory this year, Burley opposed him with special jealousy (WALS. ii. 156). At the approach of the reaction (November 1387) he was inclined to flee, but having been persuaded by De Vere to stand firm (FROISSART) was seized and sent to Nottingham Castle (KNIGHTON, 2705; *Issue Rolls*, 20 Dec. 1387), whence he was brought to London to be impeached by the commons, with three other knights (12 March 1388). The impeachment printed in 'Rot. Parl.' iii. 241-3, accuses him of sundry misuses of power, but the article on which he was convicted was the eighth, charging him with leading Richard in his youth to form a corrupt court. Froissart contends that malversation was the plea on which he was ruined; but this would seem to apply to previous complaints. He was accused of having raised his income from 20 marks to 3,000 in a few years (KNIGHTON, 2727), and was even suspected by the people of wishing to sell Dover to the French (WALS. ii. 174). Derby was anxious to save his life, but was overruled by Gloucester and Arundel (*ib.*), the latter of whom was bent on his death, and even insulted the queen when she pleaded on her knees for him (*Chronique*), as he was reminded by Richard in 1397. Gloucester also insisted 'if he wished to be king,' Burley must suffer (*Rot. Parl.* iii. 431). He was accordingly sentenced in parliament, 5 May 1388, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was commuted by the king, on the plea of his services, to beheading. He suffered the same day on Tower Hill (*ib.* iii. 243), Stow asserting that he was first led through the city,

his hands bound behind him (*Chron.* p. 204). His sentence was formally reversed 22 March 1399. The king and queen were enraged at his death, and Froissart grieved for him as a friend and as a wise and gentle knight. It is probable, from a list of his books, twenty-one in number, extracted from an inventory of his goods (8 Nov. 1387) 'at the Mews and Baynard's Castle,' and preserved in manuscript (*Add. MS.* 25459, p. 206), that he was a man of some culture. His taste for romances of chivalry accounts for his intimacy with Froissart, and suggests that his ideas were those of the later days of Edward III, and that he owed his ruin to the extravagant tastes of the school in which he had been reared. There is a curious description in the 'Issue Rolls' of his bed (among his forfeited chattels) as 'of green Tarteryn embroidered with ships and birds.'

[Rolls of Parliament; *Chronique de la Traison* (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Walsingham's *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series); Froissart's *Chronicle*; Knighton's *Chronicle*; Stow's *Annals*; Devon's *Issues of the Exchequer*; Beltz's *Memorials of the Garter*; Nicolas's *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*; Stow's *Chronicle*; Rymer's *Fœdera*; *Archæologia*, vol. xxii.; Stubbs's *Constitutional History*; *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. ix. 413; *Add. MSS.* (Brit. Mus.)] J. H. R.

**BURLEY, WALTER** (1275–1345?), commentator on Aristotle in the fourteenth century, was born in the year 1274 or 1275 (TODD, *Catalogue of Lambeth MSS.*, No. 143). It seems more probable that he was, as Bale states, a secular priest than a Franciscan, as the 'Bibliotheca Universalis Franciscana' and Bass Mullinger assert him to have been, or an Augustinian as Gandulphus reports on the authority of Burley's contemporary, Alphonso Vargas, archbishop of Seville. For Leland (*Collectanea*, iii. 54) gives his name among a list of the fellows of Merton in the days of Edward I; and there are reasons for believing him to have been a benefited priest in the later years of his life.

According to Holinshed, Walter Burley was a kinsman of Sir Simon Burley [q.v.], and hence was a member of the Herefordshire family of that name. He studied at Merton College, Oxford, whence he removed to Paris, where he had William of Ockham for a fellow-student and Duns Scotus for a teacher. Duns is generally supposed to have been in Paris from 1304 to 1307 (C. WERNER, *Die Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters*, Bd. i. 8, 9). Stow tells us, without giving any authority, that Burley also studied in Germany, where he seems to have been a protégé of the Archbishop

of Ulm, to whom in his old age, according to Gandulphus, he dedicated his shorter treatise on the 'Ethics' (cf. Stow, *Harl. MS.* 545, and HOLINSHED, iii. 414). It would seem from Stow's account that Burley was still abroad when his fame reached the ears of the young Princess Philippa of Hainault, who appointed him her almoner before coming to England in December 1327. In the early months of the same year (1327) we gather from Rymer that he was despatched on a special mission to the papal court for the purpose of pleading for the canonisation of Edward III's cousin, Thomas of Lancaster; and again in 1330, on which occasion he is styled 'Professor Sacre Pagine.' Wood makes him die in 1337 (*Hist. Oxon.* ii. 87), and this statement is repeated in a note to one of Burley's manuscripts in the British Museum (*Royal MS.* 12 B xix.) This, however, is probably only a false inference from the passage in the treatise on Aristotle referred to above (*Lambeth MS.* 143), and Tanner may be right in his conjecture that Burley survived till 1345. Holinshed tells us that he was appointed tutor to the Black Prince when the young Edward was of an age 'to learne his booke' (cf. *Harl. MS.* 545, ff. 128–9). While acting in this capacity, he adds, Burley introduced his little kinsman, Simon, though the prince's junior by some six years, to the notice of his young charge. These events cannot well have been anterior to 1342, and Walter may perhaps have owed his new post to the influence of Richard de Bury, at this time bishop of Durham (1333–45), who had himself been tutor to Edward III. Chambre assures us that Burley was one of this prelate's most intimate friends, a fact which renders it very probable that the Walter Burley whose name occurs as prebendary of Shalford in the diocese of Wells when Richard de Bury held this deanery (1332) was the Aristotelean commentator (LE NEVE, ii. 151, 199). In the household of the Bishop of Durham he must have made the acquaintance of Richard Fitz-Ralph, the future archbishop of Dublin, and Thomas Bradwardine, like himself a fellow of Merton and soon to be archbishop of Canterbury. Tanner identifies him with a Walter de Burle who in August 1341 became rector of Glemsford in exchange for Pighteslee in the diocese of Lincoln. Later (June 1342) Glemsford was resigned for Ashsted in the see of Winchester. Again, according to the same authority, still quoting from the episcopal registers (Norwich), a certain Walter de Burley appears in 1345 begging to be appointed archdeacon of Richmond, but is refused on the plea that the office has already been filled up. Whether this identification is right or not, Burley was certainly alive later than

1337, as he wrote his treatise on Aristotle's 'Politics' at the request of Richard Bentworth, bishop of London (1338-9), who was not consecrated till July 1338.

Burley is credited with having written 130 treatises on Aristotle alone, and great numbers of his manuscripts are still extant in various libraries at Oxford (Bodleian, Balliol, Oriel, New, Magdalen, &c.), Cambridge (Caius and Gonville, Peterhouse, &c.), and London (British Museum and Lambeth). His principal works are treatises on Aristotle's 'Ethics' (dedicated to Richard of Bury) and 'Politics'; on Aristotle's 'Topica' (Merton, 295); 'Problemata' (Magdalen, 146); 'Meteorology' (Ball. 93) and 'The Organon'; commentaries on Porphyry, Gilbert de la Porée, and many other works of Aristotle. Other treatises of some interest are 'Expositio super Averroem de substantia orbis,' and another 'De fluxu et refluxu maris Anglicani,' both of which are to be found in Oriel College library. The most interesting of Burley's writings is a small volume entitled 'De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum,' first published by Ulric Zell, probably at Cologne in 1467. This work, the first of its kind, consists of short lives, together with illustrative anecdotes and opinions of some 120 poets and philosophers ranging from Thales, Zoroaster, and Homer to Priscian and Seneca. Though full of errors, as for example where Burley confounds Livius Andronicus with Livy the historian, and Horatius Flaccus with Horatius Pulvillus, this work soon achieved an immense popularity, especially abroad. Graesse reckons up some dozen separate editions in the latter half of the fifteenth century alone. Others of the same and later date may be discovered by comparison with Gandulphus, Kaim, &c. It was translated into Italian in 1475 (*Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 17523) and issued in a German dress by Anthony Sorg at Nuremberg in 1490. A curious history is attached to this work. Despite the number of times it had been reprinted in the fifteenth century, Bernard Grossus reproduced it in 1603 at the instance of a certain lawyer Antonius a Sala, who had the impudence to claim the work as his own (LABBE, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, ed. 1682, p. 27).

Hain reckons up nearly twenty separate editions of Burley's philosophical treatises, all published before the close of the fifteenth century; including eight of the commentary on Porphyry, &c., printed chiefly at Venice; two of that on Aristotle's 'Logic'; five on the 'Physics'; one of the 'De Intentione et remissione formarum'; one of the 'Tractatus de materia et forma' (Oxford, 1500); two of the 'Ethics' (Venice), &c. Early in the

sixteenth century (1517-18), the two last-mentioned works were among the earliest books printed at Oxford (Wood, *Annals*, ed. Gutch, i. 625). Voss mentions among the writings of Burley a certain historical work, which may perhaps be the work to which Plot and Caius make reference in their disquisition on the origin of Oxford. But, in any case, it appears now to be lost.

Burley seems to have acquired an immense fame during his own lifetime. Even so far off as in Spain his contemporary Alphonso de Vargas, archbishop of Seville (*f.* 1345), quotes from the 'De Intentione.' Gandulphus reports that in his old age he dedicated a compendium of his larger work on the 'Ethics' to Richard, bishop of Ulm, a statement which goes far towards corroborating Holinshed's account of his residence in Suabia. He had friends and scholars in Paris to whom he dedicated his treatise on Aristotle's 'Physics' (COXE, *Catalogue of All Souls*, 86). One copy of Burley's 'Ethics,' still existing, belonged to a Suabian Jew at least as early as the fifteenth century; another was copied by a clerk in Lower Germany in 1424, and a third copy of a different commentary in 1453. Then came the day of his translation into Italian and German; and before the century closed he was cited by Pico della Mirandola in his famous nine hundred conclusions. At Oxford, a few years before the Reformation, his 'Ethics' and 'Tractatus de Materia' seem to have been text-books in the schools (Wood, *Annals*, ed. Gutch, i. 625); and, as such, are attacked by the royal injunction of 1535 which bids students substitute Aristotle for 'the frivolous questions of Scotus, Burleus, &c.' (MULLINGER).

As a philosopher Burley is said to have been in later years a strong opponent of Duns Scotus, whose pupil he had been in earlier days. On the other hand, he is said to have been an antagonist of his once fellow-pupil, William of Ockham (cf. BALE, 411, with MULLINGER, *History of Cambridge*, 197). M. Renan reckons him as an Averroist, and notices a tendency to supplant Aristotle by the Arabian commentator; while M. Hauréau quotes rival authorities for regarding him as a realist or a nominalist, but at the same time distinctly states that on certain points he is a 'dogmatical realist.' These conflicting opinions may be due to the fact that Burley did not always hold the same views, as may perhaps be inferred from the common report that he was once the pupil, and later the opponent, of Duns Scotus. M. Hauréau adds that 'his style is particularly clear. Never proposing anything new, he has no need to make long discourses, and his

statements are generally very precise. For a schoolman he is a good writer.'

[Leland's Catalogue, 354, Collectanea, iii. 54; Bale's Catalogus Script. Brit. 411; Pits's Relationes, 435; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 141; Gandulphus de Scriptoribus Augustinianis, 141-4; Holinshed's Chronicles, iii. 414; Rymer's Fœdera, iv. 269, 422; Voss, De Historicis Latinis, 515; Bibliotheca Universalis Franciscana; Wharton's Appendix to Cave's Script. Eccles. ii. 35; Coxe's Catalogue of Oxford College MSS.; Coxe's Catalogue of Bodleian MSS. iii. 231, 826; De Chambre's Cont. Hist. Dunelm. ap. Wharton's Anglia Sacra, i. 766; Caius, De Antiquitatibus Cantabrig. 191, 192; Wood's History and Antiquities, 1676, ii. 87; Wood's Colleges and Halls, ed. Gutch, i. 514, 626, &c.; Labbe's Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum, Leipzig, 1682, p. 27; Le Neve's Fasti, ed. Hardy; Hain's Repert. Bibliog. i. 574-8; Panzer's Ann. Typog. v. 119, x. 204-5; Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual, pt. i. 317; Dibdin's Bibliotheca Spenceriana, iii. 229-32; Graesse's Trésor des Livres Rares, i. For a sketch of Burley's philosophical opinions the following works may be consulted:—Renan's Averroes, 3rd ed. 320; Haureau's Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique, pt. ii. vol. ii. pp. 443-4; Tennemann's Geschichte der Philosophie, viii. 906-8; Brucker, iii. 856; Rixner's Handbuch der Geschichte der Philosophie, ii. 147-9; Tiedemann's Geschichte der spekulativen Philosophie, v. 215-27; Albert Stoeckl's Geschichte der Philosophie der Mittelalters, ii. 1041-4; Prandtl, iii. 297-306.]

T. A. A.

**BURLEY, WILLIAM** (*A.* 1436), speaker of the House of Commons, was the son of John Burley of Bromcroft Castle, high sheriff of Salop in 1409. Sir Simon Burley [*q. v.*], who was beheaded on 5 May 1388, but whose attainder was reversed in the following year, was his great-great-uncle. In 1417 William Burley was first elected a knight of the shire for Salop. In the returns of the next twenty-four parliaments his name is to be found as one of the members of this county no less than eighteen times. The last parliament in which he was returned was that which was summoned to meet at Westminster on 9 July 1455. He was chosen speaker of the House of Commons on 19 March 1436, in the place of Sir John Tyrrel, kt., who was compelled by illness to retire from the chair. In the following parliament William Tresham was elected speaker; however, on 26 Feb. 1444 Burley was again voted to the chair, and continued to preside over the house until the dissolution of that parliament.

Little is known either of his domestic or political life. In 1426 he executed the office of sheriff of Salop. He died without male issue, leaving two daughters and coheirresses, the eldest of whom married, first, Sir Philip

Chetwynd of Ingestrie, and, secondly, Sir Thomas Lyttelton, the author of the 'Tenures.' From this last marriage the present Barons Lyttelton and Hatherton are descended. The youngest daughter, Elizabeth, married Sir Thomas Trussell of Billesley, Warwickshire.

[Manning's Lives of the Speakers (1851), pp. 86-91; Rot. Parl. iv. 502, v. 67; Parliamentary Papers, 1878, lxii. (pt. i.) 289-351; Notes and Queries, 4th ser. ix. 464.] G. F. R. B.

**BURLINGTON, EARLS OF.** [See **BOYLE, RICHARD**, first **EARL**, 1612-1697; **BOYLE, RICHARD**, third **EARL**, 1695-1753.]

**BURLOWE, HENRY BEHNES.** [See **BEHNES**.]

**BURLY, CAPTAIN JOHN.** [See **BURLEY**.]

**BURMAN, THOMAS** (*d.* 1674), sculptor, whose works were devoid of merit, is only remembered as the master of John Bushnell [*q. v.*] He died on 17 March 1673-4, and was buried at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. In Henry Beale's notebook an entry occurs on 18 May 1672 of the payment of 45*l.* to Burman for a monument set up for Beale's father and mother at Walton in Buckinghamshire.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists (1878).] L. F.

**BURN, EDWARD** (1762-1837), polemical writer, born on 29 Nov. 1762, was educated for the ministry at the Countess of Huntingdon's college at Trevecca, and, after taking orders and obtaining a Birmingham curacy, he entered at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and graduated B.A. on 20 Feb. 1790, M.A. on 22 June 1791. In 1786 he became curate and lecturer at St. Mary's Chapel, Birmingham, and was 'justly celebrated for extemporary oratory.' He retained this position till his death. In 1830 he is mentioned as minister of St. James's Chapel, Ashted, Birmingham, and at the time of his death he held, with St. Mary's, the rectory of Smethcott, Salop. His first appearance as an author was in opposition to Dr. Priestley, with whom he was personally acquainted (see curious anecdote in **GREENWOOD**), but their controversy, which took the form of letters to each other, dissolved the friendship. The initiative was with Burn, who received the thanks of Beilby Porteus, bishop of London. Burn's later judgment (1820) was 'that the doctor handled him much too roughly.' This applies particularly to their subsequent encounter in reference to the Birmingham riots of 14 July 1791. Priestley's 'Appeal to the Public,' 1792, though amply provoked by what had occurred, was not quite in the strain of his famous sermon on the 'Duty of Forgiveness of Injuries,'

1791. Burn, as he grew older, became a liberal in politics, and was willing to act with unitarians on the local committee of the Bible Society. He was one of the founders of the Birmingham Association of the Church Missionary Society, and its first secretary. It is greatly to his honour that in October 1825 he went out of his way to express regret (at the Birmingham low bailiffs' annual dinner) for his asperity against Priestley. Burn died at Birmingham 20 May 1837, and was followed to the grave by ministers of all persuasions. He married and left issue. He published: 1. 'The Fact; or instance of demoniacal possession improved,' 1788, 8vo. 2. 'Letters to Dr. Priestley on the Infallibility of the Apostolical Testimony concerning the Person of Christ,' 1790, 8vo, two editions, same year (replied to by Priestley in 'Letters to the Rev. E. Burn,' 1790, 8vo). 3. 'Letters to Dr. Priestley, in Vindication, &c.,' 1790, 8vo (replied to by Priestley in 'Familiar Letters, addressed to the Inhabitants of Birmingham,' 1790, 8vo, letter xviii.). 4. 'A Reply to the Rev. Dr. Priestley's Appeal to the Public on the subject of the Riots at Birmingham,' 1792, 8vo (replied to by John Edwards, Priestley's colleague, in 'Letters to the British Nation,' part iv. [1792], 8vo, and by Priestley in 'Appeal,' part ii., 1792, 8vo). 5. 'Pastoral Hints, or the Importance of a Religious Education,' 1801, 8vo. 6. 'Serious Hints, &c., to the Clergy at this momentous crisis,' Birmingham, 1798, 8vo (sermon on Is. i. 9, before the university of Oxford, 4 Feb. 1798); and other sermons and tracts, including a mission sermon in London, 1806.

[Anything; or, From Anywhere: otherwise Some Account of the Life of the Rev. Secretary Turnabout, the great high priest, Birm. [1792], a scurrilous piece, to which there is a Reply, 1794; Concise Hist. of Birmingham, 5th edition (1817?), p. 54; Birmingham Journal, 29 Oct. 1825; Hist. and Description of Birmingham, 1830, p. 130; Rutt's Life of Priestley, 1832, ii. 58; Chr. Reformer, 1837, p. 581, 1847, pp. 170 seq.; Miscellaneous Writings of F. W. P. Greenwood, D.D., Boston, U.S., 1846, 8vo, pp. 44 seq. (Journal kept in England in 1820-1); Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, 1851; memorial tablet at St. Mary's, Birmingham; information from Rev. J. S. Owen, Birmingham.] A. G.

BURN, JOHN (1744?-1802), lawyer, the son of Richard Burn, LL.D. [q. v.], author of the 'Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer,' was born about 1744 at Orton in Westmoreland, where his father was rector. Though bred to the law, he did not practise, but his legal knowledge stood him in good stead in his capacity of magistrate for the counties of

Westmoreland and Cumberland. The duties of this position he is said to have fulfilled with great intelligence and activity. He published no independent work of his own, but devoted himself to editing and continuing some of his father's legal writings. In 1792 he issued his continuation of Richard Burn's 'New Law Dictionary.' The 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th editions (1788-1800) of the 'Justice of the Peace' were edited and continued by him; and to the 17th (1793) he added an appendix, containing an act respecting aliens, other acts having regard to excise, to militia, to the maintenance of the families of ballotted men, to the appointment of guardians of the poor, and to traitorous correspondence with the enemy during the war with France.

Burn died at Orton Hall in Westmoreland, 20 Jan. 1802, aged 58.

[Beauties of England and Wales, xv. pt. ii.; European Magazine, xli. 238; Brit. Mus. Cat.] A. M.-L.

BURN, RICHARD, D.C.L. (1709-1785), legal writer and topographer, was born at Winton in Westmoreland in 1709, and educated at Queen's College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1734. In 1736 he was elected, presented, and instituted to the vicarage of Orton in Westmoreland. He was a justice of the peace for the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland, and he was appointed by Bishop Lyttelton, in 1765, chancellor of the diocese of Carlisle. He died at Orton on 12 Nov. 1785. He was succeeded in the chancellorship of Carlisle by his friend Paley.

His works are: 1. 'The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer, upon a plan entirely new, and comprehending all the law to the present time,' 2 vols., London, 1755, 8vo. The twenty-ninth edition, 6 vols., London, 1845, 8vo, greatly enlarged, was edited by T. Chitty, with the exception of the title 'Poor,' for which Commissioner Bere was responsible. From two thin octavos this work has increased, under the hands of various editors, to 'six huge closely printed volumes, each containing about 1,200 pages.' It is the most useful book ever published on the law relating to justices of the peace. 2. 'A Digest of the Militia Laws,' London, 1760, 8vo. 3. 'Ecclesiastical Law,' 2 vols., London, 1760, 4to. The ninth edition, with considerable additions by R. Phillimore, is in 4 vols., London, 1842, 8vo. Burn, by his diligent and accurate research, and by great judgment in the selection and use of his materials, laid the foundation of a work which subsequent editors have reared to a

complete treatise on ecclesiastical law. 4. 'A History of the Poor Laws,' London, 1764, 8vo. 5. 'Sermons on Practical Subjects; extracted chiefly from the works of divines of the last century,' 4 vols., London, 1774, 8vo. 6. 'Observations on the Bill intended to be offered to Parliament for the better Relief and Employment of the Poor,' London, 1776, 8vo. 7. 'The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland,' 2 vols., London, 1777, 4to. Written in conjunction with Joseph Nicolson, nephew of Dr. William Nicolson, bishop of Carlisle, who had left large manuscript collections for the history of the two counties. 8. 'A New Law Dictionary,' 2 vols., London, 1792. A posthumous work of little value, edited, with a continuation, by the author's son, John Burn [q. v.] The author's portrait is prefixed.

Burn also brought out the ninth, tenth, and eleventh editions of Sir William Blackstone's 'Commentaries on the Laws of England.'

[Addit. MSS. 28104, f. 43, 28167, f. 56; Atkinson's Worthies of Westmoreland, ii. 119-32; Bridgman's Legal Bibliography, 42; Bromley's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, 358; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Clarke's Bibl. Legum Angliæ, 69, 117, 274; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, 1611; Gent. Mag. lv. (ii.) 922; Gough's British Topography, i. 279, ii. 312; Jefferson's Hist. of Carlisle, 417-21; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), iii. 251; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 317, 318; Marvin's Legal Bibliography, 163; Nichols's Illustr. of Lit. iii. 310, iv. 568, 586-8, 666, v. 266, 267; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 113, vi. 441, viii. 236, 237, 696, 705, 734, 740; Nicolson and Burn's Westmoreland and Cumberland, i. 484; Cat. of Oxford Graduates (1851), 101.] T. C.

**BURN, WILLIAM** (1789-1870), architect, the son of Robert Burn, a successful builder in Edinburgh, and designer of the Nelson monument on the Calton Hill there, was born in Edinburgh, 20 Dec. 1789. After an elementary training from his father, he entered in 1808 the office of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Smirke, then at the height of his fame, and sharing with Sir John Soane the best architectural position and practice in London. Smirke's practice was chiefly in the classical style, and young Burn was educated in the severe traditions of the period, along with (among others who afterwards became known) Lewis Vulliamy and C. R. Cockerell, afterwards professor of architecture in the Royal Academy. On his return to Edinburgh after a few years' experience in Mr. Smirke's office, he began business for himself, and almost at the outset met

with signal success. In 1816 he was second to Mr. Playfair in a competitive design for additions to the buildings of Edinburgh University, originally designed by the celebrated Robert Adam [q. v.], and in the same year erected the custom house at Greenock, and the church of St. John, at the west end of Princes Street, Edinburgh. From this time his career was one of uninterrupted professional success. He divided with Playfair the best architectural works of the time in Scotland, and while the latter probably did more public and monumental work, Burn undoubtedly erected more and larger private and domestic buildings than any individual architect of his time. Most of the Scottish and a large number of the English aristocracy were his clients, and in 1844 he found it necessary to remove to London, leaving his Edinburgh business in charge of David Bryce [q. v.], who had become his partner a short time before. The partnership subsisted for about six years, after which Burn ceased practice as an Edinburgh architect. In London his success continued unbroken. His strength undoubtedly lay in domestic architecture, particularly in the internal arrangement of houses, and mansions of his design are to be found in almost every county in the United Kingdom. Among the chief of these are: In Scotland—Riccarton, for Sir W. Gibson-Craig; Niddrie, for Colonel Wauchope; Tynninghame, for the Earl of Haddington; Ardgowan, for Sir Michael Shaw Stewart; Buchanan House, for the Duke of Montrose; Bowhill, for the Duke of Buccleuch; and Falkland House, for Mr. Tyndall Bruce. In England—Revesby Abbey and Stoke Rockford in Lincolnshire, Lynford Hall in Norfolk, Fonthill for the Marquis of Westminster, Sandon Hall for the Earl of Harrowby, Knowsley for the Earl of Derby, and Montagu House, Whitehall, for the Duke of Buccleuch. In Ireland—Dartrey in county Monaghan for the Earl of Dartrey, and Castlewellan in county Down for Earl Annesley. His best-known public works are St. John's Church, the New Club, the Melville Monument, John Watson's Hospital, the Music Hall, and alterations in St. Giles', all in Edinburgh. For the last he has been much and severely criticised. But while the somewhat commonplace building which he substituted for the old picturesque exterior of the church is certainly to be regretted, his work, such as it is, was not behind the ideas of Gothic architecture then prevailing. He was also consulting government architect for Scotland, and in 1856 was one of the three judges appointed by the government to decide a competition

among the foremost London architects for a design for the foreign and war offices, the other two being Professor Cockerell and Mr. Fergusson, author of the well-known 'History of Architecture.' To his conduct in that capacity an appreciative tribute is paid by Sir Gilbert Scott in his 'Life.' Burn's personal character is thus described by his friend Professor Donaldson: 'He was frank and plain-spoken, occasionally even to roughness: no flatterer, prudent in counsel, and firm in his opinion when once formed. He was a man of the highest honour, integrity, and independence.' Habitually reticent and desirous of avoiding criticism, to which he was sensitive, he has been wrongly accused of selfishness and jealousy. He was always ready to aid less successful professional brethren. He died at his residence, 6 Stratton Street, Piccadilly, on 15 Feb. 1870, and was buried on 19 Feb. in Kensal Green cemetery.

[Builder, 1870 and 1882.]

G. W. B.

**BURNABY, ANDREW** (1734?-1812), divine and traveller, was the eldest son of the Rev. Andrew Burnaby of Brampton Manor House, Huntingdonshire, by Hannah, daughter of George Beaumont of Dorton, Yorkshire. His father was vicar of St. Margaret's, Leicester, rector of Asfordby (where his eldest son was born), and a prebendary of Lincoln (16 Sept. 1737). Andrew was admitted into Westminster School in 1748, at the age of fourteen, and proceeded thence to Queens' College, Cambridge, where he took the degrees of B.A. (1754) and M.A. (1757). In 1759 and 1760 Burnaby made an extended tour 'through the middle settlements of North America,' and afterwards (1775) published an account of his travels, with 'Observations on the State of the Colonies,' which reached a second edition within a year of its first publication, and was reissued a third time in a much enlarged form in 1798. Burnaby's work indicates close observation, but he omits all reference to current politics. About 1762 Burnaby became chaplain to the British factory at Leghorn, and in the absence of Sir John Dick, the English consul, from 1764 discharged the functions of the consulate, with the title of proconsul. He resigned the post about 1767. During the five years of his sojourn in Italy he explored all parts of the country, and in 1766 travelled in Corsica, and made the acquaintance of Paoli. He published in a very limited edition, dated 1804, an account of the tour, together with the letters that Paoli addressed to him between 1769 and 1802. In 1769, soon after his return from Leghorn, Burnaby was nominated to the vicarage of Greenwich,

and in 1786 he was presented to the archdeaconry of Leicester, in the Lincoln diocese. He succeeded to large paternal estates in Huntingdonshire on his father's death, about 1767; but Baggrave Hall, Leicestershire, the inheritance of his wife Anna, daughter of John Edwyn, whom he married 20 Feb. 1770, was his favourite place of residence. He died at Blackheath 9 March 1812, and his wife died ten days later. Arthur Collins describes him as 'a person of address and affable behaviour' (NICHOLS, *Lit. Anecd.* viii. 394). He had four sons and one daughter. The third son of his heir, Edwyn Andrew Burnaby, was the father of Frederick Gustavus Burnaby [q.v.] Burnaby was the author of many published sermons and charges. A collective edition was issued in 1805.

[Burke's Landed Gentry, s.v. 'Burnaby of Baggrave Hall;' Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* ix. 678-80; Gent. Mag., 1812, pt. i. 301-2; Welch's Alumni Westmonast. p. 348.] S. L.

**BURNABY, CHARLES** (?) (*n.* 1700-1703), is the author of four comedies. The dedications to the printed editions of two of his plays are to the Duke of Ormonde and Lord Lorne, with whom he appears to have been on terms of some intimacy, and his prefaces show him to have had a fair education and to have been a man about town. He is first mentioned as the author of three plays, and as a 'gentleman of the Inner Temple,' and of 'a university education,' by Giles Jacob in the 'Poetical Register' (1723). This information, with the addition of a fourth play, is given in the list of dramatic poets affixed to Whincop's 'Scanderbeg.' The name of Charles Burnaby is to be found at neither university and at neither Temple. In the 'Athenæ Oxonienses' (ed. Bliss), iv. 482, mention is made of a William Burnaby, son of William Burnaby, who was born in London, became a commoner of Merton College, Oxford, in the beginning of 1691, spent two years there, and went to the Middle Temple. With another writer, unnamed, he is responsible for the first translation of the 'Satyricon,' &c., of Petronius Arbiter, published in London, 1694, sm. 8vo, the year following the appearance in Rotterdam of the 'Satyricon' completed from the fictitious manuscript of Belgrade. As none of the plays attributed to Burnaby bears any name of author, it seems possible that they are the work of William Burnaby rather than of Charles. The plays assigned to Burnaby, all of them comedies, are four: 1. 'The Reform'd Wife,' 4to, 1700. 2. 'The Ladies' Visiting Day,' 4to, 1701; reprinted with the addition of a new scene, 4to, 1708.

3. 'The Modish Husband,' 4to, 1702. 4. 'Love Betray'd, or the Agreeable Disappointment,' 4to, 1702. From the first named, which was played at Drury Lane in 1700 and was a failure, Colley Cibber borrowed a portion of the 'Ladies' Last Stake.' The 'Ladies' Visiting Day,' given at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1701, was withdrawn after one representation. It owes something to the 'Country Wife' of Wycherley, and was imitated by Cibber in the 'Double Gallant.' Concerning the 'Modish Husband,' produced at Drury Lane in 1702, Gildon, in his 'Comparison between Two Stages,' speaks contemptuously, expressing his satisfaction that 'the town has damned it' (p. 197). This, however, is a fairly amusing comedy, dealing, like other of the author's plays, with the intrigue of a married woman, but written with some smartness. 'Love Betray'd,' played at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1703, is to some extent a modernisation of the 'Twelfth Night.' In one of his dedications Burnaby assigns as the cause of the failure of his comedies the charge of indecency which was brought against them. This might well be. The 'Reform'd Wife' is as cynical as anything in Wycherley. Genest says that this comedy was printed with no list of characters. He must have been misled by an imperfect copy. A full cast, including Wilks, Johnson, Haines, Mills, Mrs. Knight, Mrs. Rogers, and Mrs. Verbruggen, and confuting some of Genest's assumptions, is in perfect copies.

[Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus*; Egerton's *Theatrical Remembrancer*; authorities cited.]

J. K.

**BURNABY, FREDERICK GUSTAVUS** (1842-1885), traveller and soldier, was born at Bedford on 3 March 1842, being the son of the Rev. Gustavus Andrew Burnaby of Somersby Hall, Leicestershire, and canon of Middleham in Yorkshire (who died on 15 July 1872), by Harriet, sister of Mr. Henry Villebois of Marham House, Norfolk (who died in 1883). He was educated at Bedford grammar school and Harrow, and afterwards privately in Germany. From Harrow he himself narrated that he was nearly expelled for sending a very lively article against 'fagging' to 'Punch,' but the Harrow authorities disclaim any knowledge of this incident, and the only article (*Punch*, 18 March 1854) which could be the one referred to must at any rate have been largely edited by Douglas Jerrold. At Harrow he was distinguished for aptitude in French, and in Germany he became master of French, German, and Italian. He had indeed a gift for languages, acquiring in

later life a very good knowledge of Spanish and Russian, and a traveller's acquaintance with Turkish and Arabic. At the age of sixteen, being the youngest of 150 candidates, he passed his examination for the army, and was gazetted a cornet in the 3rd regiment of cavalry of the household brigade in 1859. He became successively lieutenant in 1861, captain in 1866, major in 1879, lieutenant-colonel in 1880, and received the command of the regiment in 1881, which he retained till his death. His strength and stature were enormous; he stood 6ft. 4 in. in height, was 46 in. round the chest, and must have been, when young, one of the strongest men in Europe. Feats of his, such as using a dumbbell of 1½ cwt. and carrying a small pony under his arm, seem to be well authenticated. But in his passion for gymnastics he developed his muscular system at the expense of his vitality, and was compelled to travel for his health. Half the year being practically at his disposal as leave, he was enabled to gratify his strong taste for adventure by extensive and daring travel. He visited Central and South America early in his military life. In 1868 he went to southern Spain and Tangier, contributing letters to 'Vanity Fair' of a boyish kind. In 1870, while cholera was raging, he went to Odessa, *via* St. Petersburg, intending to thoroughly explore south-eastern Russia, but was recalled by news of his father's illness. In 1873, when General Kauffmann was beginning his invasion of Khiva, Burnaby intended to have gone to Central Asia, and started on his journey; but, falling ill of typhoid fever in Naples, went to Spain to restore his health, and there forced his way through the heart of the Carlist rebel lines by Vittoria into France. In the following year he went as correspondent of the 'Times' to the Carlist camp, where he began a lasting friendship with Don Carlos. His letters to the 'Times' begin 12 Aug. 1874, and go on till October at frequent intervals. At the end of the year he was despatched by the 'Times' to join Colonel Gordon in the Soudan, with whom he penetrated far up the Nile towards the equator, and acquired experience which afterwards proved of use during the English operations of 1884. His letters to the 'Times' are of dates 4 and 13 Jan. and 5 Feb. 1875. Accidentally learning in Khartoum that the Russian Government had refused entrance to Europeans into Central Asia, he at once decided to resume his former design of going thither; and, after spending some time in preparations and methodical study of the subject, started on 30 Nov. 1875. He tra-



velled as usual with little baggage (only 85 lbs.), and at great speed crossed the steppes unimpeded by the Russian officials. The winter was unusually severe, and he suffered much from intense cold and frost-bite. He succeeded in reaching Khiva, fortunately going there without passing through the fort of Petro-Alexandrovsk; but before he could press on for Bokhara he received a summons from the commandant of the fort, and on going thither was handed a telegram from the commander-in-chief, the Duke of Cambridge, recalling him to England. The Russian government would probably have stopped him at the frontier had he endeavoured to reach Khiva from the south. In 1874 Captain C. M. McGregor was turned back on his way to Merv. They did not venture to stop an Englishman travelling through European Russia, but adopted the expedient of appealing to the English government. Burnaby accordingly returned, and wrote, in a rather extravagant style, his 'Ride to Khiva,' which at once became highly popular. In a year it reached its eleventh edition, which was published in 1877; it was translated into several foreign languages, and a new edition appeared in 1884. The 'ride,' however, was not remarkable for its dangers or difficulties of exploration, for by 1876 the Russians had effectually pacified the desert; and Messrs. Schuyler and McGahan gave Burnaby in St. Petersburg full information about routes. The real feat was the ride in an exceptionally hard winter across the three hundred miles of steppe, from Kazala to Khiva. Encouraged by his success he spent his winter leave in 1876 in a five months' tour in Asia Minor and Armenia, with the object of seeing the Turks, as they are, away from European influences. Having read up the subject he pursued a route from Scutari *via* Angora, Tokat, Sivas, Erzinjan, Erzeroum, Van, Khoi, Bayazid near Mount Ararat, Kars, and Ardahan to Batoum. The Russian government watched his movements to Constantinople, and there losing sight of him disseminated photographs of him along the frontier, and gave instructions that the original, 'un ennemi acharné' of Russia, who was expected to cross it, should be turned back. On his return he published his 'On Horseback through Asia Minor,' which passed through seven editions; 2,500*l.* was paid him as a first instalment for this book. It is a more important book than the 'Ride to Khiva,' with some useful military appendices, but is conversational in tone and defaced by extreme anti-Russian sentiments. Being anxious to see the Russo-Turkish war, he joined General Baker at Adrianople in No-

vember 1877, nominally as the agent of the Stafford House committee. Actually, however, he was frequently under fire, and at the fight of Tashkesan on 31 Dec. he commanded the fifth Turkish brigade. An attempt was made to poison him, General Baker, and Shakir Bey by a Bulgarian acolyte at the house of the Greek Archbishop of Gumurdjina, which failed. His great desire, which he did not accomplish, was to have crossed the Balkans and have slipped through the Russian lines into Plevna. On his return to England he took to politics in the same spirit of adventure as he had travelled, professing extreme conservative and philo-Turkish views, and advocating protection, purchase of commissions in the army, and military law for Ireland. He was invited on 5 June 1878 by the Birmingham Conservative Association to contest Birmingham, and after many stormy meetings and a controversy with Mr. Gladstone about the latter's use of phrases attributed to him by Burnaby, the election of 1880 resulted in his defeat, though he polled a large number of votes. He continued, however, to interest himself in politics, and on 23 July 1884, at the annual conference of the National Union of Conservative Associations, was elected third on the list of the council. He was now approaching the period of compulsory retirement from the army, and was severely attacked with heart and lung disease. In 1882 he was much disappointed that he did not receive the command of the detachment of the Blues which went to Egypt. However, on 10 Jan. 1884, he started without leave for Egypt as a volunteer, joined General Baker at Suakin, and commanded a detachment at Trinkitat. He served also with the intelligence department under General Graham, and on 21 Feb. was wounded at El Teb, where he did so much execution, 'clearing out a stone building with his double-barrelled shot-gun,' as to provoke an indignant interpellation in the House of Commons. For this service the Khedive gave him the Soudan medal and clasp and the Khedivial star. He was very anxious to join the Khartoum relief expedition, having designed, in case no expedition had gone out, to penetrate to Khartoum himself; but knowing that if his design became known he would be forbidden from headquarters, he gave out that he was going to Bechuanaland, and with great secrecy and despatch made his way to Korti, which he reached on 9 Jan. 1885. He was sent up in charge of a convoy to Gadkul, and joined the intelligence department. On the 17th, at Abu Klea, he was in command of the left rear of the square, performing a brigadier-general's duty,

and while rallying his men was killed by a spear-wound in the throat. It was said, but perhaps without foundation, that he was the cause of the great hazard in which at one time the square was placed, by incautiously and impetuously calling on the 'heavies' to charge. It was also said that Sir Herbert Stewart named him as first in command in the event of his own death, but this has not been confirmed.

Besides his travels Burnaby published a lecture on 'Practical Instruction of Staff Officers in Foreign Armies,' delivered on 8 July 1872, and was keenly interested in the development of military ballooning. He had made nineteen balloon ascents, often alone, and was a member of the council of the Aeronautical Society. His first ascent was with M. Godard in a Montgolfier balloon, in July 1864. He was once in a balloon of novel form, which burst in mid air, but acting as a parachute fortunately broke his descent; and prompted by the failure of Wright, the aeronaut, he attempted, on 23 March 1882, to cross the Channel alone in the balloon Eclipse from Dover, and succeeded after considerable perils and an ascent to the height of 10,000 feet. He landed at the Château de Montigny, Envermeu, Normandy. He published an account of this under the title 'A Ride across the Channel.' He also left the manuscript of a political novel after his death. Though after his quarrel in 1882 with General Owen Williams, which nearly led to a sensational libel suit, he lived much alone, he was very popular in London and Paris. He was a good disciplinarian and a humorous speaker; his voice was thin and piercing, his features Jewish and Italian, and his un-English appearance led him to resist attempts to procure portraits of him. He married, on 25 June 1879, Elizabeth, only daughter of Sir St. Vincent Hawkins Whitshed, bart., of Killoncarrick, county Wicklow, who has written 'The High Alps in Winter,' a plea from personal experience for Alpine mountaineering in winter, and by her had one son. He was lord of the manor of Somerby, Leicestershire. A window to his memory has been placed in St. Mary's Church, Bedford, and an obelisk with a medallion portrait in St. Philip's churchyard, Birmingham.

[Ware and Mann's Life and Times of Colonel Burnaby; Mann's Life of Burnaby, 1882; Life and Adventures of Burnaby, 1885; Morning Post, 21 Jan. 1885; Manchester Courier, 2 Nov. 1885.]

J. A. H.

**BURNARD, NEVILL NORTHEY** (1818-1878), sculptor, was the son of George Burnard, a mason, and Jane, his wife. He

was born at Alternun in Cornwall in 1818, and baptised in that parish on 1 Nov. in that year. He was brought up by his father as a mason, and at a very early age he showed remarkable facilities for carving in stone. At the age of sixteen he carved in slate the group of the 'Laocoon,' which he sent in 1836 to the exhibition of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society at Falmouth. This carving in bas-relief, executed in an obscure village, without instruction—his only pattern being a woodcut in one of the numbers of the 'Penny Magazine,' and his tools even being of his own making—was considered so very remarkable a production, that the society awarded Burnard their first silver medal. Again in 1841 another silver medal was given to this youthful sculptor for three medallion portraits. Sir Charles Lemon, bart., M.P., who was for many years the president of the Cornwall Polytechnic Society, took considerable interest in the progress of this young man, and specially introduced him to the notice of Chantrey, who secured for him employment as a carver in one of the most celebrated ateliers in London. Through the solicitation of Sir Charles Lemon the queen was pleased to allow Burnard access to Buckingham Palace to model a bust of the young Duke of Cornwall. During the progress of the modelling her majesty did the artist the honour of inspecting the work and expressing her approval of the likeness. Again, on the completion of the bust in marble, the queen was pleased to direct that it should be exhibited at the society's annual exhibition in Cornwall. The cost of this marble bust of the Prince of Wales was met by a fund subscribed in Cornwall, and when placed in the Polytechnic Hall in Falmouth, the opinion unanimously expressed was, that it amply sustained the early expectation which had been formed of the artist's excellence.

This fairly launched Burnard in the world of art, and his remarkable powers as a carver in marble secured him employment in the studios of some of the first sculptors of the day. Among others may be named Bailey, Marshall, and Foley, who highly appreciated his powers.

On the return of Richard Lander from Africa, after having traced the course of the Niger, Burnard was employed to execute the statue for the column erected in his honour at Truro. His only other public work was the statue of 'Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn-law Rhymer,' which stands in the market-place of Sheffield. Burnard executed many portrait-busts of men of eminence, the best-known works being marble busts of General Gough, of Professor John Couch Adams, the

discoverer of the planet Neptune, of Professor Edward Forbes—of which copies are to be found in the Isle of Man and in the Museum of Practical Geology—and of William Makepeace Thackeray, which Burnard gave to the Plymouth Library, where it now stands, outside the doors of the Cottonian Museum, among other works of much value. He exhibited at the Royal Academy in the years 1855, 1858, 1866, and 1867. Gifted as Burnard was, he failed to secure for himself the position which his genius appeared to have appointed for him. The latter portion of his life was a struggle with difficulties. He lost his friends through irregularities, which made him a most amusing companion, but which led him to fail in completing his engagements, and finally he died in the infirmary at Redruth in Cornwall, on 27 Nov. 1878.

[Reports of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society; Fox's Historical Synopsis of the Polytechnic Society; Academy, xiv. 549, 1878; personal knowledge.] R. H.-r.

**BURNE or BOURN, NICOL** (*n.* 1581), controversialist, published in 1581, at Paris, a volume which supplies the main particulars of his life which are now known. This work is entitled 'The Disputat[i]on concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, haldin in the Realme of Scotland, the yeir of God ane thousand fyue hundreth four scoir yeiris, betuix the pretendit ministers of the deformed kirk in Scotland and Nicol Burne, Professor of Philosophie in S. Leonardis College, in the citie of Sanctandros, brocht up from his tender eage in the peruersit sect of the Calvinistis and nou, be ane special grace of God, ane member of the halie catholic kirk, Dedicat to his Souerane the Kingis M. of Scotland, King James the Saxt.' There is a copy of the book in the British Museum, and a copy was sold at the Rev. Fuller Russell's sale on 20 June 1885 for 25*l.* In the epistle to the reader Burne states that he was brought up from his youth in the Calvinistic doctrines, and followed them with equal affection and zeal until 'the time it pleased God through reiding of sum catholik orteitharis to illuminate my hairt.' He declared to 'a minister called Smeton, in Paisley,' his desire to defend the catholic doctrines before the general assembly of Scotland, expressing his willingness to suffer punishment unless he performed that which he 'had tane in hand;' but Smeton, after admitting the reasonableness of his proposal, proceeded, without any warning, to excommunicate him, upon which he was apprehended and confined in the castle of St. Andrews, whence he was conveyed to the Tolbooth, Edinburgh. Here

he remained from 15 Oct. 1580 till the last day of the ensuing January. He complains of his treatment in the Tolbooth, and especially of the removal of a purse which he had hung out of the window to obtain alms. The register of the privy council of Scotland contains an entry on 29 Jan. of a 'caution in 500*l.* by Andrew Burne, in Leith, for Mr. Nicoll Burne, that he shall, within a month hence, depart this realm, and in the mean time do nothing in prejudice of the present religioun presentlie professit,' George Burne in Gogar, brother of Nicol, being cautioner in relief. The work of Burne repeats some outrageous calumnies against Knox, and also against the foreign reformers, the assertion being even gravely made that Luther was begotten of the devil as to his carnal as well as to his spiritual generation.

[Work as above; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, iii. 328, 355; Tanner's Bibl. Brit.] T. F. H.

**BURNE, ROBERT** (1755?–1825), general, entered the army as an ensign in the 36th regiment in 1773, and remained with that regiment until 1811. In 1783 he went to India with the regiment. In 1784 he was promoted captain, and commanded the grenadiers of the 36th regiment throughout the campaigns of 1784–6 against Tippoo Sultan. He served at Sattimungulum, at Showera, and was present at the capture of Bangalore, the storming of the hill fortress of Nundydroog, and the siege of Seringapatam. In 1793 he was conspicuous at the siege of Pondicherry, and was promoted brevet-major in consequence on 1 March 1794, and in 1796 he purchased a majority in the regiment. In 1798 he was promoted lieutenant-colonel by brevet, and the same year the officers and headquarters of the regiment returned to England. On reaching England in 1799 he became lieutenant-colonel of the 36th. In 1800 he accompanied the regiment to Minorca, and went on leave for his health in 1801, the first occasion for twenty-eight years on which he had left his regiment. In 1802 he rejoined it in Ireland, served in the expedition to Hanover in 1805, and in the attack on Buenos Ayres on 5 July 1807, where his services so impressed his brother officers that he was presented by them with a sword of honour and 120 guineas. In April 1808 he was promoted colonel, and in July accompanied Sir Arthur Wellesley to Portugal. Burne, after doing good service at Rolica, received special notice in Wellesley's report to Sir Harry Burrard on the battle of Vimeiro (*Wellington Despatches*, iii. 92). Sir Arthur also wrote to Lord Castlereagh: 'You will see in

my despatch that I have mentioned Colonel Burne of the 36th regiment in a very particular manner; and I assure you that there is nothing that will give me so much satisfaction as to learn that something has been done for this old and meritorious soldier. The 36th regiment are an example to this army' (ib. 95). Burne, in consequence, received the government of Carlisle. He remained in the Peninsula after Sir Arthur Wellesley went home, and served under Sir John Moore in the retreat to Corunna and in the battle. In 1809 Burne commanded the 36th at the capture of Flushing, and was made a colonel on the staff until the evacuation of the island. In 1811 he was made major-general, and sent out to the Peninsula. He was posted to the command of a brigade in the 6th division, with which he was present at the battle of Fuentes de Onoro. But his long service in India and the hardships of the Corunna retreat had told upon his health, and he had to return to England, where he commanded the camp at Lichfield from 1812 to 1813, and at Nottingham from 1813 to 1814. When rewards were liberally heaped on the Peninsula officers in 1814, Major-general Burne was completely passed over, but he was promoted lieutenant-general on 19 July 1821, and died at Berkeley Cottage, Stanmore, on 16 June 1825.

[Royal Military Calendar.]

H. M. S.

**BURNELL, ARTHUR COKE** (1840-1882), a very eminent Sanskrit scholar, and a high authority on the language and literature of Southern India, was born at St. Briavels, Gloucestershire, in 1840, and was the eldest son of Arthur Burnell, of the East India Company's marine service, and grand-nephew of Sir W. Coke, chief justice of Ceylon. He was sent successively to Bedford and King's Colleges. At the last he met Professor Fausbøll, of Copenhagen, who seems to have turned towards Indian studies a mind that had early evinced a keen enjoyment of linguistic science. This taste was also stimulated by intercourse with George Borrow. In 1857 he passed the Indian civil service examination, and after a course of Sanskrit (under Goldstücker) and Telugu, in which he passed with credit at the final examination, he went to Madras in 1860. In the Malabar, Tanjore, Chingleput, Cuddapa, and Nellore districts, where he successively filled the usual subordinate offices of the civil administration, he lost no opportunity of acquiring or copying Sanskrit manuscripts, and thus formed a splendid collection. In 1868 he was compelled to return on sick leave, and travelled through Arabia,

Egypt, and Nubia. While in England he published (1869) 'Catalogue of a Collection of Sanskrit MSS. by A. C. Burnell, part i. Vedic MSS.,' and then presented the whole (350 in number) to the India Library. Returning to India, he served successively at Mangalore and at Tanjore as judge. His greatest work is the 'Classified Index to the Sanskrit MSS. in the Palace at Tanjore,' printed for the Madras government in 1880. It represents an enormous amount of labour and learning, and affords a kind of conspectus of the Sanskrit literature of Southern India. 'The mere arranging and classifying,' says Dr. Rost, 'of such a vast number of manuscripts—most of them written on palm-leaf and in the various sets of characters used for writing Sanskrit in South India—must have been a work of untold labour, which no other Sanskrit scholar could so successfully have accomplished.'

Burnell also did for South Indian writing what Prinsep had attempted forty years before for the paleography of the north, and his 'Handbook of South Indian Palæography,' 1874, of which a second edition appeared in 1878, is a standard work, and deservedly won for him the honorary doctor's degree of the university of Strasburg. It opens, as Prof. Max Müller has said, 'an avenue through one of the thickest and darkest jungles of Indian archæology, and is so full of documentary evidence, that it will long remain indispensable to every student of Indian literature.'

Among his other works (most of which were printed at Mangalore) were (1) a translation of the section on inheritance from Madhava's 'Commentary on the Parāśara-smṛiti,' 1868; (2) 'The Law of Partition and Succession, from the manuscript Sanskrit text of Varadarāja's Vyavahāranirṇaya,' 'The spirited preface to this work,' says Dr. Rost, 'shows how deeply he had grasped the very essence of Hindū law, how well versed he was in its extensive literature;' (3) The text and translation of a brief summary of Hindū law of inheritance and partition, 1875, in the preface to which he animadverted severely upon the character of the then current English manuals on Hindū law. Between 1873 and 1878 he brought out a series of five Sāmaveda-Brāhmaṇas, without translations, but with the commentary of Sāyaṇa, indices, and elaborate introductory essays of the greatest value, especially that to the Vamça-brāhmaṇa, which gives a full account of Sāyaṇa's literary life. These were followed, in 1879, by one of the Sāmaveda-Prātisākhya, also with an essay. In 1878 he published an extract, with translation, of the 'Tālavakāra,'

one of the Brāhmanas, as a specimen of its legendary lore. He also issued, in a succession of small pamphlets (1873-8), 'Specimens of South Indian Dialects;' and an edition, prepared from the author's own manuscript, of Beschi's celebrated work on High Tamil and on Tamil poetry and rhetoric, which bears the title 'Clavis Humaniorum Litterarum Sublimioris Tamulici Idiomatis' (1876). Another work, 'The Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammars' (1875) 'propounded a new theory on the development of grammatical science in India, which, if it has not met with general acceptance, has at all events set scholars thinking and working in a new direction' (MAX MÜLLER). Many minor communications were also addressed to the 'Indian Antiquary.'

Burnell's health had from childhood never been strong, and his excessive exertions, extended over many years, in trying to combine heavy official work with studious labour in the most exhausting of Indian climates, broke him down. He had gone through a severe attack of cholera, followed at a later date by partial paralysis, before his last return to Europe in 1880, and he suffered besides from other constitutional disease; yet he had so far recovered that his friends began to hope that, though severe labour and return to India were alike out of the question, he might still complete some of the work that he had begun. His last two winters were spent at San Remo. He returned from Italy in the early summer of 1882, and while staying at his brother's house at West Stratton, Hampshire, was struck with a chill, which brought on inflammation of the lungs. He died there on 12 Oct., and was buried in Micheldever churchyard.

Of works left by Burnell unfinished two have since been published: 1. 'A Translation of the Ordinances of Manu.' Of this nearly the whole of the introduction and one half of the translation were done. The work has since been completed by an American scholar, Dr. E. W. Hopkins, and published by Trübner & Co. (Oriental Series, 1885). 2. A reprint of the old English version of Linschoten's 'East Indies,' with interesting notes. Of this one half was done and in type. It was completed by Mr. P. A. Tiele of Utrecht, and issued by the Hakluyt Society (2 vols. 8vo, 1885). Another work, undertaken jointly with Colonel Yule, had been the occasional occupation of both for many years, and Burnell's part in it was nearly completed. It appeared in 1886 (new edit. 1903) as 'Hobson Jobson, being a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases.' A portrait of Burnell is at p. xiii. During the last

VOL. III.

years of his life Burnell took great interest in the history and literature of Portuguese India, and he had collected many valuable books on the subject, which would probably (had life been granted) have formed the foundation of interesting work. Preliminary labours of love in this connection were a 'Tentative List of Books and some MSS. relating to the History of the Portuguese in India Proper' (Mangalore, 1880); and a reprint (like the last, for a few friends only) in a very handsome form, with preface and notes, of an excessively rare and curious Italian version of King Emanuel of Portugal's letter to Ferdinand of Spain, giving an account of the voyages and conquests in the East Indies between 1500 and 1505, originally printed at Rome in the latter year.

Burnell, in addition to his profound knowledge of Sanskrit and wide acquaintance with the vernaculars of Southern India, had some knowledge of Tibetan (which he had studied with the late Mr. Jäschke when a fellow-passenger from India in 1868), of Arabic (the oriental language in which he passed in the competitive examination for the civil service), of Kawi, Javanese, and Coptic. Pali had been an eager object of study before he went to India, and perhaps for some time there also. But he soon left it. His collectanea on Pali are all of early date. His latest love in study was given to the Italian writers of the Renaissance, and especially to Cardinal P. Bembo, his intense admiration of whom did not meet with much appreciation among his correspondents either in England or in Italy. He was a lover of books of every kind, reading largely, collecting largely, spending largely upon them, and lending them liberally. The circle of his intimates was not large, but where he gave his friendship it was given very heartily and generously. Nothing could exceed his helpfulness and liberality to other students. Numerous as were the applications made to him for manuscripts, or for information of many kinds, he always tried to satisfy them to the best of his ability, and without regard to expense. He would make a long journey to enable him to answer a question of geographical identification; he would send home manuscripts to scholars in need of them, and accept no payment; books and series of photographs were often sent in the same fashion. After the presentation of his own manuscripts to the India Library in 1870, he recommenced collecting on his return to India, and had gathered about 350 more. These were purchased from his heirs by the secretary of state in council for the same library.

[Dr. Rost in the Athenæum, No. 2870; Prof. Max Müller in the Academy, No. 546; Col. Yule in the Times, 20 Oct. 1882.] S. L.-P.

**BURNELL, EDWARD** (*d.* 1542), professor of Greek at Rostock, published in 1542 an 'Epitome of Dialectics' written in Latin for the use of the Rostock students. He also wrote some commendatory verses prefixed to the 'Πρωγουσεῖον, or Poore Man's Librarie of William Alley, bishop of Exeter,' 1565. Burnell probably had left Rostock before 1560, as his name is not mentioned in the 'Scripta in Academia Rostochiensis publice proposita,' 1560-7. An Edward Burnel was one of the six preachers of Canterbury Cathedral in 1560. He was probably the same as the preacher 'Thomas Burnel' in 1556, and may have been the Rostock professor.

[Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 143; Alley's Πρωγουσεῖον; Strype's Memorials, III. i. 478; Life of Abp. Parker, i. 144.] W. H.

**BURNELL, HENRY** (*d.* 1641), dramatist, belongs to the Anglo-Irish family of Burnell, which acquired considerable estates in Leinster; members of it held offices at Dublin as judges and legal officials in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Henry Burnell appears to have been the son and heir of Christopher Burnell of Castleknock, near Dublin, and to have married Frances, daughter of Sir James Dillon, earl of Roscommon. The only known production of Burnell is that printed at Dublin in 1641 under the following title: 'Landgartha, a tragi-comedy, as it was presented in the new theater in Dublin, with good applause, being an ancient story. Written by H. B.' 'Landgartha' is stated to have been first acted, 'with the allowance of the master of the Revels,' on St. Patrick's day, 1639, at the theatre then recently established at Dublin by John Ogilby, and with which James Shirley, the dramatist, had been for a time connected. Among 'the persons of the play' were 'Frollo, king of Swealand and conqueror of Norway; Landgartha, a Norwegian lady; Scania, sister to Landgartha; Fatyma, cousin to Landgartha and Scania; Marfisa, a humorous gentlewoman, cousin to Fatyma; Reyner, king of Denmarke; and Hubba, an humorous merry Danish captaine.' The prologue to 'Landgartha' was 'delivered by an Amazon, with a battle-axe in her hand.' The epilogue to 'Landgartha' was also spoken by the Amazon 'with her sword and belt in her hand.' From the prologue it seems that Burnell had previously produced a play which was unfavourably received, but the name of it is not mentioned. The epilogue contains a state-

ment that the tragi-comedy of 'Landgartha' was composed by Burnell 'with the expense of less than two months' time.' Of the commendatory verses in Latin prefixed to 'Landgartha' some were by Burnell's son. Lines were also addressed in English by an anonymous author, in which the writer mentions that although Burnell had never been in England, he was 'far more like' to Ben Jonson than they 'that laid claim as heirs' to that author. In reply to critics of 'Landgartha,' Burnell wrote that 'a tragi-comedy should neither end comically or tragically, but betwixt both.' 'To the rest of babblers,' he added, 'I despise any answer.' Burnell was a member of the Irish confederation established in 1642, but the dates of his birth and death do not appear to have been recorded.

[Gifford's Works of Ben Jonson, 1816; Hist. of Dublin, 1854; Hist. of Irish Confederation, 1641-3, Dublin, 1882; manuscripts in office of Ulster King of Arms, Dublin Castle.]

J. T. G.

**BURNELL, ROBERT** (*d.* 1292), bishop of Bath and Wells and chancellor of England, was descended from a knightly family in Shropshire, and was born at their seat of Acton Burnell, near Shrewsbury (*Rot. Pat.* 12 E. I. m. 6). After he became famous the monks of Buildwas forged a genealogy which traced his family back to the Conquest; but in authentic history it is known for less than a century before his birth, and in the preceding generation it had been disgraced by one of its house becoming a felon and outlaw. The exact relationship of Burnell to the earlier members of his family is unknown. He was one of at least four brothers, probably not the eldest, though death apparently put him early into the possessions of his family. He had, however, adopted the church and the law for his profession, and appears first as a clerk of Prince Edward, to whom he attached himself very early in life, and whose intimate friendship he soon obtained. He held prebends both at St. Paul's and Hereford. In November 1260 Burnell accompanied Edward to France. Three years afterwards he had obtained sufficient wealth to begin to acquire large estates in Shropshire. In 1263 he apparently accompanied Edward to Shrewsbury, and received a patent of protection during the Welsh campaign of that year. In March 1265 he received another safe-conduct into South Wales to transact business on Edward's behalf. In 1266 Henry III allowed him to impark his land within the royal forest (*Rot. Pat.* 50 H. III, m. 1), and in 1269 granted to Acton the privilege of a weekly market and two annual fairs. In

July 1270 he received a patent of protection as a 'cruce signatus,' and is described as about to accompany Prince Edward on his crusade. The highest ecclesiastical preferment Burnell had as yet attained was the archdeaconry of York. But on the eve of the prince's departure the death of Boniface of Savoy (8 July 1270) left the archbishopric of Canterbury vacant, and Edward made a strong effort to secure the succession for his faithful friend and clerk. Not content with urging Burnell's claims by letter, Edward hurried to Canterbury, broke open the doors of the chapter-house, and vehemently pressed his election on the hesitating monks. But their reply that they must follow the dictates of the Holy Spirit threw the prince into a violent passion. He returned to Portsmouth, whence he embarked on 19 Aug., highly indignant with the monks, who, on his withdrawal, elected their own prior, Adam of Chillenden. This dispute made Pope Gregory X the ultimate arbiter of the question, and his appointment of the Dominican Robert Kilwardby settled Burnell's chances (*An. Wav.*; WYKES; COTTON, p. 145). If Burnell went with Edward to Palestine, he must have very soon returned. He was nominated, along with the archbishop of York and Roger Mortimer, to act as the prince's *locum tenens* and deputy during his absence (SHIRLEY, *Royal Letters*, ii. 346); and his appointment as one of Edward's executors (18 June 1272) was another mark of his patron's esteem. The three *locum tenentes* became, on Henry III's death (19 Nov. 1272), regents of the kingdom until the return of their absent principal. They nominated a chancellor, held a great council, received fealty oaths to the new king, and, under legatine pressure, heavily taxed the clergy. Their government was peaceful and successful (*An. Winton.*; *An. Wav.*)

Edward's return was soon followed by Burnell's appointment as chancellor (21 Sept. 1274), an office held by him for the eighteen remaining years of his life. On 23 Jan. 1275 he was elected bishop of Bath and Wells, and on 7 April consecrated at Merton by his old rival Kilwardby (WYKES, but the *An. Wigorn.* say 'apud Londinium'). On every opportunity Edward strove to obtain for him further promotion. On Kilwardby's retirement to Rome in 1278 the king persuaded the monks of Christ Church to postulate for Burnell, who was then in Gascony on royal business (WYKES, in *An. Mon.* iv. 279) as archbishop. An earnest letter of entreaty from the king accompanied their postulation to Rome (RYMER, i. 559, ed. 1704); but Nicholas III yielded to his entreaties only so far as to appoint a commission of three

cardinals to examine Burnell's fitness. After long inquiries, circumstances came to the pope's ears which, he declared, made it impossible for him to consent to Burnell's appointment, and he nominated the Franciscan John Peckham instead. Edward concealed his disappointment, and again on 20 March 1280 his influence obtained the election of Burnell to Winchester. But the pope simply bade the chapter proceed to a new election (*An. Wav.* in *An. Mon.* ii. 393; *An. Wigorn.* ib. iv. 478).

It is hard to determine Burnell's precise share in the great legislative acts of Edward I's time. But his constant and intimate association with his master, the strong bonds of personal friendship that plainly united the sovereign and minister, and the facts that Burnell's elevation to the chancery marks the beginning of Edward's legislative reforms, and that after his death few more great statutes were passed, combine to suggest that Burnell largely shared in the glory of the work. But not in lawmaking only was Burnell's influence felt. His resolution in 1280 to settle the chancery, which had hitherto followed the court, at London as a fixed place where suitors could always find a remedy for their grievances (*An. Wav.* and *An. Wigorn.* in *Annales Monastici*, ii. 393, iv. 477), marks an important epoch in the history of that court. In general politics also Burnell took a leading share. He was almost always in attendance upon the king, whether in Aquitaine, Wales, or Scotland, and was prominent as at least the mouthpiece and the executor of the policy which Edward pursued in relation to the French crown, the annexation and pacification of Wales, and the award of the crown of Scotland among its rival claimants. After his death Edward's assumption of a harsher and more peremptory attitude shows how great a check Burnell had been on the narrower and less genial sides of his master's character (STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* ii. 305). On several occasions the multiplicity of his business or his absence abroad necessitated the appointment of deputies to discharge his business as chancellor. In 1275 the statute of Westminster I, a code in itself, began the legislative work which went on as long as Burnell was chancellor. In the same year Llewelyn of Wales had the assurance to require Burnell as a hostage on his going to London to perform homage. In 1276 (12 Nov.) Burnell took part in the council at Westminster which gave judgment against Llewelyn (*Parl. Writs*, i. 5), and next year was summoned to send his service against the Welsh prince (*ib.* i. 195). In 1277 Burnell was one of three commissioners

selected to determine the security for David's fidelity on his restoration to his forfeited fiefs, and was appointed to conduct Llewelyn to London to fulfil his long-delayed feudal duties. Early in 1278 he was employed on important business in France and Gascony (RYMER, ii. 109). In 1282 and 1283 he was constantly engaged in Wales or the borders. He was present at the drawing up of the statute of Rhuddlan. In the latter year he entertained the king and parliament at his own house, Acton, where the statute *De Mercatoribus* was passed. In 1285 he presided over the parliaments which passed the statutes of Westminster II and the statute of Winchester. In May 1286 he accompanied Edward to France, taking the great seal with him, and remained there until August 1289 (see STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* ii. 123). During their absence the judicial system fell into confusion, and on his return he was placed at the head of the commission which inquired at Westminster into the complaints against the judges (*An. Dunstable* in *An. Mon.* iii. 357; *An. E. I* and *E. II*, ed. Stubbs, i. 98). A wholesale removal of the justices followed the presentment of their report in 1290. The close of Burnell's life was much occupied in Scottish affairs. He pronounced at the great meeting opposite Norham the king's intention to act as arbiter (*An. Reg. Scot.* 242-246; RYMER, i. 762). His baptism during 1291 of Edward I's infant grandson, Gilbert of Gloucester, shows the personal relations between king and minister kept up to the last. On 14 Oct. 1292 Burnell attended at Berwick, probably with a view to pronouncing Edward's decision in favour of Balliol. But on 25 Oct., nearly a month before the great suit was concluded, he died, apparently suddenly. His body was conveyed to Wells and buried there on 23 Nov.

It is a remarkable proof of Burnell's energy that he was able to make such mark as he did upon the history of Wells. He found in its deanery and prebends an easy means of preferring his nephews or sons. He procured many franchises and liberties for the church of Wells, and acquired for it the possession of five new churches. He brought to an end the long-standing feud between the bishops of Wells and the abbots of Glastonbury, and gave up his claims to the patronage of the abbey in return for royal cessions of property, that made the bishop completely lord of the city of Bath. He built at his own expense the episcopal hall at Wells, which rivalled the works of Gower at St. David's, and was only surpassed in dimensions by the great hall of the bishop's castle at Durham. His command of the royal ear enabled all his

benefactions to be firmly secured by royal charters and muniments (*Canonici Wellensis Hist. de Episcopis Bath. et Well.* in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 566, with Wharton's note; ADAM DE DOMERHAM, *De Lite inter Episc. Bathon. et Monach. Glaston.*, ed. Hearne; GODWIN, *Catalogue of Bishops of Bath and Wells*; PHELPS, *History of Somerset*, ii. 108; FREEMAN, *History of Wells Cathedral*; CASSAN, *Bishops of Bath and Wells*).

In general ecclesiastical politics Burnell was thrown a good deal into opposition with his old rival Archbishop Peckham, whose uncompromising zeal for the privileges of his order, no less than his activity against moral abuses, must have been equally obnoxious to the chancellor. The 'Register of Peckham,' 373, 424, 430 (Rolls Series, ed. C. T. Martin, 1882-4), shows how uneasy the relations of Burnell and his metropolitan continued to be. At one time Burnell accused Peckham of obtaining papal letters to prevent his further promotion, and in 1284 Peckham asked the Roman curia to deny the current report that when Winchester was vacant he informed the pope of 'certain defects' of Burnell's character which effectually stopped his appointment (dxliv.) At another time Burnell accused Peckham of refusing him justice in the court of arches (dxviii.), while Peckham suspected Burnell of using spiritual censures in order to get in the debts of merchants whose services were useful to the crown (ccclvi.)

The private habits of the chancellor were not such as to satisfy even the low standard of ecclesiastical decorum then exacted, and may well have barred him from the archbishopric. An unpleasant feature of his character was his insatiable greed. His ambition was to found a baronial family in Shropshire. To make his native village of Acton a flourishing town, to rebuild his ancestral house on a scale adequate to entertain kings and parliaments, and to increase his estates were objects constantly pursued by him for nearly thirty years. So early as 1272 his own kinsfolk were among the jurors of Condover who complained that the future minister of the king who destroyed the political importance of feudalism was withdrawing Acton from the jurisdiction of the hundred moot. With the acquisition of Castle Holgate from the Templars and the Earl of Cornwall, Burnell had obtained an honour the possession of which made his heirs peers of the realm (see, on all points connected with Burnell's relations to Shropshire, EYTON, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, especially vol. iv.) On his death he was in possession of estates in nineteen counties, and the holder, in whole or part,



of eighty-two manors; of which no less than twenty-one were in Shropshire, eight in Somersetshire, eight in Worcestershire, and thirteen in Kent and Surrey, where a series of his estates extended from Woolwich and Bexley to Sheen and Wickham, almost encompassing South London (*Cal. Inquis. post Mortem*, i. 115). When we add to these vast estates the ecclesiastical preferments lavished on his kinsmen, the vast portions assigned to his daughters, whom he married to great nobles, all that he himself held despite the laws against pluralities, and the 'mirabilis munificentia' (WYKES, *A. M.* iv. 262) that marked all his expenditure, we can hardly wonder that the archbishop, a zealous upholder of the mendicant orders, objected to his further promotion.

Burnell was not very successful in his efforts to found a family. Two of his brothers were slain on the Menai Straits by the Welsh in 1282 (TRIVET, p. 305; RUSHANGER, p. 102). His third brother, Sir Hugh, died in 1286, leaving a son, Philip, who wasted the uncle's patrimony, and was one of the first persons of distinction to suffer by the facilities for recovering trader's debts which the statute of Acton Burnell had afforded (see EYTON, *Shropshire*). He died in 1294, only two years after his uncle. Twice his descendants were summoned by writ to the House of Lords, but before the fourteenth century was over the peerage became extinct (COURTHOPE, *Historic Peerage*, p. 85). Only a few ruins now remain of the great hall at Acton in which the parliament held its session, and modern alterations have almost destroyed the identity of Burnell's great house, built with timber from the royal woods, strengthened with a wall of stone and lime, and crenellated by special royal license (*Rot. Pat.* 12 E. I, mm. 17 and 6).

Burnell's faithfulness, wisdom, and experience must be set against the greediness and the licentiousness and the nepotism that stained his private character (*An. Dunst.* in *An. Mon.* iv. 373). His kindness of heart, his liberality, affability, love of peacemaking, and readiness in giving audience to his suitors brought him a good share of his master's popularity. The intimate friend of Edward I could hardly have been lacking in some elements of justice. The confidential minister of the greatest of the Plantagenets was almost necessarily a great statesman. The ecclesiastic who stood up for the crown against the Franciscan primate prepared the way for the later assertions of national independence. The author of the statute of Rhuddlan and the ordinance De Statu Hiberniæ played an important part in the pro-

cess of unifying the British islands. The monk of Worcester was fully justified in saying that his peer would not be found in those days (*An. Wig. A. M.* iv. 510; cf. *An. Dunst. A. M.* iv. 373; RYMER, i. 559; *Canonicus Wellensis in Anglia Sacra*, i. 566).

[The chief authorities for the various aspects of Burnell's career have been already enumerated in the course of this article. Of his family, early history, and relations with Shropshire, everything known has been judiciously collected by Eyton. His political career can be traced in the calendars of the Close and Patent Rolls, in Rymer's *Fœdera*, and in the chance allusions of the chroniclers, particularly those included in Luard's *Annales Monastici* in the Rolls Series. The Canon of Wells is the best authority for what he did in his own diocese. The Register of Peckham gives, with his relations to the archbishop, his general ecclesiastical policy. Short modern lives are to be found in Godwin's Catalogue of Bishops of Bath and Wells, Cassan's Bishops of Bath and Wells, and a skeleton of facts and dates in Le Neve's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*; of the longer lives, that of Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. i.) is careless and inaccurate, and much inferior to the biography in Foss (*Judges of England*, iii. 63-7; *Biographia Juridica*, p. 143).]

T. F. T.

BURNES, SIR ALEXANDER (1805-1841), an Indian political officer, was the fourth son of James Burnes, writer of the signet and provost of Montrose. He belonged to the same family as Robert Burns, the poet, his great-grandfather and the poet's father having been brothers. Through the influence of Joseph Hume, he was appointed, at the age of sixteen, to an Indian cadetship, and joined the Bombay native infantry in 1821. Devoting himself, immediately after his arrival in India, to the study of the native languages, he was selected, while still an ensign, for the post of regimental interpreter, and shortly afterwards for that of adjutant. His subsequent advancement was rapid. In 1825 he was appointed to the quartermaster-general's department, and four years later was transferred to the political department as assistant to the political resident in Cutch. In 1830 he was despatched on a complimentary mission to Lahore, in charge of a present, consisting of a batch of English horses, which had been sent by the king of England to Ranjît Singh. In combination with this duty, he was instructed to explore the countries on the lower Indus, and to this end was entrusted with presents for the amirs of Sind. The journey was not accomplished without some difficulties, for the amirs distrusted its object; but the obstacles offered to Burnes's progress through Sind were

gradually surmounted, and in the Punjáb he met with a cordial welcome from the maharaja. In 1832 he was sent on another mission to explore the countries bordering upon the Oxus and the Caspian. An interesting account of his travels, which included the Punjáb, Afghanistan, Bokhára, the Turkoman country, the Caspian, and Persia, was published in 1834.

Returning to England in 1833, Burnes was well received in London, whither his fame as an adventurous traveller had preceded him. He received the gold medal of the Geographical Society of England, and the silver medal of the Geographical Society of Paris, and the Athenæum Club admitted him as a member without ballot. According to his biographer Kaye, 'the magnates of the land were contending for the privilege of a little conversation with Bokhára Burnes. Lord Holland was eager to catch him for Holland House. Lord Lansdowne was bent upon carrying him off to Bowood. Charles Grant, the president of the board of control, sent him to the prime minister, Lord Grey, who had long confidential conferences with him; and, to crown all, the king, William IV, commanded the presence of the Bombay lieutenant at the Brighton Pavilion, and listened to the story of his travels and the exposition of his views for nearly an hour and a half.'

Burnes returned to India in 1835, rejoining for a time his appointment as assistant to the resident in Cutch. In November 1836 he was sent by Lord Auckland on a commercial mission to Cabul, where he was received by Dost Mahomed, the de facto amir, whose acquaintance he had made on the occasion of his previous visit in 1832. Burnes's commercial mission was speedily converted into a political one. Writing to a private friend shortly after his arrival at Cabul, he observed: 'I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys, and examine passes of muntains, and likewise certainly to see into affairs, and judge of what was to be done hereafter; but the hereafter has already arrived.' He had discovered that Russia was intriguing, through the agency of the Persian government, with the Afghans, and this discovery was soon followed by the arrival of a Russian agent at Cabul. At this time the amir was eager for an alliance with England, and was quite prepared with the slightest encouragement to reject the overtures of Russia. Burnes urged upon the government of India that Dost Mahomed's wishes should be gratified; but Lord Auckland and his advisers held different views. The amir's requests, which included the restoration of Peshawar, formerly an Afghan province, but

lately conquered by the Sikhs, were pronounced to be unreasonable, and it was decided, instead of supporting and strengthening Dost Mahomed, to replace the deposed amir, Shah Sujah, on the throne of Cabul. Burnes, having failed to obtain sanction for his recommendations, and finding that the amir, in despair of obtaining British support, was throwing in his lot with Russia, returned to Simla, and was shortly afterwards sent to Sind and Beluchistan, to smooth the way with the amirs of Sind and with the khan of Khelat for the passage through their territories of a British army which was about to be despatched to Afghanistan to aid in the restoration of Shah Sujah. Burnes accompanied the army to Cabul as the second political officer, Sir William Hay Macnaghten, who, as secretary to the government of India, with the governor-general, had had a large share in shaping Lord Auckland's policy, being the first. Burnes was knighted, and received the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel. From the latter part of 1839 until his death in November 1841 he remained at Cabul, with but little to do, and with no power or responsibility, offering advice which was seldom acted on, and thoroughly dissatisfied with the state of affairs. In the meantime Macnaghten was appointed governor of Bombay, and Burnes had every expectation of taking his place at the head of the British mission, when, in November 1841, the outbreak, which had for some time been threatening, occurred, and Burnes, who with his younger brother and his assistant, Lieutenant William Broadfoot, occupied a house in the city, was one of the first victims. He had been warned of the approaching danger, and urged to take refuge in the cantonments; but, believing that he could quell the tumult, he declined to move, and on 2 Nov. 1841 he was killed by the Afghan mob, at the early age of thirty-six, his brother and Broadfoot perishing at the same time.

The career of Burnes, short as it was, was a very remarkable one. Even in India it is not often that a young military officer has achieved the position which Burnes occupied at the time of his death. His energy and talents were undoubted. His judgment with reference to Central Asian affairs has often been called in question, and it may be that he attached undue importance to the efforts then being made by Russia, and steadily pursued ever since, to acquire influence in Afghanistan, and to the value of a forward policy on the part of the government of India; but there can be no doubt that the advice given by him in favour of an alliance with Dost Mahomed was far sounder than that

upon which Lord Auckland acted, and it is not to his discredit that, when his advice was overruled, he zealously exerted himself to give effect to the policy adopted by his official superiors. For a time much injustice was done to him, and also to Dost Mahomed, by the mutilated form in which the official correspondence regarding the first Afghan war was in the first instance presented to parliament, passages being omitted which showed that Dost Mahomed's conduct was by no means so unreasonable or unfriendly to the British as it was made to appear, and that Burnes had advocated an alliance with Dost Mahomed. Sir Henry Durand, in an article in the 'Calcutta Review,' describes Burnes as 'a man hated as the treacherous cause of the invasion and occupation of the country.' It is not improbable that this was the Afghan feeling, but it does not appear that it was shared by Dost Mahomed; nor was there anything in the facts of the case to support a charge of treachery against Burnes.

[Kaye's Lives of Indian Officers, 1869; Burnes's Travels into Bokhara, &c., 2nd edition, 1839; Marshman's History of India, vol. iii. 1867; Kaye's History of the War in Afghanistan, 3rd edition, 1874; Calcutta Review, vol. ii.]

A. J. A.

**BURNES, JAMES** (1801-1862), physician-general of Bombay, a kinsman of the poet Burns, was born at Montrose, where his father, James Burnes, was provost, on 12 Feb. 1801, and after being trained for the medical profession at Edinburgh University and Guy's and St. Thomas's hospitals, London, arrived at Bombay, in company with his brother Alexander [see BURNES, Sir ALEXANDER], in 1821. He filled various minor posts in the Indian medical service, and was successful in the open competition for the office of surgeon to the residency of Cutch. He accompanied, as a volunteer, the field force which, in 1825, expelled the Sindians who had devastated Cutch, and had forced the British brigade to retire upon Bhuj. The amirs of Sind then invited him to visit them as 'the most skilful of physicians and their best friend, and the cementer of the bonds of amity between the two governments,' and on his return he was complimented by the government on the zeal and ability he had displayed at Cutch and Hyderabad. His narrative of his visit to Sind, sent in as an official report to the resident at Cutch, is still the best account we possess of the country, and was a valuable contribution to the geography of India. It was republished in book form, with the title 'Narrative of a Visit to Scinde,' in 1830. During a visit to England on sick leave

in 1834 Burnes was made an LL.D. of Glasgow University and a fellow of the Royal Society, and received the knighthood of the Guelphic order from William IV. On his return to India in 1837 he was at once appointed garrison surgeon of Bombay, afterwards secretary of the medical board, superintending surgeon, and finally physician-general. He was also a member of the board of education, and took an active interest in the diffusion of medical training among the natives. Impaired health compelled him to resign in 1849, after twenty-eight years' service; and his departure was commemorated at Bombay by the foundation of four medals to be competed for at the Grant Medical School, Bombay, the Montrose Academy, and the boys' and girls' schools at Byculla. Burnes was a zealous freemason, and held the office of grand master for Western India, in which capacity he opened a lodge for natives at Bombay in 1844. Besides his 'Narrative' he wrote a 'Sketch of the History of Cutch' (lithographed for private circulation, 1829), and a short history of the Knights Templars. On his return home he occupied himself with the affairs of his county, where he was a justice of the peace; removed to London, and died on 19 Sept. 1862. He married Esther Pryce in June 1862.

[Laurie's Memoir in Burnes's Notes on his Name and Family, Edinburgh, printed for private circulation, 1851.] S. L. P.

**BURNESTON** or **BORASTON, SIMON** (*fl.* 1338), divine, presumably a native of Burniston, near Scarborough, was a doctor of divinity of Cambridge and a member of the Dominican monastery at Oxford. The latter fact has led Tanner (*Bibl. Brit.* p. 143) to suspect that Burneston's ascription to Cambridge is an error. Burneston was distinguished as a preacher, and was chosen to be provincial of his order for England. His works consist of a 'Tractatus de Mutabilitate Mundi' (dated 1337 in a manuscript of Lincoln College, Oxford, lxxxi. f. 29, Cox's *Catal.* p. 42); 'Tractatus de Unitate et Ordine ecclesiasticæ Potestatis' (written in the Dominican house at Oxford in 1338); 'Opus alphabeticum de Verbis prædicabilibus, cum Concordantia quorundam Doctorum,' which is identical with the 'Distinctiones' mentioned by Tanner (*l.c.*) as a separate work; 'Compilatio de Ordine iudiciario,' and some collections of sermons. Other writings attributed to Burneston, namely the 'Thematata dominicalia' (unless these be identical with his sermons) and a treatise, 'De postulandis Suffragiis,' are not known to be extant.

[Bale's Script. Brit. Cat. v. 41, p. 410; Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, i. 594 a; Cox's Catalogue of MSS. in the Colleges and Halls of Oxford, under Merton College, No. ci. and ccxvi.]  
R. L. P.

BURNET, ALEXANDER (1614-1684), Scotch archbishop, was the son of Mr. John Burnet, a Scotch minister; his mother was of the Traquair family. After his ordination he first acted as chaplain to the Earl of Traquair. Whether he took the covenant or not is not certainly known; probably he fled to England to escape being compelled to do so, for he was in that country very shortly after the beginning of the war with Charles. Hereceived holy orders in the English church, in communion with which he lived throughout, and held a rectory in Kent, from which, in 1650, he was ejected for loyalty (KEITH, *Scottish Bishops*). He then went beyond sea, and served Charles II by intelligence from England and elsewhere. It is curious, however, that we find an A. Burnett mentioned as minister of Tenham in Kent on 22 Jan. 1657 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1657, p. 247). Upon the Restoration we find him chaplain to his father's first cousin, Lord Rutherford, afterwards Earl Teviot, who was in command at Dunkirk, and to the English garrison there ('Lauderdale Papers,' *Camden Miscellany*, 1883). His brother, Dr. Burnet, was physician at the same place. A manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, states that he was 'dean of the city of Dunkirk.' His first letter to Sheldon in the Sheldon MSS. is written from that town, and expresses his anxiety to erect a church there suitable to the dignity of the English communion. Upon the restoration of episcopacy in Scotland he did not at once receive preferment; but in 1663, on the death of Bishop Mitchell, he was placed in the see of Aberdeen, being consecrated at St. Andrews by Sharp, assisted by others of the bishops, on 18 Sept. On 18 June in that year he preached the sermon to the parliament from 2 Chron. xix. 6 (LAMONT, *Diary*, pp. 200, 204; GRUBB, *Hist. Church of Scotland*, p. 212; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1663, 18 June). In January 1664, on the death of Fairfoul, he became archbishop of Glasgow, being installed on 11 April 1664. A more unfortunate appointment, considering the time and place, could not have been made. His views of church government were of the most advanced Laudian type; he hated dissent of all kinds vehemently, and his want of common sense was seen in the attempts he made to carry out his high Anglican views to the fullest extent in that part of Scotland

which was particularly steeped in covenant principles. This is fully illustrated by the correspondence with Sheldon referred to. At the same time Gilbert Burnet calls him a man of blameless private life, and even Wodrow admits that he 'was certainly one of the best morals among the present clergy.' He was, it should be added, absolutely honest and consistent, even to the loss of his archbishopric. At his first diocesan meeting he put several of his clergy in English orders, and turned out some of the presbyterian clergy whom Fairfoul had permitted to remain. He appears to have strained his power by encroaching upon the functions of the Glasgow magistrates. Burnet the historian further describes him as a 'soft and good-natured man, inclined to peaceable and moderate counsels,' which, if it be a true description, only shows how completely his belief in the advantages of the Anglican system overcame his own nature. On 29 April 1664 he was made a privy councillor (STEPHEN, *History of the Church of Scotland*). The severity with which he treated the covenanters, against whom, in opposition to Lauderdale and his friends, he continually urged strong measures, was doubtless a leading cause of the Pentland revolt in 1666, and he was largely responsible for the horrors of its repression by Dalryell, Drummond, Hamilton, Rothes, and others, with whom he was at that time in cordial friendship. We hear of him as being 'deadly sick' on 6 Nov. 1666; but a fortnight later, 22 Nov., it is recorded that 'the breaking out of the rebels has cured him,' while he is mentioned as being 'very active' during the rebellion (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1666-7, pp. 244, 280, 336). Keith asserts that Burnet wrote to Arlington and to Charles to recommend lenity, and he himself declares to Sheldon that he never opposed 'the granting of remissions to any person that acknowledged their fault, but on the contrary laboured what he could to make them capable of pardons.' The passages, however, in which he counsels severity are far more frequent, and it is perfectly certain that he constituted the chief obstacle to the policy of conciliation which Lauderdale, in order to frustrate the schemes of the party opposed to him among the Scotch nobility, began to initiate in 1667. The necessity of getting rid of Burnet—Longifacies or Long Nez, as he is called from some facial peculiarity (there is no portrait of him extant)—is prominent in the letters that passed between Lauderdale and Robert Moray, and his other agents in Scotland (*Lauderdale Papers*, vols. i. and ii., Camden Society). An additional cause of Lauderdale's enmity was, perhaps, the fact that Burnet had sent information on the proceedings of the council to

Arlington and Charles without consulting him. In the intrigues which followed, Burnet, in contrast to James Sharp, who had been for the time won over by Lauderdale, and was used now to counteract his colleague, pursued a thoroughly honest course in opposition to conciliation, under the encouragement of Sheldon. 'Honest' and 'stout' are epithets often used of him. In 1669 Lauderdale came to Scotland as high commissioner. The Act of Supremacy was immediately passed, by which the absolute control of all persons and matters in the church was put in the king's hands. Burnet had shortly before held a synod at Glasgow, in which he put forth a vehement remonstrance against Lauderdale's policy. The new act was at once, and in the first place, used to insist upon his resignation, a copy of which, dated 24 Dec. 1669, is among the Sheldon MSS. For the events which led to his resignation, and of which the foregoing sentences are a summary, see 'Lauderdale Papers,' referred to above. He was succeeded by Leighton, a devoted favourer of conciliation, and for four years lived in retirement. In his letter to Sheldon at the time of his resignation he begs that some private corner may be found for him in England, where he may die, as he has lived, in fellowship with that church. On Leighton's retirement in 1674, Lauderdale's policy having changed, Burnet was, on 29 Sept., restored to his archbishopric, probably in deference to the opinion of the English bishops. He was restored to the privy council on 3 Dec. of the same year. Wodrow (ii. 144) mentions an additional reason for this restoration, which in itself is most probable, having regard to the corruption of the administration, but for which he does not himself vouch, and which is not supported by Gilbert Burnet or by any other authority. Burnet, according to this questionable anecdote, was to regain his archbishopric in return for sacrificing the claims of his daughter, the widow of the late heir to the Elphinstone property, to her jointure, in favour of Lauderdale's niece, who was to marry the next heir. Upon the murder of Sharp in 1679 Burnet was promoted to the primacy on 28 Oct., and retained the post until his death in the Novum Hospitium of St. Andrews on 22 Aug. 1684. He is stated by Fountainhall to have been buried in St. Salvator's College, near the tomb of Bishop Kennedy; there is, however, now no trace of the burial-place visible. In his will occurs a gift of one thousand merks to the poor of St. Andrews (GORDON, *Scotichronicon*). On the last letter which he received from Burnet, Archbishop Sancroft endorsed the following lines:—

Obiit Aug. 22, 1684, horâ matutinâ.

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit:

Nulli flebilior quam tibi, Scotia.

Burnet married Elizabeth Fleming of Litterie in Fife, and left two daughters, who married respectively the son of Lord Elphinstone and Lord Elliebank (*MS. Advocates' Library*).

[Keith's *Scottish Bishops*; Burnet's *Own Time*; Sheldon MSS. Bodleian Library; the greater number of the letters from Burnet to Sheldon will be found in the Appendix to vol. ii. of the Lauderdale Papers (Camden Society), a selection from the Lauderdale MSS. British Museum; Wodrow's *Hist. Church of Scotland*; Fountainhall's *Chronicles*; Grubb's *Hist. Church of Scotland*; Stephen's *Hist. Church of Scotland*; Gordon's *Scotichronicon*; Law's *Memorials*; Mackenzie's *Memoirs*; Collection of Letters to Sancroft, edited from the originals in the Bodleian by Dr. Nelson Clarke; Abstract of the Writs of the City of St. Andrews, 1767; Lyon's *Hist. of St. Andrews*.] O. A.

BURNET, ELIZABETH (1661-1709), religious writer, third wife of Bishop Burnet, was born at Earontoun, near Southampton, on 8 Nov. 1661. Her father was Sir Richard Blake; her mother was Elizabeth, a daughter of Dr. Bathurst, a London physician, and she was their eldest daughter (*Some Account of her Life*, p. v). Fell, bishop of Oxford, was known to her and her family, and he being a guardian of Robert Berkeley of Spetchley, Worcestershire (grandson of Sir Robert Berkeley [q. v.]), brought about an acquaintance between Elizabeth and his ward, which ended in their marriage in 1678 (*ib. v*), Elizabeth being then seventeen years old. Mrs. Berkeley had no skill in the learned languages, but she was an incessant reader of the scriptures and of commentators (see her 'List of Books' recommended, *ib. 391*); Stillingfleet said he 'knew not a more considerable woman in England than she' (*ib. ix*). About 1684, Mr. and Mrs. Berkeley left England for Holland (*ib. viii*), and settled at the Hague. There they became warm adherents of the Prince of Orange (*ib. xxx*), and they returned to their country life at Spetchley soon after the prince became William III. Their riches were great, and their charities kept measure with them. They projected building a hospital at Worcester, and a school for poor children; and in 1693, when Berkeley died, Mrs. Berkeley carried out these projects (*ib. xii*). Her widowhood lasted seven years, during which she wrote 'A Method of Devotion,' the book by which she is chiefly known. She then married Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, who had lost his second wife in 1698, and by him

she had two children, who died infants (BALLARD, *British Ladies*, p. 403, note). The bishop placed his children by an earlier marriage in her charge entirely, and gave her thorough control of her separate fortune, one-fifth of this being kept by her for herself, and the other four-fifths being devoted to her charities. She had more than one edition of her book printed at her own expense for distribution, and printed anonymously (*Some Account* iii); yet she was generally known as an author. Ralph Thoresby writes: 'I was with several . . . authors, as the Bishop of Sarum's lady . . . [who] has writ a "Method for Devotion"' (NICHOLS, *Illustrations of Literature*, i. 804); the manuscript of her work came afterwards into Thoresby's possession (BALLARD, *British Ladies*, p. 402). In 1707 Sir Godfrey Kneller painted Mrs. Burnet's portrait, an engraving from which is the frontispiece to 'Some Account;' and in the same year she went to Spa for her health (*Some Account*, xvi). On her return for the winter of 1708-9 her health was better, and she entered into society in London; but on the breaking up of the frost on 27 Jan. 1708-9 she was seized with pleuritic fever, and died in a week, on 3 Feb., aged 48.

Mrs. Burnet was buried at Spetchley. Immediately after her death her book was published with her name affixed; Goodwyn, archdeacon of Oxford, afterwards archbishop of Cashel (*Biog. Brit.* i. 1041, note), contributed to the edition 'Some Account' of her life. A second edition was called for, still in the same year; and there were further issues in 1715 and 1738. Some of Mrs. Burnet's prayers are given in the volume. They are very lengthy. One, to be used by a child twice a day, runs to 35 lines, and a Prayer for Servants covers 3½ pages.

[Elizabeth Burnet's Method of Devotion, &c.; Ballard's Memoirs of British Ladies; Wilford's Memoirs of Eminent Persons; *Biog. Brit.*; Nichols's *Illustrations of Literature*, i. 804.]

J. H.

**BURNET, GILBERT** (1643-1715), bishop of Salisbury, was born in Edinburgh on 18 Sept. 1643. His father, Robert Burnet, who was of a good Aberdeen family, being a son of the house of Crathes (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 2nd Rep. 197), was an advocate of high character, who, while in 1637 he freely condemned the conduct of the Scotch bishops, refused to take the covenant, and was in consequence compelled to leave Scotland on three separate occasions. When permitted to return, he lived in retirement on his own estate until the Restoration, when he was made one of the lords of session. Burnet's mother was

the sister of Archibald Johnston, lord Waristoun, who framed the covenant, and who afterwards became the leader of the protesters, or extreme section of the covenanting party; she was naturally herself one of the strictest of presbyterians.

Until he was ten years of age, Gilbert, whose talents were remarkably precocious, was educated by his father, from whom he doubtless derived the principles of wide tolerance which distinguished him. By that time he was sufficiently master of Latin to enter the Marischal College of Aberdeen. At fourteen, having thoroughly learned Greek, and having passed through the college course of Aristotelian logic and philosophy, he became master of arts, and immediately applied himself to the study of civil and feudal law. His father, however, was bent upon his becoming a clergyman, and at the age of fifteen he began a course of divinity reading, not in the perfunctory manner common in those days, but as thoroughly and as comprehensively as it could be carried out. Besides working through the chief commentators, he read the most famous controversialists, especially Bellarmine and Chamier. It is an early instance of the broad and secular tastes which he retained through life, that he threw aside the productions of the scholastic divines, and that in his leisure time he made himself master of European history. He is stated at this time to have studied for fourteen hours a day.

In 1661 he passed the trials which qualified him to become a probationer. Thus he entered the church while it was still under presbyterian government, though episcopacy was restored in the following year. In 1661, also, his father died. Burnet was at once offered a living by his cousin-german, Sir Alexander Burnet. This living, however, though situated among his own kindred, he declined, on the ground that at his early age—although by the Scotch law this is no hindrance—he was not qualified for so important a post. This refusal appears to show that his circumstances were easy. His brother Robert, who had followed his father's profession, having also died, Gilbert was urged by his relations to apply himself once more to the law; but this advice was overruled by his father's friend and correspondent Nairn, at that time the most eminent of Scotch divines, by whose suggestion he still further extended his study of divinity. It appears to have been now that he became imbued with the principles of Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity.' By Nairn's advice Burnet began the practice of extemporary preaching, unusual with the Scotch clergy. His other advisers—and his admira-

tion for such men shows the bent of his mind towards tolerance and broad learning—were Leighton, just appointed bishop, and Charteris. Of Leighton he says he reckons his early knowledge of him, and his long and intimate conversation of twenty-three years with him, among the greatest blessings of his life. Of Nairn and Charteris—with the latter of whom his connection did not begin until after his return from abroad in 1664—he speaks in a similar way: ‘It was a great happiness for me, after I had broke into the world by such a ramble as I had made, that I fell into such hands. They both set me right and kept me right.’

In 1663, following the practice common with Scotch clergymen who could afford it, Burnet visited for a while the English universities, where he became acquainted with Cudworth, Pearson, Fell, Pococke, Wallis the mathematician, and other distinguished divines and men of science. From Oxford he went to London with an introduction to Boyle. The friendship, however, which he valued most, and to which he often refers as his chief good fortune in life, was that of Sir Robert Moray, the most learned of living Scotchmen.

Burnet meanwhile had been a careful observer of public affairs in his own country. He had formed his views of the probable results of the oppressive policy carried on by the archbishops, Sharp and Alexander Burnet, and by Rothes, the high commissioner. On the granting of a special commission to execute more stringently the ecclesiastical laws, he displayed the confidence which characterised him through life by freely expostulating with Lauderdale, the secretary, to whom, probably through Moray, Lauderdale's chief intimate, he had become known. He applied also to Sharp himself, though of course with no result. He was at this time but twenty-one years of age.

Burnet returned to Scotland after an absence of about six months. He was immediately offered the living of Saltoun in East Lothian, upon its approaching vacancy, by his father's friend, Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun, whose death not long after Burnet's final acceptance of the living was the occasion of his earliest published work, ‘the rude essay of an unpolished hand,’ viz. a discourse on his patron (*Bannatyne Club Miscell.* iii. 393). Apparently his services were sought elsewhere as well. In an unpublished letter, dated 17 March 1664, Robert Moray, writing to Kincardine from London, says: ‘Mr. Burnet delivered me on Tuesday last your letter of 26 Feb. I find him as much satisfied with you as you are with him. If there be no en-

gagement upon him already, he will, I think, admit of none till he return, at least if it can be prevented; but it seems he conceives some to lie upon him already; and I am afraid my L. Lauderdale hath already been moved to procure a presentation for him from the king to Saltoun by the archbishop; but I mean to send in a word for delay if I find it true.’

Burnet, who was anxious to travel, wished the living to be given to Nairn; but Fletcher determined to keep it open for him until his return. Accordingly he went to Holland during this year, residing for some time in Amsterdam, where he mastered Hebrew, and became acquainted with the leading men of all religious persuasions. His stay in Holland still further strengthened his liberal views. From Holland he passed into France, where, through the friendship of the English ambassador, Lord Hollis, he enjoyed the best opportunities of observation, and where he had frequent intercourse with Daillé and Morus, the leading protestant ministers of Charenton. His visit to France established him, he says, in his love of law and liberty, and in his hatred of absolute power.

On his return to England at the end of the year Burnet stayed some months at the court, where he took care to make himself acquainted with all the men who were engaged with Scottish affairs. His intimacy with Moray and Lauderdale, who were for lenity in the treatment of the covenanters, and his friendship with Leighton, drew upon him the jealousy of the Scotch bishops, who regarded him as set up by Lauderdale to oppose their action. It was now that, upon the introduction of Robert Moray, the first president, Burnet became a member of the newly established Royal Society. Saltoun being now vacant, Fletcher again pressed it upon Burnet, who officiated for four months, at his own desire, upon probation, at the end of which time he received a unanimous call from the parishioners. He went through his first trials during November and December 1664, was inducted on 29 Jan. 1665, instituted on 15 June of the same year, and ‘approved’ at the visitation of 5 July 1666. On 9 May 1667 he became clerk of the presbytery of Haddington (*Bannatyne Club Miscell.* iii.) During the five years of his ministry he devoted himself, in a spirit very different from that of most of the Scottish clergy, to the duties of a parish priest. So entirely did he gain the affections of his people by his unwearied diligence and by his generosity, that, if we may believe the biography left by his son, he overcame the hostility even of the rigid presbyterians, in spite of the fact that he stood almost alone in making use of the Anglican prayers.

In the midst of his work he found time, however, to draw up a memorial against the abuses of the bishops, which later discoveries show to have been more than justified. As he says himself, 'I laid my foundation on the constitution of the primitive church, and showed how they had departed from it.' Whether he would have done this had he not been secure of the approbation of Lauderdale may be doubted. In any case it was a bold and a striking act in a young man of twenty-three, and still bolder was the step he took in signing the copies and forwarding them to all the bishops whom he knew. It is not surprising that he was called before the bishops, when he defended himself with spirit and success against the hectoring of Sharp, who proposed that he should be excommunicated; to this, however, the other bishops would not consent. He refused to ask pardon, and the matter dropped; but Burnet, having delivered his mind, thought it now the best course to confine himself strictly to the functions of his ministry. For some while he lived the life of an ascetic, to such an extent that he twice became dangerously ill.

Burnet continued in the confidence of the moderate men, who at that time adhered to Lauderdale. As early as April 1667 he was informed by Kincardine of the meditated *coup d'état* by which, a month or two later, Lauderdale dismissed Rothes from the commissionership, and thus broke the strength of the extreme church party. Burnet was consulted by Tweeddale and Kincardine with reference to their desire to give Leighton influence in the church, and to induce as many of the presbyterian clergy as possible to waive their non-Erastian principles and to accept the council's appointment to preach in vacant parishes. He participated, however, in the coldness which, under the influence of Lady Dysart, Lauderdale now showed to Moray.

It would appear that Burnet was already on terms of confidence with both the king and the Duke of York and with many court officials. In nothing, indeed, is his freedom from the narrowness of interest usual among his brethren more displayed than in the fact that, whether from ambition or from the natural inclination of a mind widened by culture and conscious of its own power, he kept himself as well informed of the politics of the English court as of those of his own country. He was applied to both by Lauderdale and Sir Robert Moray to give an opinion upon the question how far the queen's barrenness would justify a divorce or polygamy on the part of Charles. He himself states that he answered in the negative. There is, however, a paper extant, supposed to be by him,

in which the affirmative is maintained; but it is impossible that this can really have been from his hand.

In 1669 Burnet was intimately concerned with the scheme of conciliation, involving a great diminution of the power of the bishops, which Leighton, now archbishop of Glasgow, especially desired to set on foot, and was employed as his agent to treat with the presbyterians. He went in the first place to Hutcheson, the leader of the moderate presbyterian party; and, when the treaty hung fire, was sent into the west to report upon the feeling of the more discontented districts. At Hamilton he made the acquaintance of the duchess, who advised the planting of a number of presbyterian ministers in vacant parishes, and he wrote a long letter to Tweeddale urging the plan. Burnet adds that the letter was read to the king, and that, through the advice it contained, some forty ministers, thence called 'king's curates,' were permitted to take the vacant parishes, with a pension of 20*l.* a year each. His visit to Hamilton resulted in a great change for himself. He there made the acquaintance of the regent of the university of Glasgow, who, when a vacancy occurred shortly afterwards in the divinity professorship, obtained the post for Burnet. His hesitation in leaving Saltoun (*Bannatyne Club Miscell.* iii.), to which parish at his death he bequeathed 20,000 merks for useful and charitable objects, was overcome by Leighton, and in 1669 he began residence at Glasgow, where he remained four years and a half 'in no small exercise of my patience.' As was but natural, his late action had earned him the distrust and dislike both of strong presbyterians and of strong episcopalians. He carried, however, to this new work exactly the same zeal and thoroughness that he had displayed at Saltoun, devoting the hours from four to ten in the morning to his own study, and from ten till late at night in the active work of teaching. Throughout life, aided by magnificent health, he did a stupendous amount of work, and always did it well. His 'Modest and Free Conference between a Conformist and a Nonconformist' was written at this time. It is an able exposition of the liberal principles regarding church government which he upheld through life. Being now in a position of influence, Burnet was frequently applied to both by the clergy who found their churches deserted, and by the gentry who came to complain of the foolish conduct of the clergy. Conventicles were increasing rapidly, and the disorder threatened to be so serious that at Burnet's proposal a committee of council was sent into the west to ascertain the state of



affairs. The distrust entertained of him by the presbyterians seems to have been increased by the pressure exercised by this committee, while the episcopalians were annoyed by the gentle treatment that he managed to secure for imprisoned conventiclers.

In 1670, Leighton, now archbishop of Glasgow, who was intent upon bringing the moderate presbyterians to fall in with the measures of conciliation tentatively put forward by the crown, took Burnet with him on his progress. Upon Lauderdale's arrival a conference was arranged in his presence between Leighton and six of the preachers. On its failure Leighton sent Burnet, along with Nairn, Charteris, and three others, to argue the question afresh with the malcontents. This attempt again failing, he was once more employed as chief representative of Leighton in the same way at Paisley, and later at Edinburgh, but all attempts at accommodation were abortive. Once more Burnet, who now refused an offered bishopric, determined to leave public affairs and give himself to study and retirement.

His vacations were spent chiefly in Hamilton, where the duchess engaged him in putting in order all the papers relating to her father's and uncle's political careers. Lauderdale, who had his own reasons for anxiety as to the light which might be cast upon transactions in which he had himself been engaged, no sooner heard of this than he sent for Burnet to come to court that he might give him all the information in his power. The 'Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton,' Burnet's first historical work, was published in 1676. His investigations led in a curious way to a reconciliation between Hamilton and the court. Among the papers which he examined were found undoubted claims of the family upon the crown, for satisfaction of which Hamilton consented to concur in the court measures. This was in 1671.

Upon his obeying Lauderdale's summons to London, Burnet found himself for a while in a position of great influence with the secretary. In spite of a refusal to give up his friendship with Robert Moray, he was treated with confidence both by Lauderdale and Lady Dysart, and busied himself, though in vain, in trying to bring about a reconciliation between Lauderdale and Tweeddale. His proposals for a further indulgence to the covenanting ministers—detailed in the 'History'—were accepted by Lauderdale, and sent down to Scotland in the shape of instructions. He was now offered the choice of four Scotch bishoprics, Edinburgh being one, but declined a preferment that would have fettered his future action.

Shortly after his return to Glasgow, Burnet

in 1671 married Lady Margaret Kennedy, daughter of the first earl of Cassilis [see BURNET, MARGARET]. She was considerably older than himself, and wealthy; and Burnet, in order to avoid uncharitable remarks, signed a deed, previous to the marriage, in which he relinquished all pretensions to her fortune. He had no family by her.

In 1672 Lauderdale came down to Scotland and began his changed career of violent oppression. This again alienated Hamilton, who vehemently opposed Lauderdale's measures, and induced Burnet to represent his views. Burnet states that he was now beyond measure weary of the court, and was prevailed upon only by the general opinion of his usefulness to stay in attendance. By his own account he acted a perfectly independent part, but retained confidence so entirely that a bishopric was again offered him, with the promise of the first archbishopric that should fall vacant. He was now but twenty-nine years of age. He gives a vivid account of Lauderdale's brutal and arbitrary government, which so harassed Leighton that, taking Burnet into consultation, he resolved to retire from his post. It was during these events that the 'Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland' was compiled, wherein Burnet made himself acceptable to the higher powers by his dedication to Lauderdale and by maintaining the cause of episcopacy and the illegality of resistance merely on account of religion. This, with various controversial tracts against popery, was published in 1673, in the summer of which year Burnet went to London once more to obtain the necessary license for the publication of his 'Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton.'

He now, by the favour shown him by Charles, who had made him one of his chaplains, and still more by that of James, drew upon himself the active jealousy both of Lauderdale and of his wife. On his return to Edinburgh on the day before the meeting of parliament he found that Hamilton had organised an opposition to Lauderdale, against which he argued in vain. The blame was laid upon himself by Lauderdale, who denounced him as a marplot to the king. Lauderdale was no doubt irritated by Burnet's freedom in discussing both with the king and with the duchess his conduct regarding popery. He hereupon retired to Glasgow, and remained there until the following June. It is sufficient evidence of Burnet's favour at court and of his never-failing self-confidence, that he proposed that himself and Stillingfleet, whom he introduced to the duke, should hold a conference in James's presence with the

leaders of the Roman catholics, and that he took upon him the still bolder task of remonstrating freely with Charles upon his evil life. In June 1674 he was again in London, where he found that Lauderdale's influence had been active to his prejudice. In a letter from Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, to James Sharp, who was then in London, it is urged that Burnet should be appointed to a country living, where he would be less hurtful than in London (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 2nd Rep. 203). He was struck off the list of chaplains by Charles on the ground that he had been 'too busy'; and, though a reconciliation with the king was effected by James, Lauderdale continued implacable. Burnet, rather than run the risk of persecution in Scotland, now determined, probably nothing loth—for he was essentially English in his views and sympathies—to settle in England. He preached with great and growing reputation in several London churches (EVELYN, 15 Nov. 1674), and through James's favour was offered a living—he does not say where. Lauderdale, however, when he found that Burnet would not forsake Hamilton, induced the king to prevent the appointment. He was shortly afterwards forbidden the court, ordered to leave London, and not to come within twenty miles (twelve miles, according to the *Parl. Hist.*) This last injunction, however, was not enforced. In 1675, after having declined the living of St. Giles, Cripplegate, on grounds creditable to his feelings, he was made chaplain to the Rolls Chapel by the master, Sir Harbottle Grimston, against court influence, and retained that post for ten years, the lectureship to St. Clement's being shortly afterwards added.

The persecution which he suffered, and which, as he fairly says, might have heated a cooler and older man, now induced Burnet to disclose what he knew of Lauderdale's unconstitutional designs, as they had been privately imparted to him when he was on confidential terms with the duke. It has been assumed, quite unnecessarily, that Burnet had derived much of his information from his wife, formerly an intimate friend of Lauderdale. His revelations were soon turned to account by Lauderdale's enemies, who, when the earl was impeached, moved that Burnet should be examined by a committee of the House of Commons. At his examination, he says, he concealed as long as possible the private conversation, and told only what had happened to himself and what had been said to him before others, but was finally compelled to tell all (*Parl. Hist.* iv. 683). Those who dislike Burnet have naturally assumed that his hesitation was affected and

that he yielded to pressure readily enough, but a general consideration of his character renders this unlikely; the naïve and candid judgment which he passes on his own conduct probably represents the actual state of the case (*Own Times*, Oxford ed. ii. 66). He now oncemore retired from public life, though this did not prevent him from bearing an important share in the controversy which was beginning to absorb all other questions. In 1676 he took part with Stillingfleet in a controversy with Coleman and several Romish priests, and subsequently published an account of it. Another outcome of the conference was his 'Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England.' He next undertook, at the suggestion of Sir William Jones, the attorney-general, his 'History of the Reformation in England,' for which Evelyn contributed some materials. For a while he was hindered in his researches in the Cotton Library by Lauderdale's influence and misrepresentation of his object, but after the publication of the first volume he was granted free access. This publication, however, did not take place until 1679, when, the country being in the throes of the popish terror, the spirit in which the work is written caused it to receive so enthusiastic a welcome; that the thanks of both houses were given to him, with a request that he would complete the work. The second volume appeared in 1681, with equal applause; it is said that the historical portion was written in the space of six weeks; the third and last volume was published in 1714; the abridgment of the whole work in 1719.

Burnet had influence over men of widely differing natures; it was at the period at which we have arrived that he had the credit of the conversion, apparently genuine, of one of the worst libertines of the court, Wilmot, earl of Rochester, and of Miss Roberts, one of the king's mistresses; of the former, whose dying declaration is dated 16 June 1680 (*BLAIR, Miscell.*), he wrote an account.

Burnet was intimately acquainted in 1678 with the early stages of the popish terror, and apparently drew upon himself the anger of Jones, Shaftesbury, and other violent antipopery men, as well as a false accusation of Lauderdale to the king, by the stand he made in defence of the first catholic victim of the 'plot.' Two years later, when the exclusion bill was contested, he did his best to bring the two parties to moderation. Whether or not from a desire to conciliate one so fearless, and who was trusted by Essex, Sunderland, Monmouth, and his brother, Charles now offered Burnet the bishopric of Chichester, provided, says his son, he would entirely come in to the court interests. Fre-

quent meetings had taken place between them at Chiffinch's, at which the king had freely expressed his belief that the 'plot' was a got-up affair; and from his own account Burnet appears to have been sufficiently frank in the advice which he gave the king to amend his life. Probably the like of the letter which he addressed to the king on 29 Jan. 1680 never passed between a simple clergyman within reach of high preferment and a monarch little accustomed to hear plain truths. After saying that, though 'no enthusiast in opinion or temper,' he felt constrained to write, he points out to the king the certain failure of the plans hitherto suggested for extricating him from his difficulties, and then comes to the real point: 'There is one thing, and indeed the only thing, which can easily extricate you out of all your troubles; it is not the change of a minister or of a council, a new alliance, or a session of parliament; but it is a change in your own heart and in your course of life. And now, Sir, permit me to tell you that all the distrust your people have of you, all the necessities you now are under, all the indignation of Heaven that is upon you, and appears in the defeating of all your counsels, flow from this, that you have not feared nor served God, but have given yourself up to so many sinful pleasures.' The rest of the letter is in the same strain. Charles read it over twice, threw it into the fire, and for a while was evidently annoyed; but from Burnet's reception a year later, when Halifax, in close intimacy with whom he now lived, took him again to the king, the affair seemed to have entirely dropped from his mind. It is to be noticed that in this year Burnet was thanked for his poems by the House of Commons—the only notice of poems of his that we possess (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 3rd Rep. 197). When Viscount Stafford was condemned, he sent for Burnet. Declining controversy on religion, he requested Burnet to do what he could in the way of intercession, and Burnet appears to have done his best, apparently thereby injuring himself still further with the supporters of the plot, as well as with James, who suspected that Stafford had accused him to Burnet. Like every one else, he had an 'expedient,' which excited some attention, for settling the exclusion question, viz. that a protector should be declared, and that Orange should be named to the post.

During the reaction of 1681 Burnet, finding himself regarded with increasing suspicion and dislike, especially by James, went into close retirement, occupied himself with philosophy, algebra, and chemistry, for which he built himself a laboratory, and confined

his intimate friendship to Russell, Essex, and Halifax. He had hopes that through the influence of Halifax, who remonstrated with him on his seclusion, and of Clarendon, that he might be appointed to the vacant mastership of the Temple; and he was favourably received by the king. A condition, however, appeared to be that he should abandon the society of his other friends, and this he would not do. From Scotch affairs he kept aloof; but when the test of 1682 turned out of their livings some eighty of the best of the clergy, he was successful in obtaining places for them in England, while writing in favour of the test itself, and removing Hamilton's scruples on the subject. At the same time he exerted himself, by intercession with Halifax, and through him with the king, to save Argyll from the infamous condemnation which followed his refusal of the test. This was the occasion for a reconciliation with Lauderdale. By Halifax he was a good deal consulted during the ministerial changes of 1682. About the end of this year he was offered a living of 300*l.* by Essex, on condition that he would reside in London, though the parish was in the country. It is, for that age, a remarkable instance of his high feeling of professional duty that he refused it on such terms. In 1683 took place the Rye House plot, which proved fatal to his two best friends, Essex and Russell. Burnet attended Russell at his trial and in the prison, performed for him the last offices on the scaffold, when Russell gave him his watch as a parting present, and drew up for him the paper which he left in his justification. He afterwards defended the course he had taken with spirit and success before the council (LORD JOHN RUSSELL, *Life of Russell*, Appendix 8). Burnet now, finding himself silenced (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 498*b*), thought it wisest to leave England. He went to France in the beginning of September (*ib.* 289 *a*) with introductions from the French ambassador, Rouvigny, uncle to Lady Russell. Here he found himself in company with Algernon Sidney and Fletcher of Saltoun. He was treated with the highest consideration by Louis, who never failed to try to secure the sympathies of leading men in England, and he made the acquaintance of Schomberg, Condé (who, however, intimated his intention of not accepting another visit) (*ib.* 380 *b*), Bourdaloue, Père-la-Chaise, Maimbourg, and other men distinguished in church and state, as well as with the leading protestant clergy. After describing the extraordinary honours paid to Burnet, and how he was caressed by people of the best quality of both sexes that could be, Lord Preston concludes his letter from

Paris: 'I shall only add that no minister of the king's hath had, that I hear of, such a reception' (*ib.* 344 *a*). This roused, we are told, still further the liveliest jealousy of James, who caused it to be so clearly made known to Louis how great were his dislike and suspicion of Burnet, that the French monarch thought it best to offer his excuses (*ib.* 394 *a*). Burnet returned at personal risk, and against the warnings of his friends, declaring himself conscious of no crime. His movements were carefully watched, and upon his return at the end of October he was dismissed by the royal mandate from the St. Clement's lectureship, and in December 1684 was also deprived of his chaplaincy at the Rolls; this was the result of a vehement sermon against popery on 5 Nov. He preached for two hours amid great applause from the text, 'Save me from the lion's mouth; thou hast heard me from the horn of the unicorn;' it well illustrates the feverish state of people's minds that this choice of a text—the lion and the unicorn being the royal arms—was represented as pointing to the disaffection of the preacher (MACAULAY). Burnet appears, from all the notices of his sermons, to have been a singularly effective preacher (see especially for this, EVELYN'S *Diary* for 15 Nov. 1674, 28 May 1682, 9 March 1690, 6 Jan. 1692, and 25 March 1700).

During the last seven years his pen had been active. In 1682 he published his 'Life of Matthew Hale,' the 'History of the Rights of Princes in the Disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices and Church Lands,' as well as an answer to the 'Animadversions' upon this work. In 1683 he wrote several tracts against popery, and translated the 'Utopia,' and the letter of the last general assembly of the clergy of France to the protestants.

Upon the accession of James, Burnet, having no employment, and being refused admittance at court, obtained leave to go abroad. Avoiding Holland, on account of the number of exiles living there, and the consequent danger of being compromised by association with them, he went, upon promise of protection to Paris. There he lived in close intercourse with Lord Montague, in a house of his own, until August 1685, when Monmouth's rebellion and the consequent troubles were over. He then, in company with a French protestant officer, Stoupe, made a journey into Italy. At Rome he was treated with distinction by Innocent XI and by Cardinals Howard and D'Estrées. He soon, however, received a hint to leave, and returned through the south of France and Switzerland. In France he was a witness of the outburst of cruelty which followed the revocation of

the edict of Nantes. It is significant of the tone of Burnet's mind that while at Geneva he successfully employed his influence to induce the Genevan church to release their clergy from compulsory subscription to the consensus; that he stayed in close communion with Lutherans at Strasburg and Frankfurt, and with Calvinists at Heidelberg. He published in 1687 an able account of his travels, in a series of letters to Robert Boyle, directed naturally in the first place to the exposure, as he says, of popery and tyranny. He now, in order to be nearer England, came to Utrecht, where he found an invitation from the Prince and Princess of Orange to reside at the Hague. He was at once taken into the confidence of the prince, who was glad of an agent so trusted by his friends in England, and still more into that of the princess. Burnet urged William to have his fleet in readiness, but not to move until the cause was sufficiently important to justify him in all eyes. He was still more useful in preparing Mary to yield, on her own motion, and gracefully, what he knew William would insist upon, an engagement that if their plans were successful she would place all power in his hands. Burnet declares solemnly that no one had moved him to do this, but he no doubt knew that it would be a service eminently valued by William. It was now that Burnet met William Penn the quaker, of whom he gives so unfavourable a character. Penn had come to try to secure the prince's consent to the abolition of the Test Acts, and endeavoured to convert Burnet to his views. The two men were perhaps too similar in their unquestioning self-confidence and controversial eagerness to like one another.

The favour in which Burnet lived at the Hague aroused James's jealousy. He twice remonstrated with William, and when D'Albeville came over to treat with the prince, Burnet's dismissal was made a preliminary. William thought it better to comply, and, though consulting him constantly, and employing him to draw up the instructions for Dyckvelt, who was going on a mission to James, never again actually saw him until a few days before setting sail for England. So high had James's displeasure risen that, hearing that Burnet was about to make a rich marriage in Holland, he set on foot against him a prosecution for high treason in Scotland, on the ground of former correspondence with Argyll. Warned of this, Burnet wrote to Middleton on 20 May 1687, saying that he hoped James would not compel him to defend himself, as he should in that case be obliged to mention details which might cause

his majesty annoyance; he informed him of his approaching marriage, and also that he had secured his naturalisation as a Dutch subject (*Burnet Tracts*, Brit. Mus. 699, f. 6). In his second letter, dated 27 May, the citation having now been received, he insists upon reparation being made him, and offers a fortnight's delay before printing his own justification, which he again intimates will give James no cause for satisfaction. The citation had declared that he had had correspondence, treasonably, with Argyll during 1682-5, and with Ferguson, Stuart, and others during 1685-7.

The expressions of his first letter angered James so much that he set on foot another prosecution on the strength of them. Burnet was outlawed, and D'Albeville was instructed to demand his surrender, which the States, of course, after examination, refused. In a third letter of 17 June he explains the phrases objected to. It is at this time that Burnet says he received trustworthy information of a plot for his murder (*ib.*) He shortly afterwards married his second wife, Mary Scott, a wealthy Dutch lady of Scotch extraction. She seems to have been exceptionally accomplished and beautiful. An autograph prayer on the occasion of his marriage, dated 25 May 1687, is extant in manuscript (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Rep. 460 a). To his firstborn child the prince and princess stood sponsors on 2 April 1688 (*ib.* 5th Rep. 319). He had meanwhile written, among many other pamphlets, a severe and acrimonious reply to Parker's book on the 'Reasons for abrogating the Test Act.' He says of it: 'It was thought that it helped to put an end to the life of the worst-tempered man I ever knew.'

Burnet was kept fully aware of all William's preparations. He gave an early intimation to the Princess Sophia, and was acute enough to do this without William's previous knowledge, to his great satisfaction. At the same time he was in the full confidence of the revolution party in England. He was responsible for the text of William's declaration; and with regard to Scotland he induced him to alter the passage in which he had by implication, upon the urgency of the Scotch exiles, declared for presbyterianism. On 5 Nov. he landed with William at Torbay, this place being selected at the last moment instead of Exmouth, at his suggestion (*Egerton MSS.* 2621, Brit. Mus.) There is extant, in Burnet's handwriting, his 'Meditation on my Voyage for England, intending it for my last words in case this expedition should prove either unsuccessful in general or fatal to myself in my own particular' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Rep. 460 a). On the march to

Exeter he was entrusted with the duty of preventing violence by the soldiers on the road; and he drew up the engagement which was signed by all the noblemen who came in. A curious instance of his want of delicacy, when at Salisbury Cathedral, is quoted from Clarendon's Diary by Macaulay (*History*, i. 297). Letters are extant in manuscript from him to Admiral Herbert, full of interesting details, written during the march to London (*Egerton MSS.* 2621, Brit. Mus.) When Halifax came with the commissioners from James to treat with William, Burnet urged that the king should be allowed to leave the kingdom, and when he was detained at Feversham expressed his vexation at the blunder, and advised William at once to take steps for securing his good treatment. He describes these two events himself in letters written on 9 Dec. and Christmas day. He was most useful, too, in securing indulgence for the papists and Jacobites in London, thus avoiding the danger of a reaction founded on a charge of oppression of Englishmen. His political wisdom was shown in his consistent opposition to Halifax's proposal that the crown should be given to the prince without regard to Mary, and his watchfulness ward off all attempts to cause a difference between them. It was probably during these months that he published a vigorous and useful pamphlet on the question whether the country was bound to treat with James or call him back.

On 23 Dec. he preached at St. James's on the text 'It is the Lord's doing and it is marvellous in our eyes,' and on 1 Feb. was thanked by the House of Commons for the 'Thanksgiving Sermon' of 31 Jan. (*Burnet Tracts*, 699, f. 2). Burnet was soon rewarded by the bishopric of Salisbury. He had previously refused that of Durham, as the conditions were that Crew, who then held it, should resign and receive 1,000*l.* a year during life from the revenue. It is stated, moreover, that when Salisbury fell vacant Burnet asked that it might be given to Lloyd. Sancroft refused to consecrate him, but was prevailed upon to grant a commission for the purpose to the bishops of the province. Burnet's presence in the House of Lords was of immediate service, for the questions of toleration, of comprehension, and of the oaths came on at once. On the third of these points he spoke for the clergy, but acquiesced in the imposition when he found that they were busily opposing the crown. His pastoral letter to his clergy, in which he urged them to take the oaths, was afterwards ordered to be burnt by the hangman, on account of a claim on William's behalf to the crown by right of conquest, and because Burnet

declared that the clergy ought to acquiesce in the possession even when the title was visibly and indefensibly bad. He zealously advocated toleration, and on the question of comprehension argued successfully against the proposed mixed committee for revising the ecclesiastical constitution, though he afterwards changed his opinion on this point. On all other matters he was on the moderate side, and opposed the enforcement of kneeling at the Sacrament and of the use of the cross in baptism. He was the author of a clause in the Bill of Rights absolving subjects from their allegiance if a papist, or one married to a papist, succeeded to the crown. He was chosen by William to propose in the House of Lords the naming of the Duchess of Hanover and her posterity to the succession; and, when the succession actually took place, in 1701, he was named chairman of the committee to whom the bill was referred. This was the beginning of a correspondence with that princess which lasted till her death. We find one of his descendants in 1729 mentioning the medals, gilt tea service and table plate, which had been presented to him by the princess (*Add. MS.* 11404, Brit. Mus.) It was in the summer of this year, 1689, that the well-known picture by Kneller was painted (*EVELYN*, 9 June 1689). He was chosen in April to preach the coronation sermon, which, with that upon 5 Nov. before the House of Lords, and that of Christmas day before the king and queen, was ordered to be printed. His 'Exhortation to Peace and Union' was published on 29 Nov. (*Burnet Tracts*, Brit. Mus.) Burnet was naturally much consulted by William regarding the Scotch church, and is probably responsible (indeed, he himself intimates this) for the letter in which the king promised protection to the bishops on their good behaviour, joined with full toleration of the presbyterians, though he himself declared in 1688 that he did not meddle with Scotch affairs. In the subsequent negotiations he was, however, shut out by the jealousy of the presbyterians from further influence, though he did his best for the bishops. His action was dictated by his prevailing desire to further an accommodation between the Anglican and presbyterian churches (*MACAULAY*, iv. 10). On 13 Sept. 1689 he was placed on the commission for comprehension. On the occasion of the Montgomery conspiracy, Burnet was able, by information which reached him anonymously, to cause its miscarriage. He soothed William's feelings when the commons jealously granted the revenue for five years only. He urged the adoption of the Abjuration Bill, which the king wisely allowed to drop. During the latter's absence in Ireland Burnet

was, at express desire, in close attendance on the queen. For his various political and polemical writings during the last three years, see the appendix to the Clarendon Press edition of his 'History.' The most important was the pastoral letter above mentioned. On the death of Mary he wrote his essay on her character. During her life she had had the entire control of church matters. At her death a commission was appointed for all questions of preferment. Burnet was placed upon this, and, when a similar commission was named in 1700, he was again included in it.

Burnet has been accused of undue eagerness to serve William's wishes, and his promotion of the bill of attainder in Fenwick's case is especially cited. It appears to have been a speech from him which gained the small majority for the bill, and his own justification of it is in an evidently apologetic tone; this was in 1697. In 1698 his wife died of small-pox, and in a few months he married his third wife [see *BURNET, ELIZABETH*]. By her he had no children. In 1698 also he was appointed governor to the young Prince of Gloucester. He states that he accepted this charge unwillingly, as he did not receive the same confidence from William as of old, for the king had indeed resented more than once his occasionally intrusive lectures. His son relates that when, in consequence of the king's urgency, he assented, he asked leave to resign his bishopric as inconsistent with the employment, and only retained it on condition that the prince should reside at Windsor, which was in his diocese, during the summer, and that ten weeks should be allowed him for visiting the other parts of his diocese. In 1698 (*MACAULAY*, iii. 230) he was appointed to attend Peter the Great; and he leaves a character of that monarch which later accounts prove to be remarkably true. In this year, too, he published his 'Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England,' a laborious work, over which he had spent five years. It was received with applause, except by Atterbury, who wrote against it, and by the high-church lower house of convocation, by whom it was censured in the turbulent meeting of 1701, on the grounds that it tended to foster the very latitude which the articles were intended to avoid; that it contained many passages contrary to their true meaning; and that it was dangerous to the church of England. The upper house, however, refused to admit the censure, on the grounds that it consisted only of generalities, and also that the power of censure against a bishop did not belong to the lower house. After frequent adjournments the matter fell through. The dispute gave

rise to a fierce discussion as to whether the archbishop might adjourn the houses by his sole authority (*Convocation Tracts*, Brit. Mus.) The reason which caused its publication at that time was, Burnet states, the increase of popery; this danger also induced him, in spite of his general toleration principles, to vote for the severe act of that year against papists.

Burnet relates that in 1699 an attempt was made in the commons to turn him out of his tutorship of the Duke of Gloucester, and that an address was moved for his removal, but that it was lost by a large majority (MACAULAY, iv. 517). It should be noticed that, according to Ralph, the bishop spent the whole of the salary which he received from this office, 1,500*l.*, in private charity.

In the debate on the bill for vesting the confiscated Irish estates in trustees, Burnet, in 1700, took the side opposed to the court (though he afterwards changed his opinion), and thereby aroused William's displeasure. In this year his pupil died, and on 8 March 1702 he, with Archbishop Tenison, attended William himself on his deathbed. He appears after this to have paid court somewhat obsequiously to the Marlborough faction. He wrote an elegy on William's death. In 1703 he strongly opposed the bill against occasional conformity. I was moved,' he said, 'never to be silent when toleration should be brought into debate; for I have long looked on liberty of conscience as one of the rights of human nature, antecedent to society, which no man could give up, because it was not in his own power.' His speech, which is extant, and which is studiously moderate and very able, formed the subject of a bitter and able attack from Atterbury, who affected to vindicate him from the libel of being the author of it (*Burnet Tracts*, Brit. Mus.) It appears, however, from the speech, that, although not willing that nonconformists should be fined, or that foreign churches should be included in the disabling acts, Burnet was perfectly willing that no non-communicants should be capable of bearing office. Whether he opposed the bill on its passage through the lords in 1711 does not appear. In 1709 he spoke against the bill establishing forfeitures in Scotland in cases of treason, and in favour of the general naturalisation of all protestants. In 1710 he was attacked by Sacheverell, and spoke against him in the debate on his case in the Lords. He remonstrated openly with Anne upon her supposed intention of bringing in the Pretender, and in 1711 spoke his mind to her against a peace which allowed the

house of Bourbon to retain possession of Spain and the West Indies.

Burnet's episcopate stands alone in that age as a record of able and conscientious government. A detailed account of it would be but a repetition of what his son has written. He did his best by careful examination to secure a learned and competent clergy, and stood out against admitting unqualified nominees to livings; waged war against pluralities; established a divinity school at Salisbury. He was tolerant both to nonjurors and to presbyterians to a degree which roused the anger of all extreme men; and his habitual generosity was shown by his entertainment at his own charge of all the clergy who waited upon him at his visitations. The most lasting work, however, which he inaugurated was the provision for the augmentation of livings, generally known as Queen Anne's Bounty. He was anxious that the church should be better represented in the market towns, and for this purpose he set on foot a scheme (after the miscarriage of a design on a smaller scale in his own diocese) applicable to the whole kingdom. In two memorials, dated January 1696 and December 1697, Burnet proposed to the king that the first-fruits and tenths, which had been granted away by Charles II in pensions to his mistresses and natural children, should be applied to the increase of poor livings. The plan met with opposition sufficient to obstruct it until William's death, but Burnet lived to see it become law in 1704. It is worthy of notice that in the memorials mentioned above Burnet suggests the plan as a good one for gaining the support of the clergy in view of coming elections. Burnet's influence in the House of Lords seems to have been considerable, but it was probably more from his representative character than from his oratory. This, if we may judge from the speech against concluding a separate peace with France in 1713, which he has himself carefully preserved, and which may therefore be considered a favourable specimen, was pedantic and heavy. His speeches in 1703 and 1710 upon the Occasional Conformity Act and the Sacheverell impeachment have also been published.

Burnet's most important work, the 'History of my own Time,' was not published until after his death, the first volume in 1723, the second in 1734, though there is a receipt for 25*s.*, being half the price of the second volume, dated in June 1733. It has been, naturally enough, the subject of violent attack on the score of inaccuracy and prejudice. On its first appearance we hear that 'no one speaks well of it' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 512), and individuals whose conduct

was censured expressed themselves in the bitterest terms. As an instance of this we may quote the Earl of Aylesbury: 'He wrote like a lying knave, and, as to my own particular, the editors deserved the pillory, for what relates to me is all false as hell' (*Egerton MSS.* 2621, Brit. Mus.) Actually, however, leaving out of account perhaps his views as to the legitimate birth of James's son, nothing could be a more admirable illustration of the general candour of his mind and of his full and accurate information. That portion where, from the peculiar circumstances, he might not inexcusably have given a partisan colouring to his narrative, and where injustice and inaccuracy would have been extremely difficult to expose, is the portion that treats upon Scottish affairs in the reign of Charles II. An examination of the Lauderdale MSS. in the British Museum, however, enables it to be affirmed that the accuracy of this portion is remarkable not only as regards actual facts, but even as regards the character of men whom he either vehemently admired or as vehemently disliked and opposed. To literary style or to eloquence Burnet has no pretensions, nor is there even the slightest appearance of an attempt at style; his epithets are often clumsy, and his constructions ungainly. From this criticism, however, the most admirable 'conclusion' must be excepted. This gives Burnet at his very best; the thoughts are matured and noble, and the diction is elevated and impressive. The whole work has been subject to the acrimonious criticism of Dartmouth and the pungent satire of Swift, to whom he was especially obnoxious, and who is no doubt the author of a satirical epitaph upon him (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 468 *b*); but while the former of these, who frequently accuses him of deliberate falsehood through party feeling (*e.g.* 6th Rep. 245 note), has now and again hit undoubted blots, the value of the 'History of my own Time' as a candid narrative and an invaluable work of reference has continually risen as investigations into original materials have proceeded.

The historical interest of Burnet's character lies in the fact that from his entrance upon public life as a mere boy he was the consistent representative of broad church views both in politics and doctrine. Except in the two or three instances mentioned, his voice was ever for toleration, and his practice in his diocese was still more emphatically so. He was a man perfectly healthy and robust in body and in mind; a meddler, and yet no intriguer; a lover of secrets, which he was incapable of keeping; a vigorous polemicist, but without either spite or guile; whatever

the heart conceived the tongue seemed compelled to utter or the pen to write. We can well understand Lord Hailes's impression that he was 'a man of the most surprising imprudence that can be imagined' (*ib.* 532). Essentially a politician and a man of action, he was the most pastoral, as he was the ablest, of the prelates of his day; unostentatious in his own life and considerate of others, he was unsparing in labour as in charity. His openhandedness is expressed in a contemporary letter thus: 'He hath always ready money about him to pay what is anywhere due' (*ib.* 7th Rep. 505 *b*). 'He was not one to create a set of spiritual or ecclesiastical forces whose influence remains unspent for generations. He was rather the child of his own age, the embodiment of some tendencies which were then emerging into importance' (*Jubilee Lectures*, ii. 5; cf. MACAULAY, ii. 11). It must, of course, be borne in mind that the two chief authorities on the character of Burnet are likely to be partial, himself and his son. There are plenty of descriptions to be found, depicting him in the darkest colours, but they are too much coloured by political dislike and too slightly illustrated by facts to be worth recording. One, perhaps, by a man who knew him well, may be given here, as it is newly discovered; 'he was zealous for the truth, but in telling it always turned it into a lye; he was bent to do good, but fated to mistake evil for it' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 355).

His robust, hearty, and vivacious nature was singularly reflected in his personal appearance. On this point at least, though probably in no other, Dryden may be accepted as a fair witness when he describes him thus (*Hind and Panther*, l. 2435):—

A portly prince, and goodly to the sight,  
He seemed a son of Anak for his height,  
Like those whom stature did to crowns prefer,  
Black-browed and bluff, like Homer's Jupiter;  
Broad-backed and brawny, built for love's delight,  
A prophet formed to make a female proselyte.

This description is borne out by Lely's portrait.

Burnet died on 17 March 1715 of a violent cold, which turned to a pleuritic fever. He was buried in the parish church of St. James, Clerkenwell, having resided at St. John's Court in that parish during the last few years of his life.

By his second wife Burnet had seven children, three sons and four daughters; two of the latter, Mary and Elizabeth, survived him, as did his three sons, William, Gilbert, and Thomas, the youngest of whom, Thomas, became his biographer [see BURNET, SIR THOMAS].

WILLIAM was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and Leyden. He had a post in the revenue, but lost money in the South Sea scheme, and obtained the governorship of New



York and New Jersey. In 1728 he was transferred, against his will, to Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He quarrelled with the assembly, who refused a fixed salary, and tried to make up for it by a fee on ships leaving Boston, but this was disallowed at home. He died of a fever 7 Sept. 1729. He married a daughter of Dean Stanhope.

GILBERT (1690–1726) educated at Leyden and Merton, contributed to ‘Hibernicus’ Letters,’ a Dublin periodical (1725–7), and to Phillips’s ‘Freethinker.’ He supported Hoadly in the Bangorian controversy. He was prebendary of Salisbury from 1715 until his death on 17 June 1726, was chaplain to the king from 1718, and in 1719 published an abridgment of his father’s ‘Reformation’ (vol. iii.)

A full list of Burnet’s works is given in the Clarendon Press edition of his ‘Own Time’ (1823), vi. 331–52. A full list is also given in Lowndes, together with the titles of many other tracts relating to the various controversies. Burnet published nearly sixty sermons, thirty of which are in ‘A Collection of Tracts and Discourses’ (1704), and sixteen in a volume published in 1713. His principal works are as follows: 1. ‘Discourse on Sir Robert Fletcher of Saltoun,’ 1665. 2. ‘Conference between a Conformist and a Nonconformist, in seven dialogues,’ 1669. 3. ‘A Resolution of Two Important Cases of Conscience’ (said to be written about 1671, printed in Macky’s ‘Memoirs.’ This is the paper erroneously attributed to Burnet upon the proposed divorce of Charles II). 4. ‘Vindication of the Authority . . . of Church and State of Scotland,’ 1673. 5. ‘The Mystery of Iniquity Unveiled . . .’ (against Romanism), 1673. 6. ‘Rome’s Glory; or a Collection of divers Miracles wrought by Popish Saints,’ 1673. 7. ‘Relation of a Conference held about Religion, by E. Stillington and G. Burnet with some Gentlemen of the Church of Rome,’ 1676. 8. ‘Memoires of . . . James and William, dukes of Hamilton,’ 1676. 9. ‘Vindication of the Ordinations of the Church of England,’ 1677. 10. ‘Two Letters upon the Discovery of the late Plot,’ 1678. 11. ‘History of the Reformation,’ vol. i. 1679, vol. ii. 1681, vol. iii. 1714. The best edition, edited by the Rev. N. Pocock, was published by the Clarendon Press in 1865. An abridgment by the author appeared in 1682 and 1719. 12. ‘Some Passages in the Life and Death of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester,’ 1680 (reprinted in Wordsworth’s ‘Ecclesiastical Biography,’ vol. vi.) 13. ‘Infallibility of the Roman Church . . . confuted,’ 1680. 14. ‘News from France: a Relation of the present Difference between the French King and the

Court of Rome,’ 1682. 15. ‘History of the Rights of Princes in the Disposing of Ecclesiastical Benefices, &c.,’ 1682. 16. ‘Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale,’ 1682. 17. ‘Life of Bishop Bedell,’ 1685. 18. ‘Some Letters containing an account of what seemed most remarkable in Switzerland, Italy, &c., written by G. B. to T[he] H[onourable] R[obert] B[oyl]e,’ to which is annexed an answer to Varelles’ ‘History of Heresies’ (in defence of the ‘History of the Reformation’), 1687. Afterwards as ‘Travels.’ 19. Six papers (containing an argument against repealing the Test Act, the citation of G. Burnet to answer . . . for high treason, and other tracts on the politics of the time), 1687. 20. A collection of eighteen papers, written during the reign of James II, 1689. 21. ‘A Discourse of the Pastoral Care,’ 1692. 22. ‘Four Discourses to the Clergy of the Diocese of Salisbury,’ 1694. 23. ‘Essay on the Memory of Queen Mary,’ 1695. 24. ‘Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles,’ 1699. 25. ‘Exposition of the Church Catechism,’ 1710. 26. ‘Speech on the Impeachment of Sacheverell,’ 1710. 27. Four letters between Burnet and Henry Dodwell, 1713. 28. ‘History of my own Time,’ vol. i. 1723, vol. ii. 1734. The Clarendon Press edition, 1823 and 1833, was superintended by Dr. Routh (new edit. pt. i. 1897–1900, 2 vols. ed. O. Airy). A rough draft, with important variations, is in the Harleian MSS. No. 6584. Ranke, in his ‘History of England’ (*Engl. Transl.* vi. 73–85), has noted the chief differences from the ordinary text. He sets a high value on the earlier version.

[The chief authorities are the Biography by his son affixed to the Clarendon Press edition of his History, and the History itself. The honesty and accuracy of the History are established by the Lauderdale MSS., which also contain many notices of Burnet; see also Letters to Herbert in the Egerton MSS. for the period of the invasion; notices in Hist. Comm. Rep., especially Lord Preston’s Letters from Paris; A supplement to Burnet’s History . . . from his original memoranda, autobiography, letters to Admiral Herbert and private meditations, all hitherto unpublished, edited by Miss H. C. Foxcroft, Oxford, 1902, 8vo; Burnett-Leighton Papers, 1648–1688, ed. Foxcroft, in Scottish Hist. Soc. Miscellany, Edinburgh, 1904. A full biography by J. E. S. Clarke, B.D., and Miss H. C. Foxcroft, with an introduction by Prof. Firth, was issued in 1907.] O. A.

BURNET, JAMES M. (1788–1816), landscape-painter, brother of John Burnet [q.v.], painter and line engraver, was born in 1788 at Musselburgh, and showed an early fondness for painting. He was first placed with a wood-carver, but found other opportunities of study at ‘Graham’s Evening Academy.’ In 1810 he

came to London. He there found his elder brother at work upon an engraving of Wilkie's 'Blind Fiddler.' Delighted with that painting, he was led to study the Dutch school, of which he became an ardent disciple. He did not join the Academy schools, but worked directly from nature. Living at Chelsea, he found his subjects in what then were the 'pasture lands' of Battersea and Fulham. In 1812 he first exhibited at the Royal Academy, his work being 'Evening: Cattle returning home.' Later he contributed 'Midday,' and 'The Return in the Evening' (1813), 'Early Morning,' and 'The Ploughman returning home' (1814). 'Crossing the Brook,' 'Breaking the Ice,' and 'Milking-time' were others of his works; all pictures of high promise. He was of delicate health. In consequence of an attack of consumption he removed from Chelsea to Lee, Kent, and there died in 1816. He was buried in Lewisham churchyard. Burnet was a painter from whom much might have been hoped. His work was based upon a loving study of nature and a reverent attention to the masterpieces of Dutch art. 'He had a true feeling for the rural and picturesque; his pictures were rich and brilliant in colour, luminous and powerful in effect.'

[Bryan's Dict. of Painters; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of Engl. School.] E. R.

**BURNET, JOHN** (1784-1868), painter and engraver, was born at Musselburgh, near Edinburgh, on 20 March 1784, and was the son of George and Anne Burnet. His father was surveyor-general of excise for Scotland. After receiving instruction from Mr. Leeshman, the master of Sir Walter Scott, he was apprenticed to Robert Scott [q.v.], landscape-engraver, and father of two well-known artists, David Scott and William Bell Scott [both noticed separately, *Supp.*] He at the same time studied painting at the 'Trustees' Academy, where he was the fellow-pupil of David Wilkie and William (afterwards Sir William) Allan, under John Graham. He served his full apprenticeship (seven years) to Scott, and worked early and late, but his double study of painting and engraving was thought by himself to have cramped his power in both. In 1806 he sailed to London in a Leith smack, where he arrived with only a few shillings in his pocket, and an impression from one of his plates for Cook's 'Novelist.' There he was warmly received by Wilkie, who had preceded him by a year, and, having already made his mark by 'The Village Politicians,' was then engaged on 'The Blind Fiddler.' After working for some years at small plates for the 'Novelist,' Britton and Brayley's 'England and Wales,' Mrs. Inchbald's 'British Theatre,' &c., he (in 1810)

undertook his first large plate, which was after 'The Jew's Harp' by Wilkie, the first picture by that artist which was engraved. In his early small plates he followed the style of James Heath, and in 'The Jew's Harp' that of Le Bas. The latter brought him the acquaintance of William Sharp, the celebrated historical engraver, and its success led to the publication of others, the first of which was 'The Blind Fiddler,' for which he preferred to adopt the larger style of Cornelius Visscher. In consequence of the disapproval of Wilkie and Sir George Beaumont, the plate had to be retouched after the proofs had been struck off, so that there are two sets of proofs to this engraving. The first has, among other differences, the hat of the boy with the bellows in a single line. This plate becoming popular, a companion ('The Village Politicians') was proposed, but, owing to a dispute as to terms, it was executed by Raimbach instead of Burnet. Subsequently he engraved after Wilkie 'The Reading of the Will,' 'The Chelsea Pensioners reading the Gazette of the Battle of Waterloo,' 'The Rabbit on the Wall,' 'The Letter of Introduction,' 'Sir David Baird discovering the Body of Tippoo Saib,' and 'The Village School.' After the peace of 1813, when the Louvre was stored with masterpieces brought from all parts of Europe, Burnet took the opportunity of visiting Paris, and remained there for five months, copying and studying. Shortly afterwards he engraved several plates for Foster's 'British Gallery,' of which 'The Letter-writer,' after Metz, and 'The Salutation,' after Rembrandt, are thought the best. He then joined an association of engravers who (with Mr. Sheepshanks's aid) brought out a series of engravings from pictures in the National Gallery. Burnet's plates were all from Rembrandt—the 'Jew,' the 'Nativity,' and the 'Crucifixion.' He also engraved 'The Battle of Waterloo,' after Atkinson, and the same subject after Devis, as well as some of his own pictures. Among the latter were 'The Draught-players,' 'Feeding the Young Bird,' 'The Escape of the Mouse,' 'Christmas Eve,' 'The Valentine,' and 'The Greenwich Pensioners.'

As a painter Burnet is best known by his largest and most important work, 'The Greenwich Pensioners,' which was painted for the Duke of Wellington as a companion to Wilkie's 'Chelsea Pensioners,' and was exhibited at the British Institution in 1837 under the title of 'Greenwich Hospital and Naval Heroes.' At the Royal Academy he exhibited 'The Draught-players' (1808), 'The Humorous Ballad' (1818), and 'A Windy

Day' (1823). To the British Institution he was a more constant contributor. In such *genre* subjects as those mentioned Burnet showed some humour in the manner of Wilkie, but his most frequent subjects were, like those of his brother James [q. v.], landscapes with cattle. He was a sound and careful painter, but of little originality.

Burnet devoted some time to the improvement of mechanical processes of engraving, with a view to the cheap reproduction of works of art. He produced some engravings of Raphael's cartoons at a low cost, but they had not much success. The Sheepshanks Collection contains two of his paintings, 'Cows Drinking' (1817), and 'The Fishmarket at Hastings.'

In 1836 Burnet gave valuable evidence before the select committee of the commons on arts and manufactures, and as a writer on art he achieved and still maintains a deserved reputation. His thorough knowledge of his profession, both as engraver and painter, and his sound and sober judgment, give his writings a value often wanting to those of more brilliant authors. The following is a list of his most important books: 1. 'Practical Hints on Composition,' 1822. 2. 'Practical Hints on Light and Shade,' 1826. 3. 'Practical Hints on Colour,' 1827. These were published together as 'A Practical Treatise on Painting,' in three parts, 1827. 4. 'An Essay on the Education of the Eye,' 1837. This was added to and published with the previous three as 'A Treatise on Painting,' in four parts. 5. 'Discourses of Sir Joshua Reynolds,' annotated, 1844. 6. 'Letters on Landscape-painting in Oil,' 1848. 7. 'Practical Essays on various branches of the Fine Arts, and an Enquiry into the Practice and Principles of the late Sir David Wilkie, R.A.,' 1848. 8. 'Rembrandt and his Works,' 1849. 9. 'Hints on Portrait-painting,' 1850. 10. 'Turner and his Works,' 1852. 11. 'Progress of a Painter in the Nineteenth Century,' 1854. Burnet illustrated with etchings most of these works, of which the four parts of the 'Treatise on Painting' contain 130. This treatise has passed through numerous editions. Several of his other works have also been republished.

Burnet was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1860, at the recommendation of Lord Palmerston, he received a pension from the civil list and retired to Stoke Newington, where he died at his house in Victoria Road on 29 April 1868, aged 84.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Bryan's Dict. of Painters and Engravers (Graves); Pye's Patronage of British Art; Athenæum, June 1868; Art Journal, 1850, 1868.] C. M.

BURNET, MARGARET (1630?-1685?), the first wife of Gilbert Burnet, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, was the eldest daughter of John Kennedy, sixth earl of Cassilis, by his first wife, Lady Jean Hamilton. She inherited from him his remarkable strength and tenacity of character, as well as the inflexible fidelity to presbyterianism for which he was so well known. She was daring in the expression of her opinions, and her letters are full of a shrewd and masculine wit. She was reputed, too, to be possessed of considerable scholarship. It is related, in illustration of her boldness, that on one occasion during the Commonwealth, while standing at an open window, she reviled some of Cromwell's soldiers as murderers of their king. The soldiers threatened to fire upon her if she did not desist, and upon her continuing actually did so, though the bullets did not strike her. After the Restoration she was distinguished as the steady and uncompromising friend of broad and liberal presbyterianism. She refused to attend the episcopal church so long as the persecution of presbyterian ministers during Rothés's commissionership continued; and she was on terms of the closest intimacy with Lauderdale, Robert Moray, and the other favourers at that time of the conciliation policy, in which she greatly assisted. To Lauderdale she continually gave most valuable information on the state of the country and the plans of his enemies (*Bannatyne Club Publications*). So close was the friendship between her, Lauderdale, and Moray, that in the letters which passed between the latter two she is usually spoken of as 'our wife,' or as one of 'our wives,' the other being the Duchess of Hamilton, her cousin, with whom she frequently resided (*Lauderdale MSS.*, British Museum). The charge that she carried on a criminal intrigue with Lauderdale (MACKENZIE, *Memoirs*, p. 165) has, however, no evidence to sustain it, and the tone of her letters to him, as well as of those between him and Moray, is altogether contrary to such a supposition. In 1671, when she was 'well stricken in years,' she married Gilbert Burnet, who was considerably her junior, and who on the day before the marriage, in order that it should not be said that he married for her money, delivered to her a deed in which he renounced all pretension to her fortune, which was very considerable (BURNET, *History of my own Time*, Clarendon Press, 1833, vi. 263). 'The marriage was consummated in a clandestine way by an order from Young, bishop of Edinburgh, to Mr. Patrick Grahame, and that only before two of Mr. Grahame's servants, and was three years

before it was known. Upon the publishing of it she retired to Edinburgh, condoling her own case and her present misfortunes' (LAW's *Memorials*). It is asserted (MACKENZIE, p. 315) that she expected Lauderdale to marry her on the death of his first wife, and that through anger at her disappointment she induced Burnet to join the attack upon him when impeached by the House of Commons, and to disclose facts and conversations which might help to ruin him. For this charge also it is impossible to find any evidence worthy of the name, and Burnet himself accounts for his knowledge and action in the matter on totally different grounds. The date of her death is uncertain, but it must have been before 1688, as we find that in that year Burnet was reported as being about to marry a second time (*History of my own Time*, vi. 284).

[Authorities cited above.]

O. A.

**BURNET, SIR THOMAS** (1632?-1715?), physician, was son of Robert Burnet, lawyer and advocate of Edinburgh, and was thus brother of Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury [q. v.] He must have been born between 1630 and 1640 (the date 1632 is given in Billings's 'Catalogue of Surgeon-General's Library, U.S.' but on what authority does not appear). He studied and graduated in medicine at Montpellier, being already M.A., and the theses which he defended for his degree on 26-28 Aug. 1659 show that his medical knowledge was mainly based upon Galen and Hippocrates. He returned to Edinburgh and practised there. Burnet is named in the original charter of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, granted in 1681, as a fellow. He was physician to Charles II., and apparently to his successor; certainly also to Queen Anne. He was knighted some time before 1691, and died, it is stated, in 1715. His son, Thomas Burnet, graduated M.D. at Leyden in 1691. Burnet was an eminent physician in his day, and his reputation was spread all over Europe by his books, especially by the 'Thesaurus Medicinæ,' which was very often reprinted, and was evidently a useful compendium of the knowledge of the time. An abridgment was published by the author himself in 1703. His 'Hippocrates Contractus' is an abridgment in Latin of the most important works of Hippocrates. He wrote: 'Curus Iatrikus triumphalis, &c. . . ad Apollinarem laudem consequendam' (theses for obtaining a license), Montpel. 1659, 4to; and 'Questiones quatuor cardinales pro supremâ Apollinari daphne consequenda,' ibid. 1659, 4to (for doctor's degree). They are in Brit. Mus. Library. 'Thesaurus Medicinæ prac-

ticiæ ex præstantissimorum medicorum observationibus collectus,' London, 1672, 4to. Other editions are given, viz. London, 1678, 1685; Geneva, 1697, 1698, 12mo, edited by Dan. Puerarius (two vols.) 'Thesauri Medicinæ practicæ breviarium,' Edin. 1703, 12mo. 'Hippocrates Contractus,' s. l. (Edin. ?) 1685, 12mo; London, 1686, 12mo; Venice, 1733, 1737, 1751, 8vo; Strasburg, 1765, 8vo. It has not been found possible to verify the existence of all the above-named editions.

[Historical Sketch of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh, 1882; Life of Bishop Gilbert Burnet (by his son) in his *History of my own Time*; Burnet's Works.] J. F. P.

**BURNET, THOMAS** (1635?-1715), master of the Charterhouse, was born about 1635, at Croft in Yorkshire, educated at the free school of Northallerton, under Thomas Smelt, who held him up as a model to later pupils, and admitted at Clare Hall, Cambridge (26 June 1651) as a pupil of Tillotson. When Cudworth, in 1654, gave up the mastership of Clare Hall for that of Christ's College, Burnet followed him. He became fellow of Christ's in 1657, M.A. in 1658, and was proctor in 1667. He travelled with Lord Wiltshire, son of the Marquis of Winchester, and afterwards (1689) Duke of Bolton, and with Lord Orrery, grandson of the first Duke of Ormonde. The influence of the Duke of Ormonde, one of the governors, secured his appointment in 1685 to the mastership of the Charterhouse, in spite of complaints that, though in orders, he wore a 'lay habit.' He took part in the resistance offered to James II's attempt to make a Roman catholic, Andrew Popham, pensioner of the Charterhouse. At two meetings held by the governors 17 Jan. and Midsummer day 1687, the king's letters of dispensation were produced, but, in spite of the efforts of Jeffreys, one of the governors, the majority refused compliance. After the revolution Burnet became chaplain in ordinary and clerk of the closet to William, and Oldmixon asserts (*History*, i. 95) that he was thought of as the successor of his friend Tillotson in the primacy, but passed over because the bishops doubted his orthodoxy. He afterwards lived quietly in the Charterhouse, where he died on 27 Sept. 1715, and was buried in the chapel. His will was printed by Curll. Burnet is known as the author of some books of considerable eloquence, and interesting for their treatment of questions which have since been discussed by theologians and men of science. Warton, in his 'Essay on Pope' (i. 115, 266), thinks that he combined an imagination nearly equal to Milton's with solid powers

of understanding. He is, indeed, master of a stately eloquence, marking the last period of English previous to the era of Addison, and his Latin style is equally admired for purity and elegance; but the praise of his understanding must be qualified by the admission that he was fanciful and that his science was crude even for his time. The first part of his 'Telluris Theoria Sacra, orbis nostri originem et mutationes generales quas aut jam subiit aut olim subiturus est complectens,' in two books, appeared in Latin in 1681. From the dedication to the Earl of Wiltshire we learn that it was partly composed during Burnet's travels with him. It was admired by Charles II. An English version, enlarged and modified, appeared in 1684, dedicated to the king. The last part, in two books, dedicated to the Duke of Ormonde, appeared in 1689 (together with a second edition of the first two books), and an English translation of the whole, dedicated to Queen Mary, in the same year. Addison addressed a Latin ode to Burnet in 1689, and Steele wrote an enthusiastic 'Spectator' (No. 146) upon the 'Theory.' Burnet maintained that the earth resembled a gigantic egg; the shell was crushed at the deluge, the internal waters burst out, while the fragments of the shell formed the mountains, and at the same catastrophe the equator was diverted from its original coincidence with the ecliptic. Erasmus Warren attacked his theory in 1690 in a pamphlet called 'Geologia, or a Discourse concerning the Earth before the Deluge.' John Keill, of Balliol, published an 'Examination of Dr. Burnet's Theory' in 1698, in which he also ridicules the scientific ignorance of Warren, and argues against Whiston's explanation of the deluge by a comet in his 'New Theory of the Earth' (1696). Burnet's replies to Warren and Keill are appended to the sixth edition of the 'Theory' (1726). He was also criticised by Bishop Crofts (1685), John Beaumont (1693), R. St. Clair (1697), and others. Flamsteed is reported to have said that these went more to the making of the world than a fine turned period, and that he could refute Burnet on a single sheet of paper (SLOANE, *Voyage to Madeira*, &c., ii. xiii, and *New Memoirs of Literature* for 1726, p. 97).

In 1692 Burnet published his 'Archæologiæ Philosophicæ sive doctrina antiqua de rerum originibus.' An English version appeared in the same year. He professes in this to reconcile his theory with the first chapter of Genesis, which receives a non-literal interpretation; and a ludicrous account of the conversation between Eve and the serpent gave great offence. Burnet pub-

lished a letter 'Ad clarissimum virum A.B.,' apologising for his indiscretion, and is said to have written to his bookseller at Amsterdam directing the suppression of his work (*Life*). Charles Blount the deist [q. v.] made free use of the book in his 'Oracles of Reason.' A popular ballad (see W. KING'S *Works*, 1776) ridiculed him along with South and Sherlock. Burnet is represented as saying

That all the books of Moses  
Were nothing but supposes.

That as for Father Adam  
And Mrs. Eve, his Madame,  
And what the devil spoke, Sir,  
'Twas nothing but a joke, Sir,  
And well-invented flam.

He had to give up the clerkship of the closet, and it seems improbable that he could have been thought of for the primacy.

In 1697 Burnet published some (anonymous) 'Remarks' upon Locke's Essay. Locke refers to them in his answer to Stillingfleet. In 'Second Remarks' (1697) and 'Third Remarks' (1699) Burnet continued the controversy, protesting against the sensationalist character of Locke's philosophy. Mrs. Cockburn [q. v.] defended Locke.

He wrote in later life two books, 'De Fide et Officiis Christianorum,' and 'De Statu mortuorum et resurgentium.' In the 'De Fide' he regards the historical religions as based upon the religion of nature, and rejects original sin and the 'magical' theory of the sacraments. In the 'De Statu' he argues against the endlessness of punishment, though considering that the ordinary phrases should be used for the popular. He kept the books to himself, probably to avoid further imputations of heresy, but had a few copies printed for correction and communication to intimate friends. After his death Dr. Mead bought such a copy at a sale, and printed a few copies in a handsome quarto (1720) with a 'monitum' prefixed, desiring all into whose hands it might come to keep it for the select. A nobleman (Lord Macclesfield) obtained permission from F. Wilkinson of Lincoln's Inn, Burnet's literary executor, to print some copies of the 'De Fide' in the same form with a similar admonition (1722). Lord Macclesfield afterwards reprinted a few more copies of the 'De Statu' with corrections, but still in the same form (1723). A second 'epistola' in defence of the 'Archæologiæ' (not published by Burnet) is appended to the 'De Statu' (1720), and this, with the epistle formerly published by the author, is appended to the 'De Statu' (1723). Both treatises were surreptitiously reprinted in octavo, the 'De Statu' in 1726, and the 'De

Fide' in 1727. F. Wilkinson then printed an authoritative edition of the 'De Fide' in octavo, with a preface explanatory of its previous history, dated June 1727, and a similar edition of the 'De Statu,' with an appendix 'De futura Judæorum Restauratione,' in October 1727. A second edition of the 'Archæologiæ' appeared in 1728. Dennis published a translation of the 'De Fide' in 1728, and of the 'De Statu' in 1733. Various fragmentary translations were also published by piratical booksellers. A translation of the 'Archæologiæ,' with remarks by Mr. Foxton, in 1729, and a translation of the 'De Statu,' with remarks by Matthias Earbery, in 1727, second edition 1728, were catchpenny productions of Curll's press, who no doubt sought to take advantage of the curiosity excited by the carefully limited impressions.

[Biog. Brit.; Carte's Ormonde, ii. 546; Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. lxxvii; Hickeys Life of Kettlewell; Life of Burnet (by Dr. Ralph Heathcote), prefixed to seventh edition of Theory (1759); Relation of Proceedings at the Charterhouse upon occasion of King James II. presenting a Papist, &c. (1689); Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 195, iii. 540, vi. 221; Macaulay's History, ii. 293-4; Notes and Queries (1st ser.), i. 227.]

L. S.

BURNET, THOMAS, D.D. (d. 1750), rector of West Kingston, Wiltshire, of New College, Oxford, became D.D. in 1720, and was prebendary of Salisbury from 1711 till his death on 28 May 1750. He wrote: 1. 'An Essay upon Government,' 1716. 2. 'The Scripture-Trinity intelligibly explained,' 1720, published anonymously. 3. 'The Demonstration of True Religion,' in sixteen sermons (Boyle lecture), 1726. 4. 'The Argument set forth in a late book entitled Christianity as old as the Creation, reviewed and confuted,' 1730. 5. 'The Scripture Doctrine of the Redemption of the World by Christ,' 1737. Kippis in the 'Biographia' mentions 'Scripture Politics,' which seems to be merely a misdescription of No. 1. Burnet is a fair and candid, but by no means a lively writer. In his treatises on the Trinity and atonement and redemption, he endeavours to mediate between orthodox and Arian views. In his defences of revelation, as well as in his political treatise, he tries to reason logically from propositions assumed as axiomatic. In the dedication of his 'Scripture Doctrine' to the Bishop of Salisbury, he says: 'It was composed by broken snatches, and at such leisure time as I could steal from a life encumbered with disagreeable business, and embarrassed with care and difficulties.'

[Biog. Brit. under 'Gilbert Burnet;' Gent. Mag. 1750, p. 284.]

R. G.

BURNET, SIR THOMAS (1694-1753), judge, was grandson of the Scotch judge, Lord Cramond, and third and youngest son of Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury [q. v.], by his second wife, Mrs. Mary Scott, a rich Dutch lady of Scotch extraction. He was born in 1694, was educated at home, entered at Merton College, Oxford, and in 1706 went to the university of Leyden, where he remained two years. Afterwards he travelled in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, and on his return entered at the Middle Temple in 1709. He appears to have been called to the bar in 1715 (see a pamphlet, *Letter to a Merry Young Gentleman, T. Burnet, Esq.*, 1715). His attention was, however, directed to politics, not law, and he was notorious among the men of his time about town for debauchery and wit. Swift, writing of the Mohocks to Stella in 1712, says: 'The bishop of Salisbury's son is said to be of the gang; they are all whigs.' He published many pamphlets, for one of which, 'Certain information of a certain discourse,' the government imprisoned him. A story is told that his father, finding him one day in deep meditation, asked him of what he was thinking. 'Of a greater work than your lordship's Reformation; of my own,' said he. The whigs, on their accession to power, rewarded him with the consulship at Lisbon, and Pope says of him and Duckett:

Like are their merits, like rewards they share;  
That shines a consul, this commissioner.

There he quarrelled with Lord Tyrawley, the English ambassador, and took a curious revenge, by appearing on a great fête in a plain suit himself, but with lacqueys in suits copied from that which the ambassador was to wear. After remaining some years at Lisbon he returned to England, and at length began practice at the bar; he was made a serjeant-at-law in Easter term 1736, and succeeded Serjeant Eyre as king's serjeant in May 1740. He was appointed to a judgeship of the court of common pleas in October 1741, when Mr. Justice Fortescue became master of the rolls, and enjoyed a high reputation as a judge for learning. He was not knighted until November 1745, when, with three other judges, he received that honour on the occasion of the bench 'serjeants' and bar presenting an address of 'utter detestation of the present wicked and most ungrateful rebellion.' He was a member of the Royal Society. He died unmarried, at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on 8 Jan. 1753, of gout in the stomach, and was buried near his father at St. James's Church, Clerkenwell, where, on taking down the church in Sep-

tember 1788, his body was found on the south side of his father's, and was replaced in the same position in the new church (NICHOLS, *Lit. Anecdotes*, i. 285). 'By his death the public lost an able and upright judge, his friends a sincere, sensible, and agreeable companion, and the poor a great benefactor' (*Gent. Mag.* xxiii. 51). Some scandal was created by a clause in his will that he 'lived as he trusted he should die, in the true faith of Christ as taught in the scriptures, but not in any one visible church that I know of, though I think the church of England is as little stuffed with the inventions of men as any of them' (*ib.* p. 98). His writings were numerous. To his father's 'History of my own Time' he prefixed a life and copy of his will (cf. Letter, 10 Feb. 1732, of Bishop Warburton to Dr. Stukely; NICHOLS, *Lit. Illustr.* ii. 22). He is said to have submitted his father's manuscript to the Duchess of Marlborough, who made some alterations, and to have curtailed it himself (BURNET, *Own Time* (ed. 1823), Earl of Dartmouth's note, iv. 156, Earl of Hardwicke's note, iv. 158). The bishop's will had directed that no passages should be omitted, and in the second volume Burnet had promised to deposit the manuscript of both volumes, written by the bishop's amanuensis and corrected throughout by himself, in the Cotton Library, but failed to fulfil his promise (see *A Letter to Thos. Burnet, Esq.*, 1736, and another pamphlet, *Some Remarks on a late Letter to T. Burnet*, 1736, apparently by a son of the nonjuror, Dr. W. Beach, of Salisbury). For the omitted passages see 'European Magazine,' v. 27, 39, 167, 221, 374. Others of his works are 'Our Ancestors as Wise as we,' by T. B., 1712, and a sequel, 'The History of Ingratitude,' 'Essays Divine, Moral, and Political, by the Author of "The Tale of a Tub,"' 1714; 'The True Character of an Honest Man,' 'Truth if you can find it,' 'A Letter to the People, to be left for them at the Booksellers,' 'Some New Proofs by which it appears that the Pretender is truly James III., 1713 and 1714; 'A Second Tale of a Tub,' 1715; 'British Bulwark,' 1715; 'The Necessity of impeaching the late Ministry, a Letter to Earl of Halifax,' three editions, 1715; 'Homerides, by Sir Iliad Doggerel' (an attack on Pope in collaboration with Duckett); 'The True Church of Christ,' 1753; and a volume of posthumous poems, 1777. He also wrote in the 'Grumbler,' and replied to Granville's vindication of General Monk against Gilbert Burnet's strictures.

[Foss's *Lives of the Judges*; Biog. Brit. (Kippis), iii. 39-40; Nichols's *Life of Bowyer*;

Chalmers's Biog. Dict.; *Gent. Mag.* xxiii. 21, 98, xlix. 256; Johnson's *Lives of the Poets*, 'Granville'; cf. Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* i. 71 and 588; *An Account of the Life and Writings of T. Burnet, Esq.*, 1715; Pope's *Dunciad*, iii. 179.]  
J. A. H.

BURNETT, GEORGE (1776?-1811), miscellaneous writer, was the son of a respectable farmer at Huntspill in Somersetshire, where he was born in or about 1776. He had more intellect than the rest of his family, and, after a suitable introduction to classical literature under the care of a clergyman in the neighbourhood, he was sent to Balliol College, Oxford, with a view to his taking orders in the established church. After two or three years' residence he became disgusted with a college life, and took part in the well-known scheme of 'pantisocracy' with Coleridge and Southey. After lingering about for a year or two, dependent upon the supplies which he drew from his father, Burnett obtained admission as a student into the dissenting college at Manchester. He was appointed pastor of a congregation at Yarmouth, but did not remain there long. He subsequently became, for a short time, a student of medicine in the university of Edinburgh. Through the influence of friends he was at one time appointed domestic tutor to two sons of Lord Stanhope, but he idled away a month or more in a needless excursion into the country, and had scarcely entered upon his charge when both his pupils—though not through any fault of his—left their father's house. Lord Stanhope paid 200*l.*—a year's salary—to Burnett, who afterwards became an assistant surgeon in a militia regiment. This situation he soon quitted, and went to Poland with the family of Count Zamoyska, as English tutor, but in less than a twelvemonth returned to England, without any employment. Shortly afterwards he contributed to the 'Monthly Magazine' a series of letters which were reprinted under the title of 'View of the Present State of Poland,' Lond. 1807, 12mo. He next published 'Specimens of English Prose Writers, from the earliest times to the close of the seventeenth century; with sketches biographical and literary; including an account of books, as well as of their authors, with occasional criticisms,' 3 vols. Lond. 1807, 8vo; a judicious compilation, forming a companion to George Ellis's 'Specimens of the Early English Poets.' He also wrote the introduction to the 'Universal History,' published under the name of Dr. Mavor. His last production, consisting of a selection from Milton's 'Prose Works,' with new translations and an introduction

(2 vols. Lond. 1809, 12mo), was compiled at Huntspill in 1808-9, and dedicated to Lord Erskine. On its completion he left his native place, and his relatives never received any communication from him afterwards, so that it is not known how he subsisted from November 1809 till his death, which took place in the Marylebone infirmary in February 1811.

[Biog. Dict. of Living Authors (1816), 48; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. i. 325, iii. 1564; Monthly Mag. xlii. 311; Watt's Bibl. Brit. under 'Burnet'; Cottle's Recollections of Coleridge, i. 6, 246; cf. art. TAYLOR, WILLIAM, OF NORWICH (1765-1836).] T. C.

**BURNETT, GILBERT THOMAS** (1800-1835), botanist, was born on 15 April 1800, his father, Gilbert Burnett, a London surgeon, being a descendant of Bishop Burnet. He was educated by Dr. Benson at Hounslow Heath. Commencing medical study at the age of fifteen, he made medical botany his favourite pursuit, at a time when, in his own words, 'the study entailed both on teacher and on pupil sarcasm and contempt.' Soon after commencing practice as a surgeon he gave lectures on medical and general botany in the Great Windmill Street School of Medicine, and was made honorary professor to the Medico-Botanical Society. Becoming a popular lecturer, he frequently lectured at the Royal Institution, and gave a regular course at St. George's Hospital. On the opening of King's College, London, in 1831, he was chosen the first professor of botany, and was very zealous and successful as a teacher. He published in 1835 'Outlines of Botany,' in 2 vols., written in too diffuse a style, having previously edited Stephenson and Churchill's 'Medical Botany,' in 3 vols. In 1835 he was elected professor of botany to the Apothecaries' Society, and gave a course of thirty lectures at their Chelsea garden; but it had scarcely ended when he died, worn out by multiplied literary, lecturing, and professional labours, on 27 July 1835. A large series of 'Illustrations of Useful Plants employed in the Arts and Medicine,' in 4 vols. 4to, beautifully drawn and coloured by his sister, M. A. Burnett, with text chiefly by Gilbert Burnett, was published (1840-9) after his death. Slight and delicate in person, with dark and sparkling eyes, Burnett was most vivacious and interesting in style, modest and prepossessing in manners, accurate and precise, yet endowed with exquisite sensibility, and enthusiastic for his science.

Besides the above works, Burnett published two 'King's College Introductory Lectures,' 1832 (British Museum, *King's College Lectures*), and numerous papers in the 'Journal

of the Royal Institution' and 'Quarterly Journal of Science,' 1828-30.

[Annual Biography and Obituary (1836), 264-75.] G. T. B.

**BURNETT, JAMES, LORD MONBODDO** (1714-1799), Scotch judge, was the eldest surviving son of James Burnett of Monboddoo, Kincardineshire, by Elizabeth his wife, the only daughter of Sir William Forbes of Craigievar, bart. He was born in October or November 1714 at Monboddoo, and was at first educated at home under the guidance of Dr. Francis Skene. Upon the appointment of his tutor to the chair of philosophy at the Marischal College, Aberdeen, Burnett accompanied him thither. Here he zealously prosecuted the study of Greek philosophy, for which he retained a passionate attachment during the whole of his life. From Aberdeen he went to Edinburgh University. Having determined to adopt the bar as his profession, he afterwards went to the university of Gröningen and remained there for three years, studying the civil law. He then returned to Edinburgh, and, after passing his civil law examination on 12 Feb. 1737, was five days afterwards admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates. During the temporary cessation of business owing to the rebellion of 1745, Burnett paid a visit to London, where he made the acquaintance of many of the literary characters of the day, including Thomson the poet, Lord Lyttelton, Dr. Armstrong, and Mallet. The share which he took in conducting the celebrated Douglas cause brought him into prominent notice at the bar. Thrice he went to France in the prosecution of this case; the pleadings before the court of sessions lasted thirty-one days. In 1764 he was made sheriff of Kincardineshire. After a brilliant and successful career as an advocate, on 12 Feb. 1767 he succeeded Andrew Fletcher, Lord Milton, as an ordinary lord of session, and thereupon assumed the title of Lord Monboddoo. It is said that he refused a seat in the court of judicatory, on the ground that the further work which it would have entailed would have prevented him pursuing his favourite studies in the vacation. In his judicial capacity he showed himself to be both a profound lawyer and an upright judge, and his decisions were free from those paradoxes which so frequently appeared in his writings as well as in his conversation. He was not, however, without peculiarities, even in the court of sessions, for instead of sitting on the bench with his fellow-judges, he always took his seat underneath with the clerks. Nor was he as a rule inclined to agree with his colleagues



in their decisions, but was generally in the minority and sometimes alone. Burnett is, however, best known to the world as a man of letters. 'Of the Origin and Progress of Language' was the first work which he published. It consisted of six volumes, the first of which appeared in 1773, the second in 1774, the third in 1776, the fourth in 1787, the fifth in 1789, and the last in 1792. In this book he vindicated the honour of Greek literature, and among other curious and interesting opinions which abound in these volumes, he maintained that the orang-outang was a class of the human species, and that its want of speech was merely accidental. The subject of his other work was 'Antient Metaphysics.' This also consisted of six volumes, which appeared respectively in 1779, 1782, 1784, 1795, 1797, and 1799. It was written in defence of Greek philosophy, and like his first work was published anonymously. In both these books Burnett showed a most enthusiastic veneration for the learning and philosophy of the Greeks, and a contempt for everything that was of modern date. Many of his opinions, however, appear less eccentric to us than they did to his contemporaries, most of whom received them with the utmost derision. It has been well remarked by a writer in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (9th edition) that 'his views about the origin of society and language and the faculties by which man is distinguished from the brutes, afforded endless matter for jest by the wags of his day; but readers of this generation are more likely to be surprised by the scientific character of his method and acuteness of his conclusions, than amused by his eccentricity. These conclusions have many curious points of contact with Darwinism and Neo-Kantism. His idea of studying man as one of the animals, and of collecting facts about savage tribes to throw light on the problems of civilisation, bring him into contact with the one, and his intimate knowledge of Greek philosophy with the other.' Burnett also collected the 'Decisions of the Lords of Council and Session' from 25 Nov. 1738 to 7 March 1768. They were never published in his lifetime, but will be found in the fifth volume of Brown's 'Supplement to the Dictionary of Decisions of the Court of Session' (1826), pp. 651-941.

In private life Burnett was an amiable, generous, and kind-hearted man. Though in his habits he was exceedingly temperate and lived much according to rule, yet he greatly delighted in the convivial society of his friends. It was his custom to entertain them at what he called his 'learned suppers.'

These suppers used to take place once a fortnight, during the sitting of the court, and among the usual guests were Drs. Black, Hutton, and Hope, Mr. William Smellie, and other scientific men of the day. A brilliant controversialist, Burnett was one of the keenest debaters at the meetings of the Select Society, which met weekly during session time at the Advocates' Library. This society was founded by Allan Ramsay, the painter, in 1754, and numbered among its members most of the eminent men of letters in Edinburgh, including Hume, Adam Smith, Robertson, Lord Kames, and Wedderburn (afterwards Lord Loughborough).

Burnett's patrimonial estate at Monboddoo was so small that it did not produce, during the greater part of his life, more than 300*l.* a year. He would not, however, either raise the rents or eject a poor tenant, but boasted that his lands were more numerously peopled than any portion of equal extent in the neighbourhood. Hither he used to retire in the vacation, living as a plain farmer among his tenants, and treating them all with kindness and familiarity. Boswell relates the interesting visit which Dr. Johnson, during his tour to the Hebrides, paid Burnett at Monboddoo (Croker's *Boswell*, ii. 311-17). It was much to the credit of the latter's hospitality that the meeting between two men of such fixed and determined opinions should have taken place without a single angry discussion. About 1780 Burnett commenced making his annual visits to London. As a carriage was not in common use among the ancients, he considered it to be an engine of effeminacy and idleness. He therefore always rode from Edinburgh to London on horseback, attended by a single servant. This practice he continued until he was upwards of eighty years of age. On the last of these equestrian journeys he was taken ill on the way, and it was with difficulty that a friend who had overtaken him on the road persuaded him to get into his carriage. The next day, however, Burnett continued his journey on horseback, and about eight days afterwards arrived safely at Edinburgh. While in London on these occasions he frequently attended the court, where George III. always received him with especial favour.

After more than thirty-two years of judicial work Burnett died at his house in Edinburgh from the effects of a paralytic stroke on 26 May 1799, aged 85. Two sketches of him by Kay will be found in the first volume of his 'Etchings,' Nos. 5 and 6. An engraving by Charles Sherwin of a striking half-length portrait of Burnett by J. Brown was published in 1787.

About 1760 Burnett married Miss Farquharson, a relative of Marischal Keith, by whom he had one son and two daughters. His domestic life was unfortunate. His wife, a beautiful and accomplished woman, died in childbed. His only son Arthur, in whose education he took the greatest delight, and who, as Boswell tells us, was examined in Latin by Dr. Johnson when on his visit to Monboddo, died at an early age. His second daughter, whose beauty was celebrated by Burns in his 'Address to Edinburgh' and in an elegy on her death (*Works of Robert Burns*, 1843, i. 83, 125), was carried off by consumption at the age of twenty-five on 17 June 1790. His only surviving child married Kirkpatrick Williamson, an eminent Greek scholar and the keeper of the Outer House rolls.

[Tytler's *Memoirs of Lord Kames* (1814), i. 243-50; Kerr's *Memoirs of William Smellie* (1811), i. 409-27, ii. 418; Kay's *Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings* (1877), i. 18-21, 350, ii. 20, 368, 436, 438; Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Croker's edit., 1831), ii. 311-17 et passim; *Scots Mag.* 1799, lxi. 352, 727-31; *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th edit.), xvi. 179; Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice* (1833), pp. 531-3; Chambers's *Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen* (1868), i. 248-50; Chalmers's *Biographical Dict.* (1813), vii. 389-93.] G. F. R. B.

**BURNETT, JOHN** (1729-1784), founder of the Burnett prize, was the son of an Aberdeen merchant, who belonged to the episcopal church. Burnett was born in 1729, entered business in 1750, his father having failed shortly before, and made a competence. He was concerned in stocking-weaving and salmon-fishing. He and his brother paid off their father's debts, amounting to 7,000*l.* or 8,000*l.* Burnett was 'hard at a bargain,' but returned any profits which exceeded his expectations. He gave up attending public worship, lest he should be committed to the creed of a church, but gave religious instruction to his servants. He was influenced by the example of Howard, the philanthropist, whom he probably met in 1776 in Scotland, and took an interest in various charitable movements. He died unmarried on 9 Nov. 1784. He directed that part of his estate should be applied for the benefit of the poor of Aberdeen and the neighbourhood, and part to a fund for inoculation (the last was afterwards applied to vaccination). The remaining income was to accumulate for a period, and then to be given as a first and second prize for essays in proof of the existence of a supreme Creator, upon grounds both of reason and revelation. In 1815 the first prize was won by William Laurence Brown [q. v.], and

the second by John Bird Sumner, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. In 1855 the first prize (1,800*l.*) was won by the Rev. Robert A. Thomson, and the second by John Tulloch, afterwards principal of St. Andrews. The funds have since been applied to the support of a lectureship on some branch of science, history, or archæology treated in illustration of natural theology. The first lectures under the new scheme were delivered at Aberdeen by Professor Stokes of Cambridge in November 1883.

[Memoir by W. L. Brown prefixed to *Essay on the Existence of a Supreme Creator*, being the first Burnett prize essay; Aberdeen Free Press, 6 Nov. 1883.]

**BURNETT, JOHN** (1764?-1810), Scotch lawyer, was the son of William Burnett, procurator-at-law in Aberdeen, where he was born about 1764. He was admitted advocate at Edinburgh on 10 Dec. 1785. In 1792 he was appointed advocate-depute, and in October 1803 sheriff of Haddingtonshire. In April 1810 he became judge-admiral of Scotland. He was also for some time counsel for the city of Aberdeen. He died on 8 Dec. 1810, while his work on the 'Criminal Law of Scotland' was passing through the press. It was published in 1811. Though in certain respects imperfect and misleading, it is a work of great merit, the more especially that it is one of the earliest attempts to form a satisfactory collection of decisions in criminal cases.

[Anderson's *Scottish Nation*; Catalogue of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.] T. F. H.

**BURNETT, SIR WILLIAM** (1779-1861), physician, was born in January 1779 at Montrose, where he was apprenticed to a surgeon. He was appointed surgeon's mate on board the *Edgar*, 74 guns, soon after his arrival at Edinburgh to pursue his medical studies. Later he served as assistant-surgeon in the *Goliath* under Sir J. Jervis, and was present at St. Vincent and the siege of Cadiz. Continuing in the navy, and serving with great distinction at the Nile and Trafalgar, he received a C.B. and four war medals for his services. For five years after Trafalgar Burnett was in charge of the hospitals for prisoners of war at Portsmouth and Forton. His diligence in his most arduous hospital duties recommended Burnett in 1810 for the office of physician and inspector of hospitals to the Mediterranean fleet, then including 120 sail of all classes. His health became so much impaired that he returned to England towards the end of 1813; but in March following he was able to undertake the medical charge of

the Russian fleet in the Medway, which was suffering severely from fever. He combined with this the charge of the prisoners of war at Chatham, among whom a virulent fever was raging. When he took charge of the hospital ship one surgeon had died, two others were dangerously ill, and fifteen patients had gangrene of the lower limbs. The season was most inclement, snow lay deep, and the prisoners were disorderly; yet Burnett went about his duties fearlessly, going alone among the prisoners, and gradually establishing an improved state of things. On the completion of this service Burnett settled at Chichester as a physician till 1822, when Lord Melville offered him a seat at the victualling board as colleague of Dr. Weir, then chief medical officer of the navy. Later he became physician-general of the navy, and in this capacity introduced most valuable reforms. He first required regular classified returns of diseases from each naval medical officer, thus rendering it possible to obtain accurate information about the health of the navy. He urged the erection of, and largely planned, the Melville Hospital at Chatham for naval patients. He introduced a much more humane treatment of naval lunatics at Haslar than had been previously practised. All the codes of instructions to naval medical officers of hospitals and ships were revised and greatly improved by him. In 1841 the naval medical corps testified their high regard for the benefits he had conferred on the service by presenting him with his full-length portrait by Sir M. A. Shee and a service of plate. He was largely instrumental in securing a better position for assistant-surgeons in the navy. Burnett published comparatively little, his chief writings being 'An Account of the Bilious Remittent in the Mediterranean Fleet in 1810-13,' London, 1814; 'Official Report on the Fever in H.M.S. Bann on the coast of Africa and amongst the Royal Marines in the Island of Ascension,' London, 1824; and 'An Account of a Contagious Fever prevailing amongst the Prisoners of War at Chatham,' London, 1831. Burnett was a fellow of the Royal Society, M.D. of Aberdeen, L.R.C.P. 1825, and fellow 1836. He was knighted on 25 May 1831, appointed physician-in-ordinary to the king on 13 April 1835, and soon after created K.C.H. Queen Victoria made him a K.C.B. in 1850. It was much regretted by the medical profession that Burnett became a patentee on a large scale in connection with his well-known disinfecting fluid, a strong solution of chloride of zinc. His patent fluid for preserving timber, canvas, cordage, &c., was likewise largely used. On his retirement from active service

Burnett settled at Chichester, where he died on 16 Feb. 1861.

[Lancet, obituary notice, 23 Feb. 1861; Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, iii. 307.] G. T. B.

**BURNEY, CHARLES** (1726-1814), musician and author, was born at Shrewsbury on 12 April 1726. His grandfather, James MacBurney, lived at Great Hanwood, Shropshire, where (in the latter years of his life) he was land steward to the Earl of Ashburnham. Burney's father, James Burney, was born at Hanwood, and educated at Westminster under Dr. Busby. He subsequently eloped with an actress of the Goodman's Fields Theatre, by whom he had a large family. James MacBurney quarrelled with his son, and at a late age married a servant, by whom he had a son named Joseph, to whom he left all his property. Joseph Burney, however, soon squandered his estate, and afterwards gained his living as a dancing-master. James Burney was twice married, his second wife being a Miss Ann Cooper, an heiress and celebrated beauty. A year after this marriage James Burney adopted the profession of a portrait-painter, and some short time later left Shrewsbury and settled at Chester. Charles Burney and his twin sister Susanna were the youngest children by the second wife. On Burney's parents removing to Chester he was left behind at Shrewsbury under the care of an old nurse, but subsequently he was sent to Chester, and educated at the free school. About 1741 he returned to Shrewsbury and studied music under his eldest half-brother, James, who was organist of St. Mary's, Shrewsbury, from 1735 until his death in 1789. Burney also studied under Baker, the organist of Chester Cathedral, a pupil of Blow. In 1744 he met Arne, who was passing through Chester on his return from Ireland. Arne was so struck by his talent that he offered to take him as a pupil. Burney was accordingly articulated to him, and went to live in London with an elder brother named Richard, who was already settled there. He remained under Arne for three years, during which period he contributed some music to Thomson's 'Alfred' (Drury Lane, 30 March 1745). In 1747 Burney published six sonatas for two violins and a bass, dedicated to the Earl of Holderness. Shortly after he was introduced by Kirkman, the harpsichord maker, to Fulke Greville, who was so charmed by his talent and vivacity that he paid Arne 300*l.* to cancel his articles, and took the young musician to live with him. During this period of his life Burney laid the foundation of his subsequent success both as a fashionable

music-teacher and as a finished man of the world. He was so much favoured by his patron that on the private marriage of the latter he was deputed to give the bride away. Not long after Greville's marriage Burney fell in love with a Miss Esther Sleepe, whom he met at his brother Richard's house in Hatton Garden, and to whom he was married in 1749. In the same year Burney was appointed organist of St. Dionis Backchurch, at a salary of 30*l.* a year, and was (3 Dec.) elected a member of the Royal Society of Musicians. He was also engaged as conductor at the 'New Concerts' held at the King's Arms, Cornhill. On 13 Dec. 1750 Mendez's 'Robin Hood' was produced at Drury Lane with music by Burney. This was a failure, but on the 26th of the same month it was retrieved by the success of the pantomime of 'Queen Mab,' to which Burney also wrote the music. A few songs in the latter work were published anonymously, 'compos'd by the Society of the Temple of Apollo.'

But Burney's London career was suddenly cut short by a severe illness which confined him to his bed for thirteen weeks. On his recovery he was ordered to leave town, and accordingly accepted the post of organist at Lynn Regis, where his annual salary was 120*l.* Here he remained for upwards of nine years, occupied with much correspondence, plans for the 'History of Music' which was afterwards to make him famous, and riding about the country to his music lessons with a volume of Italian poetry in one pocket and a dictionary in the other. In 1759 he wrote music to an ode for St. Cecilia's day, which was performed in costume, with much success, at Ranelagh Gardens. In 1760, his health being completely restored, he returned to London and settled in Poland Street, where his time was soon fully taken up with teaching. In 1761 he sustained a severe loss in the death of his wife, who seems to have been fully his equal in intellect and culture. In Madame d'Arblay's 'Memoirs' there is a touching letter from Burney describing his loss in words which for once are not in his usual stilted manner.

After his wife's death Burney took his daughters Esther and Susanna to Paris, where he left them at school. On his return, at Garrick's suggestion, he adapted Rousseau's opera 'Le Devin du Village,' which was produced at Drury Lane in 1766 (21 Nov.) as 'The Cunning Man,' without, however, achieving any great success. Shortly afterwards he was married privately to Mrs. Stephen Allen of Lynn, a widow with two children. In 1769 he undertook to set to music the ode for the Duke of Grafton's in-

stallation at Cambridge as chancellor, but was prevented from accomplishing his purpose by the means at his disposal being so limited. He took the degree of Mus. Doc. at Oxford in June, and his exercise was performed on the 23rd of that month, Miss Barsanti being the principal soloist. The work was so successful that it was repeated at the three subsequent Oxford festivals, and was also performed at the Katharinenkirche at Hamburg under C. P. E. Bach. In the same year he published an 'Essay towards the History of Comets,' a work which included a translation by his first wife of a letter by Maupertuis. His astronomical pursuits brought on an attack of rheumatic fever, on his recovery from which Burney began once more seriously to collect materials for his 'History of Music.' For this purpose he left England in June 1770, well provided with influential letters of introduction, and proceeded to Italy by way of France and Switzerland. He visited all the principal Italian towns, and returned by way of Genoa, Lyons, and Paris. During his absence Mrs. Burney had bought a new house in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, and Burney retired to the house of his friend Crispe, Chessington Hall, near Ewell, Surrey, where he prepared for the press his account of his foreign tour, which appeared in 1771. The book was a great success, and is still amusing and interesting, though much of the information contained in it was subsequently incorporated in the 'History of Music.' In the same year he published a translation of a letter on bowing by the great violinist Tartini. At the beginning of July 1772 he left England again, and travelled across Belgium to Germany, making his way as far as Vienna, and returning by Dresden, Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, and the Netherlands. He arrived at Calais in December, and for nine days attempted to cross the Channel, but was prevented by bad weather. When he eventually reached London he was laid up with another severe illness, brought on by the hardships of the journey. During his illness the house in Queen Square had to be relinquished owing to some difficulty about the title, but Mrs. Burney bought another one (which had formerly belonged to Newton), 36 St. Martin's Street, Leicester Square. In 1773 Burney published the account of his German tour (in 2 vols.), a very successful work. In the same year he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. Three years later, and six years after the issue of his original plan, he published the first volume of his 'History of Music,' which was dedicated to Queen Charlotte. A second edition of this volume

appeared in 1789; the second volume was published in 1782, and the third and fourth in 1789. The work was from the outset very successful, and was generally pronounced superior to the similar undertaking of Sir John Hawkins, which saw the light in 1776. 'Posterity, however, has reversed the decision. . . . Burney, possessed of far greater knowledge than Hawkins, better judgment, and a better style, frequently wrote about things which he had not sufficiently examined. Hawkins, on the other hand, more industrious than Burney, was deficient in technical skill, and often inaccurate.' Both works are of the highest value, and form the foundation of nearly every English work on musical history which has appeared since; but Burney's is disfigured by the undue prominence he gives to the fashionable music of his own day, and the lack of appreciation he displays towards the compositions of the English schools of the preceding centuries.

In 1774 Burney issued a plan for the establishment of a music school in England upon the system he had seen in full success in Italy. In 1779 he drew up an account of the musical precocity of William Crotch, which appeared in the 'Philosophical Transactions' of the Royal Society. At this period of his career Burney was a member of nearly every literary coterie of the day. He was on intimate terms of friendship with Johnson, the Thrales, Burke, Reynolds, Garrick, Mrs. Vesey, Mrs. Montagu, Mrs. Chapone, and Mrs. Delany, many interesting particulars as to whom are recorded in Mme. d'Arblay's memoirs of her father. In 1783 Burke gave him the post of organist at Chelsea Hospital, the salary of which was raised for his benefit from 30*l.* to 50*l.* In 1784 he became a member of the Literary Club, and in 1785 published his account of the Handel commemoration which took place at Westminster Abbey in the preceding year. In May 1786, on the death of Stanley, Burney applied for the post of master of the royal music, and though he had a personal interview with George III., the post was given to Parsons. Probably the appointment of his daughter Frances (Madame d'Arblay) as keeper of the robes was made in order to compensate him for this disappointment. After the completion of his 'History of Music' he was much engaged in writing criticisms in the 'Monthly Review,' but in 1793 he began to be subject to attacks of a nervous feverish character, and when suffering from these used only to write dry fugues and canons. His ill-health culminated in an attack of acute rheumatism, which was only cured after some time by a course of Bath waters. In 1796 the in-

defatigable musician published a life of Metastasio (in 8 vols.), after which he began to collect materials for a 'Dictionary of Music,' a work in which he was interrupted by his wife's death, which took place in October at Chelsea Hospital, where the Burneys were now living in rooms on the top story. To distract him from the state of depression which ensued, Madame d'Arblay persuaded her father to resume a poem on astronomy which he had begun several years previously, and this occupied him for some time, though it was ultimately destroyed unfinished. In 1800 he received another severe blow in the death of his daughter Susanna (the wife of Major Phillips). She died on 6 Jan., and was buried in Neston churchyard, where Burney placed an epitaph to her memory. During the next few years he was occupied in writing the musical biographies for Rees's 'Encyclopædia,' for which work he received the large sum of 1,000*l.* In 1806 Fox bestowed upon him a pension of 300*l.* Towards the end of the following year Burney was seized with a paralytic stroke. From this, however, he recovered sufficiently to set about collecting materials for his 'Memoirs,' a work he had already begun in 1782. After his death these were considered by his daughter too prolix and discursive for publication, but part of them is incorporated in the biography she published in 1832. In 1810 he was made a foreign member of the Institut de France. After 1805 Burney almost retired from the world, spending most of his time in reading in his bedroom. He had survived most of his contemporaries, and had lived to see his own descendants to the fourth generation. He died at Chelsea on 12 April 1814, and was buried on the 20th in the hospital burial-ground. A tablet to his memory, bearing an inscription by his daughter, was erected in Westminster Abbey. In person Burney was short and slight, with prominent eyes and expressive features. All his biographies testify to the charm of his manner and brilliancy of his conversation. His portrait was painted (1) by Reynolds's sister Frances; (2) by Reynolds for Mrs. Thrale, at whose sale it was bought by Charles Burney (1757-1817) [q.v.] (it now belongs to Archdeacon Burney; a replica is in the Music School, Oxford); (3) by Barry, as one of the renowned dead in the 'Triumph of Thames' in the large room of the Society of Arts. His bust was executed by Nollekens in 1805. There is also a caricature of him in a print entitled 'A Sunday Concert,' published 4 June 1785. The Reynolds picture was engraved by Bartolozzi (1 April 1784), in the 'Euro-

pean Magazine' (1 April 1785), in outline in 'Public Characters' (1798-9), and by H. Adlard in Busby's 'Concert-room Anecdotes' (vol. ii.) In addition to the works already mentioned, Burney published an edition of the music sung in the Sistine Chapel in Holy week, and several concertos, sonatas, &c., for harpsichord, organ, and stringed instruments, as well as a few songs and cantatas.

[Madame d'Arblay's *Memoirs of Dr Burney*, 3 vols. 1832; Genest's *History of the Stage*; Parke's *Musical Memoirs*, ii. 91; *Harmonicon* for 1832, pp. 215, 239; *Quarterly Musical Review*, iv. 29; Add. MS. 29905; *Registers of St. Dionis Backchurch* (Harleian Society, 1879); *Gent. Mag.* 1814, i. 421, ii. 93; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Printed Books*; *Grove's Dict. of Music*, i. 700 a; *Pohl's Mozart and Haydn in London*, i. 16.] W. R. S.

**BURNEY, CHARLES, D.D.** (1757-1817), classical critic, the son of Charles Burney, the historian of music [q. v.], was born on 4 Dec. (his monument in Deptford church says the 3rd) 1757, at Lynn in Norfolk. In 1760 his father removed to London, and in 1768, on the presentation of the Earl of Holderness, the son was admitted to the Charterhouse. Thence he proceeded to Caius College, Cambridge, but left the university without taking a degree. He then became a student of King's College, Old Aberdeen, where he graduated M.A. in 1781; he received the degree of LL.D. from Aberdeen and Glasgow in 1792; of M.A. from Cambridge in 1808, and of D.D. from the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1812.

In 1782 Burney became an assistant master at Highgate School, and soon after joined Dr. Rose, the translator of Sallust, in his school at Chiswick. In 1783 he married Rose's daughter, and in 1786 he opened a school of his own at Hammersmith. Here he amassed considerable wealth and remained till 1793, when he removed his school to Greenwich; in 1813 he resigned in favour of his son, the Rev. Charles Parr Burney, successively archdeacon of St. Albans and of Colchester, the friend of Bishop Blomfield, and a man of considerable social gifts. Burney himself took orders late in life, and was appointed to the rectory of Cliffe in Kent, and of St. Paul's, Deptford, while carrying on his school at Greenwich; he was collated to a prebendal stall in Lincoln Cathedral 10 June 1817. He was also chaplain to the king, and shared his father's and his sister Madame d'Arblay's intimacy with the court. The prince regent accepted from him his father's bust, and remarked that 'it was curious for the father to be the best judge of music and the son the best Greek critic in the kingdom' (MME. D'ARBLAY, *Dr. Burney*). He

died of apoplexy at Deptford, on 28 Dec. 1817.

Burney commenced his career as a classical critic about 1783, by writing articles in the 'Monthly Review,' which had been founded by Rose in conjunction with Cleveland. Burney's connection with this periodical lasted for about three years. His most important contribution was an attack on the 'Monstrophica' of Huntingford. About the same time, on the recommendation of Dr. Parr, he became editor of the 'London Magazine,' and continued to write for it till 1800. In that year he concluded his article on Porson's 'Hecuba' and Wakefield's 'Diatribæ.' This attracted the notice of Hermann; part of it was translated into Latin by Gaisford, and inserted in a note appended to a reprint of Markland's 'Supplices' of Euripides. Burney's separately published works are the following: 1. 'Tentamen de Metris Æschyli,' 1809. This, though praised by contemporary critics, adopts a theory which has since been exploded. 2. 'Appendix in Lexicon Græcum a Scapula constructum,' in Latin, 1789. 3. 'Philemonis Lexicon Technologicum,' 1812; taken from Boissonade's translation of a Paris manuscript; the whole, as Bast (*Epistola Critica*, p. 37, n.) points out, had appeared in the Lexicon of Plavinius, and contains little information, though reprinted by Osann at Berlin in 1821. 4. 'Epistolæ ineditæ R. Bentleii,' 1807, printed for presentation only. It was reprinted by Friedemann in 1825 with the press errors corrected. 5. 'Remarks on the Greek Verses of Milton,' printed separately in 1790, and appended to Warton's edition in 1791. This criticism establishes against Milton's Greek verses the same thing that Dr. Johnson said of his Latin, 'that they are not secure against a stern grammarian.' 6. Abridgment of 'Dr. Pearson on the Creed,' published in 1810, and probably written as a thesis for his degree in divinity. 7. Verses on the threatened invasion. Burney's classical writings, however, were not equal to the reputation he enjoyed in his own day as forming with Parr and Porson one of the three representatives of English scholarship (v. BELOE, *Anecdotes of Literature*, and the *Sexagenarian*, ch. xv.) The latter years of his life were devoted to the accumulation of his vast and, from its systematic completeness, most valuable library.

On his death his representatives, to prevent the dispersal of these treasures and to provide for his family, suggested to parliament that the whole should be bought for the use of the nation. A committee recommended its purchase at 14,000*l.* After a spirited debate in the House of Commons, in

which Sir J. Mackintosh declared that the restoration of 'a single passage in Demosthenes was alone worth the sum in the eyes of a free nation,' it was agreed to purchase the whole for 13,500*l.*; and the collection was deposited in the British Museum under the name of the 'Burney Library.' Its contents were thus classified by the committee of the House of Commons appointed to report upon it:—1. The printed books numbered from 13,000 to 14,000, and consisted mostly of classical editions bought by Burney at sales beginning with that of the Pinelli collection. The margins are covered with notes in Burney's hand, in addition to those by Stephanus, Bentley, Markland, and others. The volumes were so arranged that the state of the classical texts could be seen from their first known production to their latest change. The editions of the leading classics, especially the Greek tragedians, exceeded in number those in the British Museum before the accession of the former. 2. The manuscripts included the Townley Homer, considered to be of the thirteenth century, and valued by the commissioners at 1,000*l.*; and two manuscripts of the Greek orators assigned respectively to the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries. 3. A collection of newspapers from 1603. 4. A collection of from 300 to 400 volumes in quarto, containing materials for a history of the stage. 4. Theatrical prints from the time of Elizabeth.

[Cat. Brit. Museum; Forshall's Preface to Burney Catalogue in Brit. Museum; Watt's Biblioth. Brit.; European Mag. vol. lxxiii.; Gent. Mag. lxxxv. i. 369, lxxxviii. i. 419, lxxxix. i. 93; Annual Biog. and Obituary, 1819; Madame d'Arblay's Memoirs of Dr. Burney; Beloe's Anecdotes of Literature, and Sexagenarian, ch. xv.; Parliamentary Debates and Report of Committee, 1818.]  
A. G-N.

**BURNEY, FRANCES.** [See ARBLAY, MADAME D'.]

**BURNEY, JAMES** (1750–1821), rear-admiral, son of Dr. Charles Burney (1726–1814) [q. v.], and brother of Madame d'Arblay [q. v.], entered the navy in 1764, and having served on the coast of North America and in the Mediterranean with Captain Onslow in the Aquilon frigate, sailed with Captain Cook in his second voyage, 1772–4, during which time he was (17 April 1773) promoted to be lieutenant. In 1775 he was in the Cerberus on the North American station, and was recalled to sail again under Cook in his third voyage. Consequent on the deaths of Cook and Clerke, he came home in command of the Discovery, and was confirmed as commander on 2 Oct. 1780. On 18 June 1782 he was ad-

vanced to the rank of captain, and appointed to the Bristol of 50 guns, in which he went out to the East Indies, and joined Sir Edward Hughes in time to take part in the last action of the war, off Cuddalore, on 20 June 1783. It was of this outward-bound voyage that Dr. Johnson wrote to Mrs. Thrale: 'I question if any ship upon the ocean goes out attended with more good wishes than that which carries the fate of Burney. I love all of that breed whom I can be said to know, and one or two whom I hardly know I love upon credit.' From the East Indies Burney returned to England in ill-health, and did not serve again. When the war of the French revolution broke out, he made no application for a ship, and was consequently placed on the superannuated list, when his seniority would otherwise have entitled him to flag rank. His leisure had been, and continued to be, devoted to literature, and in 1803 he began the publication of 'A Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean,' which extended to 5 vols. 4to, and was not completed till 1817; it is well known as the standard work on the subject. He afterwards published 'A Chronological History of North-eastern Voyages of Discovery and of the Early Eastern Navigations of the Russians,' 1819, 8vo. He was also the author of several smaller works and pamphlets, mostly on professional subjects, but including 'An Essay on the Game of Whist,' 1821, 16mo, which ran through several editions. He died suddenly—a rear-admiral on the retired list—on 17 Nov. 1821.

[Gent. Mag. (1821), xcii. ii. 469; Annual Biography and Obituary (1823), vii. 437.]

J. K. L.

**BURNEY, SARAH HARRIET** (1770?–1844), novelist, the youngest daughter of Dr. Charles Burney (1726–1814) [q. v.], was his only child by his second wife, Mrs. Stephen Allen, widow of a wealthy merchant at Lynn (Introd. to *Diary of Mme. d'Arblay*, i. 18). No date is given for the birth of Sarah Harriet, but it must have been about 1770. Sarah Harriet Burney is referred to in 1778 as 'little Sally' by Mme. d'Arblay (*Diary*, i. 31), and in 1791 and 1792 she accompanied her half-sister to Hastings's trial by express invitation of the queen. She could translate Ariosto from the Italian (*Tales of Fancy*, preceding vol. ii.), besides being an excellent French scholar; and on the arrival in England of the French émigrés in 1792, when she was staying at Bradfield Hall with Arthur Young the agriculturist (who had married her mother's sister), she acted as interpreter between her uncle and the Duc de Liancourt, who was

his frequent guest (*Diary*, v. 284-96). Miss Burney next resided at Chelsea College with her parents, where her mother died in 1796 (*Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, iii. 224-5). At this date her father characterised her as of quick intellect and distinguished talents, a kind and good girl, but with no experience in household affairs. In 1796 she brought out her first novel, 'Clarentine,' anonymously. This was well received, and was read by the king and queen (*Diary*, vi. 128). In 1808 she brought out 'Geraldine Fauconberg;' in 1812 'Traits of Nature,' the first edition of which 'charming novel was sold in three months' (*Biog. Dict. of Living Authors*), compelling a second issue the same year; and in 1813 a second edition of 'Geraldine Fauconberg' was called for. In 1814 Miss Burney lost her father, but she was not immediately removed from Chelsea College, whence, in December 1815, she published 'Tales of Fancy,' with her name, dedicating the first tale to Lady Crewe, and the second, by royal permission, to the Princess Elizabeth. After this she left England for Florence, where she passed several years, and where she began to write her 'Romance of Private Life,' which she published after her return home in 1839, the first tale in it being dedicated to Niccolini, the Italian singer, and the second to Lord Crewe. In 1844, on 8 Feb., Miss Burney died at Cheltenham (*Gent. Mag.* new ser. xxi. 442), bequeathing some of her property to her half-nephew, Martin Charles Burney, the friend of Lamb (*Annual Reg.* 1852, p. 322).

'The Wanderer' is frequently set down as one of Sarah Harriet Burney's books. This is an error. It was written by Madame d'Arblay (*Diary*, vii. 15-16).

[Mme. d'Arblay's *Diary*, ed. 1854, i. Introd. 13, 31, v. 159, 162, 191, 220, 253, 294-6, vi. 3, 77, 128, vii. 15, 16; Mme. d'Arblay's *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, 1832, i. 88, 97, iii. 224, 225, 410, 425; Watt's *Bibl. Brit.*; *Gent. Mag.* new ser. xxi. 442; *Annual Reg.* 1852, p. 322; *Biog. Dict. of Living Authors*, 1816.] J. H.

**BURNEYEAT, JOHN** (1631-1690), quaker, was born in 1631 at Crabtreebeck, near Loweswater, Cumberland. Until he became a quaker his history is unknown. From a scanty journal he kept we learn that he was an uneducated, hard-working farmer, sensitively religious, and, like so many of his fellow north-countrymen, dissatisfied both with the formality of the Anglican church and the narrowness of the puritans. When George Fox and a number of his followers went into Cumberland in 1653, Burneyeat attended some of their meetings, and being, to use his own words, 'convinced of

the blessed truth,' became a Friend. For the next few years he continued his farming, and, although 'he was diligent in attending meetings,' and occasionally 'testified' publicly, he does not appear to have been either imprisoned or fined. In 1657 he felt it his duty to take a more prominent part in the affairs of the sect, and, in obedience to what he deemed a divine command, attended a service at Aspetry 'Steeple-house,' where, the preacher propounding some subtle questions, he attempted to reply, and was promptly turned out. From this time he constantly attended and disturbed services, with the result that he was frequently threatened and occasionally beaten. Towards the end of this year he was imprisoned at Carlisle for brawling, though in fact he had been merely a silent attendant at the service at which he was arrested; but, after being detained for nearly six months, was discharged without trial. In 1658 he made an unsuccessful attempt to plant quakerism in Scotland, and then, after spending a few months on his farm, he made a similar effort in Ireland, where he was imprisoned several times for short periods, and was more than once nearly starved to death in crossing what were then almost uninhabited parts of the island. Burneyeat was a born missionary, and in 1660 felt 'moved' to visit America. For nearly two years he resisted the impulse, until, its strength increasing, he sought out George Fox and consulted him on the matter. Shortly afterwards he was again arrested and sent to prison for refusing to take the sacrament, and was treated with considerable harshness. According to his own account he was released at the end of fourteen weeks, because 'there was a bowling-alley before the prison door, where several of the magistrates and others used to come to their games; and hearing my voice they were offended and sent me away.' In 1664 he sailed from Galway for Barbadoes, where he was occupied for several months in endeavouring to counteract the heretical practices which John Perrot had introduced among the quakers in that island. From Barbadoes he went to Maryland, and thence to Virginia. Here, too, he found Perrot's heresies had been planted, and the greater part of his time was occupied in rooting them out. When this was done he visited the Friends in New England, and in 1667 he returned to his native country. The next three years were occupied with journeys which embraced the greater part of England, Ireland, and Wales. According to Besse's 'Sufferings,' in 1670 he was fined 20*l.* for speaking at a meeting at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate; and, as he



repeated the offence a fortnight afterwards, he was sent to Newgate. A few months later he and William Simpson, the author of the far-famed 'Going Naked a Sign,' again sailed for America, where Burneyeat stayed as an unpaid preacher for several years. A feeling of much bitterness had developed among the American Friends against their brethren in England, and especially against 'George Fox and his papers of wholesome advice,' and, hearing that Fox and some of his immediate followers were coming to America, Burneyeat set himself the task of allaying ill-feeling, and was so successful that when Fox and his companions landed they received a hearty welcome from the colonists, nor through the whole of their protracted stay does there appear to have been the slightest display of animosity. At Rhode Island Burneyeat with several other quakers took part in a dispute with Roger Williams, who complains, and not without reason, that he was barely permitted to speak, and who, to justify his position, wrote a book entitled 'George Fox digg'd out of his Burrows,' in reply to which Burneyeat, in conjunction with Fox, published 'A New-England Fire-Brand Quenched,' a work which at the time enjoyed considerable popularity. Burneyeat accounts for the fulness with which the dispute is recorded by asserting that it had been taken down in shorthand. In 1673 he left America, and, returning to England, spent most of his time in visiting and overlooking various quaker societies. In the following year he was one of the Friends chosen to inquire into and settle the dissensions in Westmoreland caused by the eccentricities of Story and Wilkinson, but his efforts were utterly futile. Somewhat later he again visited Ireland, where in 1683 he married. During the same year the Irish authorities became troubled by the rapid increase of quakerism in that island, and Burneyeat, who was the most active disseminator of the creed, was arrested at a meeting and sent to prison, though no formal charge seems to have been brought against him. After two months he was unconditionally released by order of the Earl of Arran. In 1688 his wife died, and was buried near Dublin. From this time Burneyeat appears to have resided almost entirely in Ireland, and, though he continued to preach, his high character protected him from legal molestation. He died in 1690, and was buried at the New Garden burial-ground, near Dublin, having been a quaker minister for twenty-three years. All the various 'testimonies' to him which remain concur in representing him as a fine type of man, humble, patient, earnest, and moderate. 'And in all his tra-

vels,' says one of these 'testimonies' quaintly, 'into whose house he entered he was content with such things as were set before him, were they ever so mean, which was great satisfaction to many poor, honest Friends among whom his lot was cast.' He left one son, Jonathan, who became a quaker minister at the age of twelve, and died in Cumberland in 1723. Unlike so many of the early Friends, Burneyeat was not a voluminous writer; but though his scholarship was small and his literary style poor, his works were much esteemed during the early part of the eighteenth century, owing to their earnest spirit of piety.

The following is a fairly complete list of his works: 1. 'A New-England Fire-Brand Quenched; being an answer to a slanderous book entitled "George Fox digg'd out of his Burrows,"' &c. By John Burneyeat [and George Fox], 4to, 1679. 2. 'An Epistle from John Burneyeat to Friends in Pennsylvania,' &c., 4to, 1686. 3. 'The Innocency of the Christian Quakers manifested,' &c. By John Burneyeat [and Amos Strettel], 4to, 1688. 4. 'The Holy Truth and its Professions defended,' &c. By John Burneyeat [and John Watson], 4to, 1688.

His collected works were published in 1691 under the title of 'The Truth exalted in the Writings of that Eminent and Faithful Servant of Christ, John Burneyeat, &c., with Prefaces to the Reader and several testimonies from various Friends in England, Ireland, and America.' No life of Burneyeat has ever been published, and the scanty remnants of his history can only be gleaned from the testimonies of his friends and occasional references in the works of himself and his contemporaries.

[Fox's Journal; Wight's Quakers in Ireland; Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books; MSS. in the Library of the Meeting for Sufferings, Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street.] A. C. B.

**BURNHAM, RICHARD (1711-1752)**, biographer, was born at Guildford, Surrey, in 1711, of pious parents. He collected the dying sayings of more than a hundred pious persons, with some account of their lives and last hours. He died in 1752, and in the following year was published 'Pious Memorials; or the Power of Religion upon the Mind in Sickness and at Death,' by the Rev. Richard Burnham, with a recommendatory preface by the Rev. James Hervey, author of the 'Meditations.' Besides the preface, Mr. Hervey added to the 'Memorials' an account of Richard Burnham himself, by which it appears he preached for a few years to a small congregation, and ended his life on 4 June 1752. When he was dying, seeing

his wife 'in a flood of tears,' he said, 'My dear, don't let us part in a shower.' The 'Pious Memorials' were reprinted at Paisley in 1788 with additions, and again enlarged in 1789. It was reprinted with a continuation by the Rev. George Burder in 1820, forming a large octavo volume, and a stereotyped reprint is still on sale.

[Hervey's Account of Richard Burnham, in the Memorials, 1753.] J. H. T.

**BURNHAM, RICHARD** (1749?-1810), baptist minister, was born about 1749, of poor parents. In his youthful days he resided at High Wycombe, and attended the Wesleyan chapel there, and in his early manhood was solicited to preach. He was afterwards baptised by T. Davis of Reading, joined a baptist church, and was regularly ordained for the ministry. He was then chosen as pastor by a few people at Staines, but they were so poor as to be unable to support him; this led to his leaving Staines. He removed to London, and in 1780 preached in Green Walk, on the Surrey side of Blackfriars Bridge, where he stayed about two years, removing first to Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and afterwards to Chapel Street, Soho; and when John Martin's people left for Store Street in 1795, Burnham took the chapel in Grafton Street vacated by them, where he remained till his death, 30 Oct. 1810, aged 62. He was buried at Tottenham Court Chapel. The inscription on his gravestone is given in full in Wilson's 'Dissenting Churches,' with an account of Burnham. His 'Funeral Sermon,' preached by William Crawford of Ewer Street, Southwark, including some account of Burnham's life, was published in 1810. Burnham was the author of a small volume of 'New Hymns' printed in 1783; it was subsequently enlarged, and in 1803 was reprinted with considerable additions, numbering 452 hymns. Nine of these appear in 'Songs of Grace and Glory,' 1871. Burnham also published 'The Triumphs of Free Grace' in 1787, including an account of his experience and call to the ministry; and in 1806 'Five Interesting Letters,' and an 'Elegy on the Death of Lord Nelson.' A portrait of Burnham appears in some copies of his hymn-book. He was succeeded at Grafton Street by John Stevens, afterwards of Meards Court, Soho.

[Crawford's Funeral Sermon for R. Burnham, 1810; Burnham's own account of himself in his Triumphs of Free Grace, 1787; and Wilson's Dissenting Churches, iv. 25-9.] J. H. T.

**BURNS, ALLAN** (1781-1813), surgeon and anatomist, was born at Glasgow on 18 Sept. 1781, his father, Dr. John Burns, being

minister of the Barony Church. He commenced medical study at fourteen under his brother, John Burns [q. v.], who then lectured on anatomy and surgery in Glasgow. In 1804 he went to London to seek medical service in the army, and was induced to go to St. Petersburg to take charge of a hospital about to be established by the Empress Catherine on the English plan; but finding the position uncongenial, he returned to Scotland in a few months. Burns now established himself as a lecturer on anatomy and surgery at Glasgow, his brother having given up his lectures on anatomy, owing to a body-snatching scandal. He attained very considerable success, being both vivid in illustration and accurate in knowledge. In 1809 he published 'Observations on Diseases of the Heart,' and in 1812 'Observations on the Surgical Anatomy of the Head and Neck;' but from 1810 his health began to fail, and his promising career was cut short by his death on 22 June 1813.

[R. Chambers's Eminent Scotsmen (Thomson), i. 251.] G. T. B.

**BURNS, ISLAY, D.D.** (1817-1872), theological writer, brother of William Chalmers Burns [q. v.], was born in 1817 at the manse of Dun in Forfarshire, where his father (afterwards translated to Kilsyth, near Glasgow) was minister. He received the chief part of his education at the grammar school of Aberdeen, under Dr. James Melvin, a celebrated teacher of Latin, and at Marischal College and University, Aberdeen, and the university of Glasgow. Studying for the ministry, he was ordained in 1843 to the charge of St. Peter's Free church, Dundee, in succession to the Rev. R. M. McCheyne, a man of eminent spirituality and power. In 1863 he received the degree of D.D. from the university of Aberdeen, and in 1864 was chosen to a professor's chair in the theological college of the Free church, Glasgow. In this office he remained during the rest of his life. Burns was remarkable for a combination of evangelical fervour with width of culture and sympathy, a strong æsthetic faculty and a highly charitable spirit. To the diligent and successful discharge of his duties, first as a minister of the gospel and then as a professor, he added considerable literary activity. His chief writings were: 1. 'A Series of Essays on the Tractarian and other Movements in the Church of England,' published in the 'British and Foreign Evangelical Review.' 2. 'History of the Church of Christ, with special reference to the delineation of faith and life.' 3. 'The Pastor of Kilsyth,' a sketch of the life of his father. 4. Me-

moir of his brother, Rev. W. C. Burns, M.A., missionary to China. A posthumous volume of 'Select Remains' was published in 1874.

[Blaikie's Memoir, prefixed to Select Remains of Islay Burns, D.D., London, 1874; personal knowledge.] W. G. B.

BURNS, JABEZ, D.D. (1805-1876), non-conformist divine, was born 18 Dec. 1805, at Oldham in Lancashire, where his father was a chemist. He was educated at a school at Chester, and at the grammar school of Oldham, which he left to engage in commercial pursuits at York and Bradford. For about three years he managed a bookselling business at Keighley. His mother, who died in his early childhood, was a Wesleyan, and named him after Dr. Jabez Bunting. Burns early in life joined the Methodist New Connexion, and at the age of sixteen delivered his first public address in a methodist house near York. In 1824 Burns married Jane, the daughter of Mr. George Dawson of Keighley. He removed in 1826 to London. Here in the midst of hardship he commenced his career as a religious writer by the compilation of the 'Christian's Sketch Book,' 12mo, London, 1828, eighth edition 1835, &c., of which a second series, with the same title, was issued in 1835; and the 'Spiritual Cabinet,' 18mo, London, 1829, and other editions. Previously to this date he had been baptised by the Rev. Mr. Farrent, the pastor of a general baptist congregation at Suffolk Street Chapel, in the Borough; but he did not sever his relations with the Methodist New Connexion. After a few months spent in mission work on behalf of the general baptists in Edinburgh and Leith in 1829, he was from 1830 to 1835 the pastor of a congregation connected with that body in Perth. He travelled over a large extent of country during that period, preaching on temperance. While at Perth Burns edited the 'Christian Miscellany.' In May 1835 he accepted a call to the pastorate of the general baptist congregation assembling in Ænon Chapel, New Church Street, Marylebone, and in June finally removed with his family to London. His congregation at first was small, but owing to his enthusiasm it increased so much that twice in the first twenty-five years of his ministry at Paddington it was found necessary to enlarge the building in which it worshipped.

Burns had much influence as a preacher and public speaker, especially on temperance. He is said to have been the first clergyman of any denomination to preach teetotalism from the pulpit. He delivered thirty-five annual temperance sermons, beginning 16 Dec. 1839, many of which were published. He was

one of the earliest members of the Evangelical Alliance, formed in 1845. In 1847 Burns paid his first visit to America, as one of the two delegates from the General Baptist Association of England at the triennial conference of the Freewill Baptists of the United States. He published 'Notes of a Tour in the United States and Canada in the Summer and Autumn of 1847,' 8vo, London, 1848. He visited America again in 1872. In 1869 he visited Egypt and Palestine, and prepared a 'Help-book for Travellers to the East; including Egypt, Palestine, Turkey, Greece, and Italy,' 8vo, London, 1870. Burns died at his residence in Porteus Road, Paddington, on Monday, 31 Jan. 1876. The Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, conferred upon Burns in 1846 the honorary degree of D.D., to which the faculty of Bates' College, Lewiston, Maine, added that of LL.D. in 1872.

Burns wrote a vast number of religious books year by year. In 1837 he issued a very popular work, entitled 'The Golden Pot of Manna; or Christian's Portion, containing Daily Exercises on the Person, Offices, Work, and Glory of the Redeemer,' 2 vols. 8vo. In the fifth edition the title was altered to 'The Christian's Daily Portion,' 1848. Similar works were entitled 'Christian Exercises for every Lord's Day, morning and evening, in the Year,' 12mo, London, 1858, second edition 1859; 'The Preacher's Magazine and Pastor's Monthly Journal,' sixty-six parts, between April 1839 and September 1844; 'One Hundred Sketches and Skeletons of Sermons,' 4 vols., London, 1836-9, which have gone through fourteen editions; 'Sketches of Discourses for Sunday Schools and Village Preaching,' 12mo, London, 1833, revised edition, with three additional 'Sketches,' 1846, new edition, revised and enlarged, 1860; 'Sermons, chiefly designed for Family Reading and Village Worship,' 12mo, London, 1842; 'One Hundred and Fifty Original Sketches and Plans of Sermons, comprising various Series on special and peculiar Subjects, adapted for Week Evening Services,' 8vo, London, 1866; and finally 'Two Hundred Sketches and Outlines of Sermons as preached chiefly in Church Street Chapel, Edgware Road, London, since 1866,' 8vo, London, 1875. Burns prepared and edited the 'Pulpit Cyclopædia and Christian Minister's Companion,' 4 vols. 8vo, London, 1844.

Less important books by Burns were: 'The Mothers of the Wise and Good, or select Essays on Maternal Duties and Influence,' 12mo, London, 1846 'Christian Philosophy, or Materials for Thought,' 12mo, London, 1845, second edition, revised and enlarged, 1849, 'a book of ideas,' 'Doctrinal

Conversations,' &c., 12mo, London, 1849, new edition, revised and enlarged, under the title of 'The Universal Love of God and Responsibility of Man,' &c., 12mo, London, 1861; 'Light for the Sick Room: a Book for the Afflicted,' 12mo, London, 1850; 'Light for the House of Mourning: a Book for the Bereaved,' 12mo, London, 1850; 'The various Forms of Religion,' 12mo, London, 1851; 'The Marriage Gift Book and Bridal Token,' 8vo, London, 1863; 'A Retrospect of Forty-five Years' Christian Ministry: Public Work in other Spheres of Benevolent Labour, and Tours in various Lands, with Papers on Theological and other Subjects in Prose and Verse,' 8vo, London, 1875; and several works for the young.

[Perthshire Advertiser, 4 Feb. 1876; the Baptist, the Freeman, and the Christian World, 4 and 11 Feb. 1876; Burns's Retrospect of Forty-five Years' Christian Ministry, 1875; and an article entitled The Late Rev. Dr. Jabez Burns—Life and Labours, contributed by the Rev. Dawson Burns to the Baptist Magazine, March 1876, and reproduced in the Baptist Handbook, 1877.]

A. H. G.

**BURNS, JAMES** (17th cent.), author of the 'Memoirs of the Civil War and during the Usurpation from 1644 to 1661,' was born at the commencement of the seventeenth century. He was a merchant in Glasgow, and for some time bailie of that city. Little is known of his history, but he is supposed to be the son of one Robert Burns, who is mentioned in M'Ure's 'History of Glasgow,' and whose name appears in the 'List of Linen and Woollen Drapers, commonly called English Merchants, since the year 1600.' The manuscript of his 'Memoirs' is lost, but there is a transcript of them, which is evidently much mutilated, by George Crawford, historian of Renfrewshire. The 'Memoirs' are filled with detailed accounts of the incidents which befell the nobility of Scotland during the stormy period of which they treat.

[Stevenson's Historical Fragments relative to Scottish Affairs from 1635 to 1664, 1833.] N. G.

**BURNS, JAMES** (1789–1871), shipowner, third son of Rev. John Burns, minister of the Barony parish, Glasgow, and brother of the surgeons John and Allan Burns [q. v.], was born on 9 June 1789. Entering into business as a shipowner with his brother, George Burns, he, along with him, began in 1824 to employ steam navigation. Six years later they formed a connection with the MacIvars of Liverpool, and in 1839 their business was extended by the formation of the famous Cunard Company for the establishment of a line of ocean steamers. The company included Messrs. Cunard and

MacIvar, and the first ocean steamer sailed from Liverpool on 4 July 1840. Latterly James Burns retired from the business to his estate of Bloomhall, Dumbartonshire, where he carried out as a landed proprietor a system of enlightened improvements. He was a liberal supporter of religious and philanthropic enterprises. He died on 6 Sept. 1871, and was succeeded in his estates by his only son, John William Burns.

[Glasgow Herald, 8 Sept. 1871; Old Country Houses of the Glasgow Gentry, p. 220.]

T. F. H.

**BURNS, JAMES DRUMMOND** (1823–1864), presbyterian minister and poet, was born in Edinburgh 18 Feb. 1823, and educated on the charitable foundation of Heriot's Hospital. He and two other lads got through the prescribed curriculum two years before the usual time of leaving; whereupon the governor sent them to the rector's (Dr. Carson's [q. v.]) class at the high school, a thing never done before. His early religious impressions were given to him at the New Greyfriars church, of which Daniel Wilkie was minister. In November 1837 he entered the arts classes at the Edinburgh university as a Heriot bursar; he owed much to the influence of the moral philosophy lectures of John Wilson ('Christopher North'). In November 1841 he proceeded to the divinity classes under Chalmers and David Welsh, and followed them in 1843 to the new divinity hall established by the Free church. Early in 1845 Chalmers sent him to preach at the Free church, Dunblane; though he stuck in the morning sermon, he was at once called by the congregation, and was ordained at Dunblane in August. Overwork soon brought on an alarming attack in the right lung, and he was advised to winter in Madeira. He was appointed to the congregation at Funchal under the Free church colonial mission, and landed 21 Sept. 1847. His diary of this period, though chiefly occupied with devotional and theological matter, gives interesting glimpses of a poetic nature. He left Madeira 27 May and arrived at Broadstairs 11 June 1848. Under medical advice he was induced to return, with a view to take permanent charge of the presbyterian congregation at Funchal. Set free from Dunblane on 4 Oct. he sailed again on 6 Oct. and arrived on 1 Nov. But his stay was not lasting. Owing to the failure of the vintage and the diminished influx of invalids, his congregation fell off. In the summer of 1853 he left Madeira considerably improved in health. After preaching at Brighton and St. Heliers, he settled (on 22 May 1855) with the newly formed presbyterian congrega-

tion in Well Walk, Hampstead. His ministry was successful, and a new church was built. In 1863 a manse was added. Burns was a man of catholic spirit; he admitted, as a member of his church, one who frankly said he 'was not a strict presbyterian,' and who professed simply to be a Christian. His preaching was practical and emotional, rather than dogmatic; its effect was much assisted by a voice which is said to have resembled that of Maurice. His personal influence was stronger than his pulpit work. In the man there was a vein of kindly humour, which never lighted up his preaching. He was one of the examining board of the English Presbyterian Theological College. In church courts he took little part; but going in 1863 to the English presbyterian synod at Manchester, and thence on a deputation to the Free church assembly in Edinburgh, he contracted a severe cold. In January 1864 he went to Mentone. In May he resorted to Switzerland, but returned to Mentone in October, and there died on Sunday, 27 Nov. 1864. He married, in the autumn of 1859, Margaret, daughter of Major-general John Macdonald, of the Bengal service, and widow of Lieutenant A. Procter, of the same. He published: 1. 'The Vision of Prophecy, and other Poems,' Edin. 1854, 8vo (the 'Vision' is poor, and its prominence injured the book, but it came to a second edition, Edin. 1858, 8vo). 2. 'The Heavenly Jerusalem, or Glimpses within the Gates,' 1866, 16mo (poems). 3. 'The Climax, or on Condemnation and no Separation, a sermon [Rom. viii. 17, 18], with an Illustration by another Hand,' 1865, 8vo. Besides these he contributed the article 'Hymns' to the eighth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica;' and a series of papers on the cities of the Bible to the 'Family Treasury,' edited by Rev. A. Cameron. His 'Remains' (see below) consist of hymns and miscellaneous verse, thirty-nine translations from German hymns, versions of six psalms, selections from an unpublished poem called 'The Evening Hymn,' thirteen sermons, and two prose fragments.

[Reminiscences of the late J. D. Burns (1864), reprinted from the Weekly Review, 17 Dec. 1864; Hamilton's Memoir and Remains of J. D. Burns, 1869 (portrait); catalogues of British Museum and Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; Gent. Mag. 1865, p. 120.] A. G.

BURNS, JOHN, M.D. (1774-1850), author of the 'Principles of Midwifery,' the eldest son of the Rev. John Burns, minister of the Barony parish, Glasgow, and the grandson of John Burns, author of 'Burns's English

Grammar,' was born in Glasgow in 1774. His father was ordained 26 May 1774, and died 26 Feb. 1839, in the ninety-sixth year of his age and the sixty-fifth of his Glasgow ministry. He wrote the account of Barony parish for Sinclair's 'Statistical Account of Scotland' (HEW SCOTT's *Fasti*, iii. 40). The son's original intention was to become a manufacturer, but a disease of the knee-joint, having unfitted him for learning the loom, as was then the usual custom, he began the study of medicine at Glasgow University. At the opening of the Royal Infirmary of Glasgow for the reception of patients in 1792 he was appointed surgeon's clerk. Instead of commencing as a general practitioner, he began a course of extramural lectures to students in anatomy. His lectures soon became extremely popular, but it was discovered that he had made use of subjects for dissection which had not been procured in a legitimate manner, and the magistrates agreed to quash proceedings against him only on condition that he discontinued his lectures on the subject. This he accordingly did, but they were taken up by his brother Allan [q. v.], while he himself commenced to lecture on midwifery. His earliest publication of importance was the 'Anatomy of the Gravid Uterus,' 1799. This was followed in 1800 by a 'Dissertation on Inflammation,' in two volumes, which raised him to a high position as a medical writer. At an early period he became surgeon to the Royal Infirmary, and subsequently he began a general practice, which in time grew to be large. In 1809 he published the 'Principles of Midwifery,' which greatly extended his reputation, and, besides reaching numerous editions, was translated into several foreign languages. In 1811 he published 'Popular Directions for the Treatment of the Diseases of Women and Children.' He was also a contributor to the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia.' On the institution of the professorship of surgery in Glasgow University in 1815, he was nominated by the Duke of Montrose for the chair. In this position he was remarkably popular as a lecturer, but his 'Principles of Surgery,' published in 1830, did not meet with much success. He also published 'Principles of Christian Philosophy' (1828). He perished in the wreck of the Orion steamer (belonging to the Cunard Company, of which his brothers were founders and partners), near Portpatrick, on 18 June 1850. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, London, and a member of the Institute of France.

[Old Country Houses of the Glasgow Gentry, p. 219; Gent. Mag. 2nd ser. xxiv. 332-3; Anderson's Scottish Nation.]

**BURNS, ROBERT (1759-1796)**, poet, was the son of William Burness, or Burnes. The poet adopted the spelling Burns on publishing his first volume in 1786. The Burnes had long been farmers in Kincardineshire. Robert Burnes held the farm of Clochenhill, on Dunnottar, the estate of the Earl Marischal attained for his share in the rebellion of 1715. The poet always believed that his own ancestors had suffered in the same cause (CHAMBERS, *Life and Works of Burns*, 1851, i. 336). Robert Burnes had three sons; the eldest, James, settled in Montrose, and became the father of a second James, writer, and grandfather of a third James, provost of Montrose, and father of Sir Alexander Burnes [q. v.]; Robert, second son of Robert of Clochenhill, was a gardener in England, and died in the house of his nephew, the poet, in 1789; William, third son of Robert, born 11 Nov. 1721, went to Edinburgh in search of work, and thence to Ayrshire, where he leased seven acres of land in Alloway, near the bridge at Doon, for a nursery garden. Here he built a clay cottage with his own hands. On 15 Dec. 1757 he married Agnes, daughter of Gilbert Brown, a Carrick farmer (b. 17 March 1732). Robert, eldest of seven children, was born at Alloway on 25 Jan. 1759. In his sixth year he was sent to a small school at Alloway Mill. Soon afterwards William Burnes, in conjunction with four neighbours, engaged John Murdoch to set up a small school, which Robert attended with his younger brother Gilbert. In 1766 William Burnes took a poor farm at Mount Oliphant, two miles off. The boys' attendance became irregular, and Murdoch gave up the school after two years and a half. The children were then chiefly taught by their father. In 1772 Robert attended the parish school at Dalrymple to improve his writing; the next summer he spent three weeks with Murdoch, who had been appointed in 1772 to teach the English school at Ayr. Murdoch gave Burns one week's training in English and two in French. Burns had to return home at harvest-time. He threshed corn at thirteen, and at fifteen was his father's chief labourer. An old woman named Betty Davidson had filled his infant mind with popular legends; at a later period he managed to pick up some reading. Murdoch lent him a life of Hannibal (his first book except school-books); Burns afterwards borrowed a life of Wallace; his father borrowed or bought some educational and theological works: Salmon's 'Geographical Grammar,' the works of Ray and Derham, Stackhouse's 'History of the Bible,' the 'Boyle Lectures,' Taylor's 'Original Sin,' Hervey's 'Meditations,' and Locke's 'Essay.'

A collection of eighteenth-century letters inspired him with a desire to improve his style. He read the 'Spectator' and Pope's 'Homer,' parts of Smollett, Allan Ramsay, R. Fergusson's poems, then coming out in Ruddiman's 'Weekly Magazine' (HERON, p. 9), and the songs sold by pedlars. He picked up French quickly, read 'Télémaque,' and tried Latin, though with little success. His talents attracted the attention of the neighbours, and his father prophesied that he would do something extraordinary (CHAMBERS, i. 29). His first poem, 'Handsome Nell,' addressed, it is said, to Nelly Kilpatrick (*ib.* 30), a fellow-labourer in the fields, was composed in his seventeenth autumn (1775).

Mount Oliphant proved a hard bargain, and at Whitsuntide 1777 William Burnes took a farm of 130 acres at Lochlea, Tarbolton. Burns was sent the same summer to live with an uncle, Samuel Brown, at Ballochneil, and study surveying under Hugh Rodger, schoolmaster at the neighbouring village of Kirkoswald. Burns here made acquaintance with some jovial smugglers, learnt to 'fill his glass,' and fell in love with 'a charming fillette.' He scribbled verses, engaged in country sports, argued vigorously with schoolfellows, and defeated Rodger in a debate rashly provoked by the teacher. He returned with some of his rusticity rubbed off, and afterwards took to reading Thomson and Shenstone, 'Tristram Shandy,' the 'Man of Feeling,' and 'Ossian' (letter to Murdoch, 15 Jan. 1783). He wrote 'Winter,' the 'Death of poor Maillie,' 'John Barleycorn,' and other songs, while still at Lochlea. In 1780 he joined in forming a 'Bachelors club' at Tarbolton, which held debates on such topics as the rival merits of love and friendship, and was succeeded by a similar society at Mauchline. About this time he fell in love with Ellison Begbie, daughter of a farmer, who has been identified with his Mary Morison (CHAMBERS, ii. 217), and wrote her some rather formal love-letters. She rejected him apparently on the eve of his departure for Irvine. He went thither to enter a flax-dressing business with a relation of his mother's at midsummer 1781. Here he began his friendship with Richard Brown, a sailor whose approval encouraged him to 'endeavour' at the character of 'poet' (letter to Brown, 30 Dec. 1787), but who also led him into vice. On 1 Jan. 1782 he was at a New Year carouse, when the shop took fire and was burnt to ashes, ruining his prospects of business. He returned to Lochlea, and lived frugally and temperately. He began a commonplace book

in April 1783, which was continued at intervals, and was used by his biographer, Currie.

Various love affairs are more or less distinctly indicated in his songs, and in 1781 he became a member of a masonic lodge at Tarbolton, where his social qualities made him popular, and soon raised him to a leading position. He remained an enthusiastic mason to the end of his life, afterwards joining lodges in Edinburgh and Dumfries. In the beginning of 1783 his father's health began to break. The farm was not prospering, and there was a prolonged litigation about the lease. The old man was a reserved, devout, and affectionate Scotch peasant of the same type as Carlyle's father. Murdoch calls him 'by far the best of the human race' ever known to him. A little 'Manual of Religious Belief' composed by him was published in 1847, from a manuscript by Murdoch in possession of the poet's son Gilbert. Robert had once offended him (Gilbert Burns qualifies this statement) by attending a dancing-school in defiance of the paternal wishes, and had otherwise given cause for some anxiety. He never ceased, however, to respect his father, who died on 18 Feb. 1784, and was buried at Alloway, where the headstone was inscribed with an epitaph by his son.

The brothers Robert and Gilbert managed to save enough from the creditors to start a farm of 118 acres at Mossiel, near Mauchline. They had taken it at Martinmas 1783, and settled there in 1784. The farm belonged to the Earl of Loudoun, but the Burnsés were sub-tenants of Gavin Hamilton, writer in Mauchline, who became one of Robert's warmest friends. He became known to educated men at Mauchline and Kilmarnock, and his poetical genius began to assert itself. He had a serious illness; he suffered, as he had already suffered at Irvine, from nervous depression, which showed itself in some religious lines expressive of penitence. The birth soon after of an illegitimate child, Elizabeth Paton, suggests some serious cause for the sentiments expressed in these poems, which were soon succeeded by livelier strains, such as 'Green grow the Rashes, O,' and epistles to poetic friends. The 'Epistle to Davie,' a brother poet, dated January 1785, is addressed to David Sillar, one of the Tarbolton club, who afterwards published his own poems, encouraged by Burns's success. Gilbert told him that the poem would 'bear being printed,' and they talked of sending it to a magazine. The first two epistles to John Lapraik, another small poet, are dated April 1785 (accounts of Lapraik, Sillar, and others are in the *Contemporaries of Robert*

*Burns*, 1840). About the same time he wrote 'Death and Dr. Hornbook,' satirising one John Wilson, a village grocer and dispenser of medicine, who afterwards settled in Glasgow, became a teacher and 'session-clerk of the Gorbals,' and died in 1839. Theological controversy was rife in Burns's society; the adherents of the old Calvinism, known as the 'Auld Licht,' were opposed to the 'New Licht,' represented by the more rationalising school of which Blair and Robertson were conspicuous leaders. Taylor's 'Original Sin,' part of Burns's library, was a favourite book of the New Light party. Gavin Hamilton followed the New Light, while William Auld, minister of Mauchline (from 1742 to 1791), was strictly orthodox. In 1784-5 Hamilton was prosecuted by the session, then before the presbytery of Ayr, and finally before the synod, for alleged neglect of the Sunday. He was defended by Robert Aikin, writer in Ayr, also a friend of Burns. Burns threw himself into the controversy with characteristic vehemence, and produced some satires of startling vigour. He had shown his sentiments in an 'Epistle to John Goudie of Kilmarnock on the publication of (the second edition of) his Essays' (1785), attacking 'bigotry' and 'superstition.' He then wrote the 'Twa Herds,' referring to a story of a quarrel between two of the Old Light—Alex. Moodie and John Russell, minister at Kilmarnock—about April 1785. This, says Burns, was the first of his poems which saw the light. It was circulated in manuscript, and created 'a roar of applause.' 'Holy Willie's Prayer,' a rough but most pungent satire, soon followed, directed against one of Hamilton's opponents in the session. Burns represents the revolt of a virile and imaginative nature against a system of belief and practice which, as he judged, had degenerated into mere bigotry and pharisaism. He developed an unsystematic scepticism which often shows itself in his serious letters. His strong passions pushed his contempt for hypocritical and external asceticism into a practical disregard of the morality which it caricatured, and which he continued to respect. The New Light party, however, applauded some outbursts of questionable decency from their ally. The 'Holy Fair,' written a year or two later, was admired by Blair, who suggested the change of 'salvation' to 'damnation' in stanza 12. That Burns, like Carlyle, who at once retained the sentiment and rejected the creed of his race more decidedly than Burns, could sympathise with the higher religious sentiments of his class is proved by the 'Cottar's Saturday Night,' also written in 1785. It

describes his father's performance of family devotions, a duty in which Burns succeeded him, praying, it is said (CHAMBERS, i. 160), most impressively. A playful treatment of popular superstition is adopted at the same time in the 'Address to the De'il,' while the width of the poet's sympathetic observations of human nature is shown in the rollicking vigour of his most dramatic performance, the 'Jolly Beggars' (also of about this date). Burns's poetical activity at this period (1785-1786) was astonishing. Besides the poems already noticed, 'Twa Dogs,' the 'Vision,' the 'Dream,' 'Halloween,' the lines 'To a Mouse,' and 'To a Mountain Daisy,' and various songs, were written at Mossgiel. He was beginning to think of publication, which soon became desirable for a new reason. At Mauchline he had fallen in love with Jean Armour (b. 27 Feb. 1767), one of the 'six proper young belles' of the place celebrated in his rhyme. Her father was a master mason at Mauchline, and one of the Old Light. Some time in the spring of 1786 it became evident that Jean was about to give birth to a child by Burns. Burns hereupon gave her a written acknowledgment that she was his wife; and, according to the prevalent morals of their class, there was nothing very unusual in this order of events. Burns's farm, however, was not prospering, and Jean's father, indignant at the connection with a man who was at once idle and poor and heterodox, declared that the marriage must be dissolved. All parties, including Aikin, the writer of *Ayr*, appear to have thought—of course erroneously—that the destruction of the paper would be equivalent to a divorce. Jean, to Burns's indignation, gave way and surrendered the document (April 1786). Burns, disgusted with his position, resolved to emigrate, and obtained from a Dr. Douglas a place of 30*l.* a year as overseer of an estate in Jamaica. Hamilton now advised Burns to publish his poems in order to obtain the necessary passage-money. They were accordingly printed by John Wilson of Kilmarnock, and appeared at the end of July 1786. His friends had subscribed for 350 copies. On 28 Aug. 599 had been disposed of, leaving only fifteen on hand (CHAMBERS, i. 349). Burns made about 20*l.*, and his reputation was rapidly spread. Meanwhile, he still contemplated emigration. He made over the copyright of his poems to Gilbert Burns in trust for his illegitimate daughter, E. Paton. In July and August he did penance in the church at Mauchline, in order to obtain a certificate from the minister that he was a bachelor. For some time he had to keep out of the way in consequence of a warrant ob-

tained by Armour to make him give security for maintaining his expected child. He was, however, back at Mossgiel on 3 Sept. 1786, when Jean gave birth to twins—a boy, Robert, and a girl, who soon died.

While still unsettled, Burns met Mary Campbell, daughter of a sailor from the neighbourhood of Dunoon, who had probably been known to him as a nursemaid in the family of Gavin Hamilton. He met her (14 May 1786) on the banks of the Ayr. They exchanged Bibles as a mark of betrothment, and she agreed to accompany him as his wife to Jamaica. (Burns's Bible came into the hands of a nephew of Mary Campbell, who emigrated to Canada, where it was bought and presented to the trustees of the Burns monument on 25 Jan. 1841.) The passion is apparently commemorated in 'The Highland Lassie,' 'Will ye go to the Indies, my Mary?' and especially in his most pathetic poems, 'To Mary in Heaven' (about October 1789), and 'Highland Mary' (14 Nov. 1792). They prove this passion to have made the most enduring impression upon him. Mary, after spending the summer with her parents at Campbellton, caught a fever from a brother whom she nursed at Greenock, and died there in October 1786. (A monument to her in the Greenock churchyard was raised by subscription, and consecrated on 25 Jan. 1842.) Burns was very reticent in regard to this connection. After his betrothal to Mary he still speaks of loving Jean to distraction (to D. Brice 12 June 1786); and, in spite of his melancholy, he could write humorous and sentimental poems. Some verses of farewell to Eliza, said to be one of the 'belles of Mauchline,' seem to imply other flirtations.

Burns attributes his abandonment of the West Indian expedition to a letter from Blacklock (dated 4 Sept. 1786), the blind poet, to whom the poems had been sent by Mr. Lawrie, minister of Lowdon. Blacklock expressed delight and astonishment, and suggested a second edition. Other inducements co-operated. Dugald Stewart had read three of the poems to Blacklock, his attention having been drawn to them by Mr. Mackenzie, surgeon at Mauchline. On 23 Oct. Mackenzie took Burns to dine at Stewart's villa at Catrine, on the Ayr. Burns commemorates this meeting, at which he was much pleased with Stewart and another guest, Lord Daer, son of the Earl of Selkirk. Meanwhile his printer at Kilmarnock refused to undertake a second edition unless Burns would advance 27*l.* for the paper. This, he says, is 'out of my power.' A friend, Mr. Ballantyne of Ayr, offered to advance the money, but advised



him (according to Gilbert Burns) to go to Edinburgh for a publisher. He decided upon this plan, and just before starting made acquaintance with Mrs. Dunlop of Dunlop, who had been greatly struck by the 'Cottar's Saturday Night.' (Mrs. Dunlop died 24 May 1815, aged 84.) She remained his friend and correspondent through his life, with the exception of a coolness in its last year. Through Mrs. Dunlop he became a correspondent of Dr. Moore, author of 'Zeluco,' to whom he wrote (2 Aug. 1787) the autobiographical letter which (with the statements of Gilbert Burns and Murdoch, all printed by Currie) is the main authority for his early life. Burns left Mossgiel on 27 Nov. 1786, riding on a borrowed pony to Edinburgh, which he reached next day. He shared the lodgings of John Richmond, previously a clerk of G. Hamilton's, in Baxter's Close, Lawnmarket. He took off his hat before the house of Allan Ramsay, and visited the grave of the poet Robert Fergusson (1751-1774), to whom he obtained leave to erect a monument in February 1787. He finally paid the bill for this (5*l.* 10*s.*) in February 1792. On 7 Dec. he attended a masonic meeting and was introduced to Henry Erskine, the dean of faculty, by his friend, Mr. Dalrymple of Ayr. Dalrymple was also a cousin of Lord Glencairn, for whose patronage Burns always expressed the warmest gratitude. Glencairn had read the poems, and at once induced the members of the Caledonian Hunt to subscribe to a second edition. Henry Mackenzie, the 'Man of Feeling,' published an enthusiastic review of them in the 'Lounger' (9 Dec. 1786), calling him a 'heaven-taught ploughman.' They had been already favourably noticed in the 'Edinburgh Magazine' for October, and extracts had been given in the November number. Mackenzie's critical utterance was authoritative, and Burns was welcomed by all the literary celebrities of the place. The Duchess of Gordon, Lord Monboddo (whose daughter, Eliza Burnett, he specially admired), Robertson, Blair, Gregory, Adam Ferguson, and Fraser Tytler received him into their society. Burns remained at his humble lodgings, and made acquaintance with less exalted circles. He belonged to one of the convivial clubs common at the time, called the 'Crochallan Fencibles,' which met at the house of one Douglas, famous for singing a Gaelic song called 'Crochallan' (see *Memoirs of W. Smellie*, ii. 255). Burns contributed some verses, not worthy of his better moments, to a collection of the imaginable kind, and became intimate with W. Nicol, of the high school, Smellie, Dunbar, A. Cunningham,

and others, who appear in his verses and correspondence.

His behaviour in the higher society has been described by Dugald Stewart (letter to Currie) and one of his biographers, Josiah Walker. They agree as to his uncorrupted simplicity, and the extraordinary force and versatility of his conversation. With the dress and manners of a plain farmer, he took his proper position among social superiors, who were all his inferiors in intrinsic power. Burns's genuine independence of spirit made him rather over-sensitive to any appearance of neglect. He was occasionally led into 'breaches of decorum' from this cause or from inexperience. But he made himself respected among men, while his manner to ladies is said to have been 'extremely deferential' and perhaps a little over-strained in the direction of gallantry. The Duchess of Gordon said that he was the only man who 'carried her off her feet.' Scott, then a lad of sixteen, saw him at Dr. Fergusson's, whither he was brought by Stewart. Burns was affected to tears by some lines from Langhorne under the print of a dead soldier. Scott was rewarded by a kind look and word for identifying the quotation. Scott speaks of Burns's 'dignified plainness and simplicity,' and says that his most remarkable feature was the eye, which 'literally glowed' when he spoke with interest. 'I never saw such another eye,' says Scott, 'in any human head.' John Pattison, some years later, speaks of his 'matchless eyes,' and his friend Syme says that they were like 'coals of living fire' (*CHAMBERS*, iv. 157, 174). The second edition of his poems appeared on 21 April 1787, with a preface expressive of sturdy self-respect: 'I was bred to the plough and am independent.' There were 1,500 subscribers for 2,800 copies. He ultimately received about 500*l.*, but his publisher (Creech) was dilatory in payment, and Burns waited many months in suspense as to his plans. He expresses the belief that his 'meteor-like' success would only last while it had the charm of novelty (letter to Blair, 3 May 1787). He had told Lord Buchan in the previous February that he should return to 'woo his rustic muse . . . at the plough-tail.' In the spring of 1787 Burns made an agreement with James Johnson, an engraver, who was preparing a collection of Scotch songs. The first volume appeared in May, with two songs acknowledged by Burns. He continued during the rest of his life to contribute original songs and to collect others, many of them modified or completely rewritten by himself. He undertook this from patriotic motives, and neither asked nor received

payment. He made some tours in the summer, during which he inspected farms and collected songs. Their chronology has been matter of some dispute (see CHAMBERS, ii. App. p. 315). His first tour was from 5 May to 9 June, with Robert Ainslie, a young writer who was very intimate with him at this time (for account of Ainslie, who died 11 April 1838, in his seventy-second year, see *Land of Burns*, p. 87). He travelled through Dunse to Coldstream, crossing the bridge to be in England, Kelso, Jedburgh, and after rambles about the Tweed to Alnwick, Warkworth, Newcastle, Carlisle, Dumfries, whence he visited Dalswinton to look at a farm already offered to him by Mr. Patrick Miller (letter to J. Ballantyne, 14 Jan. 1787), and finally to Mauchline. Here he was at first disgusted by the servility of the Armours, but soon renewed his old relations with Jean. During the latter part of June he visited the West Highlands, writing a bitter epigram upon the worship of the Duke of Argyll at Inverary, and returning by Paisley. After spending July at home he returned to Edinburgh, partly to see his publisher, on 7 Aug. Richmond having taken a new lodger, he now chummed with W. Nicol, a self-taught teacher at the high school, conspicuous for roughness and almost savage irascibility. With Nicol he started (25 Aug.) for a tour in the East Highlands, by Falkirk and Stirling, where he gave grievous offence by a Jacobite epigram on a window of the inn; thence to Crieff, Dunkeld, and Blair, where he was kindly received by the Duke of Athole, in whose family his friend Josiah Walker was then tutor. He went by Dalwhinnie, through Strathspey, to Aviemore and Dalsie; thence by Kilravock to Fort George and Inverness, and returned by Nairn, Forbes, and Fochabers. At Gordon Castle Nicol took offence upon not being immediately invited with his friend, and forced Burns to drive off. They next visited Aberdeen, saw Burns's relations at Stonehaven, and went by Montrose and Perth to Edinburgh (16 Sept. 1786). A correspondence followed with John Skinner, author of 'Tullochgorum'—which Burns extravagantly called the 'best Scotch song Scotland ever saw'—whom he had accidentally missed seeing. A final tour with Dr. James Makittrick Adair [q. v.] took place, according to Chambers (Adair writing to Currie erroneously places this in August), to Stirling again, where he smashed the old inscription, and to Harveiston, Clackmannanshire, where he was detained by heavy floods, making excursion to Sir W. Murray's at Ochertyne in Strathearn, and visiting Ramsay, after-

wards a friend of Scott's, at Ochertyne in Menteith. He returned by Kinross and Queensferry, reaching Edinburgh on 20 Oct., whence he immediately wrote to Miller expressing his desire for one of his farms, and sensibly saying that he desired a small farm—'about a ploughgang'—at a fair rent. He now lodged with a Mr. William Cruikshank, a colleague of Nicol's, at 2 St. James's Square.

Burns lingered at Edinburgh, seeking to obtain payment from Creech, and trying to arrange for some permanent settlement. He wrote verses to his 'rosebud,' the twelve-year-old daughter of his host Cruikshank. He wrote admiring letters to Miss Margaret Chalmers, a connection of G. Hamilton's, whose acquaintance he had made at Blacklock's. He saw her and her cousin, Charlotte Hamilton, on his tour with Dr. Adair (afterwards married to Miss Hamilton) at Harveiston, Clackmannanshire, and greatly admired both ladies. He celebrated Miss Chalmers as 'Peggy' in a couple of songs. He tells her of another visit which he had paid to Dumfries in order to settle upon a farm. He had decided to leave Edinburgh in December, when he was detained by an injury to his knee from the upset of a coach. He had been invited to drink tea the next day (8 Dec.) with a Mrs. M'Lehose, and he had written to her a letter accepting the invitation, which became the first of a remarkable correspondence. Mrs. M'Lehose (b. April 1759) had been a Miss Agnes Craig, daughter of Andrew Craig; she was first cousin of Lord Craig, judge of the court of session, and her mother was niece of Colin M'Laurin, the mathematician. In 1776 she married James M'Lehose, who deserted her, and was now settled in the West Indies, while she was living in Edinburgh with three infants, supported chiefly by Lord Craig and a small pittance from her husband's relations. Burns was introduced by a common friend, Miss Nimmo. Burns was laid up six weeks by his accident, and was unable to see Mrs. M'Lehose in person until 4 Jan., when he got out in a chair. They afterwards met several times till he left Edinburgh on 16 Feb. Their letters are signed Clarinda and Sylvander. They write high-flown sentiment, exchange poetry, and indulge in religious discussions. Mrs. M'Lehose tries to convert him to Calvinism. She has to remind him at starting that she is a married woman; she warns him to keep strictly within the bounds of delicacy, begs him to be satisfied with the 'warmest, tenderest friendship,' and consults a spiritual adviser, Mr. Kemp, minister of the Tolbooth church, and afterwards offends two unnamed friends by

her continued intimacy. Burns raves in rather stilted phrases, and declares that he 'loves to madness and feels to torture.' Burns apparently considered that his marriage to Jean Armour was dissolved, and intimates a vague hope that Mr. M'Lehose may cease to be an encumbrance to his wife; but the natural end of such a correspondence must have been obvious to both parties. Meanwhile Jean Armour was again expecting to become a mother. She had been turned out (or, as she says, WADDELL, vol. ii. App. xxii., prevented from returning from a visit to Mr. Muir at Tarbolton Mill) by her father. Burns, still confined by his accident, wrote to a friend to help her. On 16 Feb. Burns went to Glasgow, and thence to Mauchline. He reconciled Jean to her mother. He again looked at Miller's farm at Ellisland, and returned to Edinburgh, where he announces (to Miss Chalmers, 14 March 1788) that he has finally taken the lease. He soon afterwards settled with Creech, receiving, it seems, about 500*l.* (CHAMBERS, ii. 248). (He says only a little over 400*l.*, letter to Moore, 4 Jan. 1789. Creech, according to Heron (p. 31), professed to have paid Burns 1,100*l.* The copyright was sold for 100*l.*, and Burns had, therefore, no interest in later editions, to which he gratuitously contributed some new songs.) He at once advanced 180*l.* to help his brother Gilbert, who was still struggling on with Moss-giel. The debt was finally repaid by Gilbert from the profits of an edition of his brother's works more than thirty years afterwards. Just before this Burns had finally obtained a qualification for the excise. The advisability of obtaining such a place—the only piece of patronage easily accessible—had been discussed by his friends before he first came to Edinburgh (letter to R. Aiken, October 1786), and he applied for it to his patrons, Lord Glencairn and R. Graham of Fintry, apparently in this January. He hesitated for some time between farming and the excise, and finally decided to take the farm, keeping the appointment as something to fall back upon. The order to give him the necessary two weeks' training as an exciseman was issued to an officer at Tarbolton 31 March 1788. By the end of March Burns, who had continued his letters to Clarinda declaring that he would love her for ever, was back at Moss-giel, making arrangements for his new life. When at a distance from Edinburgh the influence of Mrs. M'Lehose apparently declined, and he was moved by the older claims of Jean. About this time (the date is uncertain) Jean gave birth to twin daughters, who died in a few days, and in the course of April Burns had privately acknowledged her as his wife (see a letter to James Smith,

28 April). A legal ceremony was performed in Gavin Hamilton's house 3 Aug. (*Land of Burns*, i. 23). On 5 Aug. the pair acknowledged their marriage in Mauchline church, when they were duly admonished, and Burns gave a guinea to the poor.

Clarinda was naturally indignant. Burns made such apology as he could a year later (letter of 9 March 1789), and wrote a few letters to her in 1791–2, in one of which (27 Dec. 1791) he encloses the fine poem, 'Ae fond kiss, and then we sever.' The first of these letters tells her that during their first intimacy he was 'not under the smallest moral tie to Mrs. B.,' and could not know 'all the powerful circumstances that omnipotent necessity was busy laying in wait for him.'

Burns was now resolved to lead the life of a steady farmer at Ellisland. It consisted of one hundred acres in a beautiful situation on the south bank of the Nith, six miles from Dumfries. Allan Cunningham, whose father was factor to the estate, says that Burns made a poet's choice, not a farmer's. He took a lease for seventy-six years, at a rent of 50*l.* for the first three years, and afterwards 70*l.* Mr. Miller was to give him 300*l.* to build a farm-steading and enclose the fields. Burns came to reside on 13 June, and set about building his house, his wife meanwhile staying at Mauchline, forty-six miles off, where he visited her occasionally. He refers to her in 'O a' the airts the wind can blaw,' and 'O were I on Parnassus' hill.' He settled his wife in the new house in the first week of December. The songs, 'I hae a wife o' my ain,' 'Auld Lang Syne,' and 'My Bonnie Mary' (the last two sent to Mrs. Dunlop as old Scotch songs), belong to this time. On 18 Aug. 1789 a child was born to him, named Francis Wallace (in honour of Mrs. Dunlop, a descendant from William Wallace's brother). The farm was not doing well, while his family was increasing, and Burns thought, according to Allan Cunningham, that by working it chiefly for the dairy he could leave the superintendence to Mrs. Burns and her sisters, while he could take up his appointment in the excise. He accordingly obtained from Mr. Graham an appointment to his district. It brought in 50*l.* a year, from which 10*l.* or 12*l.* expenses were to be deducted, with a pension for widow and orphans. It involved the duty of riding two hundred miles a week over ten parishes. Burns seems to have discharged his duties vigorously, though judiciously shutting his eyes to occasional peccadilloes of poor neighbours (CHAMBERS, iii. 83). The work left him little leisure for poetry, and exposed him to some temptations. Though

occasionally out of spirits (he composed about this time the pathetic verses to 'Mary in Heaven'), his more jovial humours have left permanent traces. About September 1789 he wrote 'Willie brew'd a peck o' maut,' celebrating a convivial meeting with Allan Masterson and his old chum Nicol, then on a visit to Moffat. Nicol soon afterwards bought a small estate at Laggan, not far from Burns, where other meetings were probably held. Another famous song, the 'Whistle,' describes a drinking contest held 16 Oct. 1789 (CHAMBERS, iii. 67-71), where three gentlemen, Captain Riddel of Friar's Carse, Fergusson of Craigdarroch, and Sir Robert Lawrie, drank against each other for a whistle won, according to tradition, by a similar contest of a previous Sir Robert Lawrie against a gigantic Dane. Burns looked on to see fair play, writing his poem, and keeping himself tolerably sober. Fergusson won, and Lawrie never quite recovered the contest. In the same season Burns made the acquaintance of Francis Grose, then visiting Friar's Carse upon an antiquarian expedition, and addressed to him the lines beginning 'Hear, Land o' Cakes and brither Scots.' Burns asked Grose to make a drawing of Alloway Kirk, as the burial-place of his family, and Grose consented on condition that Burns should give him a witch story. This was the occasion of 'Tam o' Shanter,' written (as Mrs. Burns told Lockhart) in one day in his favourite walk by the Nith. According to the country story Tam and Kate represent one Douglas Graham and his wife, Helen M'Taggart, whom Burns had known at Kirkoswald. A letter to Grose, in which Burns gives a version of the legend, was first printed in Brydges's 'Censura Litteraria' (1796). The poem first appeared in Grose's 'Antiquities of Scotland,' published April 1791, and it was immediately received with applause.

At the end of 1790 Burns appears as accommodating one Alexander Crombie with a bill for 20*l.*, and about the same time he is partly paying a bill for books supplied by Mr. Peter Hill, including a family bible, Shakespeare, 'Ossian,' 'Don Quixote,' 'Joseph Andrews,' 'Roderick Random,' Garriks's and Cibber's works, some collections of essays, the 'Marrow of Modern Divinity,' Blair's 'Sermons,' two or three theological works, and a map of Scotland. On settling at Ellisland Burns had set afoot a scheme for a local library, of which he sent an account to Sir John Sinclair, published in the third volume of the 'Statistical Account of Scotland.' In October 1790 Burns also paid for the funeral expenses of his younger brother William (b. 30 July 1767), who died in Sep-

tember of that year, having settled in London as a saddler, with an introduction from Burns to his old teacher, Murdoch (letters between the brothers and Murdoch were first published in CROMER's *Reliques*).

The farm enterprise was never successful. Burns's various distractions are enough to account for a failure, and he was apparently a careless master and not very skilful in the business (CHAMBERS, iii. 139). One of the last notices of Burns at Ellisland is a story told to Currie by two English tourists, who found him (in the summer of 1791) angling in the Nith with a foxskin cap, a loose greatcoat, and an 'enormous highland broadsword.' He entertained them hospitably with boiled beef and vegetables and barley broth, and with whisky punch in a bowl of Inverary marble, a marriage gift from his father-in-law, for which, according to Chambers (iii. 191), a later possessor refused 150*l.* Carlyle disbelieves this anecdote, which is also disputed by Mrs. Burns, who ridicules the 'broadsword,' and adds that he never angled (WADDELL, ii. App. xxiv.) He always loved animals and detested field sports (see verses on the wounded hare and the 'Brigs of Ayr'). By this time Burns had resolved to throw up his farm. In a 'third epistle to Mr. Graham of Fintry' (assigned to the summer of 1791), he hints a desire for a further appointment. He had hoped for an advance to a supervisorship, and was put on the list for such an appointment; but his interest had suffered by the death of Lord Glencairn (January 1791) (see letter to Dr. Moore, 28 Feb. 1791), upon whom he now wrote his fine 'Lament.' He obtained, however, through Graham, an appointment as exciseman in Dumfries, at a salary of 70*l.* Patrick Miller was willing to part with the farm, and Burns settled at Dumfries in December 1791, first (till May 1793) in the Wee Vennel, now Bank Street, and afterwards in the Mill Vennel, now Burns Street. A third son, William Nicol, had been born 10 April 1791, and a few days before an illegitimate daughter by Anne Park (the result of an unfortunate amour during Mrs. Burns's absence at Mauchline), whom Mrs. Burns brought up with the other infant. Like Burns's other two daughters she was christened Elizabeth, and afterwards became Mrs. Thomson, living at Pollockshaw, Renfrewshire (CHAMBERS, i. 260). A final visit to Edinburgh took place just before the departure to Dumfries, and a final interview with Mrs. M'Lehose, to whom soon afterwards he sent 'Ae fond Kiss,' 'Wandering Willie,' and some other songs. At Dumfries Burns made acquaintance with some of the higher families, and especially with

Maria Riddel, originally a Miss Woodley, at this time wife of Walter Riddel, younger brother of Captain Riddel of Glenriddel (at a house called for the time Woodley Pack, and before and afterwards known as Goldielea). Mrs. Riddel, still under twenty, was a beauty and a poetess. She and her husband welcomed Burns to their house, where there was a fine library, but where Mr. Riddel appears to have encouraged excessive drinking.

The strong political animosities excited by the French revolution were now beginning to show themselves, and Burns incurred the suspicion of the governing party. He had previously passed for a Jacobite, and by his epigram at Stirling (which also insults George III, then suffering his first publicly known attack of insanity), and by some passages in his poems, provoked an indignation which seems strange at a period when Jacobitism was little more than a fanciful sentiment. Burns, it is clear, had none of the political principles generally connected with the name. His Jacobitism was composed of patriotic Scotch sentiment, a romantic feeling for the exiled Stuarts, common in the anti-Calvinistic classes of Scotch society, and a pretty hearty contempt for the reigning family. But his strongest political sentiment, so far as he was at all a politician, might be rather called republican. It was the proud sentiment of personal independence and contempt for social distinctions, so strongly marked in his behaviour and writings from first to last, and which he afterwards embodied, with his astonishing power of condensed utterance, in the famous lines, 'For a' that and a' that' (January 1795). This tendency led him to sympathise with the hopes of the revolutionary party then shared by so many ardent young men in England.

On 27 Feb. 1792 Burns was despatched to watch an armed smuggler, who had got into shallow water in the Solway Firth. He was left on guard while his superior officers went to Dumfries for some dragoons. While waiting he composed the spirited song, 'The Deil's awa' wi' the Exciseman,' and on the arrival of the soldiers led them to the assault, and was the first to board the ship. Lockhart first tells this story, which has been substantiated by W. Train (*BLACKIE'S Burns*, i. cxxliii). The ship was condemned and her stores sold. Burns bought her guns, four carronades, for 3*l.*, and sent them as a present to the French legislative body (*CHAMBERS*, iii. 22). (The convention was not in existence till September, and war was not declared till January 1793.) The suspicion which such conduct might suggest seems to have increased soon after, and in December 1792

Burns wrote a painful letter to Mr. Graham of Fintry, stating that an inquiry had been ordered into his political conduct, declaring that he was afraid of dismissal, owing to the 'dark insinuations of hellish groundless envy,' avowing his attachment to the British constitution, and saying that he was unnerved by the thoughts of his family. From a letter written 13 April 1793 to Mr. Erskine of Mar, who had heard that Burns was actually dismissed, and had offered to head a subscription for him, it appears that the dismissal had only been prevented by Graham's interest. Burns speaks eloquently and indignantly of the possible injury to his fame, and declares that he will preserve his independence. He had been told that his business was 'to act, not to think,' and though not dismissed, his prospects of promotion seemed to be blasted. Although his superior, Alexander Findlater, thought that he had exaggerated, it is plain that he was deeply stung by the rebuff, and was no doubt placed in a humiliating position. A reprimand for some trifling neglect of duty seems to be confused with this political rebuff. Burns belonged to a small club with John Syme, a distributor of stamps, who afterwards helped Currie in preparing a memoir, Maxwell, a physician, and others. They appear to have held secret meetings, and Burns produced political squibs, the 'Tree of Liberty' (first published in the people's edition of 1840), and others suppressed for the time. He joined the volunteers formed in 1795, and wrote a spirited invasion song in order to show his loyalty. He was, however, nearly forced into a duel for giving an ambiguous toast, 'May our success in the war be equal to the justice of our cause!' A toast to Washington as a greater man than Pitt also gave offence, to Burns's annoyance. Miss Benson, afterwards Mrs. Basil Montagu, met him at this time at a ball, and tells of the disgust which he expressed for the 'epauletted puppies' who surrounded her. Lockhart tells a story from a Mr. McCulloch who saw Burns in the summer of 1794, when he was generally avoided by the respectable attendants at a county ball, and quoted Lady Grizel Baillie's verses, 'His bonnet stood ance fu' fair on his brow.' Scott, in his review of Cromeek's 'Reliques' in the 'Quarterly,' told a story on the authority of Syme, according to which Burns, in a paroxysm of shame, first drew a sword upon his friend, and then dashed himself on the floor; but the story apparently refers to a mere bit of mock-heroics (see *PETERKIN'S Review*, &c.) There were other causes than political suspicions for Burns's decline in public favour. He so far surmounted this, in fact, that he appears to have

had some prospect of preferment. After the first outbreak of the war, the extreme suspicions declined, and though he wrote election ballads on the whig side, he seems to have been at least tolerated. A supervisorship, he says (letter to Heron, 1795), would bring from 120*l.* to 200*l.* a year; and he might look forward to a collectorship, which varied from 200*l.* to 1,000*l.* a year. This, however, depended on the very doubtful possibility of political patronage. At the same time he clearly gave way to indulgences of a discreditable kind. His friends, James Gray, a schoolmaster, and Findlater, his superior officer, declare (in letters first published by A. Peterkin in 1815) that he never became openly reckless or degraded. Gray speaks of his extreme interest in the education of his children. Burns had formerly been made an honorary Burgess of Dumfries, and was now allowed the privilege of sending his sons to the school on the footing of a real freeman of the town. He was also admitted a member of the town library, to which he presented some books. Burns was often received on equal terms by the respectable inhabitants, and his friends testify that they never saw him drunk. He continued to perform his official duties with zeal and regularity (see CHAMBERS, iii. 83, 147; WADDELL, ii. App. xxxi.) But his friends have also to admit that he frequently went beyond the bounds of prudence; and he was apparently often in company of a disreputable kind, and gave way to very mischievous indulgences. On 31 Dec. 1792 he tells Mrs. Dunlop that hard-drinking is 'the devil to him.' He has given up taverns—for the time—but the private parties among the hard-drinking gentlemen of the country do the mischief. At the end of 1793 he was at such a party at Walter Riddel's, became scandalously drunk, and was brutally rude to Mrs. Riddel. Although he expressed the bitterest remorse next day, the Riddels broke with him for some time, and Burns wrote some bitter lampoons on the lady. The quarrel extended to the Riddels of Glenriddel. Captain Riddel died the next April (1794) still unreconciled, when Burns wrote a sonnet expressing his regret. A year or so later Mrs. Walter Riddel became partly reconciled. She saw him before his death, and wrote an appreciative obituary notice of him soon after in the 'Dumfries Journal.' It is clear that, though Burns was neither so poor nor so neglected as is sometimes said, his weaknesses had injured his reputation, and were trying his constitution.

Burns's poetical activity occasionally slackened, but never quite ceased. In September 1792, George Thomson, clerk to the trus-

tees for the encouragement of Scotch manufactures, had designed a new collection of Scotch songs, to be more carefully edited and more elegantly got up than Johnson's 'Museum.' Thomson and his collaborator, Andrew Erskine, applied to Burns to write songs for melodies which they would send him. Burns took up the project enthusiastically. He wrote songs at intervals and sent them to Thomson with many interesting letters originally published in the fourth volume of Currie's work. Among them are some of his most popular songs. 'Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled' is said by Syme to have been composed during a tour which they made at the end of July 1793, while riding in a storm across the wilds of Kenmure. Burns sends it to Thomson in the following September, saying that he composed it 'in my yesternight's evening walk.' It seems, however, to have been already in the hands of Thomson; and the last statement may refer to a final redaction. As Burns occasionally indulged in little mystifications, the date must remain uncertain. 'Auld Lang Syne' had been sent just before, as taken down from 'an old man' singing. Other songs, such as 'O, my Luve's like a Red, Red Rose,' and 'A Vision,' the last of which refers to a favourite walk of Burns, near the ruins of Lincluden Abbey, appeared in the fifth volume of Johnson's 'Museum' (December 1796, after Burns's death), but had been sent to Johnson in 1794. Several songs addressed to Chloris were written in 1794-5. Chloris, or the 'Lassie wi' the lint-white locks,' was a Mrs. Whelpdale, daughter of a farmer named Lorimer, who had been married and deserted at the age of seventeen. The homage in this case appears to have been purely poetical. Burns adopted the phraseology of a lover in celebrating any woman; even Jessie Lewars, who helped to nurse him in his last illness, and to whom (in 1796) he addressed 'Oh, wert thou in the cauld blast,' written on the spur of the moment to a tune which she played to him, and which was afterwards set to music by Mendelssohn.

For all these poems Burns absolutely refused to accept money. He told Thomson at starting that his songs were 'either above or below price,' and only kept 5*l.* sent to him by Thomson in 1793 because a return would 'savour of affectation,' declaring that, if any more were sent, he would be henceforth a stranger. He had some correspondence with London journalists, having sent to the 'Star,' then edited by Peter Stuart, a letter, dated 8 Nov. 1788, protesting against a sermon in which a Mr. Kirkpatrick of Dunleath had spoken ungenerously of the Stuart dynasty,

and in 1789 'Delia, an Ode.' Stuart asked Burns to contribute to the paper, offering, says his brother, Mr. Daniel Stuart (*Gent. Mag.* July 1838, p. 24), a salary 'quite as large as his excise emoluments.' Burns accepted an offer of a gratuitous copy of the paper in some humorous verses, but declined to write. Perry, in 1794, offered him a regular salary for contributions to the 'Morning Chronicle.' Burns again declined, saying that he thought of offering some prose essays, but that a copy of the paper would be sufficient reward. Probably known contributions would have destroyed his prospects in the excise, which were now improving. Burns's refusal to take money has been contrasted with his wrath against Creech for not paying him. 'I'll be damned if I ever write for money,' he said to a friend (see CHAMBERS, iii. 173, 316). His indignation against the delay of Creech in handing over the produce of the subscription was natural; and Burns apparently saw nothing degrading in such a reward for poems not originally written for gain. But it was a different thing to pledge himself to write regularly for money. His contempt for mercenary work was thoroughly honourable, and he was in all probability right in thinking that such a practice would have been fatal to the spontaneity which marks all his best work. His patriotic interest in Scotch song was a motive for his contributions to Johnson and Thomson which he honourably considered as a sufficient reward in itself, and desired to be mixed with no lower motive. Thomson behaved honourably, though he was attacked for his share in the matter. Only six (out of over sixty) songs given to him had appeared before Burns's death. He immediately gave up his rights in order that the songs might appear as new in the collection of Burns's works published for the benefit of the family, and also handed over the correspondence. He died in February 1851, aged 94. Over 180 songs had been contributed by Burns to Johnson's 'Musical Museum,' but of these only forty-seven were admitted by Currie as wholly composed by Burns.

Burns's income at Dumfries, including various perquisites (seizures of smuggled rum and so forth were divided among the officers), has been calculated at 90*l.* a year (CHAMBERS, iv. 124). His second house was an improvement; he kept a servant and lived in substantial comfort. His indulgences and a life of constant excitement of various kinds had told upon his great natural strength. On 25 June 1794 he tells Mrs. Dunlop that 'a flying gout' is likely to punish him for the follies of his youth. In the

autumn of 1795, the death, at Mauchline, of his daughter, Elizabeth Riddel (b. 4 Nov. 1793), greatly distressed him. He was laid up with an accidental complaint from October 1795 till the following January. When recovering he fell asleep in the open air on returning late from a carouse at the Globe Tavern, and an attack of rheumatic fever followed. His state of health soon became alarming. A young revenue officer named Hobie took his duties, when his incapacity to work would have deprived him of half his salary. He managed to attend masonic meetings on 28 Jan. and 14 April, but his health rapidly declined. He was taken on 4 July to Brow, on the Solway, to try sea-bathing. A demand for 7*l.* 4*s.* on account of his volunteer uniform greatly distressed him, and he was driven to ask loans of 10*l.* from his cousin, James Burnes of Montrose, and of 5*l.* from Thomson. Both sent at once the sums requested. Mrs. Burns had been left at Dumfries expecting her confinement, and Burns's last letter was to his father-in-law, requesting Mrs. Armour to come to her daughter. He returned from Brow 18 July, sank rapidly, and died 21 July 1796. A great concourse attended his funeral on the 25th, when the volunteers fired three volleys over his grave. A posthumous son, called Maxwell in honour of his medical attendant and friend, was born during the funeral service. A mausoleum was raised by public subscription, to which his remains were transferred, 9 Sept. 1815. The building was completed in 1817. Burns left only a few trifling debts. Syme and Maxwell started a subscription for the family, which finally amounted to 700*l.* James Currie, a Liverpool physician, an old college friend of Syme, who had once met Burns in 1792, undertook, with the help of Syme and Gilbert Burns, to prepare a memoir and edition of the works. This appeared in 1800, and realised a sum of 1,400*l.* for the family. Robert, the eldest son, a boy of much promise, studied at Edinburgh and Glasgow, and got a place in the stamp-office in 1804. He lived there, eking out his income by teaching, till he was superannuated in 1853, and returned to Dumfries. He died 14 May 1857, aged 70. Two other sons, Francis Wallace (b. 18 Aug. 1789) and the posthumous son, Maxwell, died early, the first 9 July 1803, the second 25 April 1799. Two others, William Nicol (b. 9 April 1791) and James Glencairn (b. 12 Aug. 1794), received cadetships through the Marchioness of Hastings, and rose to be colonels in the East India Company's service. James died 18 Nov. 1865, and William 21 Feb. 1872. The widow received a pension of 50*l.* from

Lord Panmure in 1817, an attempt to raise a subscription having failed. She gave it up a year and a half later, when her children were able to support her. She died 26 March 1834. A portrait is given in the 'Land of Burns,' p. 70. The mother, Agnes Burns, lived with her son, Gilbert, and died 14 Jan. 1820, in the eighty-eighth year of her age. Gilbert (b. 28 Sept. 1760) lived at Mossiel till 1797; he afterwards took a farm at Dinning, then one belonging to a son of Mrs. Dunlop, near Haddington, and finally became factor of Lady Blantyre at Lethington. Here he lived twenty-five years, dying 8 Nov. 1827. He married a Miss Breckonridge, and had six sons and eight daughters. Burns's sister, Isobel, born 27 June 1771, became a Mrs. Begg, lived to give information about her brother to Chambers for his work published in 1851, and died 4 Dec. 1858. Another sister, Annabella, died, aged 67, on 2 March 1832.

Burns was 5 ft. 10 in. in height, of great strength, and rather heavy build, with a 'ploughman's stoop.' His features were rather coarse (Scott says more massive than his portraits suggest), and his dress often slovenly. His air was often melancholy and rather stern, but in conversation the face became singularly animated and expressive of pathetic, humorous, and sublime emotions, and was lighted up by eyes of unequalled brilliancy. The following is a list of his portraits: 1. The most authentic, painted by Alexander Nasmyth in 1787, was first engraved by John Beugo for the Edinburgh edition. The original picture is in the National Gallery, Edinburgh. A replica, 'touched upon by Raeburn,' is in the National Portrait Gallery, London. Another copy formerly belonged to the Cathcart family, of Auchinchrane, Ayr. A small cabinet picture by Nasmyth, engraved as a vignette in Lockhart's 'Life,' is at Marchmont. 2. A portrait, by Peter Taylor, belonged to the painter's widow, and was bequeathed to William Taylor of Linlithgow, who exhibited it at the Crystal Palace centenary, 25 Jan. 1859. It was engraved by Horsburgh in 1830, and published by Constable with attestations of its fidelity. Though recognised by various friends, it is said to resemble Gilbert Burns rather than Robert. 3. A silhouette was taken by one Miers in 1787, of which Burns sent copies to his friends (see *Address to William Tytler*). An engraving is given in Hogg & Motherwell's edition. 4. An admirable chalk drawing, by A. Skirving, now in possession of Sir Theodore Martin (*Notes and Queries*, 6th series, iv. 426, 476), engraved in Belfast editions of 1805 and 1807,

and in Blackie's edition (1843), gives the best impression of his appearance. It closely resembles No. 1, but the relation between them seems to be uncertain. 5. A portrait by David Allan was introduced in an illustration of the 'Cottar's Saturday Night' (1795). Burns tells Thomson (May 1795) that some people think it better than Nasmyth's, though he was not personally known to Allan. 6. In the same letter Burns speaks of a miniature then being executed as a 'most remarkable likeness.' A portrait, identified with this by Dr. Waddell, together with a pendant, said to be the poet's son, Robert, are engraved in Waddell's edition of Burns, where a statement of the evidence for their authenticity is given (WADDELL, ii. App. lxvii-lxxx). The evidence is very weak, and, unless the painter and engraver were utterly incompetent, or Burns's skull became distorted, and his nose became aquiline instead of straight in eight years, this likeness is, at best, a grotesque caricature. 7. Dr. Waddell also acquired a portrait said to represent Burns, at Irvine, at the age of twenty or twenty-two (see *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, iv. 274, 318, 392, 395, 543).

Criticism of Burns is only permitted to Scotchmen of pure blood. Admirable appreciations may be found in the essays of Carlyle and Nichol (see below). Yet it may be said that, if there are more elegant and subtle song-writers in the language, no one even approaches Burns in masculine strength or concentrated utterance of passion. Though all his writings are occasional, he reflects every mood of the national character, its tenderness, its sensuous vigour, and its patriotic fervour. Like Byron, he always wrote at a white heat, but, unlike Byron, he had the highest lyrical power, and, if he sometimes fails, he does not fail by excessive dilution. He is only insipid when he tries to adopt the conventional English of his time, in obedience to foolish advice from Dr. Moore and others. The personal character of Burns must be inferred from his life. Its weaker side is well set forth in an essay by Mr. R. L. Stevenson in the 'Cornhill' for October 1879. His coxcombry, however, seems to be there a little exaggerated. Though it may be granted that in his relations to women he showed an unpleasant affectation as well as laxity of morals, it must be said that he was never heartless, that he did his best to support his children, that he was a good father and brother, and that, if his spirit of independence was rather irritable and self-conscious, his pride was, at bottom, thoroughly honourable. In spite of overwhelming difficulties and many weaknesses, and



much rash impulsiveness, he struggled hard to 'act a manly part' through life. There is less to be forgiven to him than to most of those whose genius has led to morbid developments of character.

Burns's works were: 1. 'Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect,' Kilmarnock, printed by John Wilson, 1786. 2. 'Poems chiefly in the Scottish Dialect,' Edinburgh, printed for the author, and sold by William Creech, 1787. This includes the first collection, with additions. 3. 'Poems,' &c., 'third edition,' was published in London in 1787. The Edinburgh edition was reprinted in Philadelphia and New York in 1788, and in Belfast (1788, 1789), and Dublin (1788, 1789). 4. 'Poems,' &c. (2 vols.) (second edition), Edinburgh and London, 1793 (includes twenty new pieces). 5. 'Poems,' &c., 2 vols. The second edition, considerably enlarged, Edinburgh and London, 1794 (a reprint of No. 4) and the last published in Burns's lifetime. 6. 'The Scots Musical Museum, humbly dedicated to the Catch Club, instituted at Edinburgh, June 1771, by James Johnson.' The six volumes of this book, dated 1787, 1788, 1790, 1792, 1796, and 1803, include 184 songs written or collected by Burns. This work was republished in 1839 in 4 vols., with notes by William Stenhouse and Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, edited by David Laing, who edited another edition in 1853. 7. 'A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs for the Voice, . . . with Select and Characteristic Verses,' both Scotch and English, adapted to the airs, including upwards of 100 new songs by Burns. Six vols., folio, London and Edinburgh. This work was brought out in parts between 1793 and 1806. Burns contributed nearly seventy songs, of which only six appeared before his death. The second part appeared in August 1798, the third in July 1799. In 1799 Stewart & Meikle of Glasgow issued the 'Jolly Beggars,' 'Holy Willie's Prayer,' and other suppressed poems in a series of weekly tracts. They were reprinted in (8) a volume called 'Poems ascribed to Robert Burns' (Thomas Stewart, Glasgow, 1801). 9. 'Letters addressed to Clarinda,' by Robert Burns; first printed by Stewart of Glasgow in 1802 from copies surreptitiously obtained. An authorised edition, with a notice of Mrs. M'Lehose, who died on 22 Oct. 1841, was published by her grandson, W. C. M'Lehose, in 1843. 10. 'Reliques of Robert Burns . . . collected and published by R. H. Cromek,' London, 1808. This includes seventy-two letters, 'strictures on Scotch songs and ballads,' written by Burns in a copy of the 'Musical Museum,' commonplace books; letters from William

Burns, Robert's younger brother; and some poems. Collective editions of Burns's works have appeared in almost every year since his death. Some of them include new poems. The most important are: 1. 'The Works of Robert Burns, with an account of his Life, and a criticism on his Writings; to which are prefixed some Observations on the Character and Condition of the Scotch Peasantry,' Liverpool and London, 1800. This is Currie's edition; the first volume includes the life, the second his correspondence and poems, the third formerly published poems, the fourth correspondence with Thomson and new poems. A second and third edition followed in 1801, a fourth in 1803, a fifth in 1805, a sixth in 1809, and a seventh in 1813. Currie's name was not given. In 1820, the copyright having expired, the publishers brought out an eighth edition, edited by Gilbert Burns. He was to receive 500*l.* for two editions, but his notes were 'few and meagre;' the edition failed, and he only received 250*l.*, from which he at last repaid his brother's loan. 2. 'Works of Robert Burns, with Life by Allan Cunningham,' 8 vols. foolscap 8vo, London, 1834, with many additions. A convenient edition in 1 vol. imperial 8vo was published by Tegg in 1840, and has since been reprinted for Bohn. 3. 'Works of Robert Burns by the Ettrick Shepherd and William Motherwell,' 5 vols. foolscap 8vo, Glasgow, 1836. Hogg supplied the memoir in vol. v. The editors claim to have added 180 pieces to Currie's collection. 4. 'Poetical Works of Robert Burns' (PICKERING, *Aldine Edition of British Poets*), London, 1830 and 1839. Memoir by Sir Harris Nicolas, who expresses regret in the 1839 edition at being now compelled by publishing considerations to give 200 new, or partly new, letters or poems from manuscript which will not add to the poet's fame, and in contradiction to his 'earnest and pathetic injunctions.' The manuscripts thus used were sold in London on 13 Dec. 1854, and are now in the British Museum. 5. 'Works of Robert Burns' (with many illustrations and documents, 2 vols. imperial 8vo, Blackie & Sons), 1843-4; edited by Alexander Whitelaw and regularly reprinted. 6. In 1838 R. Chambers edited a 'people's edition' of Currie's 'Life' and of the 'Poetical Works,' and in 1829 of the prose works, with additional material. In 1851 he published 'The Life and Works of Robert Burns' (W. & R. Chambers, 4 vols. 12mo), in which all the writings are inserted in chronological order, with indications of the original sources and with a connecting narrative. The profits, amounting to 200*l.*, were given

to Mrs. Begg and her family. A library edition of the same, in 4 vols. 8vo, appeared in 1856. 7. 'Life and Works of Robert Burns,' by P. Hately Waddell (Glasgow, 1867), with some new biographical material in appendix to vol. ii. 8. 'Works of Robert Burns,' 6 vols. demy 8vo, Edinburgh, 1877-9, ed. William Scott Douglas, the works in chronological order. 9. Centenary edition, by T. F. Henderson and W. E. Henley, with essay by the latter, 4 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1896-7.

An elaborate 'Bibliography of Burns' was published by James McKie at Kilmarnock in 1881, containing also a list of Burns's manuscripts, relics, monuments, &c. A 'Bibliotheca Burnsiana' by the same, in 1866, gives editions in his private library.

[The main authority for Burns's life is his own correspondence. The first Life, by Robert Heron, a personal friend, appeared in Edinburgh in 1797. It was a reprint from articles in the *Monthly Magazine* and *British Register* for 1797 (vol. iii.), and was reprinted in Chambers's *Scottish Biography* (1832). Currie's Life first appeared in 1800. The commonplace book used by Currie is now in possession of Mr. A. Macmillan, and was first fully printed by Mr. Jack in Macmillan's *Magazine* in March to July, 1879-80 (vols. xxxix. xl.). David Irving's *Lives of the Scottish Poets* contains a Life of Burns in vol. ii. The publication of Cromek's *Reliques* in 1808 produced a review by Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review* for January 1809 and by Scott in the *Quarterly Review* for February 1809. In 1815 Alexander Peterkin published a *Review of the Life and Writings, &c.*, containing statements by Syme and letters from Gray and Findlater, replying to some of the statements in these reviews. A Life by Josiah Walker was prefixed to a collection of his poems in 1811 and separately printed. A Life by Hamilton Paul was prefixed to his poems and songs in 1819. The Life by Lockhart appeared in 1828 as vol. xxiii. of *Constable's Miscellany*, and was also reprinted separately. It was reviewed by John Wilson in *Blackwood* (May 1828), and by Carlyle in the *Edinburgh Review* for December 1828. The Lives by Allan Cunningham (1834), Hogg (1836), Chambers (1851), Waddell (1867) have been mentioned in connection with the works. Chambers's contains the only thorough investigation of facts. There are also Lives without new materials by George Gilfillan in Nichol's library edition of *British Poets* (1856); by Alexander Smith, prefixed to an edition of the poems by Macmillan (1865); by William Gunnyon in an edition by Nimmo (1866); by W. M. Rossetti, in an edition by Moxon (1871); and an admirable Summary of Burns's Career and Genius, by Professor Nichol, 'printed for the subscribers to the library edition' (1877-9). See also *Some Aspects of Robert Burns*, by 'R. L. S.', in the *Cornhill Magazine* for October 1879; and Professor Shairp's *Robert Burns in the Men of*

*Letters series* (1879). Among other books bearing upon Burns may be mentioned: *Sermons by John Dun* (Kilmarnock, 1790), in which Burns is satirised for impiety; *Burnomania* (Edinburgh, 1811), written by W. Peebles, attacked by Burns in the *Kirk's Alarm* and the *Holy Fair*; *Memoirs of William Smellie* (Edinburgh, 1811), by R. Kerr, including a correspondence with Burns; *Letter to a Friend of Robert Burns* (James Gray), by William Wordsworth (London, 1816); *Lectures on the English Poets*, by W. Hazlitt (1819); *Specimens of the British Poets*, by Thomas Campbell (1819); *Memoir of James Currie* (Burns's biographer) (1831); *The Widow of Burns* (account of the sale of her goods) (1834); *Contemporaries of Burns*, by James Paterson (1840); *The Land of Burns—illustrations* by D. O. Hill, letterpress by Professor Wilson and R. Chambers (1840); *A Winter with R. Burns* (by James Marshall), an account of his life in Edinburgh (1846); notes on his name and family by James Burnes, K.H., F.R.S. (privately printed, 1851); *Genealogical Memoirs of the Family of Robert Burns*, by Charles Rogers (1877); *Some Account of the Glenriddel MSS.* (in the *Liverpool Athenæum*) . . . edited by Henry A. Bright (1874).] L. S.

BURNS, ROBERT, D.D. (1789-1869), theological writer and church leader, was born at Bo'ness in 1789, educated at the university of Edinburgh, licensed as a probationer of the church of Scotland in 1810, and ordained minister of the Low church, Paisley, in 1811. He was a man of great energy and activity, a popular preacher, a laborious worker in his parish and town, a strenuous supporter of the evangelical party in the church, and one of the foremost opponents of lay patronage. In 1815, impressed with the spiritual wants of his countrymen in the colonies, he helped to form a colonial society for supplying them with ministers, and of this society he continued the mainspring for fifteen years. Joining the Free church in 1843, he was sent by the general assembly in 1844 to the United States, to cultivate fraternal relations with the churches there, and in 1845 he accepted an invitation to be minister of Knox's church, Toronto, in which charge he remained till 1856, when he was appointed professor of church history and apologetics in Knox's College, a theological institution of the presbyterian church. Burns took a most lively interest in his church, moving about with great activity over the whole colony, and becoming acquainted with almost every congregation. He died in 1869. He was the author of several works: 1. 'A Historical Dissertation on the Law and Practice of Great Britain with regard to the Poor,' 1819. 2. 'On Pluralities,' 1824. 3. 'The Gareloch Heresy tried,' 1830. 4. 'Life of Stevenson

Macgill, D.D., 1842. Besides writing these works, he edited in 1828 a new edition of Wodrow's 'History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland, from the Restoration to the Revolution,' in 4 vols., contributing a life of the author; and for three years (1838-40) he edited and contributed many papers to the 'Edinburgh Christian Instructor,' which had been a very powerful organ of the evangelical party in the church when edited by Dr. Andrew Thomson, and was conducted by Burns for the advancement of the same cause.

[Memoir of Dr. Burns, by his son, Robert F. Burns, D.D., now of Halifax, Nova Scotia; Disruption Worthies; Notice of Dr. Burns, by his nephew, J. C. Burns, D.D., Kirkliston.]

W. G. B.

**BURNS, WILLIAM CHALMERS** (1815-1868), missionary to China, born in 1815 at the manse of Dun, Forfarshire, was educated along with his brother Islay [q.v.] at the grammar school of Aberdeen and at Marischal College and University. His first training was in an Edinburgh lawyer's office, but in 1832 he became the subject of such intense religious impressions that he resolved to be a minister of the gospel, returned to the university, and was licensed as a probationer by the presbytery of Glasgow in 1839. His purpose was to be a missionary abroad, but, there being then no vacancy in the mission field, he accepted temporary occupation at home. His first labours were at Dundee, where he took charge of the congregation of the Rev. R. M. McCheyne during his absence in Palestine. Burns preached with extraordinary earnestness and depth of conviction; a great revival of religious life followed, much as in the days of Whitefield and Wesley. Burns then spent some years visiting different parts of Scotland and the north of England, and with corresponding results. He tried Dublin, but had little success there. Going to Canada, he made a great impression, especially where the Scotch abounded, but the scenes did not equal those which had taken place in his native land. It was not till 1846 that he set out for China as a missionary in connection with the presbyterian church of England. His first efforts among the Chinese were very discouraging, and his faith and perseverance were put to great trial. Ere long, however, the results were much more encouraging. In 1854, at Pechuia, near Amoy, began a remarkable harvest, which in various places he continued to reap. A marvellous spiritual power accompanied his words, and numberless hearts were touched. Many native congregations of Christians were formed in the neighbour-

hood; but it was his practice to leave these to the care of others, and always press forward to occupy new ground. Leaving that part of China, he went to Shanghai, Swatow, and then to Peking and Nieu-chwang. Burns translated the 'Pilgrim's Progress' as well as many of our best hymns into Chinese. He was remarkable for his simple and self-denying ways. On his mission tours he took little with him but tracts and bibles, trusting to the hospitality of the people. Often he was annoyed, once arrested and imprisoned, and sometimes robbed; but he bore all with the greatest meekness. To avoid being stared at as a foreigner, he ultimately adopted the Chinese dress, and lived like a native. Having caught a chill at Nieu-chwang, an out-of-the-way place to which he went simply on account of its destitution, he died there on 4 April 1868. Burns won in a most unusual degree the esteem both of British residents and of the natives of China, and of all friends of missions, and is universally regarded as having been one of the most devoted missionaries since apostolic times.

[Memoir of the Rev. W. C. Burns, M.A., by the Rev. Islay Burns, D.D., Professor of Theology Free Church College, Glasgow, London, 1870; Blaikie's Leaders in Modern Philanthropy, London, 1884.]

W. G. B.

**BURNSIDE, ROBERT** (1759-1826), baptist minister, was born in the parish of Clerkenwell on 31 Aug. 1759, and educated at Merchant Taylors' School and at Aberdeen University, where he graduated M.A. In 1780 he was appointed afternoon preacher at the Seventh-day Baptist church, Curriers' Hall, London, and in 1785 pastor of that congregation, which removed in 1799 to Redcross Street, and thence to Devonshire Square. As a teacher of languages he amassed a considerable fortune. He died in Snow's Fields, Bermondsey, on 19 May 1826. His works are: 1. 'The Religion of Mankind, in a Series of Essays,' 2 vols., London, 1819, 8vo. 2. 'Tea-Table Chat, or Religious Allegories told at the Tea-Table in a Seminary for Ladies,' vol. i., London, 1820, 8vo. 3. 'Remarks on the different Sentiments entertained in Christendom relative to the Weekly Sabbath,' London, 1825, 8vo.

[Funeral Sermon by J. B. Shenston (1826); Ivimey's Hist. of the English Baptists, iv. 326, 327; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Robinson's Merchant Taylors' School, 134.] T. C.

**BURRANT, ROBERT** (A. 1553), translator, is spoken of by Tanner as either an Englishman or a Scotchman. It is, however, evident from his preface to Sir D. Lindsay's poem (see below) that he was an

Englishman, and that he was strongly attached to the reformed doctrines. Nor does there seem any reason for giving 'Burtant' as an alternative form of his name, or doubting, as Tanner does, whether he was the author of both the works mentioned in his article. These are: 1. An edition of Sir David Lindsay's 'Tragical Death of Dauid Beato, Bishoppe of saint Andrewes in Scotland: whereunto is joynted the martyrdom of Maister George Wyseharte, gentleman . . . for the blessed Gospels sake,' printed by J. Day and W. Serres, n.d. This extremely rare volume is in the Grenville Library in the British Museum. It contains a long preface from 'Roberte Burrante to the Reader,' in which, after twenty pages on the judgments of God against evil-doers, he speaks of Beaton's enmity against the gospel and against England, of his habit of swearing, and of his condemnation of Wishart on 31 March 1546. 2. A translation of the 'Preceptes of Cato, with annotations of D. Erasmus of Roterodame, very profitable for all menne,' dedicated to Sir Thomas Caverden, knt., and printed by R. Grafton, 1553. Burrant says that nothing was wanting 'in this Cato to the perfeccion of Christes religion, sauyng the hope and faithe that a Christian man ought to haue.'

[Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 143; Burrant's works as above.]

W. H.

**BURRARD, SIR HARRY (1755-1813)**, general, was the elder son of George Burrard of Walhampton, Hampshire, who was third son of Paul Burrard, M.P. for Lymington from 1705 to 1727 and for Yarmouth (I. W.) 1727 till his death on 30 May 1735, and was younger brother of Sir Harry Burrard, M.P. for Lymington from 1741 to 1778 and created a baronet in 1769. He was born at Walhampton on 1 June 1755, and became an ensign in the Coldstream guards in 1772. He was promoted lieutenant and captain in 1773, and in 1777 exchanged into the 60th regiment, in order to see service in the American war. With it he served under Sir William Howe in 1778 and 1779, and in 1780 returned to England on being elected M.P. for Lymington through the influence of his uncle Sir Harry (1780-88, 1790-1, and in 1802). He served under Lord Cornwallis in America in 1781 and 1782, and after peace had been declared he returned to the guards in 1786 as lieutenant and captain in the grenadier guards, and was promoted captain and lieutenant-colonel in 1789. With the guards he served in Flanders from 1793 to 1795, and was promoted colonel in 1795, and major-general in 1798. In 1804 he became lieutenant-colonel commanding the 1st guards, and in 1805 he was promoted

lieutenant-general. In 1807 he received his first command in the expedition to Copenhagen under Lord Cathcart, when he commanded the 1st division, and as senior general under Cathcart acted as second in command. He had little to do in the expedition; yet on his return was created a baronet. He had already in 1787 been made governor of Calshot Castle. In 1808 he was selected to supersede Sir Arthur Wellesley. He arrived on the coast of Portugal on 19 Aug., and decided not to interfere with Sir Arthur Wellesley's arrangements. On 21 Aug. Junot attacked Sir Arthur's position at Vimeiro, and was successfully beaten off, and the English general had just ordered Ferguson to pursue the beaten enemy, when Burrard assumed the chief command, and, believing the French had a reserve as yet untouched, forbade Ferguson to advance. The very next day Sir Hew Dalrymple assumed the chief command, and made the convention of Cintra, with the full concurrence of both Burrard and Wellesley. All three generals were recalled, and a court of inquiry was appointed to examine their conduct. Burrard succinctly declared the reasons for his course of action on 21 Aug. The result of the inquiry was to entirely absolve the generals. Burrard never applied for another command, but in 1810 as senior lieutenant-colonel he assumed the command of the brigade of guards in London. His latter years were marked by domestic troubles, for in 1809 one of his sons was killed when acting as aide-de-camp to Sir John Moore at the battle of Corunna, and in 1813 another son was killed at San Sebastian. Burrard himself died at Calshot Castle on 18 Oct. 1813. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, Charles, an officer in the navy, at whose death, in 1870, the baronetcy became extinct.

[Wellington Despatches, vol. iii.; Napier's History of the Peninsular War, vol. i. book ii.; Memorial written by Sir Hew Dalrymple, Bart., of his proceedings as connected with the affairs of Spain, and the commencement of the Peninsular War, 1830; the Whole Proceedings of the Court of Inquiry upon the conduct of Sir Hew Dalrymple relative to the Convention of Cintra, held in the Great Hall, Chelsea College, from Monday, 14 Nov., to Wednesday, 14 Dec. 1808.]

H. M. S.

**BURREL or BUREL, JOHN (fl. 1590)**, Scotch poet, author of a poetical description of Queen Anne's entry into Edinburgh in 1590, entitled 'The Description of the Queenis Maiesties most honourable entry into the town of Edinburgh,' was a burges of Edinburgh. Among the title-deeds of a small property at the foot of Todricks

Wynd, Edinburgh, there was found a disposition of a house by 'John Burrel, goldsmith, yane of the printers in his majesties cunzie house' (king's mint), 1628. From the minuteness with which the poet describes the jewellery displayed on Queen Anne's entry, it appears that he had a special technical knowledge of such matters, and there is thus every reason to suppose him to have been identical with John Burrel of the king's mint. The poem, along with another by the same author, entitled 'The Passage of the Pilgrims, divided into four parts,' was published in Watson's 'Collection of Scots Poems,' and the former is also included in Sir Robert Sibbald's 'Chronicle of Scottish Poetry.' Neither of the poems possesses any literary merit.

[Irving's History of Scottish Poetry, 470, 490; Wilson's Memorials of Edinburgh, 2nd ed. 316.]  
T. F. H.

**BURRELL, LITELLUS** (1753-1827), major-general in the East India Company's service, was born in 1753, and entered the Bengal army early in 1770 as a volunteer in Captain Rawstorne's company of the second battalion 2nd Bengal Europeans, in which he became a corporal in 1771, and sergeant in 1772. In 1774, on the recommendation of his captain, he was transferred to the 18th sepoy, with which he fought at the battle of Cutra or St. George on 23 April 1774 and in the subsequent campaign in Rohilcund. He became sergeant-major of the corps in 1775, and remained with it until 1779, when he was nominated to a Bengal cadetship by Warren Hastings. In October of the same year he obtained a commission as ensign, and served against the Mahrattas with a detachment of sepoys under Captain Popham, distinguishing himself at the storming of Lotah and the capture of Gwalior by escalade. The 1st battalion of sepoy drafts, to which he belonged, became the 40th, and eventually the 33rd native infantry. When it was reduced at the peace, Burrell, who, as adjutant, had seen much rough service with it in Malwa under Colonels Camac and Muir, was appointed adjutant 2nd native infantry, with which he served until 1797. In that year, at his own request, he was transferred to the 3rd native infantry, then in the field in anticipation of an expected invasion by Zemaun Shah, king of Cabul. He became brevet-captain in 1796, captain-lieutenant in 1797, and substantive captain in 1798, in which year he was transferred to the second battalion 5th native infantry at Lucknow. At this time the government called for three thousand sepoy

volunteers from the Bengal infantry to proceed by sea to the coast of Coromandel to reinforce the Madras troops, and Burrell, who had come down the Ganges to Calcutta in charge of the volunteers of his regiment, was appointed to the command of the third battalion thus formed. The three battalions of Bengal volunteers proceeded to Madras, and joined General Harris's army, in which, as the 4th native brigade, under command of Colonel John Gardiner, they fought at Malavelly and at the storming and capture of Seringapatam. They were next employed under Colonel Arthur Wellesley in subjugating the refractory chieftains of the Mysore, when the 3rd Bengal volunteers, under Burrell, garrisoned Chitteldroog. Subsequently the volunteers were sent home overland, and on their arrival in their own presidency, after putting down some disturbances at Palavaram by the way, the supreme government notified in a general order 'its appreciation of the distinguished services of the European and native officers and soldiers of these gallant and meritorious corps during the late arduous crisis in public affairs.' Meanwhile Burrell had been appointed to the 15th native infantry, which had been added to the Bengal army in 1798. This corps he joined in Oude in 1801, and served with it in the campaign of 1803, under Lord Lake, at Delhi, Agra, and Laswarree, on which latter occasion he was in command of the advanced picquets of the army. With its battalions he likewise made the campaigns of 1804-5, and fought at Deeg, and in the desperate but unsuccessful attempts on Bhurtpore, in which his health suffered severely from the privations endured. In 1807 he became lieutenant-colonel of the 1st battalion, and in November of the year following 'standards of honour,' inscribed among other devices with the name 'Lake,' similar to those awarded to other native corps which had served through Lord Lake's campaigns, were presented to the 15th native infantry, under command of Burrell, at Barrackpore by Lord Minto, the governor-general, in person. Burrell became brevet-colonel in 1814, and in 1817 was appointed to the command of the 3rd brigade of the grand army under Lord Hastings, then in the field against the Pindarrees. At the end of the campaign he rejoined his regiment, and was appointed to the command-in-chief of all the East India Company's forces in the territory of the Nawab Vizier of Oude. In 1819 he succeeded to a regiment on the Bengal establishment, and in 1821 was promoted to the rank of major-general on the occasion of the coronation of George IV. He remained in Oude until 1820, when severe illness sent him

down to the presidency. Having benefited by the change, he was appointed to a command at Cuttack in 1821. Failing health, however, compelled him to relinquish further employment and to seek his native climate. He died at Notting Hill on 13 Sept. 1827, in the seventy-fifth year of his age. Of a placid disposition, kindly, even-tempered, and possessed of an intimate acquaintance with the habits, feelings, and prejudices of the natives, Burrell had the gift of winning the confidence and esteem of all with whom he came in contact. Under his rule, his regiment is said to have been a model of good order in the field and in cantonments, and whenever volunteers were called for, as in the cases of the expeditions to Mauritius and Java and the proposed occupation of Macao, the 15th native infantry was always ready with double or treble its quota.

[East India Military Calendar, vol. ii. (1823); Dodswell and Miles's Lists; East India Registers; Gent. Mag. xevii. (ii.) 640; Rose's New Biog. Dict.] H. M. C.

**BURRELL, SOPHIA, LADY** (1750?-1802), poetess and dramatist, was the eldest daughter of Charles Raymond of Valentines, Essex (*Ladies' Mag.* 1773; *Home News*, p. 223), and was born about 1750. On 13 April 1773 she married William Burrell, member of parliament for Haslemere [see **BURRELL, SIR WILLIAM**], and came into possession, it is said, of 100,000*l.* A baronetcy was granted to her father in 1774, the year after her marriage, with remainder to her husband and her male issue by him. From 1773 to 1782 Lady Burrell's pen was employed on *vers de société*, varied by such heavier matter as 'Comala,' from Ossian, in 1784. In 1787 her husband's health failed, and they retired to a seat at Deepdene. Lady Burrell published two volumes of collected poems anonymously in 1793; in 1794, the 'Thymriad' from Xenophon, and 'Telemachus,' with her name attached. In 1796 Sir William Burrell died, Lady Burrell having had two sons and two daughters by him; and on 23 May 1797 she was married, at Marylebone Church, by the Bishop of Kildare (*Gent. Mag.* lxxvii. part i. 484), to the Rev. William Clay, a son of Richard Augustus Clay of Southwell, Nottinghamshire. In 1800 Lady Burrell produced two tragedies. The first was 'Maximian,' dedicated to Mr. William Lock; the second was 'Theodora,' dedicated by permission to Duchess Georgiana of Devonshire. Lady Burrell and Mr. Clay retired to West Cowes, Isle of Wight, where she died, 20 June 1802, aged about 52.

In 1814 Lady Burrell's tragedy 'Theo-

dora' was reprinted in 'The New British Theatre' (vol. i.), a collection of rejected dramas.

[*Biog. Dram.* i. 79; *Gent. Mag.* lxxvi. part i. 86, &c. (infra); *Ladies' Mag.* 1778; *Home News*, p. 223; Lady Burrell's own Works; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* ix. 797.] J. H.

**BURRELL, SIR WILLIAM** (1732-1796), antiquary, third son of Peter Burrell of Beckenham, Kent, was born in Leadenhall Street 10 Oct. 1732 (*Add. MS. Brit. Mus.* 5691, fol. 50). He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, whence he graduated as LL.B. in 1755, and LL.D. in 1760, and in the latter year (3 Nov.) was admitted as an advocate at Doctors' Commons. He practised chiefly in the admiralty court, and there are in the possession of his grandson, Sir Walter Burrell, two volumes of his own manuscript reports of cases decided in that court between the years 1766 and 1774. They were edited by Mr. R. G. Marsden in 1885. He was made chancellor of Worcester in 1764, and held the same office in the diocese of Rochester, continuing in both posts till his death, was elected M.P. for Haslemere in 1768, and became a commissioner of excise in 1774, being re-elected for Haslemere in that year. He was also F.R.S. and F.S.A., and a director of the South Sea Company. By his marriage in 1773 with Sophia [see **BURRELL, LADY SOPHIA**], daughter of Charles Raymond, he not only acquired considerable wealth, but also the reversion to the baronetcy conferred upon his father-in-law in 1774. To this he succeeded in 1789. From an early period in life he was interested in antiquarian pursuits, and ultimately concentrated his attention upon the history of the county of Sussex. Nearly every parish was personally visited by him, and its records inspected and partly copied. Drawings were made for him of churches, houses, and sepulchral monuments, and he spared no labour in tracing the descent of the county families. He did not print any portion of his work, but bequeathed the entire collection to the British Museum Library, where it is now deposited among the Add. MSS. Burrell was seized with paralysis in August 1787, and, though he partially recovered, found it necessary to resign his public appointments. He retired to Deepdene in Surrey, and there died 20 Jan. 1796. He was buried at West Grinstead, Sussex, where a simple monument to his memory by Flaxman has been placed in the church.

[*Gent. Mag.* 1796; *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 5691 et seq.; Elwes and Robinson's *Western Sussex*, 110; information from Mr. R. G. Marsden.] C. J. R.

BURROUGH, CHRISTOPHER. [See BOROUGH.]

BURROUGH, EDWARD (1634-1663), quaker, was born in 1634 at Underbarrow, near Kendal, and from an early age was so remarkable for his gravity and piety that Howgill, in his 'Testimony' to him, says that 'grey hairs were upon him when he was but a youth, for he was clothed with wisdom from his infancy.' His parents, who were people of some importance in the neighbourhood, were episcopalians; but even as a lad he was dissatisfied with the religious teaching of the Anglican church, and restlessly tried all the various forms of worship the district afforded. At length he joined the presbyterians, 'who had,' we are told, 'more that seemed like life among them' than the others. Before long his mind became unsettled again, and when, in 1652, George Fox was preaching in Westmoreland, and Burrough went to hear him, he was predisposed to quakerism, although he was one of a number of persons who disputed with Fox, and he was, as he allows, 'the more stubborn as he desired to defend himself from the acknowledgment of error.' He, however, decided to become a Friend, and, although only seventeen, offered himself as a minister, and was accepted. On account of this step he was disowned by his family, who declined his offer to remain with them as a hired servant. Burrough at once began to travel as a quaker minister, and both in Scotland and the northern counties of England had to endure much suffering. His earliest companion appears to have been John Audland. In 1653 he was imprisoned for a short time (for writing a letter remonstrating with a person who was living in gross licentiousness), and while in prison beguiled his time by writing several tractates. From Thomas Camm's account of his father, John Camm, we learn that he and Burrough were for some time fellow-travellers, and that in 1654 Burrough came to London, where he at once addressed himself to spreading quaker principles. Burrough went to a wrestling match, and when a stout fellow challenged all comers, he stepped into the ring, but instead of wrestling preached against the practice of such games. In the same year he and Howgill went to Bristol, where immediately after their arrival they were arrested as disturbers of the public peace, but were discharged and directed to leave the city. After a short time he returned to London, and for some months was engaged in writing controversial tracts. About 1656 he went to Ireland, where he speedily got into collision with the authorities, and was forcibly transhipped to England. During the latter part of this

year he was imprisoned for a few weeks for refusing to take the oath of abjuration. John Bunyan, in his 'Gospel Truths opened,' &c., misrepresented the doctrines and practices of the Friends. Burrough wrote a violent reply. In 1657 Bunyan published a 'Vindication' of his work, and a few months later Burrough assisted George Fox to write a further reply, 'The Mystery of the Great Whore unfolded.' Burrough also brought himself into notice by his addresses to Cromwell, calling his attention to his unfulfilled promises of toleration. The letters are powerfully written, but their tone is neither cordial nor courteous. In the following year (1658) Burrough took part in a public dispute between several quakers and a jesuit, which was held at the house of the Earl of Newport; an amusing account of this debate is to be found in George Fox's 'Journal.' During this year he was defendant in a suit for defamation of character, brought by the vicar of Kingston-on-Thames. He demurred to a cause of 'spiritual dependency' being tried in a common law court; but the objection was overruled, and he was condemned to pay 100*l.* damages. Owing apparently to some technical flaw, judgment was not sealed, and he was not required to pay. Upon the death of Oliver Cromwell, Burrough made an effort to obtain some relief for the quakers from his successor, but Richard seems to have been neither able nor willing to grant it. Towards the end of 1659 Burrough felt 'moved' to visit Dunkirk, where he had numerous disputes with priests and jesuits, in which, according to quaker authorities, he invariably had the best of the argument. While in 1659-60 the puritans of New England were persecuting the Friends with terrible severity, Burrough had two interviews with Charles II., who seems to have had a genuine regard for him, and he told the king that 'there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions;' to which the king replied, 'But I will stop that vein,' and forthwith directed that all American quakers who contravened the laws of the colonies should be sent to England for trial. The next two years of Burrough's life were uneventful, and, with the exception of the time during which he exerted himself to disassociate the quakers from any participation in the rising of the Fifth-monarchy men, he seems to have been chiefly occupied in writing tractates. In 1662 he went to Bristol to assist in reconstructing the quaker society there, which had been severely injured by the folly of Naylor and the persecution of adversaries; but he had only been there a very brief time when he called the Friends together, and took a solemn leave of them, saying he should never see them again, for he

'was going to lay down his life in London for the gospel, and to suffer among the Friends at that place.' Unhappily this foreboding proved only too true. He was arrested at a meeting, and violently dragged through the streets to Newgate, to which prison he was committed for the offence of holding an illegal meeting. At the subsequent trial he was condemned to pay a heavy fine, and, being neither able nor willing to comply, he was directed to be kept a 'close' prisoner. He was thrust into the felons' dungeon, which was so crowded that some of the prisoners died from suffocation, while the remainder became seriously ill. Burrough was one of those who sickened. The Friends procured an order for his liberation from Charles II, but, on one pretence or another, the city authorities evaded complying with it, and Burrough died in Newgate on 14 Feb. 1662-3 (ELLWOOD's *Autob.*) He was buried in the burial-ground, Bunhill Fields. In his 'Testimony' Howgill says of Burrough that 'in his natural disposition he was bold and manly, dexterous and fervent, and what he took in hand he did it with his might, loving, kind, and courteous, merciful and flexible, and easy to be entreated;' and, without making too much allowance for the partiality of a lifelong friend, this seems to be a fair summary of his character. Burrough's works exceed ninety in number, but they are usually very brief. For a long time his writings were held in high esteem by the quakers, but of late years they have fallen out of notice. What he had to say is both more concisely stated and more thoughtful than was usually the case with early quaker authors, and this in great measure arose from the fact that he was a fairly educated man; but much of his writing is spoilt by a bitter controversial spirit, which he does not seem to have exhibited either in his life or his sermons.

The following is a list of some of the most important of his works: 1. 'A Warning from the Lord to the Inhabitants of Underbarrow, and so to all the Inhabitants in England,' 1654. 2. 'A Trumpet of the Lord sounded out of Sion, which sounds forth the Controversies of the Lord of Hosts, and gives a certain sound in the cases of all Nations,' 1656. 3. 'A Description of the State and Condition of all Mankind upon the Face of the Whole Earth,' 1656. 4. 'The True Faith of the Gospel of Peace contended for in the Spirit of Meekness,' &c., 1656. 5. 'A Measure of the Times, and a full and clear Description of the Signes of the Times and of the Changing of the Times,' &c., 1657. 6. 'Truth (the Strongest of all) witnessed forth in the Spirit of Truth against all Deceit,' &c., 1657. 7. 'Many Strong Reasons confounded which

would hinder any Reasonable Man from becoming a Quaker,' 1657. 8. 'A Declaration to all the World of our Faith, and what we believe,' 1657. 9. 'A Standard lifted up, and an Ensign held forth to all Nations,' &c., 1658. 10. 'The True State of Christianity truly described and also disavere'd unto all People,' 1658. 11. 'A Visitation and Warning proclaimed, and an Alarm sounded in the Pope's Borders, in the Name and Authority of the Lord Almighty and the Lamb,' &c., 1659. 12. 'Good Counsel and Advice rejected by Disobedient Men, and the Dayes of Oliver Cromwell's Visitation passed over, and also of Richard Cromwell his Son, late Protector of these Nations' (part by George Fox), 1659. 13. 'A Testimony concerning the Book of Common Prayer (so called),' 1660. 14. 'A Presentation of Wholesome Informations unto the King of England,' &c., 1660. 15. 'The Everlasting Gospel of Repentance and Remission of Sins,' &c., no date. 16. 'A Declaration of the Sad and Great Persecutions and Martyrdom of the People of God, called Quakers, in New England, for the Worshipping of God,' 1660. 17. 'A Just and Righteous Plea, presented unto the King of England and his Council,' &c., 1661. 18. 'Persecution impeached as a Traytor against God, His Laws and Government,' &c., 1661. 19. 'A Discovery of Divine Mysteries, wherein is unfolded Secret Things of the Kingdom of God,' 1661. 20. 'Antichrist's Government justly detected of Unrighteousness, Injustice, Unreasonableness, Oppression, and Cruelty throughout the Kingdoms of this World,' 1661. 21. 'The Case of the People called Quakers (once more) stated and published to the World,' &c., no date. 22. 'A True Description of my Manner of Life, of what I have been in my Profession of Religion,' &c., 1663. In 1672 the most important of Burrough's writings were published under the title of 'The Memorable Works of a Son of Thunder and Consolation, namely, that True Prophet and Faithful Servant of God and Sufferer for the Testimony of Jesus, Edward Burrough,' &c.

[Brief biographies of Burrough are to be found in Tuke's Biographical Notices of Members of the Society of Friends, vol. ii., and in vol. ii. of the Friends' Library (W. & T. Evans, Philadelphia), and a considerable amount of interesting information may be gleaned from the Swarthmore MSS. preserved at Devonshire House, Bishops-gate.]

A. C. B.

BURROUGH, SIR JAMES (1691-1764), amateur architect, son of James Burrough, M.D., of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, was born on 1 Sept. 1691. Having been educated at the grammar school at Bury for eight years,



he entered Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, at Michaelmas, 1708, proceeded to the degree of B.A. in 1711, and to that of M.A. in 1716. He was elected one of the esquire bedells in 1727, resigning the post in 1749, fellow of his college (on Mrs. Frankland's foundation) in 1738, and master in 1754 (27 Feb.), an office which he held until his death, 7 Aug. 1764. He was vice-chancellor in 1759.

He was an amateur architect of some skill, and considerable reputation in the university, where he used his influence to introduce the classical style which had then become fashionable. In 1721 he was added to a syndicate which had been appointed two years before to build a new senate house; and in the following year submitted a 'Plan of the Intended Publick Buildings,' as the minute-book of the syndics records, which James Gibbs, the well-known architect, who had been consulted, was requested to 'take with him to London, and make what improvements he shall think necessary upon it.' As Gibbs was undoubtedly the architect of the existing building, for the design is engraved in his published work, Burrough's share in it was probably confined to general suggestions of style and arrangement. Tradition, however, has called him the architect. The works which are unquestionably his are: the cupola over the combination room at his own college (1728); the transformation of the hall of Queens' College into an Italian chamber (1732), for which he received twenty-five guineas; the 'beautification' of Emmanuel College chapel (1735); the new building at Peterhouse (1736), for which he received 50*l.* and a piece of plate; the facing with stone, in a classical style, of the quadrangle of Trinity Hall (1742-5), with the internal fittings of the hall; a design, engraved 1745, and signed 'James Burrough, architect,' for rebuilding the library and master's lodge at the same college; the doctors' gallery in Great St. Mary's Church, and the facing of the second court of his own college, in the style employed at Trinity Hall (1751); a similar treatment of the court of Peterhouse (1754); and the new chapel of Clare Hall (1763). This latter work, however, he did not live to complete, and it was carried out by James Essex. Besides these works, he was consulted about most of the changes, great and small, that were being effected in Cambridge, and even in the county, for in 1757 he gave advice respecting a new bridge at Wisbeach.

In 1752 he gave a design (afterwards engraved) for the new east room and façade of the library, which adjoins the senate house. This design possesses both beauty and convenience; but it was set aside (in 1754) in

favour of one by Stephen Wright. The Duke of Newcastle, chancellor of the university, procured Burrough the honour of knighthood in November 1759. He died in 1764.

He was F.S.A., and a great collector of pictures, prints, and medals. In private life he was much esteemed, and his contemporaries speak of him with affection and respect. He was buried in the antechapel of his college. There is a good portrait of him in the master's lodge.

[Register of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge; Cole's MSS. xxxi. (Add. MS. Brit. Mus. 5832); Willis's Architectural History of Cambridge, iii. 536-40, and Index; Watson's History of Wisbeach, 282.] J. W. C.

**BURROUGH, SIR JAMES** (1750-1839), judge, third son of the Rev. John Burrough of Abbots-Anne, Hampshire, was born in 1750. Entering the Inner Temple in February 1768, he was called to the bar by that society in November 1773, but was not elected a bencher until 1808. He joined the western circuit, and after many years' practice was in 1792 appointed a commissioner of bankruptcy, in 1794 deputy-recorder of Salisbury, and afterwards recorder of Portsmouth. In May 1816, being then sixty-six years of age, he was raised to the bench of the common pleas, and received the customary knighthood, a promotion he owed to the steady friendship of Lord Eldon. In that court he sat until the end of 1829, when increasing infirmities obliged him to retire. He survived nearly ten years, and, dying on 25 March 1839, was buried in the Temple Church. His daughter Anne, his only surviving child, erected a monument to his memory in the church of Laverstock, Wiltshire, in which county and in Hampshire he possessed considerable property.

[Foss's Judges, ix. 13-14; Lord Campbell's Chief Justices, iii. 286; Law Mag. iii. 299-300.] G. G.

**BURROUGH, STEPHEN.** [See BOURG.]

**BURROUGH, WILLIAM.** [See BOURG.]

**BURROUGHES or BURROUGHS, JEREMIAH** (1599-1646), congregational minister, was born in 1599, and educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he was admitted pensioner in 1617, and graduated M.A. in 1624. He left the university on account of his nonconformity, and assisted Edmund Calamy [q. v.] as minister at Bury St. Edmunds. On 21 April 1631 Burroughes was instituted to the rectory of Tivetshall,

Norfolk. He was suspended for not observing Bishop Wren's injunctions of 1636, and especially for not reading the 'Book of Sports.' He found hospitality for some months under the roof of the Earl of Warwick, and it is said that he offered 40*l.* to the bishop's chancellor to take off his suspension; but he was accused of seditious speeches against the Scottish war, and was deprived. He did not, as is often said, hurry out of the country for fear of his life. He had offers of livings 'from divers noble friends,' but in 1637 removed to Rotterdam, to become 'teacher' of the English congregational church there. He returned to England in 1641, and became preacher at Stepney at seven o'clock in the morning, and later in the day at Cripplegate. Hugh Peters, who had been a predecessor of Burroughes at Rotterdam, called him the 'morning star,' and William Greenhill the 'evening star' of Stepney. In the ordinance of 12 June 1643, calling an assembly of divines at Westminster, Burroughes appears in the list of divines. He was one of the seven 'dissenting brethren' whose views of church government were congregational, in opposition to the presbyterianism of the majority, and was one of the five who in 1644 presented to parliament the 'Apologetical Narration,' the first manifesto of their principles. On 6 Nov. 1645 he was placed on the (second) committee of accommodation; and at its last meeting, 9 March 1646, he declared in the name of independents that they would not concede to the presbyterian 'classes' the coercive power claimed for them, but would either 'suffer' or emigrate. Burroughes was moderate in his public action. He never attempted to form a 'gathered church' or congregation of independents drawn from various parishes, nor did he hold any benefice after his return from Holland, contenting himself with his morning and evening lectureships. Baxter said that if all the independents had been like Burroughes, all the episcopalians like Ussher, and all the presbyterians like Stephen Marshall, 'the breaches of the church would soon have been healed.' Samuel Bury [q. v.] quotes with approval the motto on his study door: 'Opiniorum varietas et opinantium unitas non sunt *ἀνίσταται*.' His chief opponents were Thomas Edwards of the 'Gangræna' and John Vicars. Burroughes died before the assembly had finished its confession of faith. The date usually given of his death is 14 Nov., but Browne quotes from the 'Perfect Occurrences' for 13 Nov. 1646: 'This day Mr. Burrows, the minister, a godly reverend man, died. It seems he had a bruise by a fall from a horse some fortnight since; he fell into a fever, and of that fever died, and is by many godly

people much lamented.' He left a widow. His portrait is engraved by Cross. According to this engraving, on 1 June 1646 he was 'ætatis suæ 45,' which would give at earliest 1601, and not 1599, as the year of his birth.

He published: 1. 'An Exposition with practical Observations on the Prophesie of Hosea,' 1643-50-52-57, 4 vols. 4to. 2. 'The Glorious Name of the Lord of Hosts opened,' 1643, 4to (two sermons from Is. xlvii. 4, at St. Michael's, Cornhill, vindicating the resort to arms; as postscript is 'A briefe Answer' to 'The Resolving of Conscience,' &c., 1642, 4to, by Henry Fern, D.D.) 3. 'A Vindication of Mr. Burroughs against Mr. Edwards his foule Aspersions in his spreading Gangræna . . . concluding with a brief Declaration what the Independents would have,' 1646, 4to (Edwards had written against the 'Apologetical Narration' presented to the House of Commons in 1644). 4. 'Irenicum; to the Lovers of Truth and Peace, concerning the causes and evils of Heart Divisions,' 1646, 4to; another edition, 1653, 4to (the 'Irenicum' is often referred to by the running title 'Heart Divisions opened'), and single sermons. Posthumous were: 5. 'The Rare Jewel of Christian Contentment,' 1648, 4to; with new title-page, 1649; other editions 1650, 1655, 1677, all 4to; reprinted in Ward's 'Library of Standard Divinity,' vol. iv. 6. 'Gospel-worship,' 1648, 4to; another edition 1650, 4to. 7. 'Gospel-Conversation,' 1648, 4to; other editions 1650, 4to, 1653, 4to (Nos. 6, 7, 8 form a series of 3 vols. of Burroughes's works, edited by seven leading congregational ministers). 8. 'The Generation of Quakers,' Camb. 1648, 12mo (not included in Smith's 'Biblioth. Anti-Quakeriana,' 1872). 9. 'Moses He's Self-Denyall,' 1649, 8vo (treatise on Heb. xi. 24). 10. 'Moses his Choice,' 1650, 4to (Brook assigns this to 1641; it is a continuation of the foregoing, being a treatise on Heb. xi. 25, 26). 11. 'The Evil of Evils; or the exceeding Sinfulness of Sin,' 1654, 4to. 12. 'The Saint's Treasury, being the substance of several Sermons,' 1654 (Brook); another edition 1656, 4to. 13. 'Three Treatises,' 1655, 4to. 14. 'Earthly Mindfulness . . . and Walking with God,' 1656, 4to. 15. 'Gospel Reconciliation,' 1657, 4to. 16. 'Four Books on Matt. xi.' 1659, 4to. 17. 'The Saint's Happinesse,' 1660, 4to. 18. 'A Treatise of the Excellency of Holy Courage in Evil Times,' 1661 (Brook); another edition, 1662, 4to. 19. 'The Difference between the Spots of the Godly and of the Wicked,' 1663, 8vo. 20. 'Gospel Remission,' 1668, 4to; another edition 1674, 4to. 21. 'Gospel Fear; or the Heart trembling at the Word of God,' 1674, 8vo. 22. 'Jerusalem's Glory . . . the New

Testament Church in the latter days,' 1675, 8vo. 23. 'Four useful Discourses and Sermons,' 1675, 4to. This list, based on Watt's, is probably incomplete; most of the items have been verified.

[Apol. Narr. 1644; Reasons of the Dissenting Brethren, &c. 1648; Bury's Funeral Sermon for Fairfax, 1702; Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, Dub. 1759, iii. 242, 295; Brook's Lives of the Puritans, 1813, iii. 18 sq.; Browne's Hist. of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1877, pp. 69, 87, 115; Mitchell's Westminster Assembly, 1883, pp. 15, 192 sq.; information from Dr. Phear, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge.]

A. G.

**BURROUGHS, SIR JOHN** (*d.* 1648),  
Garter king of arms. [See **BOROUGH**.]

**BURROUGHS, JOSEPH** (1685-1761), baptist minister, was born in London, 1 Jan. 1685, of wealthy parents, his father being Humphreys Burroughs. He was educated under Rev. John Kerr, M.D. (a pupil of Thomas Doolittle), at Highgate, where he was class-fellow with John Ward, afterwards Gresham professor of rhetoric; and at the university of Leyden. In 1714 he received a call to be co-pastor with Richard Allen at the Barbican. He declined the call to the pastorate, but undertook to act as preacher, and on Allen's death he became pastor. He was ordained 1 May 1717. John Gale, and subsequently the famous James Foster, became his colleagues. His views of believers' baptism were sufficiently strict to place him with the party of close communion; but his general sentiments were not those of a narrow man. He was a non-subscriber at Salters' Hall in 1719. He allowed Emlyn, the unitarian, to occupy his pulpit. His studies abroad had given him facility in speaking and preaching in French; and in 1734 he preached in Latin to the ministers of the three denominations at their annual meeting in Dr. Williams's library, then at Redcross Street. This discourse is printed in his volume of sermons. He died 23 Nov. 1761. His publications were: 1. 'A Sermon occasioned by a total Eclipse of the Sun, 22 April,' 1715, 8vo. 2. 'Funeral Sermon for Rev. John Gale,' 1722, 8vo. 3. 'Sermon at Ordination of Deacons, 15 July,' 1730, 8vo. 4. 'Sermons preached before the Societies for the Reformation of Manners,' 1731, 8vo. 5. 'Sermon on the Popish Doctrine of Auricular Confession and Plenary Absolution,' 1735, 8vo (contained in 'Seventeen Sermons against Popery, preached at Salters' Hall, 1735, 8vo, p. 367). 6. 'A View of Popery taken from the Creed of Pope Pius IV,' 1735, 8vo; 2nd ed. 1737, 8vo. 7. 'Sermons,' 1741,

8vo. 8. 'Two Discourses relating to Positive Institutions,' 1742, 8vo. 9. 'A Defence' of the last piece, 1743, 8vo. 10. 'Funeral Sermon for Rev. John Weatherly,' 1752, 8vo. 11. 'Funeral Sermon for Rev. Isaac Kimber,' 1755, 8vo. Noble says he edited the eight 'Occasional Sermons,' 1733, 8vo, of his brother James, who was trained for the ministry under the Rev. John Jennings at Kibworth, and died young. He edited also the posthumous sermons of Joseph Morris, baptist minister at Glasshouse Yard, prefixing a memoir, 1753, 8vo.

[Funeral Sermon by Daniel Noble, 1761; Crosby's Hist. of the Eng. Baptists, 1740, iv. 183; Wilson's MSS. in Dr. Williams's Library.]

A. G.

**BURROW, EDWARD JOHN** (1785-1861), divine and miscellaneous writer, a member of Magdalene College, Cambridge, graduated B.A. in 1805 and M.A. in 1808, was incorporated a member of Trinity College, Oxford, and took the degrees of B.D. and D.D. in 1820. He was incumbent of Bampton, Yorkshire, 1810-16, and minister of a chapel of ease at Hampstead 1816-23. He then became domestic chaplain to Tomline, bishop of Winchester. In July 1827 he accepted the office of principal of a college and school at Mount Radford, Exeter, and entered on his duties on 29 Sept. In consequence of disputes with the proprietors he resigned or was dismissed from this office (the immediate cause of his leaving depends on the rights of the case) in the following January. In 1835 he went out to Gibraltar as civil chaplain, and was appointed archdeacon of Gibraltar in 1842. Having remained there until his health became feeble, he then returned to England and resided at Lyme and other places on the south coast. He died at Honiton on 8 Aug. 1861. He was a fellow of the Royal and other learned societies. He published: 1. 'Elements of Conchology,' 1815. 2. 'The Elgin Marbles,' with 40 plates drawn and etched by himself, one part all published, 1817, 1837. 3. 'A Letter . . . to W. Marsh . . . on the nature . . . of certain principles . . . falsely denominated Evangelical,' 1819, which reached a third edition the same year. 4. 'A Second Letter,' 1819, two editions. 5. 'A Summary of Christian Faith and Practice,' 3 vols. 1822. 6. 'Questions on Memorial Scripture Copies,' 1829, 3rd edition 1854. 7. 'Hours of Devotion,' translated from the German of Zschokke, 1830. 8. 'School Companion to the Bible,' 1831, reissued with 5 in 1854.

[Gent. Mag. cxxi. 1861, pt. ii. 332; A Statement of the manner in which . . . E. J. B.

became connected with Mount Radford, and of . . . his removal, Exeter, 1828; British Museum Library Catalogue.] W. H.

**BURROW, SIR JAMES** (1701–1782), legal reporter, was the son of Thomas Burrow of Clapham, Surrey, and was born on 28 Nov. 1701. In 1733, at the age of thirty-two, he obtained the post of master of the crown office and retained it until his death. In 1725 he was called to the bar at the Inner Temple, was elected a bencher in 1754, became reader in 1764, and treasurer in 1765. He was elected F.S.A. in April 1741, and F.R.S. in April 1737, and subsequently became honorary member of the Société des Antiquités at Cassel. For two short periods he discharged the duties of president of the Royal Society (the first lasting from September to November 1768, the second from July to November 1772), and when the society presented an address to the king on 10 Aug. 1773 Burrow received the honour of knighthood. He was the owner of Starborough Castle in the parish of Lingfield, Surrey, and he died there on 5 Nov. 1782, being buried in the chancel of Lingfield Church. His epitaph, with unusual frankness, sums up his virtues in the phrase: ‘The convivial character was what he chiefly affected, and it was his constant wish to be easy and cheerful himself and to see others in a like disposition.’ A portrait by Vanloo of Burrow was presented by him to the Royal Society, and hangs in the meeting-room. A whole-length print of him in his official dress was engraved by James Basire in 1780 from a painting by Arthur Devis.

Burrow’s merits as a law reporter have been universally acknowledged. His collection of ‘Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Court of King’s Bench during the time of Lord Mansfield’s presiding’ was published in 1756–72, the fourth edition appearing in five volumes in 1790. The first volume of his ‘Reports of Cases adjudged in the Court of King’s Bench since the death of Lord Raymond’ came out in 1766, and the last—there were five in all—was issued in 1780. In 1773 he turned aside at the request of his friends to publish separately, in anticipation of its inclusion in his general volume of ‘Reports,’ his ‘lucid and valuable’ narrative of ‘The question concerning literary property determined by the court of king’s bench, 20 April 1769, in the cause between Andrew Millar and Robert Taylor,’ a question which dealt with the much-vexed point of the copyright of books. ‘The Decisions of the Court of King’s Bench upon Settlement Cases from the death of Lord

Raymond, March 1732,’ were chronicled by him in two volumes in 1768, to the second of which was added a tract entitled ‘A few Thoughts upon Pointing,’ and a second continuation, bringing the decisions down to Michaelmas sessions 1776, was edited by him in that year. His tract on pointing was struck off with a separate title-page in 1768, and was reprinted in an enlarged and improved form in 1771. Burrow was the author, under the thin disguise of ‘A Member of the Royal Society and of the Society of Antiquaries,’ of a pamphlet called ‘A few Anecdotes and Observations relating to Oliver Cromwell and his Family . . . to rectify several errors . . . by Nicolaus Commenus Papadopoli in his “Historia Gymnasii Patavini,”’ 1763; and Watt attributes to him a tract entitled ‘Serious Reflections on the Present State of Domestic and Foreign Affairs. With proposals for a new Lottery,’ 1757. Five papers on earthquakes were contributed by him to the ‘Philosophical Transactions.’

[Thomson’s Royal Society, p. 13; Weld’s Royal Society, ii. 45–6, 65; Gent. Mag. (November 1782), p. 551; Manning and Bray’s Surrey, ii. 346–7, 359; Nichols’s Illustrations of Literature, i. 138; Nichols’s Literary Anecdotes, iii. 177–8; Masters of Bench of Inner Temple (1883), p. 75.] W. P. C.

**BURROW, REUBEN** (1747–1792), mathematician, was born 30 Dec. 1747, at Hoberley, near Shadwell, Leeds. His father, a small farmer, gave him some schooling, occasionally interrupted by labour on the farm. He showed a taste for mathematics, and after some instruction from a schoolmaster at Leeds, named Crooks, obtained a clerkship in the office of a London merchant. He went thither on foot in 1765, spending 1s. 10d. by the way. A year later he became usher in a school of B. Webb, the ‘celebrated writing-master.’ He next set up as schoolmaster on his own account at Portsmouth, and, after giving up this place in 1770 to become engineer to a projected expedition to Borneo, was appointed assistant to Maskelyne, then astronomer-royal, at Greenwich. Two years afterwards he married Anne Purvis, daughter of a poulterer in Leadenhall Street, and started a school at Greenwich. In 1774 he helped Maskelyne in his observations upon Schehallion, for the determination of the earth’s attraction. He complained that his services were insufficiently recognised. Soon afterwards, however, he was appointed ‘mathematical teacher in the drawing-room at the Tower,’ where there was then a training school for artillery officers, afterwards merged in the Woolwich

academy. His salary was 100*l.* a year. Here he became editor of the 'Ladies and Gentlemen's Diary, or Royal Almanack.' It was started by one Thomas Carnan, in opposition to the 'Ladies' Diary,' published by the Stationers' Company and edited by Charles Hutton [q. v.] The company claimed a monopoly of almanacks, but their claim was disallowed by the court of common pleas, on their bringing an action against Carnan, who published the first number of his diary in December 1775. It continued till 1786, the word 'Gentlemen' being dropped after 1780. Part of it was devoted to mathematical problems by Burrow and various contributors, including a 'Samuel Rogers' (who may possibly, though very improbably, have been the poet, *b.* 1763). Burrow quarrelled with his rival, Hutton. He eked out his living by taking private pupils, and did a little work for publishers; but his family was increasing, and in 1782 he accepted an appointment in India, procured by his patron, Colonel Henry Watson, for many years chief engineer in Bengal. He claimed indignantly but fruitlessly to be paid for extra work in a survey of the coast from Essex to Sussex with a party of pupils in 1777, and sailed (October 1782) in a fleet commanded by Admiral Howe. Soon after reaching India he wrote an interesting letter to Warren Hastings (*Add. MS.* 29159, f. 376). He says that he wishes to make money in order to have leisure for further research. He has been interested in the ancient geometry, as he has proved by his book on Apollonius (see below), and is curious to investigate the mathematical treatises in the ancient Hindoo and other oriental literature. He asks for Hastings's encouragement; and other letters and papers show that he pursued these inquiries, having learnt Sanskrit for the purpose, and collected many Sanskrit and Persian manuscripts (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. x. 309). He was appointed mathematical teacher of the engineers' corps, and afterwards had some employment in connection with a proposed trigonometrical survey of Bengal. A 'Short Account of the late Mr. Burrow's Measurement of a Degree of Longitude and another of Latitude near the tropic in Bengal' was published by his friend Mr. Dalby in 1796. He was one of the first members of the Asiatic Society, and contributed to their 'Researches.' Hedied at Buxor 7 June 1792. His wife, with his son and his three daughters, joined him in India in 1790, and returned after his death. The son died as an officer in the service of the East India Company.

Some journals of Burrow were published  
VOL. III.

by Mr. T. T. Wilkinson in the 'Philosophical Magazine' for 1853. Burrow is said to have been a rough but kindly man, who sometimes drank too much and would then indulge in pugilism. The poet Crabbe used to meet him at a coffee-house about 1780 (*CRABBE, Life*, ch. iii.) His diaries report a good deal of scandal, especially about rival mathematicians. He was clearly jealous and resentful, though liberal to friends in distress. He amused himself by pouring out coarse abuse in the fly-leaves of his books. Some quaint specimens are given by De Morgan in 'Notes and Queries' (1st series, i. 143). He describes the 'Miscellanea Scientifica Curiosa,' edited by Green and Wales, as a 'balderdash miscellany of damned stupid, ragamuffin, methodistical nonsense and spuability.' Wales was his successful competitor for a mastership at Christ's Hospital. His journals are now in the library of the Astronomical Society. He collected some curious books, which he sent to Woolwich and which are now in the library of the royal artillery.

The ability and elegance of Burrow's geometrical investigations are admitted by his critics. His only separate publication was 'A Restitution of the Geometrical Treatise of Apollonius Pergæus on Inclinations; also the Theory of Gunnery, or the doctrine of projectiles in a non-resisting medium,' London 1779. A 'restitutio' of this treatise had been published by Samuel Horsley (afterwards bishop) in 1770. Burrow in his preface speaks severely of Horsley's work as clumsy and employing quasi-algebraical methods; and claims with justice much greater simplicity and directness for his own work. Burrow's contributions to the Asiatic 'Researches' (vols. i. and ii.) include an essay upon 'Friction in Mechanics' (reprinted in Leybourne's 'Repository,' ii. 204-20, and the 'Gentleman's Mathematical Companion' for 1800), and one on the 'Hindoo Knowledge of the Binomial Theorem.' The others are upon astronomical methods.

[Philosophical Magazine for 1853; *Mechanics' Magazine*, li. 244, 293, 350, lii. 267 (*life* by J. H. Swale), lv. 324 (art. 'Board of Ordnance in other days'); *Addit. MSS.* 29159 f. 376, 29163 f. 113, 29233 f. 239; *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. xii. 142, 2nd ser. x. 409, 3rd ser. v. 107, 216, 261, 303, 361; *New Monthly Mag.* i. 536-8; *Gent. Mag.* lxiii. 774.] L. S.

BURROWES, JOHN FRECKLETON (1787-1852), organist and composer, was born in London, 23 April 1787. His master was William Horsley. His first published work was a set of six English ballads, 'Printed for the author, 5 Great Suffolk Street, Charing

Cross,' and in 1812 he published an overture (op. 8) which had been performed at the vocal concerts, Hanover Square. This was followed in 1817 by a similar work (op. 13) produced by the Philharmonic Society, of which Burrowes was one of the original members. In 1818 appeared the first edition of his 'Pianoforte Primer,' a little work which was very successful, and is still in use as an instruction book. In 1819 Burrowes brought out a 'Thorough Bass Primer,' which achieved a success equal to that of the earlier work. In the course of his long career he also published a 'Companion to the Pianoforte Primer' (1826), a 'Companion to the Thorough Bass Primer' (1832), 'The Tutor's Assistant for the Pianoforte' (1834), a 'Guide to Practice on the Pianoforte' (1841), collections of psalm tunes, preludes, dances, Scotch and Irish airs, sonatas, a trio for three flutes, songs, and many arrangements of operas, &c., for the pianoforte. For nearly forty years Burrowes was organist of St. James's, Piccadilly. About 1834 he settled at 13 Nottingham Place, where he died, after a long and painful illness, 31 March 1852.

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 285 a; Musical World, 24 April 1852; Gent. Mag. 1852, i.; British Museum Music Catalogue.] W. B. S.

**BURROWES, PETER** (1753 - 1841), Irish barrister and politician, was born at Portarlington in 1753. At Trinity College, Dublin, which he entered in 1774, he specially distinguished himself in the debates of the Historical Society. While still a student at the Middle Temple, in 1784, he published a pamphlet on 'Catholic Emancipation,' which introduced him to the notice of Flood and the other leading Irish patriots. In the following year he was called to the bar, where he rapidly acquired a good practice. In 1790, along with Wolfe Tone and others, he founded a society in Dublin for the discussion of literary and political subjects. In a duel which he fought at Kilkenny in 1794 with the Hon. Somerset Butler, his life was only saved by the ball striking against some coppers which he happened to have in his waistcoat pocket. Though he did not share in the more extreme views of the United Irishmen, he was a zealous supporter of all the most important measures of reform. Along with thirteen other king's counsel he, 9 Dec. 1798, protested against the proposals for a union with Great Britain, and after being elected member for Enniscorthy he continued, as long as the Irish parliament existed, persistently to oppose the measure. In 1803 he acted as the counsel of Robert Emmet, and in 1811 he was employed to de-

fend the catholic delegates. From 1821 to 1835 he was commissioner of the insolvent debtors court. He died in London in 1841, and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery.

[W. Burrowes's Select Speeches of Peter Burrowes, with Memoir, 1850; Life and Adventures of Wolfe Tone.] T. F. H.

**BURROWS, GEORGE MAN** (1771-1846), physician, was born at Chalk, near Gravesend, in 1771. He was educated at the King's School, Canterbury, was apprenticed to an apothecary at Rochester, and completed his medical education at Guy's and St. Thomas's Hospitals. After qualifying at the College of Surgeons and Apothecaries' Hall, he entered on general practice in London. He became deeply interested in the legal status of the medical profession, and organised the Association of Surgeon-Apothecaries of England and Wales, with the object of improving the education and status of the profession. As chairman of this body Burrows was most indefatigable, and had a large share in the movement which led to the passing of the Apothecaries' Act in 1815. The society voted him five hundred guineas on its dissolution. On the formation of the first court of examiners of the Apothecaries' Company, on the passing of the act, Burrows was appointed an examiner; but early in 1817 he resigned, owing to the unfair conduct of the court of assistants. On this question Burrows published a 'Statement of Circumstances connected with the Apothecaries' Act and its Administration,' 1817. At this time he was largely engaged in medical literature, being one of the founders and editors of the 'London Medical Repository,' which commenced in January 1814, and the author of 'Observations on the Comparative Mortality of London and Paris,' 1815. In 1816 he retired from general practice, and devoted himself to the treatment of insane patients, at first keeping a small asylum at Chelsea, and later, in 1823, establishing a larger one, 'The Retreat,' at Clapham. He became a leading authority on insanity, publishing 'Cursory Remarks on Legislative Regulation of the Insane,' 1819; 'An Inquiry into certain Errors relative to Insanity and their Consequences, Physical, Moral, and Civil,' 1820; and finally, an extended treatise entitled 'Commentaries on the Causes, Forms, Symptoms, and Treatment, Moral and Medical, of Insanity,' 1828. This was by far the most complete and practical treatise then published in this country, and received general approval. Burrows became M.D. at St. Andrews in 1824, and a fellow of the College

of Physicians in 1839. He died on 29 Oct. 1846, in his seventy-sixth year.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. (1878), iii. 290.]

G. T. B.

**BURROWS, SIR JOHN CORDY** (1818-1876), surgeon, eldest son of Robert Burrows, silversmith, of Ipswich, by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of James Cordy of London, was born at Ipswich on 5 Aug. 1813, and educated at the Ipswich grammar school, but, leaving it at an early age, became an apprentice to Mr. William Jeffreson, surgeon, Framlingham, with whom he diligently applied himself to his profession. Going to Brighton in 1837, he for two years acted as assistant to Mr. Dix, surgeon, to whom he was distantly related, after which he entered on a practice of his own. His medical studies had been conducted at Guy's and St. Thomas's hospitals. He qualified at the Society of Apothecaries in 1835, became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1836, and was admitted a fellow in 1852. Once in practice for himself it was not long before he came into public notice, and, while not neglecting his professional work, found both time and energy to do many other things. In 1841 along with Dr. Turrell he projected the Royal Literary and Scientific Institution. He also took part in the establishment at Brighton of the Brighton Mechanics' Institution. He was secretary from 1841 to 1857, and afterwards treasurer. He projected the fountain on the Steine in 1846, raised the money for its erection, and then laid out and planted the enclosures near it entirely at his own expense. His attention was next directed to the sanitary condition of the town, and under his advice the Health of Towns Act was adopted. He came still more prominently forward in 1849 as one of the town committee who purchased the Royal Pavilion from the Commissioners of Woods and Forests for the sum of 53,000*l.* On the charter for Brighton being obtained in 1854 he was returned at the head of the poll for the Pavilion ward. In 1857 he was elected mayor, and he continued in that office during the following year. The high esteem in which he was held by the inhabitants of Brighton was evinced on 13 Oct. 1871 by the presentation of a costly testimonial consisting of a handsome carriage and a pair of horses, and other gifts. In consequence of a petition to the crown, asking that his great services to Brighton might receive public recognition, he was knighted by the queen at Osborne on 5 Feb. 1873.

He was a fellow of the Linnean, Zoological, Geographical, and other learned societies,

brigade surgeon of the Brighton artillery corps, and chairman of the lifeboat committee. He was one of the two promoters of the Extramural Cemetery, and at great expense to himself obtained the order for discontinuing sepulchres in the churches, chapels, and graveyards of the town. His aversions were street organ-players and itinerant hawkers, none of whom were allowed to exercise their callings in the borough in the period during which his will was law. He died at 62 Old Steine, Brighton, on 25 March 1876. His interment took place at the Extramural Cemetery on 1 April in the presence of a vast number of sorrowing people. His statue, erected in the grounds of the Royal Pavilion, was unveiled on 14 Feb. 1878. He married, 19 Oct. 1842, Jane, daughter of Arthur Dendy of Dorking; she died in 1877, leaving one son, Mr. William Seymour Burrows, who succeeded to his father's practice.

[Medical Times and Gazette, i. 375 (1876); *Lancet*, i. 515, 548 (1876); *Sussex Daily News*, 27 March 1876, pp. 5-6, and 3 April, pp. 5-6; *Illustrated London News*, lxii. 191 (1873), portrait, lxxviii. 335 (1876), and lxxii. 173 (1878), view of statue.] G. C. B.

**BURSCOUGH, ROBERT** (1651-1709), divine, the son of Thomas Burscough, was born at Cartmel, Lancashire, in 1651. He entered Queen's College, Oxford, as servitor in 1668, and took his B.A. in 1672 and M.A. in 1682. In 1681 he was presented by Charles II to the vicarage of Totnes, Devonshire, in succession to the Rev. John Prince, author of the 'Worthies of Devon.' He was prebendary of Exeter Cathedral in 1701, and archdeacon of Barnstaple in 1703. He was buried at Bath 29 July 1709. He is characterised by Anthony à Wood as 'a learned man, zealous for the church of England, and very exemplary in his life and conversation.'

He wrote the following: 1. 'A Treatise of Church Government, occasion'd by some letters lately printed concerning the same subject,' 1692 (pp. xlii, 270), being an answer to Richard Burthogge's 'Nature of Church Government freely discussed.' 2. 'A Discourse of Schism; addressed to those Dissenters who conformed before the Toleration and have since withdrawn themselves from the communion of the Church of England,' 1699 (pp. 231). This occasioned two pamphlets in reply, and Burscough rejoined by 3. 'A Vindication of the "Discourse of Schism,"' Exeter, 1701. 4. 'A Discourse of the Unity of the Church, of the Separation of the Dissenters from the Church of England, of their Setting up Churches,' &c., Exeter, 1704. 5. 'A Vindication of the Twenty-

third Article of Religion,' 1702 (mentioned in *Biog. Brit.* 1748, ii. 1042). The preface to Zachary Mayne's 'Sanctification by Faith vindicated,' 1693, is from his pen.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, iv. 413, 533, 582; *Fasti*, ii. 331, 383; Le Neve's *Fasti* (Hardy), i. 408, 426; Oliver's *Monasticon*, Add. Supp. p. 21; J. I. Dredge in *Western Antiquary*, August 1884; Watt's *Bibl. Brit.*; Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, 1701, p. 600, where he commends Burscough's liberality in allowing him the free use of his 'very good library;' Worthy's *Ashburton*, p. 115.] C. W. S.

BURT, ALBIN R. (*d.* 1842), engraver and portrait-painter, commenced life as an engraver, being a pupil of Robert Thew and Benjamin Smith, but finding himself unable to excel in this department, he took to painting heads. He exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1830, and died at Reading on 18 March 1842. A print of his represented Lady Hamilton, whom his mother knew when a barefooted girl in Wales, as 'Britannia unveiling the bust of Nelson.'

[Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists*, 1878.]

L. F.

BURT, EDWARD (*d.* 1755), author of the 'Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland,' largely quoted by Walter Scott and Macaulay, has been variously described as an engineer officer who served with General Wade in Scotland in 1724-8, as an army contractor, and an illiterate hack-writer, who ended his days in dire distress (*Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. xii. 496). The war office records fail to show that Mr., or 'Captain,' Burt held military rank. He appears to have been with General Wade in Scotland, in some civil capacity connected with the commissariat and other army departments (*ib.* 2nd ser. vii. 128-9). An order in one of General Wade's order-books (*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 23671), dated Inverness, 28 Sept. 1726, directs all commanding officers and others in the northern highlands, on due application from Mr. Edmund Burt or his subordinates, to send with him such parties of soldiers as shall be thought necessary to collect the rents of the estates formerly the Seaforth's. Another order of the same date directs Mr. Burt to state and adjust all accounts relating to the 'highland galley,' and to report on all matters connected with the said galley as he shall think necessary until further orders.

Evidence in the 'Letters' shows that they were written in 1725-6, although not published until long afterwards. Burt's death is thus announced in the 'Scots Magazine' for 1755: 'On 4 Jan. 1755, in London, Edward Burt, esq., late agent with General

Wade, chief surveyor during the making of the roads through the highlands, and author of the "Letters from the North of Scotland."

The first edition of the 'Letters' appeared in London in 1754. Subsequent editions appeared in Dublin in 1755, in London in 1759 and 1815, and at Haarlem and Hanover. The latest was edited by R. Jamieson, with contributions by Sir Walter Scott, London, 2 vols. 8vo, 1818.

[*Brit. Mus. Gen. Cat.*; *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 23671; *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. xii. 496, 2nd ser. vii. 128-9, 174; *Scots Mag.* xvi. 359-529, xvii. 52.] H. M. C.

BURT, WILLIAM (1778-1826), miscellaneous writer, son of Joseph Burt of Plymouth, was born there on 23 Aug. 1778, educated at Exeter grammar school, and afterwards articled to a banker and solicitor at Bridgwater. Finally he practised at Plymouth as a solicitor until his death on 1 Sept. 1826. He edited the 'Plymouth and Dock Telegraph' for several years, and at one period he held a commission in the 38th foot.

His works are: 1. 'Twelve Rambles in London, by Amicus Patriæ,' 1810. 2. 'Desultory Reflections on Banks in general, and the System of keeping up a False Capital by Accommodation,' London, 1810, 12mo. 3. 'The Consequences of the French Revolution to England considered, with a view of the Remedies of which her situation is susceptible,' 1811; dedicated to Lord Holland. 4. 'A Review of the Mercantile, Trading, and Manufacturing State, Interests, and Capabilities of the Port of Plymouth,' Plymouth, 1816. 5. 'Preface to and Notes on N. T. Carrington's Poem "Dartmoor,"' 1826. 6. 'Christianity; a Poem, in Three Books, with Miscellaneous Notes,' London, 1835, 12mo; edited by the author's nephew, Major Thomas Seymour Burt. 7. 'Observations on the Curiosities of Nature,' London, 1836, 12mo; also edited by Major Burt.

[Memoir prefixed to Burt's *Christianity*; Davidson's *Bibl. Devonensis*, 43, 131, 142; *Biog. Dict. of Living Authors* (1816), 49.] T. C.

BURTHOGGE, RICHARD (1688?-1694?), theological writer, was born at Plymouth about 1688. He was educated at Exeter grammar school, became a servitor or chorister of All Souls' College, Oxford, in 1654, proceeded B.A. in 1658, migrated to Lincoln College, and completed his degree 'by determination.' He afterwards went to Leyden University to study medicine, and was admitted there 11 Oct. 1661 (PEACOCK, *Leyden Students*, Index Soc., p. 12, s.v. 'Borthage'). He took the degree of doctor in medicine after



publishing a thesis, 'De Lithiasi et Calculo,' Leyden, 1662. On returning to his native country he settled at Bowden, near Totnes, where he acquired a large medical practice. By that means and by two wealthy marriages he 'attained a pretty full estate.' He was a vigorous champion of religious toleration. 'He always kept pace with the fanatics,' says Wood, 'temporiz'd with the papists in the reign of James II, and was therefore made a justice of the peace for Devonshire, which office he kept under William III, as being a favourer of fanatics.' He is stated to have died in 1694. Burthogge's chief works are philosophical, and he gained a deserved reputation as a critic of Locke. In his 'Essay on Reason,' dedicated to Locke (1694), he argues that 'every object which we know, we know only as in relation to our powers to know—as a phenomenon or appearance—and what appears is determined negatively by that power of sense and understanding we possess as human beings.' Burthogge anticipates explicitly one of the most important positions of Kant's philosophical system, known also as Hamilton's 'doctrine of the relativity of knowledge' (UEBERWEG).

Burthogge's works are: 1. 'Τάχαθον, or Divine Goodness explicated and vindicated from the Exceptions of the Atheist; wherein also the consent of the gravest philosophers with the holy and inspired penmen in many of the most important points of Christian doctrine is fully vindicated,' London, 1672. 2. 'Causa Dei; or an Apology for God,' 1675. 3. 'Organum Vetus et Novum; or a Discourse of Reason and Truth; wherein the natural logic common to mankind is briefly and plainly described,' London, 1678. 4. 'An Argument for Infant Baptism,' London, 1683. 5. 'Vindiciæ Pædo-Baptismi,' London, 1685, a reply to a tract against infant baptism by Edmund Elys, a divine of the church of England. 6. 'Prudential Reasons for repealing the Penal Laws against all Recusants, and for a general Toleration,' London, 1687, 4to, 'a scandalous and virulent pamphlet,' according to Wood, to which a clergyman (Rev. John Prince, vicar of Berry-Pomeroy, near Totnes, and author of the 'Worthies of Devon') issued a reply. 7. 'The Nature of Church Government freely discussed in three letters,' to which Robert Burscough, vicar of Totnes, published an answer in 1692. 8. 'An Essay upon Reason and the Nature of Spirits,' London, 1694 (dedicated to Locke). 9. 'Of the Soul of the World, and of Particular Souls: in a letter to Mr. Locke, occasioned by Mr. Keil's Reflections upon an Essay lately published concerning Reason' (i.e. Locke's 'Essay on the Human Understanding'), London,

1699 (republished in Somers's 'Tracts,' 1748, vol. ii., 1809, vol. xii.) 10. 'Christianity a Revealed Mystery,' London, 1702.

[Wood's Fasti Oxon. ed. Bliss, ii. 214; Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iv. 581-2; Ueberweg's Hist. of Philosophy (translated), ii. 365; Hamilton's Reid, ii. 928, 938; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L.

**BURTON**, first **BARON** (d. 1743). [See **PAGET**, **HENRY**.]

**BURTON**, **CASSIBELAN** (1609-1682), translator, born on 19 Nov. 1609, was only son of William Burton, historian of Leicestershire [q. v.], by his wife Jane, daughter of Humfrey Adderley of Weddington, Warwickshire (**NICHOLS**, *Hist. of Leicestershire*). He translated Martial into English verse, but the translation remained in manuscript. His friend Sir Aston Cokaine thought highly of it. He inherited his father's collections in 1645, and handed them over to Walter Chetwynd [q. v.], 'to be used by him in writing "The Antiquities of Staffordshire."' Wood states that he was 'extravagant,' and a spendthrift. He died on 28 Feb. 1681-2.

[Wood's Athenæ, ed. Bliss, iii. 134; Nichols's History of Leicestershire; Cokaine's Choice Poems, 1658.]

**BURTON**, **CATHARINE** (1668-1714), Carmelite nun, was born at Bayton, near Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk, on 4 Nov. 1668. She made her religious profession in the convent of the English Teresian nuns at Antwerp in 1694, being known in that community as Mother Mary Xaveria of the Angels. Several times elected superior of her convent, she died on 9 Feb. 1713-14. A 'Life' of her, collected from her own writings and other sources by Father Thomas Hunter, a jesuit, remained in manuscript till 1876, when it was edited, with the title of 'An English Carmelite' (London, 8vo), by Henry James Coleridge, S.J.

[Life by Hunter; Foley's Records, vii. 104.]  
T. C.

**BURTON**, **CHARLES** (1793-1866), theologian, born in 1793 at Rhodes Hall, Middleton, Lancashire, was youngest son of Daniel Burton, a Wesleyan cotton manufacturer. Educated at the university of Glasgow and St. John's College, Cambridge, he graduated LL.B. in 1822 at Cambridge and was incorporated B.C.L. at Magdalen College, Oxford, on 14 Oct. 1829, and proceeded D.C.L. 15 Oct.

For a time a Wesleyan minister, Burton was ordained in 1816, and in 1820 became rector of the church of All Saints, Manchester, built by him at a cost of 18,000*l.*, and largely destroyed by fire on 6 Feb. 1850.

He had considerable reputation as a preacher. His chief works are: 1. 'Horæ Poeticæ,' 1815. 2. 'Middleton, an elegiac poem,' Glasgow, 1820 (printed for private circulation). 3. 'A Selection of Psalms and Hymns, including original compositions,' Manchester, 1820. 4. 'The Bardiad, a poem in two cantos,' London (Manchester), 1823 (two eds.) 5. 'Three Discourses adapted to the opening of the Nineteenth Century; exhibiting the portentous and auspicious signs and cardinal duties of the times,' Manchester, 1825. 6. 'The Servant's Monitor' (? Manchester, 1829); published by the Manchester Society for the Encouragement of Faithful Female Servants. 7. 'Discourses suited to these Eventful and Critical Times,' London, 1832 (preached at the Episcopal Chapel, Broad Court, Drury Lane, London, of which Burton is said, on the title-page, to be minister). 8. 'A Discourse on Protestantism, delivered on the occasion of admitting two Roman Catholics to the Protestant Communion' (? Manchester, 1840). 9. 'The Church and Dissent: an appeal to Independents, Presbyterians, Methodists, and other Sects, &c.,' Manchester, 1840. 10. 'Lectures on the Millennium,' London, 1841. The millennium is to begin in 1868. 11. 'Lectures on the World before the Flood,' London (Manchester), 1844. An attempt to harmonise the literal narrative of Genesis with the discoveries of science. 12. 'Lectures on the Deluge and the World after the Flood,' London (Manchester), 1845. 13. 'Lectures on Popery,' Manchester, 1851.

In addition to his theological studies Burton had a great fondness for botanical pursuits, and his discovery in Anglesea of a plant new to science led to his election as fellow of the Linnean Society. While on a visit at Western Lodge, Durham, he was attacked by typhus and died on 6 Sept. 1866.

[Manchester Courier, 8 Sept. 1866; British Museum General Catalogue; Illustrated London News, 16 Feb. 1850; private information.]

W. E. A. A.

BURTON, CHARLES EDWARD (1846-1882), astronomer, was born on 16 Sept. 1846, at Barton, Cheshire, of which benefice his father, the Rev. Edward W. Burton, was then incumbent. He showed from childhood a marked taste for astronomy, and entered Lord Rosse's observatory as assistant in February 1868, some months before taking a degree of B.A. at the university of Dublin. Compelled by constitutional delicacy to resign the post in March 1869, he joined the Sicilian expedition to observe the total solar

eclipse of 22 Dec. 1870, and read a paper on its results before the Royal Irish Academy, 13 Feb. 1871 (*Proc. new ser. i.* 118). The observations and drawings made by him at Agosta (Sicily) were included in Mr. Ran- yard's valuable 'eclipse volume' (*Mem. R.A. Soc.* xli.) Attached as photographer to the transit of Venus expedition in 1874, he profited by his stay at Rodriguez to observe southern nebulae (30 Doradus and that surrounding  $\eta$  Argus) with a 12-inch silvered glass reflector of his own construction (*Month. Not.* xxxvi. 69). On his return he spent nearly twelve months at Greenwich measuring photographs of the transit, then worked for two years at the observatory of Dunsink, near Dublin, and retired in August 1878, once more through ill-health, to his father's parsonage at Loughlinstown, county Dublin, where he made diligent use of his own admirable specula. His observations on Mars, during the opposition of 1879, were of especial value as confirming the existence, and adding to the numbers, of the 'canals' discovered by Schiaparelli two years previously. A communication to the Royal Dublin Society descriptive of them was printed in their 'Scientific Transactions' under the title of 'Physical Observations of Mars, 1879-80' (i. 151, ser. ii.) From twenty-four accompanying drawings (two of them executed by Dr. Dreyer with the Dunsink refractor) a chart on Mercator's projection was constructed, which Mr. Webb adopted in the fourth edition of his 'Celestial Objects' (1881). Burton's experiments on lunar photography were interrupted by preparations for the second transit of Venus. But within a few weeks of starting for his assigned post at Aberdeen Road, Cape Colony, he died suddenly of heart-disease in Castle Knock church, on Sunday, 9 July 1882, aged 35.

The loss to science by the premature close of his useful and blameless life was considerable. He was equally keen in observing, and skilful in improving the means of observing. With Mr. Howard Grubb he devised the 'ghost micrometer,' described before the Royal Dublin Society, 15 Nov. 1880 (*Proc.* iii. 1; *Month. Not.* xli. 59), and alluded to hopefully by Dr. Gill in his treatise on micrometers (*Encycl. Brit.*, 9th ed., xvi. 256). Among his communications to scientific periodicals may be mentioned 'Note on the Appearance presented by the fourth Satellite of Jupiter in Transit in the years 1871-3' (*Month. Not.* xxxiii. 472), in which he concluded, independently of Engelmann, an identity in times of rotation and revolution; 'On the Present Dimensions of the White Spot Linné' (*ib.* xxxiv. 107); 'On Certain Pheno-

mena presented by the Shadows of Jupiter's Satellites while in Transit, and on a possible Method of deducing the Depth of the Planet's Atmosphere from such Observations' (*ib.* xxxv. 65); 'On the possible Existence of Perturbations in Cometic Orbits during the Formation of Nuclear Jets, with Suggestions for their Detection' (*ib.* xlii. 422); 'On the Aspect of Mars at the Oppositions of 1871 and 1878' (*Trans. R. I. Ac.* xxvi. 427); 'On recent Researches respecting the Minimum visible in the Microscope' (*Proc. R. I. Ac.* ser. ii. iii. 248); 'Note on the Aspect of Mars in 1881-2' (*Copernicus*, ii. 91); 'Notes on the Aspect of Mars in 1882' (*Sc. Trans. R. Dub. Soc.* i. 301, 2nd ser.) He was a member of the Royal Irish Academy and of the Royal Astronomical Society.

[*Copernicus*, ii. 158; *Astr. Reg.* xx. 173; *R. Soc. Cat. Sc. Papers*, vii. 309.] A. M. C.

BURTON, DECIMUS (1800-1881), architect, was the son of James Burton, a well-known and successful builder in London in the beginning of the present century. After receiving a thorough practical training in the office of his father and in that of Mr. George Maddox, he began business as an architect on his own account, and met with early and signal success in the practice of his profession. Among his first large works was the Colosseum erected by Mr. Horner in Regent's Park as a panorama and place of public entertainment. As such it proved a failure, and its site is now occupied by the terrace of private residences known as Cambridge Gate, a much more lucrative investment. But from the architectural point of view it was regarded as a successful example of the then fashionable classic style, and its dome, a few feet larger than that of St. Paul's, was looked upon as a remarkable constructive effort, especially for an architect at the time only twenty-three years old. In 1825 Burton was employed by the government to carry out the Hyde Park improvements, which included the laying out of the roads in and around the park and the erection of the façade and triumphal arch at Hyde Park Corner. In Burton's design the arch was destined to support a quadriga, and the disfigurement of the structure by the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington, which elicited from a French officer the cutting ejaculation, 'Nous sommes vengés!' was a keen disappointment to him. For many years after its erection, indeed, Burton's will provided to the nation the sum of 2,000*l.* if it would agree to remove the statue from its unsuitable position. He eventually withdrew the legacy, without, however, relin-

quishing the hope of the ultimate removal of the statue to a suitable pedestal of its own, and the completion of his design, with the bas-reliefs and triumphal car which it originally included. (The statue was moved to Aldershot in 1885.) In 1828 Burton accepted a special retainer from Mr. Ward of Tunbridge Wells, for the laying out of the Calverley Park estate there, and but for this engrossing employment, which occupied his time for over twenty years, his public works would no doubt have been more numerous and important. His practice afterwards, however, lay chiefly in the erection of country houses and villas and the laying out of estates for building purposes. The numerous mansions and villas designed by him are distinguished by suitability of internal arrangement and simplicity and purity of style, and many thriving localities in some of the chief towns of the country still evidence his skill in the laying out of building estates. In his day Greek was the fashionable, and indeed almost only, style, and in that he worked; but he used it with effect and judgment, never sacrificing the requirements of modern life to mere archaeological accuracy. And although many of his designs may appear, and sometimes are, antiquated and unsuitable revivals of ancient buildings, it must be remembered that most of them date from before the Gothic, or indeed any, revival of architecture as now understood and practised. Judged by the standard of his time, no little credit is due to him for honest and independent regard for the practical objects of his profession. He was a traveller when travelling was the exception, visiting and studying the classic remains of Italy and Greece, and later extending his observations to Canada and the United States of America. He was a man of wide culture and refinement, amiable and considerate to all with whom he came in contact, and had a wide circle of friends. He was proprietor of a pleasant bachelor residence at St. Leonards-on-Sea, a watering-place which his father had almost entirely built, and where he spent the greater part of the later years of his life. He died, 14 Dec. 1881, unmarried, at the advanced age of eighty-one. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and of many other learned societies, including the Royal Institute of British Architects, of which he was one of the earliest members and at one time vice-president.

[Builder, xli. 780, where a list of his principal works will be found.] G. W. B.

BURTON, EDWARD. [See CATCHER, EDWARD.]

**BURTON, EDWARD (1794-1836)**, regius professor of divinity at Oxford, the son of Major Edward Burton, was born at Shrewsbury on 13 Feb. 1794. He was educated at Westminster, matriculated as a commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, on 15 May 1812, gaining a studentship the next year, and in 1815 obtained a first class both in classics and mathematics. Having taken his B.A. degree on 29 Oct. 1815, he was ordained to the curacy of Pettenhall, Staffordshire. On 28 May 1818 he proceeded M.A., and paid a long visit to the continent, chiefly occupying himself in work at the public libraries of France and Italy. In 1824 he was select preacher. On 12 May 1825 he married Helen, daughter of Archdeacon Corbett, of Longnor Hall, Shropshire. After his marriage he resided at Oxford. In 1827 he was made examining chaplain to the bishop, and in 1828 preached the Bampton lectures. On the death of Dr. Lloyd, bishop of Oxford and regius professor of divinity, Burton was appointed to succeed him in the professorship in 1829, and took the degree of D.D. the same year. As professor he was also canon of Christ Church and rector of Ewelme, where, at a time when such arrangement was somewhat rare, he introduced open seats into the church in the place of pews. He died at Ewelme on 19 Jan. 1836, in his forty-second year. Among his works are: 1. 'An Introduction to the Metre of the Greek Tragedians,' 1814. 2. 'A Description of the Antiquities . . . of Rome,' 1821, 1828. 3. 'The Power of the Keys,' 1823. 4. 'Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ,' 1826, 1829. 5. 'An edition of the Works of Bishop Bull,' 1827. 6. 'The Greek Testament, with English notes,' 1830, 1835. 7. 'Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Doctrine of Trinity,' 1831. 8. 'Advice for the Proper Observance of the Sunday,' 1831, 1852. 9. 'The Three Primers . . . of Henry VIII,' 1834. 10. 'Lectures on Ecclesiastical History,' 1831, 1833. 11. 'An edition of Pearson on the Creed,' 1833. 12. 'Thoughts on the Separation of Church and State,' 1834, 1868. He also superintended the publication of Dr. Elmsley's edition of the 'Medea' and 'Heraclidæ,' 1828, and of some posthumous works of Bishop Lloyd. Among the works on which he was engaged at the time of his death was an edition of Eusebius, published 1838, 1856; the notes of this volume were separately edited by Heinichen, 1840; the text was used in the edition of Eusebius of 1872. Burton was also the author of other smaller works.

[Gent. Mag. 1836, pt. i. 310; Catalogue of the British Museum Library.] W. H.

**BURTON, GEORGE (1717-1791)**, chronologer, was the second son of George Burton of Burton Lazars, Leicestershire, and the younger brother of Philip Burton, the father of Mrs. Horne, wife of George Horne, bishop of Norwich. Born in 1717, he received his education at Catharine Hall, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1736 and M.A. in 1740, being at the latter date a member of King's College. In 1740 he was presented to the rectory of Eldon, or Elveden, and in 1751 to that of Heringswell, both in Suffolk. Burton received pupils, and generally had three or four boarding in his house for instruction. He died at Bath on 3 Nov. 1791, and was interred in the church of Walcot. He married, 9 July 1743, Anne Reeve of Melton Mowbray (*Notes and Queries*, 8th ser. ii. 246).

He published: 1. 'An Essay towards reconciling the Numbers of Daniel and St. John, determining the Birth of our Saviour, and fixing a precise time for the continuance of the present Desolation of the Jews; with some conjectures and calculations pointing out the year 1764 to have been one of the most remarkable epochs in history,' Norwich, 1766, 8vo. 2. 'A Supplement to the Essay upon the Numbers of Daniel and St. John, confirming those of 2436 and 3430, mentioned in the Essay; from two numerical prophecies of Moses and our Saviour,' London, 1769, 8vo. 3. 'The Analysis of Two Chronological Tables, submitted to the candour of the public: The one being a Table to associate Scripturally the different Chronologies of all Ages and Nations; the other to settle the Paschal Feast from the beginning to the end of time,' London, 1787, 4to. 4. 'History of the Hundred of Elvedon, Suffolk,' MS. in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps.

The Rev. George Ashby (1724-1808) [q. v.] describes his industrious study of chronology, but adds: 'I could never perceive what his principles or foundations were, though I have attended in hopes of learning them. Mr. Burton would often repeat, turning over the leaves of his MSS., "All this is quite certain and indisputable; figures cannot deceive; you know 50 and 50 make 100." But when I asked him, "Why do you assume 50 and 50?" I never could get any answer from him; nor does he seem to have settled a single æra, or cleared up one point of the many doubtful ones in this branch of the science; nor could he ever make himself intelligible to, or convince, a single person. He was, however, the friend of Dr. Stukeley, who made him a present of Bertram's "Richard of Cirencester," an ingenious forgery [see BERTRAM, CHARLES].

[Nichols's Leicestershire, ii. 228, 268, Append. 325; Nichols's Illustrations of Literature, vi. 880-7; Addit. MS. 5864 f. 36, 19166 f. 216; Stukeley's Carausius, 116; Cantabrigienses Graduatī (1787), 66.] T. C.

BURTON, HENRY (1578-1648), puritan divine, was born at Birdsall, a small parish in the East Riding of Yorkshire, 'which never had a preaching minister time out of mind.' In his own 'Narration' of his life, sixty-four is stated as his age in the latter part of 1642; in his 'Conformities Deformity,' 1646, it is stated as sixty-seven; the inference is that he was born in the latter part of 1578. The record of his baptism is not recoverable, but his father, William Burton, was married to Maryanne Homle [Humble] on 24 June 1577. His mother, he tells us, carefully kept a New Testament which had been his grandmother's in Queen Mary's time. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated M.A. in 1602. His favourite preachers were Laurence Chaderton and William Perkins. On leaving the university he became tutor to two sons of 'a noble knight,' Sir Robert Carey, afterwards (1626-1639) earl of Monmouth. He relates that one Mrs. Bowes, of Aske, predicted 'this young man will one day be the overthrow of the bishops.' Through the Carey interest, Burton obtained the post of clerk of the closet to Prince Henry; while acting in this capacity he composed a treatise on Antichrist, the manuscript of which was placed by the prince in his library at St. James's. He complains that the bishop (Richard Neile of Durham), who was clerk of the closet to King James, 'depressed him;' however, on Prince Henry's death (6 Nov. 1612) Burton was appointed clerk of the closet to Prince Charles. On 14 July 1612 he had been incorporated M.A. at Oxford, and was again incorporated on 15 July 1617. He tells us that at the age of thirty (i.e. in 1618) he resolved to enter the ministry. Fuller says that he was to have attended Prince Charles to Spain (17 Feb. 1623), and that for some unknown reason the appointment was countermanded, after some of his goods had been shipped. Burton does not mention this, but says (which perhaps explains it) that he could not get a license for a book which he wrote in 1623 against the 'Converted Jew,' by Fisher (i.e. Piercy) the Jesuit, to refute Arminianism and prove the pope to be Antichrist. He had, in fact, thrust himself into a discussion then going on between Fisher and George Walker, puritan minister of St. John's, Watling Street. On the accession of Charles, Burton took it as a matter of course that he would become clerk of the

royal closet, but Neile was continued in that office. Burton lost the appointment through a characteristic indiscretion. On 23 April 1625, before James had been dead a month, Burton presented a letter to Charles, inveighing against the popish tendencies of Neile and Laud (who in Neile's illness was acting as clerk of the closet). Charles read the letter partly through, and told Burton 'not to attend more in his office till he should send for him.' He was not sent for, and did not reappear at court. Clarendon says that Burton complained of being 'despoiled of his right.' He deplored the death of James, but not through any love for that sovereign; indeed he speaks of the influence of James in retarding the high-church movement as the only thing which 'made his life desirable.' He was almost immediately presented to the rectory of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, and used his city pulpit as a vantage from which to conduct an aggressive warfare against episcopal practices. He began to 'fall off from the ceremonies,' and was cited before the high commission as early as 1626, but the proceedings were stopped. Bishop after bishop became the subject of his attack. For a publication with the cheerful title 'The Baiting of the Popes Bvll,' &c., 1627, 4to, which bore a frontispiece representing Charles in the act of assailing the pope's triple crown, he was summoned, in 1627, before the privy council, but again got off, in spite of Laud. His 'Babel no Bethel,' 1629, in reply to the 'Maschil' of Robert Butterfield [q.v.], procured him a temporary suspension from his benefice, and a sojourn in the Fleet. More serious troubles were to come. On 5 Nov. 1636 he preached two sermons in his own church from Prov. xxiv. 21, 22, in which he charged the bishops with innovations amounting to a popish plot. His pulpit style was perhaps effective, but certainly not refined; he calls the bishops caterpillars instead of pillars, and 'antichristian mushrumps.' Next month he was summoned before Dr. Duck, a commissioner for causes ecclesiastical, to answer on oath to articles charging him with sedition. He refused the oath, and appealed to the king. Fifteen days afterwards he was cited before a special high commission at Doctors' Commons, did not appear, and was in his absence suspended *ab officio et beneficio*, and ordered to be apprehended. He shut himself up in his house, and published his sermons, with the title, 'For God and the King,' &c., 1636, 4to, whereupon (on 1 Feb. 1636-7) his doors were forced, his study ransacked, and himself taken into custody and sent next day to the Fleet (the warrants will be found reprinted in BROOK).

Peter Heylyn wrote a 'Briefe Answer' to Burton's sermons. In prison Burton was soon joined by William Prynne and John Bastwick, a parishioner [q. v.], who had also written 'libellous books against the hierarchy,' and the three were proceeded against in the Star-chamber (11 March) and included in a common indictment. An attempt was indeed made on 6 June to get the judges to treat the publications of Bastwick and Burton (he had added to his offence by publishing, from his prison, 'An Apology for an Appeale,' 1636, 4to, consisting of epistles to the king, the judges, and 'the true-hearted nobility') as presenting a *prima facie* case of treason, but this fell to the ground. The defendants prepared answers to the indictment, but it was necessary that these should be signed by two counsel. No counsel could be found who would risk the odium of this office, and the defendants applied in vain to have their own signatures accepted, according to ancient precedents. Burton was the only one who got at length the signature of a counsel, one Holt, an aged benchman of Gray's Inn, and Holt, finding he was to be alone, drew back, until the court agreed to accept his single signature. Burton's answer, thus made regular, lay in court about three weeks, when on 19 May the attorney-general, denouncing it as scandalous, referred it to the chief justices, Sir John Bramston and Sir John Finch. They made short work of it, striking out sixty-four sheets, and leaving no more than six lines at the beginning and twenty-four at the end. Thus mutilated, Burton would not own it; he was not allowed to frame a new answer, and on 2 June it was ordered that he, like the rest, should be proceeded against *pro confesso*. Sentence was passed on 14 June, the defendants crying out for justice, and vainly demanding that they should not be condemned without examination of their answers. Burton, when interrogated as to his plea by the lord keeper (Baron Coventry), briefly and with dignity defended his position, maintaining that 'a minister hath a larger liberty than always to go in a mild strain,' but his defence was stopped. He was condemned to be deprived of his benefice, to be degraded from the ministry and from his academical degrees, to be fined 5,000*l.*, to be set in the pillory at Westminster and his ears to be cut off, and to be perpetually imprisoned in Lancaster Castle, without access of his wife or any friends, or use of pen, ink, and paper. For this sentence Laud gave the court his 'heartly thanks.' Burton's parishioners signed a petition to the king for his pardon; the two who presented it were instantly committed to

prison. Burton took his punishment with enthusiastic fortitude. 'All the while I stood in the pillory,' he says, 'I thought myself to be in heaven and in a state of glory and triumph.' His address to the mob ran: 'I never was in such a pulpit before. Little do you know what fruit God is able to produce from this dry tree. Through these holes God can bring light to his church.' His ears were pared so close, says Fuller, that the temporal artery was cut. When his wounds were healed, and he was conveyed northward on 28 July, fully 100,000 people lined the road at Highgate to take leave of him. His wife followed in a coach, and 500 'loving friends' on horseback accompanied him as far as St. Albans. The whole journey to Lancaster, reached on 3 Aug., resembled a triumphal progress rather than the convoy of a criminal. Laud (see his letter to Wentworth on 28 Aug.) was very angry about it. At Lancaster, Burton was confined in 'a vast desolate room,' without furniture; if a fire was lighted, the place was filled with smoke; the spaces between the planks of the floor made it dangerous to walk, and underneath was a dark chamber in which were immured five witches, who kept up 'a hellish noise' night and day. The allowance for diet was not paid. Dr. Augustine Wildbore, vicar of Lancaster, kept a watchful eye over Burton's reading, to see that the order confining him to the bible, prayer-book, and 'such other canonical books' as were of sound church principles, was strictly obeyed. Many sympathisers came about the place, and, notwithstanding all precautions, Clarendon says that papers emanating from Burton were circulated in London. A pamphlet giving an account of his censure in the Star-chamber was published in 1637. Accordingly on 1 Nov. he was sent, by way of Preston and Liverpool, to Guernsey, where he arrived on 15 Dec., and was shut up in a stifling cell at Castle-Cornet. Here he had no books but his bibles in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French, and an ecclesiastical history in Greek, but he contrived to get pen, ink, and paper, and wrote two treatises, which however were not printed. His wife was not allowed to see him, though his only daughter died during his imprisonment. On 7 Nov. 1640 his wife presented a petition to the House of Commons for his release, and on 10 Nov. the house ordered him to be forthwith sent for to London. The order arrived at Guernsey on Sunday, 15 Nov.; Burton embarked on the 21st. At Dartmouth, on the 22nd, he met Prynne, and their journey to London was again a triumphal progress. Ten thousand people escorted them from Charing Cross to the

city with every demonstration of joy. On 30 Nov. Burton appeared before the house, and on 5 Dec. presented a petition setting forth his sufferings. The house on 12 March 1640-1 declared the proceedings against him illegal, and cast Laud and others in damages. On 24 March his sentence was reversed, and his benefice ordered to be restored; on 20 April a sum of 6,000*l.* was voted to him; on 8 June a further order for his restoration to his benefice was made out. He recovered his degrees, and received that of B.D. in addition. The money was not paid, nor did he get his benefice, to which Robert Chestlin had been regularly presented. But on 5 Oct. 1642 his old parishioners petitioned the house that he might be appointed Sunday afternoon lecturer, and this was done. Chestlin, who resisted the appointment, was somewhat hardly used, being imprisoned at Colchester for a seditious sermon; he escaped to the king at Oxford. Left thus in possession at St. Matthew's, Friday Street, Burton organised a church on the independent model. Gardiner says of Burton's 'Protestation Protested,' published in July 1641, that it 'sketched out that plan of a national church, surrounded by voluntary churches, which was accepted at the revolution of 1688.' He published a 'Vindication of Churches commonly called Independent,' 1644 (in answer to Prynne), and exercised a very strict ecclesiastical discipline within his congregation. Marsden says 'it was not in the power of malice to desire, or of ingenuity to suggest, a weekly spectacle so hurtful to the royal cause' as that of Burton preaching in Friday Street without his ears. He had enjoyed the honour of preaching before parliament, but did not approve the course which events subsequently took. He was for some time allowed to hold a catechetical lecture every Tuesday fortnight at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, but on his introducing his independent views the churchwardens locked him out in September 1645. This led to an angry pamphlet war with the elder Calamy, rector of the parish [see CALAMY, EDMUND, 1600-1666]. Wood, who remarks that he 'grew more moderate,' thought he lived to witness the execution of Charles, but he died a year before that event. During his imprisonment he had contracted the disease of the stone, which was probably the cause of his death. He was buried on 7 Jan. 1647-8. By his first wife, Anne, he had two children: 1. Anne, bapt. 21 Sept. 1621. 2. Henry, bapt. 13 May 1624, who married Ursula Maisters on 30 Nov. 1647, and is described as a merchant. His second wife, Sarah, and son, Henry, survived him, and on 17 Feb. 1652 petitioned the house

for maintenance; the son got lands of 200*l.* yearly value from the estate of certain delinquents, out of which the widow was to have 100*l.* a year for life. Granger describes a rare print of Laud and Burton, in which the archbishop vomits his works while the puritan holds his head.

Burton's chief publications in addition to those mentioned are: 1. 'A Censyre of Simonie,' 1624, 4to. 2. 'A Plea to an Appeale,' 1626. 3. 'The Seven Vials; or a briefe Exposition upon the 15 and 16 chapters of the Revelation,' 1628. 4. 'A Tryall of Private Devotion,' 1628. 5. 'England's Bondage and Hope of Deliverance,' 1641, 4to (sermon from Psalm liii. 7, 8, before the parliament on 20 June). 6. 'Truth still Truth, though shut out of doors,' 1645, 4to (distinct from 'Truth shut out of doores,' a previous pamphlet of the same year); and, from the catalogue of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, 7. 'The Grand Impostor Unmasked, or a detection of the notorious hypocrisie and desperate impiety of the late Archbishop (so styled) of Canterbury, cunningly couched in that written copy which he read on the scaffold,' &c. 4to, n.d. 8. 'Conformities Deformity,' 1646, 4to.

[Narration of the Life, &c., 1643 (portrait); Biog. Brit. 1748, ii. 1045, ed. Kippis, iii. 43; Wood's Ath. Ox. 1691, i. 814, 828, &c.; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, ii. 165; Brook's Lives of the Puritans, 1813, iii. 40; Fisher's Companion and Key to Hist. of Eng. 1832, pp. 515, 610; Marsden's Later Puritans, 1872, pp. 122 sq.; Gardiner's Hist. England, vii. viii. ix. x.; Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, xi. 1875 (Laud), 292 sq.; extracts from parish registers of Birdsall, per Rev. L. S. Gresley, and of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, per Rev. Dr. Simpson.] A. G.

**BURTON, HEZEKIAH** (*d.* 1681), divine, was a fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and eminent as a tutor. He was entered as a pensioner in 1647, was elected Wray fellow 1651, graduated as M.A. 1654, was incorporated at Oxford the same year, was B.D. 1661, and D.D. by royal mandate 1669. He was known to Samuel Pepys, Richard Cumberland, and Orlando Bridgeman, all of his college, and to Henry More, the Platonist. More sent him a queer story of a ghost, as circumstantial as Mrs. Veal's, which appeared in Yorkshire about 1661 (LIGHTFOOT, *Remains*, li; KENNET, *Register*, 763). Bridgeman, on becoming chancellor in 1667, gave a chaplaincy to his college friend, and appointed him to a prebendal stall at Norwich. He was intimate with Tillotson and Stillingfleet, and had been associated with them and Bishop Wilkins in an abortive proposal for a com-

prehension communicated by Bridgeman to Baxter and others in the beginning of 1688. Wood says that a club formed by Wilkins to promote comprehension used to meet at the 'chambers of that great trimmer and latitudinarian, Dr. Hezekiah Burton.' He afterwards became minister of St. George's, Southwark, where he was especially charitable to imprisoned debtors, and in 1680 was appointed, through Tillotson's influence, rector of Barnes in Surrey, by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's. He died there of a fever, which carried off several of his family, in August or September 1681. His only writings were an 'Alloquium ad lectorem' prefixed to his friend Bishop Cumberland's book, 'De Legibus Naturæ;' and two posthumous volumes of 'Discourses' (1684 and 1685), to the first of which is prefixed a notice by Tillotson, speaking warmly of his friendliness and sweetness of temper. A portrait is engraved in the same volume.

[Tillotson's Preface to Discourses; Birch's Life of Tillotson, 42, 77, 93, 124-126; Knight's Life of Dean Colet (1823), 366; Sylvester's Baxter, iii. 24; Neal's Puritans, iv. 432; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 513; Fasti, ii. 184; Pepys's Diary (24 April 1659-60, and 1 Feb. 1661-62), where is also a letter to Pepys of 9 April 1677.]

L. S.

**BURTON, JAMES (1788-1862)**, Egyptologist. [See HALIBURTON, JAMES.]

**BURTON, JAMES DANIEL (1784-1817)**, Wesleyan minister, was the son of Daniel Burton, of Rhodes, near Manchester, and was born at Manchester 25 July 1791. He received a good education, but one not purposely intended to fit him for the office of minister. At the age of sixteen he was in the habit of attending the theatre at Manchester, but was soon turned from 'the snares connected with that place of gay resort and destructive pastime,' and, as the result of his 'effectual awakening,' prepared himself for the Wesleyan ministry, and devoted a considerable portion of his time among the poor in the neighbourhood of Middleton. He became a methodist itinerant preacher at the age of twenty-one. In the tenth year of his ministry his health failed, and he died, 24 March 1817, in his thirty-third year. In 1814 he published, at Bury, in Lancashire, 'A Guide for Youth, recommending to their serious consideration Vital Piety, as the only rational way to Present Happiness and Future Glory,' 12mo.

[Methodist Mag. 1817, pp. 708, 881; Osborn's Methodist Literature, p. 78.]

C. W. S.

**BURTON, JOHN, D.D. (1696-1771)**, theological and classical scholar, was born at Wembworthy, Devonshire, of which parish his father, Samuel Burton, was rector, in 1696, and was educated partly at Okehampton and Tiverton in his native county and partly at Ely, where he was placed on his father's death by the Rev. Samuel Bentham, the first cousin of his mother. In 1713 he was elected as a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and took his degree of B.A. on 27 June 1717, shortly after which he became the college tutor. He proceeded M.A. 24 March 1720-1, was elected probationary fellow 6 April following, and admitted actual fellow 4 April 1723. As college tutor he acted with great zeal, and acquired a greater reputation than any of the Oxford 'dons' of his day, but in consequence of an incurable recklessness in money matters he was little richer at the end than at the beginning of his collegiate career. The particulars of his teaching are set out in his friend Edward Bentham's 'De Vitâ et Moribus Johannis Burtoni . . . epistola ad Robertum Lowth,' 1771. In logic and metaphysics he passed from Sanderson and Le Clerc to Locke; in ethics from Aristotle to Puffendorf's abridgment and Sanderson's lectures. Twice a week he lectured on Xenophon and Demosthenes, and occasionally he taught on some Latin author. It was through Burton that the study of Locke was introduced into the schools, and he printed for the use of the younger students a double series of philosophical questions, with references to the authors to be consulted under each head. This is probably lost, but a set of exercises which he gave the undergraduates of his college for employment during the long vacation was printed under the title of 'Sacra Scripturæ locorum quorundam versio metrica,' 1736, and a copy is at the British Museum. In the progress of the university press he took great interest, and obtained for it a gift of 100*l.* from Mr. (afterwards Lord) Rolle, and a legacy of 200*l.* from Dr. Hodges, the provost of Oriel. Through the circumstance that Burton had been tutor to a son of Dr. Bland, a fellowship at Eton College was bestowed upon him on 17 Aug. 1733, and when the valuable vicarage of Mapledurham, on the Oxfordshire bank of the Thames, became vacant by the death of Dr. Edward Littleton on 16 Nov. 1733, Burton was nominated thereto by the college and inducted on 9 March 1734. Dr. Littleton had married a daughter of Barnham Goode, under-master of Eton School, and left her a widow 'with three infant daughters, without a home, without a fortune.' The new vicar, in his pity for their



destitute condition, allowed the family to remain for a time in their old home, and the story runs that 'some time after a neighbouring clergyman happened to call and found Mrs. Littleton shaving John Burton.' At this sight the visitor remonstrated with his clerical friend, and the result was that 'Burton proposed marriage and was accepted.' In this delicious retreat Burton characteristically sacrificed much of his income in improving the parsonage and the glebe lands. When the settling of Georgia was in agitation he took an active part in furtherance of the colony's interests, and published in 1764 'An Account of the Designs of the late Dr. Bray, with an Account of their Proceedings,' a tract often reprinted [see BRAY, THOMAS, 1656-1730]. His other university degrees were M.A. in 1720-1, B.D. in 1729, and D.D. in 1752. On 1 Feb. 1766, towards the close of his life, he quitted the vicarage of Mapledurham for the rectory of Worplesdon in Surrey, and here he was instrumental in the formation of a causeway over the Wey, so that his parishioners might travel to Guildford at all seasons. A year or two later he was seized by fever, but he still lingered on. His death occurred on 11 Feb. 1771, and he was buried at the entrance to the inner chapel at Eton, precisely in the centre under the organ-loft. His epitaph styles him: 'Vir inter primos doctus, ingeniosus, pius, opum contemptor, ingenuæ juventutis fautor eximius.' Among the manuscripts which Burton left behind him was 'An Essay on Projected Improvements in Eton School,' but it was never printed and has since been lost. His mother took as her second husband Dr. John Bear, rector of Shermanbury, Sussex. She died on 23 April 1755, aged 80; her husband on 9 March 1762, aged 88; and in 1767 her son erected a monument to their memory. Dr. Burton's wife died in 1748.

Throughout his life Burton poured forth a vast number of tracts and sermons. His reading was varied, and he composed with remarkable facility, but the possession of this latter quality led to his wasting his efforts in productions of ephemeral interest. Most of his sermons are reprinted in 'Occasional Sermons preached before the University of Oxford,' 1764-6. Many of his Latin tracts and addresses are embodied in his 'Opuscula Miscellanea Theologica,' 1748-61, or in the kindred volume 'Opuscula Miscellanea Metrico-Prosaica,' 1771. He contributed to the 'Weekly Miscellany' a series of papers on 'The Genuineness of Lord Clarendon's History of the Rebellion—Mr. Oldmixon's Slander confuted,' which was subsequently enlarged and printed separately at

Oxford in 1744. The circumstances which led to their production are set out in Johnson's 'Poets' in the life of Edward Smith. A Latin letter by Burton to a friend, or a 'commentariolus' of Archbishop Secker, attracted much attention, and was severely criticised by Archdeacon Blackburne on behalf of the latitudinarians (*Works*, ii. 92-9), and by Dr. Philip Furneaux for the nonconformists in his 'Letters to Blackstone,' pp. 190-7. In 1758 he issued a volume, 'Πενταλογία, sive tragœdiarum Græcarum Delectus,' which was reissued with additional observations by Thomas (afterwards Bishop) Burgess in 1772. Two copies of this latter edition, now in the library of the British Museum, contain copious manuscript notes by Dr. Charles Burney. Burton made frequent visits to his mother in Sussex, and in 1752 described his journey thither in an amusing tract, 'Ὀδοιποροῦντος Μελεθήματα, sive iter Surriense et Sussexiense.' Numerous extracts from this tour were printed in the 'Sussex Archaeological Collections,' viii. 250-65. His Latin poem, 'Sacerdos Parœcialis Rusticus,' was issued in 1757, and a translation by Dawson Warren of Edmonton came out in 1800. Though Burton was a Tory in politics, he was not so strict in his views as Dr. William King of St. Mary Hall, and he criticised, under the disguise of 'Phileleutherus Londinensis,' the celebrated speech which King delivered at the dedication of the Radcliffe Library, 13 April 1749. King thereupon retorted with a fierce 'Elogium famæ inserviens Jaci Etonensis; or the praises of Jack of Eton, commonly called Jack the Giant,' with a dissertation on 'the Burtonic style,' and left behind him in his 'Anecdotes of his own Times' several stinging references to Burton. An oration which Burton delivered at Oxford in 1763 gave him the opportunity for an attack on Wilkes, whereupon Churchill, in the 'Candidate' (verse 716 et seq.), retaliated with sneers at his 'new Latin and new Greek,' and his 'pantomime thoughts and style so full of trick.' Burton was fond of jests. One or two of them can be found in [S. Pegge's] 'Anonymiana' (1809, pp. 384-5), and an unlucky jocose allusion to Ralph Allen provoked Warburton to insert in the 1749 edition of the 'Dunciad' (book iv., verse 443) a caustic note on Burton, which was subsequently omitted at the request of Bishop Hayter. While at Mapledurham he wrote 'The present State of the Navigation of the River Thames considered, with certain regulations proposed,' 1765; second edition 1767. Several of his letters are in 'Addit. MS.' British Museum, 21428.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. and Illustr. of Lit. passim; Manning and Bray's Surrey, iii. 100-102, where is portrait; Gent. Mag. (1771), pp. 95, 305-8; Bentham, De Vitâ J. Burtoni; Biog. Brit. (Kippis); Lyte's Eton College, 308-9; Rawlinson MSS. fol. 16348.] W. P. C.

BURTON, JOHN, M.D. (1710-1771), antiquary and physician, son of John Burton, a London merchant, by Margaret, daughter of the Rev. J. Leake, was born at Colchester on 9 June 1710, and was educated at Merchant Taylors' and St. John's College, Cambridge, whence he graduated M.B. in 1733. He afterwards studied at Leyden, and before 1738, when he published a 'Treatise of the Non-naturals,' he had taken the degree of M.D. at Rheims. A good classical scholar, he attained local eminence in his profession. It is said that in 1745 he had some intention of joining the Pretender, but by his own account (*British Liberty Endangered*, 1749) he was taken prisoner by the rebels and detained unwillingly for three months. He incurred much censure from those in power, and his political opinions rendered him obnoxious to Sterne, who satirised him in 'Tristram Shandy,' under the name of 'Dr. Slop.' The satire betrayed either great ignorance or gross unfairness, for Dr. Burton's reputation as an accoucheur was deservedly high, and his 'Essay on Midwifery' (1751 and 1753) 'most learned and masterly' (ATKINSON, *Med. Bibliogr.* 1834). In later years he became widely known as an antiquary, and in 1758 published the first volume of the 'Monasticon Eboracense, and Ecclesiastical History of Yorkshire,' a most important contribution to county archaeology. The copy in the King's Library, British Museum, has the first eight pages of an intended second volume, entitled 'The Appendix, containing Charters, Grants, and other Original Writings referred to in the preceding volume, never published before,' York, N. Nickson, 1759. Ample materials for a second volume were got together by him, but these and other antiquarian collections were never published. Before his death, on 19 Jan. 1771, he disposed of them to William Constable, of Constable Burton. Two Tracts on Yorkshire Antiquities appear in 'Archæologia,' 1768-71. Burton was married, on 2 Jan. 1734-5 in York minster, to Mary Henson. His wife, who survived him a few months, was buried by his side in Holy Trinity Church in Mickle-gate.

[Nichols's Illustrations of Literature, iii. 375-399; Gough's British Topography ii. 407-15; Notes and Queries, 3rd series, v. 414.]

C. J. R.

BURTON, JOHN HILL (1809-1881), historiographer of Scotland, was born at Aberdeen 22 Aug. 1809. His father, of whose family connections nothing is known, was a lieutenant in the army, whose feeble health compelled him to retire on half-pay shortly after his son's birth. His mother was the daughter of John Paton, laird of Grandholm, a moody, eccentric man driven into seclusion by frantic sorrow for the death of his wife, and possessed by an insane animosity towards his own children. The family circumstances were thus by no means promising. Burton, however, obtained a fair education after his father's death in 1819, and gained a bursary, which enabled him to matriculate at the university of his native city. On the completion of his college course he was articled to a writer, but, assuredly from no want of industry, found the confinement of an office intolerable. His articles were cancelled, and he repaired to Edinburgh to qualify himself for the bar, accompanied by his devoted mother, who had disposed of her little property at Aberdeen to provide him with the means of study. He in due time became an advocate, but his practice was never large, and for a long time he found it necessary to earn his livelihood by literature. His beginnings were humble. Much that he wrote cannot now be identified, but he is known to have composed elementary histories under the name of White, to have shared in the compilation of Oliver & Boyd's 'Edinburgh Almanack,' and to have furnished the letterpress of Billings's 'Ecclesiastical and Baronial Antiquities.' His ardent adoption of Bentham's philosophy probably served to introduce him to the 'Westminster Review,' from which he subsequently migrated to the 'Edinburgh.' He also contributed to the 'Cyclopædia of Universal Biography' and Waterston's 'Cyclopædia of Commerce,' prepared (1839) a useful 'Manual of the Law of Scotland,' afterwards divided into distinct treatises on civil and criminal jurisprudence; edited the works of Bentham in conjunction with Sir John Bowring; and compiled (1843) 'Benthamiana,' a selection from Bentham's writings, designed as an introduction to the utilitarian philosophy. About this time he acted for a season as editor of the 'Scotsman,' and committed the journal to the support of free trade. He also edited the 'Athole Papers' for the Abbotsford, and the 'Darlen Papers' for the Bannatyne Club. In 1844 he married, and in 1846 achieved solid literary distinction by his biography of Hume, assisted by the extensive stores of unpublished matter bequeathed by Hume's nephew to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. It was a great opportunity, and if

Burton's deficiency in imagination impaired the vigour of his portrait of Hume as a man, he has shown an adequate comprehension of him as a thinker, and is entitled to especial credit for his recognition of Hume's originality as an economist. A supplementary volume of letters from Hume's distinguished correspondents, one half at least French, followed in 1849. In 1847 Burton had produced his entertaining biographies of Lord Lovat and Duncan Forbes; and in 1849 he wrote for Messrs. Chambers a 'Manual of Political and Social Economy,' with a companion volume on emigration, admirable works, containing within a narrow compass clear and intelligent expositions of the mutual relations and duties of property, labour, and government. In the same year the death of his wife prostrated him with grief, and although he to a great extent recovered the elasticity of his spirits, he was ever afterwards afflicted with an invincible aversion to society. Seeking relief in literary toil, he produced in 1852 his 'Narratives from Criminal Trials in Scotland'; in 1853 his 'Treatise on the Law of Bankruptcy in Scotland'; and in the same year the first portion of his 'History of Scotland,' comprising the period from the Revolution to the rebellion of 1745. Like Hume, he executed his task in instalments, and without strict adherence to chronological order, a method prompted in his case by a delicate reluctance to enter into manifest competition with his predecessor Tytler during the latter's lifetime. The work was eventually completed in 1870; and a new edition with considerable improvements, especially in the prehistoric and Roman periods, appeared in 1873. In 1854 Burton obtained pecuniary independence by his appointment as secretary to the prison board, and in 1855 married the daughter of Cosmo Innes. Though no longer necessary to his support, his literary labours continued without remission; he wrote largely for the 'Scotsman,' became a constant contributor to 'Blackwood's Magazine,' and edited (1860) the valuable autobiography of Alexander Carlyle. His essays in 'Blackwood' formed the substance of two very delightful works, 'The Book Hunter' (1860), containing a vivid personal sketch of De Quincey, and 'The Scot Abroad' (1864). Burton, who had always been a great pedestrian at home, had now imbibed a taste for solitary tours on the continent, which formed the theme of his latest contributions to 'Blackwood.' After the completion of his 'History,' he undertook the editorship of the 'Scottish Registers,' a work of great national importance, and published two volumes. The task was after his death continued by David Masson (*d.* 1907).

His last independent work of much compass was his 'History of the Reign of Queen Anne,' published in 1880. Ere this date his extraordinary power of concentrated application had become impaired by a serious illness, and the book, dry without exactness, and desultory without liveliness, hardly deserves to be ranked among histories. The most valuable part is his account of Marlborough's battles, the localities of which he had visited expressly. From this time Burton suffered from frequent attacks of illness, and indicated the change which had come over his spirit by disposing of his library, weighing eleven tons, as he informed the writer of this memoir. He continued, however, to write for 'Blackwood,' performed his official duties with undiminished efficiency, rallied surprisingly in health and spirits after every fit of illness, and was preparing to edit the remains of his friend Edward Ellice, when he succumbed to a sudden attack of bronchitis on 10 Aug. 1881.

Burton's biographies and his 'Book Hunter' secure him a more than respectable rank as a man of letters; and his legal and economical works entitle him to high credit as a jurist and an investigator of social science. His historical labours are more important, and yet his claims to historical eminence are more questionable. His 'History of Scotland' has, indeed, the field to itself at present, being as yet the only one composed with the accurate research which the modern standard of history demands. By complying with this peremptory condition, Burton has distanced all competitors, but must in turn give way when one shall arise who, emulating or borrowing his closeness of investigation, shall add the beauty and grandeur due to the history of a great and romantic country. Burton indeed is by no means dry; his narrative is on the contrary highly entertaining. But this animation is purchased by an entire sacrifice of dignity. His style is always below the subject; there is a total lack of harmony and unity; and the work altogether produces the impression of a series of clever and meritorious magazine articles. Possessing in perfection all the ordinary and indispensable qualities of the historian, he is devoid of all those which exalt historical composition to the sphere of poetry and drama. His place is rather that of a sagacious critic of history, and in this character his companionship will always be found invaluable. To render due justice to Scottish history would indeed require the epic and dramatic genius of Scott, united with the research of a Burton and the intuition of a Carlyle; and until such a combination arises, Burton may probably remain

Scotland's chief historian. As a man, he was loved and valued in proportion as he was truly known. With a dry critical intellect he combined an intense sensitiveness, evinced in a painful shrinking from deficient sympathy, the real and pathetic cause of his unfortunate irascibility and impatience of contradiction. His private affections were deep and constant, his philanthropy embraced mankind, his gracious and charitable actions were endless, and it is mournful to think that the mere exaggeration of tender feeling, combined with his aversion to display and neglect of his personal appearance, should have obstructed the general recognition of qualities as beautiful as uncommon. His main defect was, as remarked by his widow, an absence of imagination, rendering it difficult for him to put himself in another's place. In an historian such a deficiency is most serious, and could be but imperfectly supplied by the acuteness of his critical faculty. In biography it was to a certain extent counteracted by the strength of the sympathy which originally attracted him to his theme; and hence his biographical writings are perhaps the most truly and permanently valuable.

[Memoir by Mrs. Burton, prefixed to the large-paper edition of the Book Hunter, 1882; Blackwood's Mag. September 1881.] R. G.

BURTON, ROBERT (1577-1640), author of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' and one of the most fantastic figures in literature, was the second son of Ralph Burton of Lindley in Leicestershire. In the calculation of his nativity, on the right hand of his monument in Christ Church Cathedral, the date of his birth is given as 8 Feb. 1576-7. He tells us in the 'Anatomy of Melancholy' (chapter on 'Aire Rectified, with a digression of the Aire,' part ii., sect. 2, memb. 3) that his birth-place was Lindley in Leicestershire. There is a tradition that he was born at Falde in Staffordshire, and Plot, in his 'Natural History of Staffordshire,' 1686 (p. 276), states that he was shown the house of Robert Burton's nativity; but the tradition probably arose from the fact that William Burton [q.v.] resided at Falde. We learn from his will that he passed some time at the grammar school, Nuneaton; and in the 'Digression of the Aire' he mentions that he had been a scholar at the free school of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire. In the long vacation of 1593 he was sent as a commoner to Brasenose College, Oxford, and in 1599 was elected student of Christ Church, where, 'for form sake, tho' he wanted not a tutor,' he was placed under the tuition of Dr. John Bancroft. He took the degree of B.D. in 1614, and was admitted to

the reading of the sentences. On 29 Nov. 1616 he was presented by the dean and chapter of Christ Church to the vicarage of St. Thomas, in the west suburbs of Oxford; and it is recorded that he always gave his parishioners the sacrament in wafers, and that he built the south porch of the church. About 1630 he received from George, Lord Berkeley, the rectory of Segrave in Leicestershire, which, with his Oxford living, he kept 'with much ado to his dying day.' In 1606 Burton wrote a Latin comedy, which was acted at Christ Church on Shrove Monday, 16 Feb. 1617-18. It was not printed in the author's lifetime, and was long supposed to be irretrievably lost; but two manuscript copies had fortunately been preserved. One of these belonged to Dean Milles (who died in 1784), and is now in the possession of the Rev. William Edward Buckley, of Middleton Cheney, by whom it was privately printed in handsome quarto for presentation to the Roxburghe Club in 1862. On the title-page is written 'Inchoata A° Domini 1606, alterata, renovata, perfecta Anno Domini 1615.' Over *inchoata* is written in the same hand *scripta*, and over *renovata*, *revisa*. The other manuscript, a presentation copy from the author to his brother, William Burton, is in Lord Mostyn's library (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 356). 'Philosophaster' bears a certain resemblance to Tomkis's 'Albumazar,' acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1614, and to Ben Jonson's 'Alchemist,' acted in 1610, and published in 1612. In the prologue the author anticipates criticism on this point:—

Emendicatum e nupera scena aut quis putet,  
Sciāt quod undecim abhinc annis scripta fuit.

Burton's comedy is a witty exposure of the practices of professors in the art of chicanery. The manners of a fraternity of vagabonds are portrayed with considerable humour and skill, and the lyrical portions of the play are written with a light hand. At the end of the volume Mr. Buckley has collected, at the cost of considerable research, all Burton's contributions to various academic collections of Latin verse.

In 1621 appeared the first edition of Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' one of the most fascinating books in literature. The full title is—'The Anatomy of Melancholy, What it is. With all the Kindes, Causses, Symptomes, Prognostickes, and severall Cures of it. In Three Maine Partitions with their severall Sections, Members, and Sybsections. Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically opened and cvt vp. By Democritus Iunior. With a Satyricall Preface conducing to the following Discourse. Macrobi. Omne meum,

*Nihil meum.* At Oxford, Printed by Iohn Lichfield and Iames Short, for Henry Cripps, Anno Dom. 1621, 4to. The first edition contains at the end an 'Apologetical Appendix' (not found in later editions), signed 'Robert Bvrtton,' and dated 'From my Studie in Christ-Church, Oxon. December 5, 1620.' Later editions, in folio, appeared in 1624, 1628, 1632, 1638, 1651-2, 1660, 1676; an edition in 2 vols. 8vo was issued in 1800, and in 1806; one in 3 vols. 8vo was edited by A. B. Shilleto in 1893; and there have been several abridgments. In the third edition (1628) first appeared the famous frontispiece, engraved by C. Le Blond. The sides are illustrated with figures representing the effects of Melancholy from Love, Hypochondriasis, Superstition and Madness. At the top is Democritus, emblematically represented, and at the foot a portrait of the author. In the corners at the top are emblems of Jealousy and Solitude, and in the corners at the bottom are the herbs Borage and Hellebore. Burton was continually altering and adding to his treatise. In the preface to the third edition he announced that he intended to make no more changes: 'I am now resolved never to put this treatise out again. *Nē quid nimis.* I will not hereafter add, alter, or retract; I have done.' But when the fourth edition appeared it was found that he had not been able to resist the temptation of making a further revision. The sixth edition was printed from an annotated copy which was handed to the publisher shortly before Burton's death. Wood states that the publisher, Henry Cripps, made a fortune by the sale of the 'Anatomy;' and Fuller in his 'Worthies' remarked that 'scarce any book of philology in our land hath in so short a time passed so many editions.' The treatise was dedicated to George, Lord Berkeley. In the long preface, 'Democritus to the Reader,' which is one of the most interesting parts of the book, the author gives us an account of his style of life at Oxford: 'I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *michi et musis*, in the university, as long almost as *Xenocrates in Athens, ad senectam fere*, to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study. For I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing collidge of Europe [Christ Church in Oxford—*marg. note*], *Augustissimo Collegio*, and can brag with *Iovius* almost, in *ea luce domicilii Vaticani, totius orbis celeberrimi*, per 37 annos *multa opportunaque didici*: for thirty years I have continued (having the use of as good libraries as ever he had) a scholar, and would be, therefore, loth either by living as a drone to be an unprofitable or unworthy a member

of so learned and noble a societie, or to write that which should be any way dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation.' He then proceeds to speak of the desultory character of his studies: 'I have read many books but to little purpose, for want of good method; I have confusedly tumbled over divers authors in our libraries with small profit for want of art, order, memory, judgment.' For preferment he was not anxious: 'I am not poor, I am not rich; *nihil est, nihil deest*, I have little, I want nothing; all my treasure is in Minerva's tower.' He anticipates the objections of hostile critics who may urge that his time would have been better spent in publishing books of divinity. He saw 'no such need' for that class of works, as there existed already more commentaries, treatises, pamphlets, expositions, and sermons than whole teams of oxen could draw. Why did he choose such a subject as melancholy? 'I write of melancholy,' is the answer, 'by being busy to avoid melancholy.' He apologises for the rudeness of his style, on the ground that he could not afford to employ an amanuensis or assistants. After relating the story of Pancrates (in Lucian), who by magic turned a door-bar into a serving-man, he proceeds in this strain: 'I have no such skill to make new men at my pleasure, or means to hire them, no whistle to call like the master of a ship, and bid them run, &c. I have no such authority; no such benefactors as that noble *Ambrosius* was to *Origen*, allowing him six or seven Amanuenses to write out his Dictats. I must for that cause do my businesse my self, and was therefore enforced, as a Bear doth her whelps, to bring forth this confused lump.' To some slight extent Burton was indebted to 'A Treatise of Melancholy,' by T. Bright, 1586. The 'Anatomy' is divided into three partitions, which are subdivided into sections, members, and subsections. Prefixed to each partition is an elaborate synopsis as a sort of index, in humorous imitation of the practice so common in books of scholastic divinity. Part i. deals with the causes and symptoms of melancholy; part ii. with the cure of melancholy; and part iii. with love melancholy and religious melancholy. On every page quotations abound from authors of all ages and countries, classics, fathers of the church, medical writers, poets, historians, scholars, travellers, &c. There is a unique charm in Burton's 'Anatomy of Melancholy.' Dr. Johnson said that it was the only book that ever took him out of his bed two hours sooner than he intended to rise. Ferriar in his 'Illustrations of Sterne' showed how 'Tristram Shandy' was permeated with Burton's

influence. Charles Lamb was an enthusiastic admirer of the 'fantastic old great man,' and to some extent modelled his style on the 'Anatomy.' In 'Curious Fragments extracted from the Commonplace Book of Robert Burton' (appended to the tragedy of 'Woodvil,' 1802) Lamb imitated with marvellous fidelity Burton's charming mannerisms. Milton, as Warton was the first to point out, gathered hints for 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' from the verses ('The Author's Abstract of Melancholy') prefixed to the 'Anatomy.' There is no keener delight to an appreciative student than to shut himself in his study and be immersed 'from morn to noon, from noon to dewy eve,' in Burton's far-off world of forgotten lore. Commonplace writers have described the 'Anatomy' as a mere collection of quotations, a piece of patchwork. The description is utterly untrue. On every page is the impress of a singularly deep and original genius. As a humorist Burton bears some resemblance to Sir Thomas Browne; this vein of semi-serious humour is, to his admirers, one of the chief attractions of his style. When he chooses to write smoothly his language is strangely musical.

Little is recorded of Burton's life. Bishop Kennet (in his *Register and Chronicle*, p. 320) says that after writing the 'Anatomy' to suppress his own melancholy, he did but improve it. 'In an interval of vapours' he would be extremely cheerful, and then he would fall into such a state of despondency that he could only get relief by going to the bridge-foot at Oxford and hearing the barge-men swear at one another, 'at which he would set his hands to his sides and laugh most profusely.' Kennet's story recalls a passage about Democritus in Burton's preface: 'He lived at last in a garden in the suburbs, wholly betaking himself to his studies and a private life, saving that sometimes he would walk down to the haven and laugh heartily at such variety of ridiculous objects which there he saw.' It would appear that when he adopted the title of Democritus Junior, Burton seriously set himself to imitate the eccentricities recorded of the old philosopher. Anecdotes about Burton are very scarce. It is related in 'Reliquiæ Hearnianæ' that one day when Burton was in a book-shop the Earl of Southampton entered and inquired for a copy of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy,' whereupon 'says the bookseller "My lord, if you please I can show you the author." He did so. "Mr. Burton," says the earl, "your servant." "Mr. Southampton," says Mr. Burton, "your servant," and away he went.' Wood gives the following character of Burton: 'He was an exact

mathematician, a curious calculator of nativities, a general read scholar, a thorough-paced philologist, and one that understood the surveying of lands well. As he was by many accounted a severe student, a devourer of authors, a melancholy and humorous person, so by others who knew him well a person of great honesty, plain dealing and charity. I have heard some of the antients of Christ Church often say that his company was very merry, faceté and juvenile, and no man of his time did surpass him for his ready and dexterous interlarding his common discourses among them with verses from the poets or sentences from classical authors.' Burton died at Christ Church on 25 Jan. 1639-40, at or very near the time that he had foretold some years before by the calculation of his nativity. Wood says there was a report among the students that he had 'sent up his soul to heaven thro' a noose about his neck' in order that his calculation might be verified. He was buried in the north aisle of Christ Church Cathedral, and over his grave was erected, at the expense of his brother William Burton, a comely monument, on the upper pillar of the aisle, with his bust in colour; on the right hand above the bust is the calculation of his nativity, and beneath the bust is the epitaph which he had composed for himself—'Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus, hic jacet Democritus Junior, cui vitam dedit et mortem Melancholia.' His portrait hangs in the hall of Brasenose College. He left behind him a choice library of books, many of which he bequeathed to the Bodleian. The collection included a number of rare Elizabethan tracts. There is an elegy on Burton in Martin Llewellyn's poems, 1646.

[Wood's *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, ii. 652-3; Nichols's *Leicestershire*, vol. iii. pt. i. 415-19; Preface to the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. 6; *Philosophaster*, *Comœdia*, ed. Rev. W. E. Buckley, 1862; Kennet's *Register and Chronicle*, 1728, p. 320; Ferriar's *Illustrations of Sterne*, 1799; Hearne's *Reliquiæ*, ed. Bliss, i. 238; Blackwood's *Magazine*, September 1861; Lamb's *Detached Thoughts on Books and Reading*; Stephen Jones's *Memoir* prefixed to the *Anatomy*, ed. 1800.] A. H. B.

**BURTON, ROBERT** or **RICHARD** (1632?-1725?), miscellaneous author, whose real name was **NATHANIEL CROUCH**, was the author of many books, attributed on the title-page to R. B., to Richard Burton, and (after his death) to Robert Burton. He was born about 1632, and was the son of a tailor at Lewes. Nathaniel was apprenticed on 5 May 1656 for seven years to Live-well Chapman, and at the close of his apprenticeship became a freeman of the Stationers' Company. He was a publisher, and

compiled a number of small books, which, issued at a shilling each, had a great popularity. 'Burton's books'—so they were called—attracted the notice of Dr. Johnson, who in 1784 asked Mr. Dilly to procure them for him, 'as they seem very proper to allure backward readers.' John Dunton says of him: 'I think I have given you the very soul of his character when I have told you that his talent lies at collection. He has melted down the best of our English histories into twelve penny books, which are filled with wonders, rarities, and curiosities; for, you must know, his title-pages are a little swelling.' Dunton professed a 'hearty friendship' for him, but objects that Crouch 'has got a habit of leering under his hat, and once made it a great part of his business to bring down the reputation of "Second Spira"' (a book said to be by Thomas Sewell, published by Dunton). Crouch was also, according to Dunton, 'the author of the "English Post," and of that useful Journal intitled "The Marrow of History."' 'Crouch prints nothing,' says Dunton, 'but what is very useful and very diverting.' Dunton praises his instructive conversation, and says that he is a 'phœnix author (I mean the only man that gets an estate by writing of books).' A collected edition in quarto of his 'historical works' was issued in 1810-14, chiefly intended for collectors who 'illustrate' books by the insertion of additional engravings. His original publications are: 1. 'A Journey to Jerusalem . . . in a letter from T. B. in Aleppo, &c.,' with a 'brief account of . . . those countries,' added apparently by Crouch. In 1683 it was augmented and reprinted as 'Two Journies to Jerusalem, containing first a strange and true Account of the Travels of two English Pilgrims (Henry Timberlake and John Burrell); secondly, the Travels of fourteen Englishmen, by T. B. To which are prefixed memorable Remarks upon the ancient and modern State of the Jewish Nation; together with a Relation of the great Council of the Jews in Hungaria in 1650 by S. B. [rett], with an Account of the wonderful Delusion of the Jews by a False Christ at Smyrna in 1666; lastly, the final Extinction and Destruction of the Jews in Persia.' There were editions with various modifications of title, such as 'Memorable Remarks,' 'Judæorum Memorabilia,' &c., in 1685, 1730, 1738, 1759. It was reprinted at Bolton in 1786. The latest reissue, entitled 'Judæorum Memorabilia,' was edited and published at Bristol by W. Matthews in 1796. A Welsh translation, published about 1690 at Shrewsbury, is in the British Museum. 2. 'Miracles of Art and Nature, or a Brief Description of

the several varieties of Birds, Beasts, Fishes, Plants, and Fruits of other Countreys, together with several other Remarkable Things in the World. By R. B. Gent., London, printed for William Bowtil at the Sign of the Golden Key near Miter Court in Fleet Street,' 1678. A tenth edition appeared in 1737. 3. 'The Wars in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1625 to 1660,' London, 1681. The preface is signed Richard Burton. The fourth edition appeared in 1683; issues in 1684, 1697, 1706, and 1737. 4. 'The Apprentice's Companion,' London, 1681. 5. 'Historical Remarques on London and Westminster,' London, 1681; reprints in 1684 (when a second part was added), 1703, 1722, and 1730, with some modifications. 6. 'Wonderful Prodigies of Judgment and Mercy, discovered in Three Hundred Histories,' 1681; other editions in 1682, 1685, 1699, Edinburgh 1762. 7. 'Wonderful Curiosities, Rarities, and Wonders in England, Scotland, and Ireland,' London, 1682; reprinted in 1685, 1697, 1728, and 1737. 8. 'The Extraordinary Adventures and Discoveries of Several Famous Men,' London, 1683, 1685, 1728. 9. 'Strange and Prodigious Religious Customs and Manners of sundry Nations,' London, 1683. 10. 'Delights for the Ingenious in above fifty select and choice Emblems, divine and moral, curiously engraven upon copper plates, with fifty delightful Poems and Lots for the more lively illustration of each Emblem, to which is prefixed an incomparable Poem intitled Majesty in Misery, an Imploration to the King of Kings, written by his late Majesty K. Charles the First. Collected by R. B.' London, 1684. 11. 'English Empire in America. By R. B.,' London, 1685; 3rd edit. 1698, 5th edit. 1711, 6th edit. 1728, 1735, 7th edit. 1739; there was also a 7th edit. Dublin, 1739. 12. 'A View of the English Acquisitions in Guinea and the East Indies. By R. B.,' London, 1686, 1726, 1728. 13. 'Winter Evening Entertainments, containing: I. Ten pleasant and delightful Relations. II. Fifty ingenious Riddles,' 6th edit. 1737. 14. 'Female Excellency, or the Ladies' Glory; worthy Lives and memorable Actions of nine famous Women. By R. B.,' London, 1688. 15. 'England's Monarchs from the Invasion of Romans to this Time, &c. By R. B.,' 1685, 1691, 1694. 16. 'History of Scotland and Ireland. By R. B.,' London, 1685, 1696. 17. 'History of the Kingdom of Ireland,' London, 1685, 1692. In the seventh edition, Dublin, 1731, it is said to be an abridgment of Dean Story's 'Late Wars in Ireland.' 18. 'The Vanity of the Life of Man represented in the seven several Stages from his Birth to his Death, with Pictures and Poems exposing the

Follies of every Age, to which is added Poems upon divers Subjects and Occasions. By R. B., London, 1688, 3rd edit. 1708. 19. 'The Young Man's Calling, or the whole Duty of Youth,' 1685. 20. 'Delightful Fables in Prose and Verse,' London, 1691. 21. 'History of the Nine Worthies of the World,' London, 1687; other editions 1713, 1727; 4th edit. 1738, Dublin, 1759. 22. 'History of Oliver Cromwell,' London, 1692, 1698, 1706, 1728. 23. 'History of the House of Orange,' London, 1693. 24. 'History of the two late Kings, James the Second and Charles the Second. By R. B., London, Crouch, 1693, 12mo. 25. 'Epitome of all the Lives of the Kings of France,' London, 1693. 26. 'The General History of Earthquakes,' London, 1694, 1734, 1736. 27. 'England's Monarchs, with Poems and the Pictures of every Monarch, and a List of the present Nobility of this Kingdom,' London, 1694. 28. 'The English Hero, or Sir Francis Drake revived,' London, 1687, 4th edit. enlarged 1695; there were editions in 1710, 1716, 1739, 1750, 1756, 1769. 29. 'Martyrs in Flames, or History of Popery,' London, 1695, 1713, 1729. 30. 'The History of the Principality of Wales,' in three parts, London, 1695, 2nd edit. 1730. 31. 'Unfortunate Court Favourites of England,' London, 1695, 1706; 6th edit. 1729. 32. 'Unparalleled Varieties, or the matchless Actions and Passions displayed in near four hundred notable Instances and Examples,' 3rd edit. London, 1697, 4th edit. 1728. 33. 'Wonderful Prodigies of Judgment and Mercy discovered in near three hundred Memorable Histories.' The 5th edition enlarged, London, 1699. 34. 'Extraordinary Adventures, Revolutions, and Events,' 3rd edit. London, 1704. 35. 'Devout Souls' Daily Exercise in Prayer, Contemplations, and Praise,' London, 1706. 36. 'Divine Banquets, or Sacramental Devotions,' London, 1706, 1707. 37. 'Surprising Miracles of Nature and Art,' 4th edit. London, 1708. 38. 'History of the Lives of English Divines who were most zealous in Promoting the Reformation. By R. B., London, 1709. 39. 'The Unhappy Princess, or the Secret History of Anne Boleyn; and the History of Lady Jane Grey,' London, 1710, 1733. 40. 'History of Virginia,' London, 1712. 41. 'Æsop's Fables in Prose and Verse,' 1712. 42. 'Kingdom of Darkness, or the History of Demons, Spectres, Witches, Apparitions, Possessions, Disturbances, and other Supernatural Delusions and malicious Impostures of the Devil.' The first edition appeared as early as 1706. 43. 'Memorable Accidents and unheard-of Transactions, containing an Account of several strange Events. Trans-

lated from the French [of T. Leonard], and printed at Brussels in 1691. By R. B., London, 1733. The first edition appeared in 1693. 44. 'Youth's Divine Pastime, Part II., containing near forty more remarkable Scripture Histories, with Spiritual Songs and Hymns of Prayer and Praise. By R. Burton, author of the first part.' The 6th edition, London, C. Hitch, 1749. 45. 'Triumphs of Love, containing Fifteen Histories,' London, 1750. In the Grenville Collection the following is attributed to Burton, but apparently by mistake: 'The Accomplished Ladies' Rich Closet of Rarities, &c.' The last official communication with him from the Stationers' Company was in 1717, and his name ceases to be recorded in 1728. As the name of Thomas Crouch, presumably his son, appears on the title-page of one of Burton's books in 1725, it may be assumed that he died before that date.

[Records of the Stationers' Company, obligingly examined for this article by Mr. C. R. Rivington, the clerk; John Dunton's Life and Errors; Catalogue of the Grenville Collection; Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual; Hawkins's History of Music, xi. 171; Chalmers's Biog. Dict.; Book-Lore, 1885.] W. E. A. A.

**BURTON, SIMON, M.D. (1690?-1744),** physician, was born in Warwickshire about 1690, being the eldest son of Humphrey Burton, of Caresly, near Coventry. His mother was Judith, daughter of the Rev. Abraham Bohun. He was educated at Rugby, and at New College, Oxford, where he proceeded B.A. 29 Nov. 1710; M.A. 26 May 1714; M.B. 20 April 1716; and M.D. 21 July 1720. After practising for some years at Warwick, he removed to London, where he established himself in Savile Row, and obtained a large practice. He was admitted, 12 April 1731, a candidate of the Royal College of Physicians, of which he became a fellow on 3 April 1732. On 19 Oct. in the following year Burton was appointed physician to St. George's Hospital, and subsequently royal physician in ordinary (*General Advertiser*, 13 June 1744). He was one of the physicians who attended Pope in his last illness, and had a dispute upon that occasion with Dr. Thompson, a well-known quack, to which reference is made in a satire entitled 'One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty-Four, a Poem, by a Great Poet lately deceased.' Burton survived Pope somewhat less than a fortnight, and died, after a few days' illness, 11 June 1744, at his house in Savile Row.

[*General Advertiser*, 13 June 1744; *Penny London Morning Advertiser*, 13-15 June 1744;



Gent. Mag. June 1744; Catalogue of Oxford Graduates, 1851; Carruthers's *Life of Alexander Pope*, 1857.] A. H. G.

BURTON, THOMAS (*d.* 1656–1659), reputed parliamentary diarist, was a justice of the peace for Westmoreland. He was returned to parliament as member for the county on 20 Aug. 1656. On 16 Oct. 1656 he was called upon by the parliament to answer a charge of disaffection towards the existing government, which he did to the satisfaction of the house (*Parl. Hist.* pp. 439–40). Burton was re-elected for Westmoreland to Richard Cromwell's parliament (which met on 27 Jan. 1658–9 and was dissolved on 22 April 1659). He did not sit in parliament after the Restoration. Although he spoke seldom, he is assumed to have been a regular attendant in the house, and has been identified as the author of a diary of all its proceedings from 1656 to 1659. In this record the speeches are given in the *oratio recta*, and it is therefore to be inferred that the writer prepared his report in the house itself. The 'Diary,' in the form in which it is now known, opens abruptly on Wednesday, 3 Dec. 1656. It is continued uninterruptedly till 26 June 1657. A second section deals with the period between 20 Jan. 1657–8 and 4 Feb. 1657–8, and a third with that between 27 Jan. 1658–9 and 22 April 1659. The 'Diary' was first printed in 1828, by J. T. Rutt, from the author's notebooks, which had come into the possession of Mr. Upcot, librarian of the London Institution. These manuscripts, which form six oblong 12mo volumes, are now in the British Museum (*Addit. MSS.* 15859–64), and bear no author's name. The editor prefixed extracts from the 'Journal' of Guibon Goddard, M.P. (*Addit. MS.* 5138, ff. 285 et seq.), dealing with the parliament of 1654. The identity of the author of the 'Diary' can only be discovered by internal evidence. At vol. ii. p. 159 he writes (30 May 1657), 'Sir William Strickland and I moved that the report for the bill for York River be now made.' On 1 June Sir William Strickland's colleague is stated to be 'Mr. Burton,' and the only member of the name in the house at the time was Thomas Burton, M.P. for Westmoreland. But Carlyle (*Cromwell*, iv. 239–40) has pointed out that the writer speaks of himself in the first person as sitting on two parliamentary committees (ii. 346, 347, 404) in the list of whose members given in the 'Commons Journals' (vii. 450, 580, 588) Burton's name is not found. The evidence of authorship is very conflicting, and suggests that more than one member of parliament was concerned in it. Carlyle asserts that Nathaniel Bacon, 1593–1660 [q. v.], has a better claim to the

work than Burton, but this assertion is controvertible. The diarist was a mere reporter, and Carlyle, whilst frequently quoting him, treats his lack of imagination with the bitterest disdain. 'A book filled . . . with mere dim inanity and moaning wind.'

[Burton's *Parliamentary Diary* (1828), vols. i–iv.; Names of M.P.s, pt. i. pp. 504–6; Carlyle's *Cromwell*, iv. 240.] S. L.

BURTON, WILLIAM (*d.* 1616), puritan divine, was born at Winchester, but in what year is not known. He was educated at Winchester School and New College, Oxford, of which, after graduating B.A., he was admitted perpetual fellow on 5 April 1563. He left the university in 1565. He was minister at Norwich (he tells us) for 'five yeares,' presumably the period 1584–9. But he seems to have been in Norwich or the immediate neighbourhood at least as early as 1576, perhaps as assistant in the free school. His name appears in 1583 among the Norfolk divines (over sixty in number) who scrupled subscription to Whitgift's three articles. He has left a very interesting account of the puritan ascendancy in Norwich during his time. The leaders of the party were John More, vicar of St. Andrew's (buried on 16 Jan. 1592), and Thomas Roberts, rector of St. Clements (*d.* 1576). For many years there was daily preaching, attended by the magistrates and over twenty of the city clergy, besides those of the cathedral. It was the custom each day for one or other of the magistrates to keep open house for the clergy, without whose advice 'no matter was usually concluded' in the city council. Very interesting also is his account, as an eyewitness, of the burning at Norwich, on 14 Jan. 1589, of Francis Ket [q. v.] as an 'Arrian heretique.' Burton bears the strongest testimony to the excellence and apparent godliness of Ket's life and conversation, but glories in his fate, and is quite certain of his damnation. Burton, while rejecting the ceremonies, was firm against separation from the national church; he writes bitterly respecting 'our English Donatists, our schismaticall Brownists.' He left Norwich owing to troubles which befell him about some matters of his ministry. In after years it was reported that the civic authorities had driven him away; his enemies wrote to Norwich for copies of records which they expected would tell against him; but it seems that the mayor and council had done their best to retain him. On leaving Norwich he found a friend in Lord Wentworth, as we learn from the dedication prefixed to his 'David's Evidencie,' &c., 1592, 8vo. Went-

worth took him into his house, gave him books, and was the means of his resuming the work of the ministry. Richard Fletcher, bishop of Bristol (consecrated 3 Jan. 1590), gave him some appointment in Bristol, not upon conditions, 'as some haue vntreuly reported.' Complaints were made about his teaching, whereupon he published his 'Catechism,' 1591, which is a very workmanlike presentation of Calvinism. In it he argues against bowing at the name of Jesus, and describes the right way of solemnising 'the natiuitie of the Sonne of God.' He subsequently published several sets of sermons which had been delivered in Bristol. He became vicar of St. Giles, Reading, on 25 Nov. 1591. At some unknown date (after 1608) he came to London. He died intestate in the parish of St. Sepulchre, apparently in 1616; whether he held the vicarage or not does not appear; the registers of St. Sepulchre were burned in the great fire of 1666. His age at death must have been upwards of seventy. His wife, Dorothy, survived him; his son Daniel administered to his effects on 17 May 1616.

Of Burton's publications, the earliest written was a single sermon preached at Norwich on 21 Dec. 1589 from Jer. iii. 14, but it was probably not published till later, for he calls his 'Catechism,' 1591, 16mo, his 'first fruites.' Wood enumerates eight subsequent collections of sermons and seven treatises, including 'An Abstract of the Doctrine of the Sabbath,' 1606, 8vo, which has escaped the researches of Robert Cox. The little volume of 'seauen sermons,' bearing the title 'Dauids Evidence,' above referred to, was reprinted in 1596, 16mo, and in 1602, 4to. Burton translated seven dialogues of Erasmus, published to prove 'how little cause the papists haue to boast of Erasmus, as a man of their side.' This was issued in 1606, sm. 4to; some copies have the title 'Seven dialogues Both pithie and profitable,' &c., others bear the title 'Utile-Dulce: or, Trueths Libertie. Seuen wittie-wise Dialogues,' &c.; but the two issues (both dated 1606) correspond in every respect except the title-pages.

[Burton's dedications in *Catechism*, 1591, *Dauids Evidence*, 1596, and *Seven Dialogues*, 1606; *Blomefield's Norfolk*, vol. ii. 1745 (Norwich); *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 1; *Brook's Lives of the Puritans*, 1813, ii. 230; *Christian Moderator*, 1826, p. 37; *Leverage's Hist. of Bristol Cathedral*, 1853, 66.] A. G.

BURTON, WILLIAM (1575-1645), author of 'Description of Leicestershire,' son of Ralph Burton, and elder brother of Robert Burton ('Democritus Junior') [q. v.], was

born at Lindley in Leicestershire on 24 Aug. 1575. At the age of nine he went to school at Nuneaton, and on 29 Sept. 1591 entered Brasenose College, Oxford (B.A. 22 June 1594). He was admitted, on 20 May 1593, to the Inner Temple. In his manuscript 'Antiquitates de Lindley' (an epitome is in Nichols's 'Leicestershire,' iv. 651-6), he states that he combined the study of law with literature, and wrote in 1596 an unpublished Latin comedy, 'De Amoribus Perinthii et Tyanthes.' In 1597 he published with Thomas Creede a translation of 'The History of Cleitophon and Leucippe' from the Greek of Achilles Tatius, with a dedication to the Earl of Southampton. The only copy known was described in 'The Times' literary supplement 10 Feb. 1905 (cf. ARBER's *Stationers' Reg.* iii. 82). Burton knew Spanish and Italian, and studied the emblem-writers, but his interest lay chiefly in heraldry and topography. In 1602 he issued a corrected copy, printed at Antwerp, of Saxton's map of the county of Leicester. On 20 May 1603 he was called to the bar, but soon afterwards, owing to weak health, he retired to the village of Falde in Staffordshire, where he owned an estate. He now began to devote himself seriously to his 'Description of Leicestershire.' From a manuscript 'Valediction to the Reader' (dated from Lindley in 1641), in an interleaved copy which he had revised and enlarged for a second edition, we learn that the book was begun so far back as 1597, 'not with an intentment that it should ever come to the public view, but for my own private use, which after it had slept a long time was on a sudden raised out of the dust, and by force of an higher power drawn to the press, having scarce an allowance of time for the furnishing and putting on a mantle' (NICHOLS, *Leicestershire*, iii. xvi). The 'higher power' was his patron, George, marquis of Buckingham, to whom the work was dedicated on its publication (in folio) in 1622. Nichols (*ibid.* p. lxxv) prints a manuscript preface to the 'Description' dated 7 April 1604, and hence it may be assumed that the publication was delayed for many years. Burton was one of the earliest of our topographical writers, and his work must be compared, not with the elaborate performances of a later age, but with such books as Lambard's 'Kent,' Carew's 'Cornwall,' and Norden's 'Surveys.' Dugdale, in the 'Address to the Gentrie of Warwickshire' prefixed to his 'Warwickshire,' says that Burton, as well as Lambard and Carew, 'performed but briefly,' and Nichols observes that 'the printed volume, though a folio of above 300 pages, if the unnecessary digressions were struck out and the

pedigrees reduced into less compass, would shrink into a small work.' The author was well aware of the imperfections of his work, and spent many years in making large additions and corrections towards a new edition. In the summer of 1638 he had advanced so far in the revision that the copy of the intended second edition was sent to London for press, as appears from two letters to Sir Simonds d'Ewes (NICHOLS, *Leicestershire*, ii. 843). Gascoigne says that Sir Thomas Cave, in the year 1640, 'had in his custody a copy of Burton's that should have been reprinted, but the war breaking out prevented it' (*ibid.* p. 844); and he adds, from personal inspection, that the work had been augmented to three times the original size. After Burton's death his son Cassibelan presented, with several of his father's manuscripts, to Walter Chetwynd, of Ingestree, Staffordshire, a copy of the 'Description' containing large manuscript additions by the author. In 1798 Shaw discovered this copy at Ingestree (*Gent. Mag.* lxxviii. 921), and it was utilised by Nichols in the third and fourth volumes of his '*Leicestershire*.' Doubtless this was the copy which Gascoigne saw in 1640. Several copies of Burton's work, with manuscript annotations by various antiquaries, are preserved in private libraries (see the long list in NICHOLS's *Leicestershire*, ii. 843-5). In 1777 there was published by subscription a folio edition which claimed to be 'enlarged and corrected,' but the editorial work was performed in a very slovenly manner. All the information contained in the 'Description' was incorporated in Nichols's '*Leicestershire*.'

In 1607 Burton married Jane, daughter of Humfrey Adderley of Weddington in Warwickshire, by whom he had a son Cassibelan [q. v.] Among his particular friends were Sir Robert Cotton and William Somner. In his account of Fenny-Drayton he speaks with affection and respect of his 'old acquaintance' Michael Drayton. Dugdale in his 'Autobiography' acknowledges the assistance which he had received from Burton. In 1612 Thomas Purefoy of Barwell in Warwickshire bequeathed at his death to Burton the original manuscript of Leland's '*Collectanea*.' Wood (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, i. 200) charges Burton with introducing 'needless additions and illustrations' into this work; but Hearne, in the preface to his edition of the '*Collectanea*,' denies the truth of the charge. In 1631 Burton caused part of Leland's '*Itinerary*' to be transcribed, and in the following year he gave five quarto volumes of Leland's autograph manuscripts to the Bodleian. When the civil war broke out, Burton sided with the royalists, and endured persecution. He

died at Falde on 6 April 1645, and was buried in the parish church at Hanbury. Among the manuscripts that he left were: 1. '*Antiquitates de Lindley*,' which was afterwards in the possession of Samuel Lysons, who lent it to Nichols (*Leicestershire*, iv. 651). 2. '*Antiquitates de Dadlington Manerio, com. Leic.*,' which in Nichols's time belonged to Nicholas Hurst of Hinckley. 3. Collections towards a history of Thedingworth, as appears from a letter to Sir Robert Cotton, in which Burton asks that antiquary's assistance (*ibid.* ii. 842). He also left some collections of arms, genealogies, &c. About 1735 Francis Peck announced his intention of writing Burton's life, but the project does not seem to have been carried out.

[Nichols's *Leicestershire*, ii. 843-5, iii. xvi. lxx, iv. 651-6; Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss), i. 200, iii. 153-6; Oldys's *British Librarian* (1737), pp. 287-99; *Gent. Mag.* lxxviii. 921; Dugdale's *Autobiography*, appended to Dalway's *Heraldry*, 1793.] A. H. B.

BURTON, WILLIAM (1609-1657), antiquary, son of William Burton, sometime of Atcham, in Shropshire, was born in Austin Friars, London, and educated in St. Paul's school. He became a student in Queen's College, Oxford, in 1625; but as he had not sufficient means to maintain himself, the learned Thomas Allen, perceiving his merit, induced him to migrate to Gloucester Hall, and conferred on him a Greek lectureship there. He was a Pauline exhibitor from 1624 to 1632. In 1630 he graduated B.C.L., but, indigence forcing him to leave the university, he became the assistant or usher of Thomas Farnaby, the famous schoolmaster of Kent. Some years later he was appointed master of the free school at Kingston-upon-Thames, in Surrey, where he continued till two years before his death, 'at which time, being taken with the dead palsy, he retired to London.' He died on 28 Dec. 1657, and was buried in a vault under the church of St. Clement Danes, in the Strand. Bishop Kennett calls 'this now-neglected author the best topographer since Camden,' while Wood tells us that 'he was an excellent Latinist, noted philologist, was well skill'd in the tongues, was an excellent critic and antiquary, and therefore beloved of all learned men of his time, especially of the famous Usher, archbishop of Armagh.'

His works are: 1. 'In [laudem] doctissimi, clarissimi, optimi senis, Thomæ Alleni ultimo Septembris MDCCXXXII Oxoniis demortui, exequiarum iustis ab alma Academia postridie solutis, orationes binæ' (the first by Burton, the second by George Bathurst), London, 1632, 4to. 2. 'Nobilissimi herois Dn. C. Howardi

comitis Nottinghamiæ ἀποθέσις ad illustrissimum V. Dn. C. Howardum, comitem Nottinghamiæ, fratrem superstitem' (London, 1 April 1643), on a small sheet, fol. 3. 'The beloved City: or, the Saints' Reign on Earth a Thousand Years, asserted and illustrated from 65 places of Holy Scripture,' Lond. 1643, 4to, translated from the Latin of John Henry Alstedius. 4. 'Clement, the blessed Paul's fellow-labourer in the Gospel, his First Epistle to the Corinthians; being an effectual Suasory to Peace, and Brotherly Condescension, after an unhappy Schism and Separation in that Church,' London, 1647, 1652, 4to, translated from Patrick Yong's Latin version, who has added 'Certain Annotations upon Clement.' 5. 'Græcæ Linguae Historia (Veteris Linguae Persicæ λεΐψα)' 2 parts, London, 1657, 8vo. 6. 'A Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary, or Journies of the Roman Empire, so far as it concerneth Britain,' Lond. 1658, fol. With portrait engraved by Hollar, and a 'Chorographicall Map of the severall Stations.' At pp. 136, 137, Burton gives some account of his family, and relates that his great-grandfather expired from excess of joy on being informed of the death of Queen Mary.

[Biog. Brit. (Kippis), iii. 42; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Gardiner's Registers of St. Paul's School, 34,400; Gough's British Topography, i. 5; Knight's Life of Dr. John Colet, 402; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), iv. 56; Kennett's Life of Somner, 19; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 330, 478; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 438.] T. C.

**BURTON, WILLIAM EVANS** (1802–1860), actor and dramatist, was the son of William Burton, sometimes called William George Burton (1774–1825), printer and bookseller, and author of 'Researches into the Religion of the Eastern Nations as illustrative of the Scriptures,' 2 vols. 1805. He was born in London September 1802, received a classical education at St. Paul's School, and is said to have matriculated at Christ's College, Cambridge, with the intention of entering the church; but at the age of eighteen he was obliged to undertake the charge of his father's printing business. His success in some amateur performances led him to adopt the stage as a profession, and he joined the Norwich circuit, where he remained seven years. In February 1831 he made his first appearance in London at the Pavilion Theatre as Wormwood in the 'Lottery Ticket,' and in 1833 was engaged at the Haymarket as the successor of Liston; but on Liston's unexpected return to the boards he went to America, where he came out at the Arch Street

Theatre, Philadelphia, 3 Sept. 1834, as Doctor Ollapod in the 'Poor Gentleman.' His first engagement in New York was at the National, 4 Feb. 1839, as Billy Lackaday. Burton was subsequently lessee and manager of theatres in Philadelphia and Baltimore, and on 13 April 1841 essayed management in New York at the National Theatre, which was consumed by fire on 29 May following. In 1848 he leased Palmo's Opera House, New York, which he renamed Burton's Theatre. Here he produced, with extraordinary success, John Brougham's version of 'Dombey and Son,' in which he personated Captain Cuttle. The Metropolitan Theatre, Broadway, New York, came under his management September 1856, with the title of Burton's New Theatre. Little satisfied with his success in this new house, he gave up its direction in 1858, and commenced starring engagements, his name and fame being familiar in every quarter of the Union. His humour was broad and deep, and sometimes approached coarseness, but at the same time was always genial and hearty, and generally truthfully natural; while in homely pathos and the earnest expression of blunt, uncultivated feeling, he has never been excelled. His power of altering the expressions of his face was also much greater than that possessed by any other actor of modern times. His name was almost exclusively identified with the characters of Captain Cuttle, Mr. Toodle, Ebenezer Sudden, Mr. Micawber, Poor Pillicoddy, Aminadab Sleek, Paul Pry, Tony Lumpkin, Bob Acres, and many others. In literature he was almost as industrious as in acting. He wrote several plays, the best known being 'Ellen Wareham, a domestic drama,' produced in May 1833, and which held the stage at five London theatres at the same time. He was editor of the 'Cambridge Quarterly Review,' editor of and entire prose contributor to the 'Philadelphia Literary Souvenir,' 1838–40, proprietor of the 'Philadelphia Gentleman's Magazine,' seven volumes, of which Edgar A. Poe was sometime the editor, contributor to many periodicals, and author of 'The Yankee among the Mermaids,' 12mo, 'Waggeries and Vagaries, a series of sketches humorous and descriptive,' Philadelphia, 1848, 12mo, and 'Cyclopædia of Wit and Humour of America, Ireland, Scotland, and England,' New York, 1857, 2 vols. 8vo. His library, the largest and best in New York, especially rich in Shakespearean and other dramatic literature, was sold in the autumn after his death in upwards of six thousand lots, ten to twenty volumes often forming a lot. A large collection of paintings, including some rare works of the Italian and Flemish school, adorned his

two residences. His health was failing many months prior to his decease, which took place at 174 Hudson Street, New York, 9 Feb. 1860, from a fatty degeneration of the heart, in the fifty-eighth year of his age. As an actor he held the first rank. He was twice married, (1) in 1823 to Elizabeth (daughter of John Loft), by whom he left a son, William Shakspeare Burton; and (2), in April 1853, to Miss Jane Livingston Hill, an actress, who, after suffering from mental derangement, died at New York on 22 April 1863, aged 39. His large fortune was ultimately divided among his three daughters, Cecilia, Virginia, and Rosine Burton.

[Ireland's Records of the New York Stage (1867), ii. 235-38; Ripley and Dana's American Cyclopædia (1873), iii. 479; Drake's American Biography (1872), p. 147; The Era, London, 4 March 1860, p. 14; Willis's Current Notes, 1852, p. 38; Cyclopædia of Wit and Humour (1857), with Portrait.] G. C. B.

BURTON, WILLIAM PATON (1828-1883), water-colour painter, son of Captain William Paton Burton, of the Indian army, was born at Madras in 1828 and educated at Edinburgh. After studying for a short time in the office of David Bryce, the architect, he turned to landscape painting, and was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy and in Suffolk Street between 1862 and 1880. His works consisted of views in England, Holland, France, Italy, and Egypt. He died suddenly at Aberdeen on 31 Dec. 1883.

[Athenæum, January 1884.]

L. F.

BURTT, JOSEPH (1818-1876), archaeologist and assistant-keeper in the national Record Office, was born in the parish of St. Pancras, London, on 7 Nov. 1818. He was educated by his father, who was a private tutor, known as a Greek scholar, and author of a Latin grammar. He entered the public service as a lad of fourteen in 1832 under Sir Francis Palgrave, by whom he was employed on work connected with the Record Commission at the chapter-house of Westminster Abbey. Here he continued his labours for many years, arranging and making inventories of the national records then housed in that building. In August 1851 he was promoted to be assistant-keeper of the records of the second class, and was raised to be a first-class assistant-keeper in June 1859, a position which he enjoyed to his death. About this time Burtt superintended the removal from the old chapter-house to the newly erected record office in Fetter Lane of the vast mass of documents which had been lying, many of them unsorted and

uncatalogued, in that most unsuitable depository. The calendaring of the chancery records of Durham was a task which Burtt undertook in addition to his ordinary official duties. He was also employed in his private capacity by Dean Stanley and the chapter of Westminster in sorting and arranging the muniments of the abbey, and he was the first to commence the work of examining and bringing into order the muniments of the dean and chapter of Lincoln. In 1862 he became secretary of the Royal Archaeological Institute, to which he subsequently added the editorship of the 'Archæological Journal.' He was for many years the prime mover of all the operations of the institute, especially in connection with its annual congresses, which were ably organised by him. As a private friend Burtt was much and deservedly valued. He died after a protracted illness at his residence at Tulse Hill on 15 Dec. 1876, and was buried in Nunhead cemetery. Burtt contributed a large number of archaeological and historical papers to the 'Journal of the Archæological Institute,' the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' the 'Athenæum,' 'Archæologia Cantiana,' and other kindred periodicals. He also edited the 'Household Expenses of John of Brabant and of Thomas and Henry of Lancaster' for the 'Miscellany' of the Camden Society.

[Journal of the Archeological Institute, xxxiv. 90-2; private information.] E. V.

BURY, ARTHUR, D.D. (1624-1713), theologian, was the son of the Rev. John Bury (1580-1667) [q. v.], and matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on 5 April 1639, aged 15. He took his degree of B.A. on 29 Nov. 1642, was elected a Petreian fellow of his college on 30 June 1643, and became full fellow on 6 May 1645. When Oxford was garrisoned for the king, Bury laboured at the works of defence and took his turn among the guards who watched over its safety. Like most of his associates, he refused to submit to the parliamentary visitors of the university, and was driven from the city to take refuge with 'his sequestered father' in Devonshire. At the Restoration he was restored to his fellowship, was made prebendary of Exeter, and declined, he declared in after life, preferment 'more than eight times the value' of the rectorship of his college. In 1666 the rectorship at Exeter College became vacant, and Bury was elected (27 May), partly on the recommendation of Archbishop Sheldon and partly under instructions from Charles II. (which were somewhat resented by the college) that he should be elected, 'notwithstanding any statute or

custom thereof to the contrary, with which we are graciously pleased to dispense in this behalf.' On 22 June in the same year he took the degree of B.D. and five days later became D.D. Bury claimed to have introduced some improvements in the college rules, and to have expended over 700*l.* in the erection of college buildings and in the enlargement of the rector's lodgings; but there were disputes in 1669 over the election of fellows, when he suspended five of them at a stroke, and the visitor in 1675 complained of his management of the college property and of the laxity of the internal discipline. Against this it is only fair to state that Dean Prideaux, when speaking of the 'drinking and duncery' at Exeter College, referred to Bury as 'a man that very well understands business and is always very vigorous and diligent in it.' In 1689 a still more serious trouble arose. Bury had expelled one of the fellows on, as it seems, a groundless charge of incontinence, and the visitor ordered the restoration of the 'socius ejectus.' The rector was contumacious, and, when the bishop held a formal visitation, tried to shut the gates against him. Bury and his backers among the fellows were thereupon expelled, and a new rector was elected in his stead. The legality of Bury's deprivation was tried in the king's bench and carried to the House of Lords, with the result that on 10 Dec. 1694 the latter tribunal gave its decision against Bury. By his ejection his numerous family were reduced to great distress.

A treatise issued in 1690, under the title of 'The Naked Gospel, by a true son of the Church of England,' was discovered to be the work of Bury, and for some passages in it a charge of Socinianism was brought against him by his enemies. His object was to free the gospel from the additions and corruptions of later ages, and he sums up its doctrines 'in two precepts—believe and repent.' An answer to it was published in 1690 by William Nicholls, fellow of Merton College. Another reply came out in the next year from Thomas Long, B.D., and a third appeared in 1725, the latter being the work of Henry Felton, D.D. In spite of the publication by Le Clerc of 'An Historical Vindication of the Naked Gospel,' the treatise was condemned by a decree of convocation of Oxford (19 Aug. 1690) and was publicly burnt in the area of the schools. On 30 Aug. there was issued from the press a letter of fifteen pages, by James Parkinson (1653–1722)[q.v.], with the title of 'The Fires continued at Oxford,' in defence of Bury's conduct, and in 1691 Bury brought out, under his own name,

a second edition of 'The Naked Gospel.' Twelve years later (1703) he published an enlarged work, 'The rational Deist satisfy'd by a just account of the Gospel. In two parts; second edition.' Bury was also the author of several sermons and of a tract called 'The Constant Communicant,' 1681. The titles of the pamphlets provoked by his controversies may be read in Boase and Courtney's 'Bibliotheca Cornubiensis,' ii. 772. He was one of the vicars of Bampton, Oxford, but resigned the charge in 1707. He died (according to MS. Rawlinson in the Bodleian Library) in September 1713.

[Boase's Reg. of Exeter College, pp. xxxiii, lxxv, 68–83, 212, 229; Luttrell's Relation of State Affairs (1857), ii. 227, iii. 410–11; Hunt's Religious Thoughts, ii. 195–201; Account Examined, or a Vindication of Dr. Arthur Bury, 18–20; Prideaux Letters (Camden Soc.), p. 111; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. vii. 473, 502, 3rd ser. i. 264; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ed. Bliss, iv. 483; Visitation of Oxford (Camden Soc.) p. 13.]

W. P. C.

**BURY, LADY CHARLOTTE SUSAN MARIA** (1775–1861), novelist, youngest child of John Campbell, fifth duke of Argyll, by Elizabeth, second daughter of John Gunning of Castle Coot in Roscommon, and widow of James Hamilton, sixth duke of Hamilton, was born at Argyll House, Oxford Street, London, 28 Jan. 1775. In her youth she was remarkable for her personal beauty, and the charm of her manners rendered her one of the most popular persons in society, while the sweetness and excellence of her character endeared her more especially to those who knew her in the intimacy of private life. She was always distinguished by her passion for the belles-lettres, and was accustomed to do the honours of Scotland to the literary celebrities of the day. It was at one of her parties that Sir Walter Scott became personally acquainted with Monk Lewis. When aged twenty-two she produced a volume of poems, to which, however, she did not affix her name. She married, 14 June 1796, Colonel John Campbell (eldest son of Walter Campbell of Schawfield, by his first wife Eleanor Kerr), who, at the time of his decease in Edinburgh 15 March 1809, was member of parliament for the Ayr burghs. By this marriage she had nine children, of whom, however, only two survived her, Lady A. Lennox and Mrs. William Russell. Lady Charlotte Campbell married secondly, 17 March 1818, the Rev. Edward John Bury (only son of Edward Bury of Taunton); he was of University College, Oxford, B.A. 1811, M.A. 1817, became rector of Lichfield, Hampshire, in 1814, and died at Arden-

ample Castle, Dumbartonshire, May 1832, aged 42, having had issue two daughters. On Lady Charlotte becoming a widow in 1809 she was appointed lady-in-waiting in the household of the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, when it is believed that she kept a diary, in which she recorded the foibles and failings of the unfortunate princess and other members of the court. After her marriage with Mr. Bury she was the author of various contributions to light literature, and some of her novels were once very popular, although now almost forgotten. When the 'Diary illustrative of the Times of George IV' appeared in two volumes in 1838, it was thought to bear evidence of a familiarity with the scenes depicted which could only be attributed to Lady Charlotte. It was reviewed with much severity, and attributed to her ladyship by both the 'Edinburgh' and 'Quarterly' Reviews. The volumes, however, sold rapidly, and several editions were disposed of in a few weeks. The charge of the authorship was not at the time denied, and as no one has since arisen claiming to have written the diary the public libraries now catalogue the work under Lady Charlotte's name. She died at 91 Sloane Street, Chelsea, 31 March 1861. The once celebrated beauty, the delight of the highest circles of London society, was curiously described in her death certificate at Somerset House as 'daughter of a duke and wife of the Rev. E. J. Bury, holding no benefice.'

The following is believed to be a complete list of Lady Bury's writings; many of them originally appeared without her name, but even at that time there does not seem to have been any secret as to the identity of the writer: 1. 'Poems on several Occasions, by a Lady,' 1797. 2. 'Alla Giornata, or To the Day,' anonymous, 1826. 3. 'Flirtation,' anonymous, 1828, which went to three editions. 4. 'Separation,' by the author of 'Flirtation,' 1830. 5. 'A Marriage in High Life,' edited by the author of 'Flirtation,' 1828. 6. 'Journal of the Heart,' edited by the author of 'Flirtation,' 1830. 7. 'The Disinherited and the Ensnared,' anonymous, 1834. 8. 'Journal of the Heart,' second series, edited by the author of 'Flirtation,' 1835. 9. 'The Devoted,' by the author of 'The Disinherited,' 1836. 10. 'Love,' anonymous, 1837; second edition 1860. 11. 'Memoirs of a Peeress, or the days of Fox,' by Mrs. C. F. Gore, edited by Lady C. Bury, 1837. 12. 'The Three Great Sanctuaries of Tuscany: Valambrosa, Camaldoli, Lavernas,' a poem historical and legendary, with engravings from drawings by the Rev. E. Bury,

1833. 13. 'Diary illustrative of the Times of George the Fourth,' anonymous, 1838, 2 vols. 14. 'The Divorced,' by Lady C. S. M. Bury, 1837; another edition 1858. 15. 'Family Records, or the Two Sisters,' by Lady C. S. M. Bury, 1841. And 16, a posthumous work entitled 'The Two Baronets,' a novel of fashionable life, by the late Lady C. S. M. Bury, 1864. She is also said to have been the writer of two volumes of prayers, 'Suspirium Sanctorum,' which were dedicated to Dr. Goodenough, bishop of Carlisle.

[Colburn's New Monthly Magazine, xlix. 76-77 (1837), portrait; Burke's Portrait Gallery of Females (1833), i. 103-5; Allibone's Dictionary of English Literature (1859), i. 308.] G. C. B.

BURY, EDWARD (1616-1700), ejected minister, born in Worcestershire in 1616, according to Walker was originally a tailor, and was put into the living of Great Bolas, Shropshire, in place of a deprived rector. Calamy says that Bury was a man of learning, educated at Coventry grammar school and at Oxford, and that before obtaining the rectory of Great Bolas he had been chaplain in a gentleman's family and assistant to an aged minister. He received presbyterian ordination. The date at which he began his ministry at Great Bolas was before 1654. In the parish records he signs himself 'minister and register' till 1661, when, in consequence of the act for confirming possession of benefices, he signs 'rector.' His entries show that he was somewhat given to astrology. Ejected in 1662, Bury, who remained at Great Bolas in a house he had built, was subjected to great privations. On 2 June 1680, Philip Henry gives him 1*l.* from a sum left at his disposal by William Probyn of Wem. Henry's diary, 22 July 1681, has an account of the dstraint of Bury's goods (he is here called Berry) for taking part at a private fast on 14 June. After this he was a good deal hunted about from place to place. In later life his circumstances were improved by bequests. He became blind some years before his death, which occurred on 5 May 1700, owing to a mortification in one foot. By his wife Mary, he had at least five children: 1. Edward, *b.* 1654; 2. Margarit (*sic*), *b.* 12 Feb. 1655; 3. John, *b.* 14 March 1657; 4. Mary, *b.* 13 Aug. 1660; 5. Samuel [q.v.] The following is Calamy's list of his publications: 1. 'The Soul's Looking-glass, or a Spiritual Touchstone,' &c., 1660. 2. 'A Short Catechism, containing the Fundamental Points of Religion,' 1660. 3. 'Relative Duties.' 4. 'Death Improv'd, and Immoderate Sorrow for Deceased Friends and Relatives Reprov'd,' 1675; 2nd edit.

1698. 5. 'The Husbandman's Companion, containing an 100 occasional meditations, &c., suited to men of that employment,' 1677. 6. 'England's Bane, or the Deadly Danger of Drunkenness.' 7. 'A Sovereign Antidote against the Fear of Death,' 1681, 8vo (in Dr. Williams's library). 8. 'An Help to Holy Walking, or a Guide to Glory,' 1705.

[Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, pt. ii. pp. 310, 368; Calamy's Account, 1713, p. 557 seq.; Continuation, 1727, p. 723 seq.; Lee's Diaries and Letters of P. Henry, 1882, pp. 289, 301; Extracts from the Registers of Bolas Magna by Rev. R. S. Turner.] A. G.

**BURY, EDWARD** (1794-1858), engineer, was born at Salford, near Manchester, on 22 Oct. 1794. His early education was received at a school in the city of Chester, and his youth was remarkable for the fondness which he displayed for machinery, and for the ingenuity which he exhibited in the construction of models. His scholastic education being finished, he went through the usual course of mechanical engineering, and he eventually established himself at Liverpool as a manufacturer of engines.

In 1830 the Liverpool and Manchester railway was opened, and for several years after this period Bury devoted his attention to the construction of engines for railways. He supplied many of the first engines used on the Liverpool and Manchester and on the London and Birmingham railways. In the 'Transactions of the Institution of Civil Engineers' for 17 March 1840 will be found a valuable paper by him, 'On the Locomotive Engines of the London and Birmingham Railway,' in which he discusses the relative advantages of four and six wheels, and contributes a series of tables which are of the greatest importance in the history of locomotive traction, and of considerable interest in the theory of steam-drawing engines. Bury about this time introduced a series of improved engines for the steamboats employed on the Rhone, which attracted much attention on the continent, and led to his being consulted by the directors of most of the railways then being constructed in Europe.

For some years after the opening of the London and Birmingham railway, in September 1838, Bury had the entire charge of the locomotive department of that line. He subsequently undertook the management of the whole of the rolling stock for the Great Northern railway. In each case his administrative services were duly recognised by the directors, and his engineering capabilities, his mechanical knowledge, his good judgment, and his tact, secured for him, in an

unusual degree, the confidence of those who were employed under him.

On 1 Feb. 1844 Bury was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, his claim being founded on the great improvements which he had introduced, especially in adjusting the dimensions of the cylinder and driving wheels, and the effective pressure of the steam.

In the 'Annual Report of the Institution of Civil Engineers' for the session 1856-7 we find Bury tendering his resignation. The council of the Institution permitted him to retire under exceedingly gratifying circumstances. During his later years he lived at Crofton Lodge, Windermere. He died at Scarborough on 25 Nov. 1858.

[Proceedings of the Royal Society, 1859-60, vol. x.; Minutes of Proceedings of Institution of Civil Engineers, 1859.] R. H.-r.

**BURY, MRS. ELIZABETH** (1644-1720), diarist, was baptised 12 March 1644 at Clare, Suffolk, the day of her birth having probably been 2 March (*Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury*, p. 1). Her father was Captain Adams Lawrence of Linton, Cambridgeshire; her mother was Elizabeth Cutts of Clare, and besides Elizabeth there were three other children. In 1648, when Elizabeth was four years old, Captain Lawrence died, and in 1651 Mrs. Lawrence remarried (*ib.* 3), her second husband being Mr. Nathaniel Bradshaw, B.D., minister of a church in the neighbourhood. About 1654 Elizabeth described herself as 'converted,' and she commenced that searching method of introspection with the evidence of which her 'Diary' abounds. Her studies, begun rigidly at four in the morning, in spite of delicate health, embraced Hebrew (*ib.* 5), French, music, heraldry, mathematics, philosophy, philology, anatomy, medicine, and divinity. Her stepfather, Mr. Bradshaw, being one of the ejected ministers in 1662, the family moved to Wivelingham, Cambridgeshire. Elizabeth in 1664 began writing down her 'experiences' in her 'Diary,' 'concealing her accounts' at the onset 'in shorthand.' In 1667, on 1 Feb., she married Mr. Griffith Lloyd of Hemmingford-Grey, Huntingdonshire, who died on 13 April 1682. In her widowhood, which lasted another fifteen years, Mrs. Lloyd passed part of her time in Norwich. She was married at Bury to Samuel Bury [q. v.], nonconformist minister, on 29 May 1697, having previously refused to marry three several churchmen, whose initials are given, because 'she could not be easy in their communion.'

Mrs. Bury was mistress of a good estate, and was described as 'a great benefactrix' (*ib.* 6).



She kept a stock of bibles and practical books, to be distributed as she should see occasion (BALLARD'S *British Ladies*, p. 425); her knowledge of the materia medica was surprising (*ib.* 424); 'her gift in prayer was very extraordinary' (*Account*, 36); and she had 'a motto written up in her closet in Hebrew, "Thou, Lord, seest me," . . . to keep her heart from trifling.' She became infirm after 1712, and died 8 May 1720, aged 76. Mr. Bury gave the fullest testimony to his wife's deep learning and unflinching excellences. Dr. Watts described her as 'a pattern for the sex in ages yet unborn.' Her funeral sermon was preached at Bristol on 22 May 1720 by the Rev. William Tong, and was printed at Bristol the same year; a third edition was reached the next year, 1721. 'The Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Bury,' Bristol, 1720, included the extant portions of her diary, the funeral sermon, a life by her husband, and an elegy by Dr. Watts.

[Account of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury, chiefly collected out of her own Diary, with Funeral Sermon, &c., Bristol, 1720; Ballard's *British Ladies*, pp. 262, 321, 424 et seq.] J. H.

BURY, HENRY DE. [See BADERIC.]

BURY, JOHN OF (*fl.* 1460), theologian. [See JOHN.]

BURY, JOHN (*fl.* 1557), translator, graduated at Cambridge B.A. 1553, and M.A. 1555; he translated from Greek into English 'Isocratis ad Demonium oratio parænetica' or 'Admonition to Demonius,' dedicated to his uncle, Sir W. Chester, 1557.

[Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* 143; Ames's *Typogr. Antiq.* (Herbert), 358; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 174.] W. H.

BURY, JOHN (1580-1667), divine, the son of a descendant of the Devonshire family of Bury, long resident at Colyton, who was in business at Tiverton, was born there in 1580. On 9 Feb. 1597 he was elected a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and in 1603, shortly after he had taken his degree of B.A., he became the first fellow of Balliol College under the bequest of Peter Blundell. After remaining for several years at the university he returned to his native county, where he obtained the vicarage of Heavitree and a canonry in Exeter Cathedral, his collation to the latter preferment dating 20 March 1637. The presentment of Bury and the other prebendaries at Laud's visitation, 19 June 1634, is printed in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. p. 138. A few years later he resigned his benefice in favour of a relation, and accepted the rectory of Widworthy in the same county. The latter preferment he retained until his

death, and after the Restoration (2 March 1662) the rectory of St. Mary Major, Exeter, was conferred upon him. He died on 5 July 1667, and was buried in the 'middle area' of Exeter Cathedral, 'a little below the pulpit.' His literary works were few in number—two sermons (1615 and 1631) and a catechism for the use of his parishioners at Widworthy (1661). He endowed a school in St. Sidwell's, Exeter, left funds for the maintenance of thirteen poor persons in St. Catherine's Almshouse in the same city and for the poor of his native town of Tiverton, and largely added to the resources of the public workhouse at St. Sidwell's. Canon Bury had two sons, Arthur [q. v.], the rector of Exeter College, Oxford, and John, a colonel in the parliamentary army. Portraits of all three are in the present workhouse at Exeter.

[Prince's *Worthies*, 152-4; Harding's *Tiverton*, book iii. 276, iv. 113; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, iii. 777; Oliver's *Exeter*, 162.]

W. P. C.

BURY, RICHARD DE (1281-1345), bishop of Durham, was the son of Sir Richard Aungerville, and is known as Richard de Bury from his birthplace of Bury St. Edmunds. His father died when he was a child, leaving him to the charge of his uncle, John de Willoughby, a priest. Richard studied at Oxford, where he gained distinction as a scholar. On leaving Oxford he became a Benedictine monk at Durham. He was chosen on account of his learning to be tutor to Edward of Windsor, son of Edward II, and afterwards Edward III. He was also treasurer of Guienne on behalf of his pupil. When Queen Isabella left her husband, taking her son with her, Richard supplied her with money from the revenues of Guienne. The king sent to seize him, but he fled to Paris. Thither he was pursued and had to take sanctuary. Isabella prospered in her opposition to her husband, and the young Edward III. heaped honours on his former tutor, for whom he had a great regard. Richard was made successively cofferer, treasurer of the wardrobe, archdeacon of Northampton, prebendary of Lincoln, Sarum, and Lichfield, and keeper of the privy seal. He was twice sent as ambassador to Pope John XXII, who made him a chaplain of the papal chapel and allowed him to appear attended by twenty chaplains and thirty-six knights. In 1333 he was made dean of Wells, and at the end of the same year was appointed bishop of Durham by papal provision at the king's request. This appointment was in opposition to the wishes of the monks of Durham, who had elected their learned sub-prior, Robert de

Graystones. They were, however, unable to withstand the pope and king combined, and accepted Richard de Bury with a good grace.

Richard was consecrated bishop of Durham at Chertsey on the Sunday before Christmas Day 1333, in the presence of the king and queen, the king of Scots, and all the magnates this side the Trent. Rarely had a bishop met with such signal marks of favour. Next year he was made high chancellor of England, and treasurer in 1336. In 1335 he resigned the office of chancellor that he might serve the king as ambassador in Paris, Hainault, and Germany. In this capacity his coolness and clearness of judgment made him most valuable to the king, and he was again employed in 1337 as a commissioner for the affairs of Scotland. On the outbreak of the French war his diplomatic services came to an end, and he retired with satisfaction from public work to the duties of his own diocese. In 1342 he was again employed in the congenial task of making a truce with the Scottish king.

The lands of the bishopric were undisturbed during Richard's episcopate, and he was not called upon to engage in warfare which was entirely abhorrent to him. In the affairs of his diocese he was a capable official and a good administrator, as is shown by his chancery rolls, which are the earliest preserved in the archives of Durham. He was also an admirable ecclesiastic, beloved for his kindness and charity. He was always ready to do the business of his office, and his progress through his diocese was marked by an organised distribution of alms to the poor, amounting in the case of journeys between Durham and Newcastle to eight pounds sterling. But Richard de Bury was above all things a scholar and a promoter of learning. He surrounded himself with learned men; Thomas Bradwardin, Richard Fitzralph, and other less known scholars were among his chaplains. Some book was always read aloud to him when he sat at table, and afterwards he used to discuss with his attendants what had been read. He possessed more books than all the other bishops put together. Wherever he went his room was filled with books, which were piled upon the floor so that his visitors found some difficulty in steering a clear course. He had passionate enthusiasm for the discovery of manuscripts. He tells us himself (*Philobiblon*, ch. viii.) that he used his high offices of state as a means of collecting books. He let it be known that books were the most acceptable presents which could be made to him. He searched the monastic libraries and rescued precious manuscripts from destruction. His

account of the state of English libraries is exactly parallel to that given by Boccaccio of the libraries of Italy. The manuscripts lay neglected, 'murium fetibus cooperti et vermium morsibus terebrati.' Moreover Richard had agents in Paris and in Germany who were charged to gather books for his library. He deserves to rank among the first bibliophiles of England. Nor was he selfish in his pursuit. His aim was to raise the intellectual standard and to provide the necessary material for students. For this end he founded during his lifetime a library at Oxford in connection with Durham College, and made rules for its management. Five scholars were to be appointed librarians, three of whom were to be present and to assent to the loan of every book. He was anxious that all should be taught to use books carefully and respect them as they merited. He deplored the prevailing ignorance of Greek, and provided his library with Greek and Hebrew grammars. His literary sympathies were wide, and his library was by no means confined to theology. He declares his preference of liberal studies to the study of law, and urges that the works of the poets ought not to be omitted from any one's reading. While thus actively engaged in fostering learning he died at Auckland in 1345, and was buried in Durham cathedral.

Richard de Bury can scarcely claim to be regarded as himself a scholar; he was rather a patron and an encourager of learning. He corresponds in England to the early humanists in Italy, men who collected manuscripts and saw the possibilities of learning, though they were unable to attain to it themselves. He was recognised as a member of the new literary fraternity of Europe, and was penetrated by the chief ideas of humanism, as the '*Philobiblon*' sufficiently shows. Petrarch, who met him at Avignon, describes him as '*vir ardentis ingenii nec literarum inscius, abditum rerum ab adolescentia supra fidem curiosus*' (*Epist. de Rebus Fam.* iii. 1). Petrarch's account of his own relations with him harmonises with this description of an ardent amateur. Petrarch wished for some information about the geography of Thule, and applied to Richard, who answered that he had not his books with him, but would write to him on his return home. Though Petrarch more than once reminded him of his promise, he never received an answer. Richard was not so learned that he could afford to confess ignorance. His merit lies in his love for books, his desire to promote learning, and his readiness to learn from others. His rules for his library at Durham College were founded on those already

adopted for the library of the Sorbonne, which he saw on his visit to Paris.

Bale, following Leland, speaks of a collection of Richard de Bury's 'Epistolæ Familiares.' This, however, seems to be a mistake. A manuscript 'Liber Epistolaris quondam Ricardi de Bury,' is in the possession of Mr. Ormsby-Gore, but it is a formal 'letter writer,' made for one engaged in business of various kinds; to this are appended a number of official letters, some of Richard's own and many royal letters of importance (*Historical MSS. Commission*, 4th Rep. 85, 5th Rep. 379, &c.) Richard's great work is the 'Philobiblon,' which was written as a sort of handbook to his library at Durham College. It is an admirable treatise in praise of learning, at times rhetorical, but full of genuine fervour. 'No one can serve books and Mammon,' he exclaims, and he urges the refining influence of study. He gives an interesting description of the means by which he collected his library; he examines the state of learning in England and France. He speaks of books as one who loved them, and gives directions for their careful use. Finally, he explains his rules for the management of the library which he founded. The work is an admirable exhibition of the temper of a book-lover and librarian. The 'Philobiblon' was first printed at Cologne (1473); then by Hust, at Spire (1483); at Paris by Badius, Ascensius, and also by Jean Petit (1500); at Oxford, edited by Thomas James (1599); at Leipzig (1574), at the end of 'Philologicarum Epistolarum Centuria una;' and, edited by Cocheris, again at Paris (Aubry), 1856. It was translated by J. Bellingham Inglis, London, 1832, and there is also an American edition of this translation (Albany, 1861). Professor Henry Morley gives an epitome of the book in his 'English Writers,' ii. 43, &c. It was edited and translated again by Mr. E. C. Thomas in 1885.

Richard de Bury's library at Oxford was dispersed at the dissolution of the monasteries, when Durham College shared the fate of the monastic foundation to which it was annexed. Some of the books went to the Bodleian, some to Balliol College, and some to Dr. George Owen of Godstow, who purchased Durham College from Edward VI (CAMDEN, *Brit.* 1772, p. 310).

[Extracts from the Chancery Rolls of Richard de Bury are given in Hutchinson's *Durham*, i. 288, &c. The authority for the life of Richard de Bury is William de Chambre in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i. 765; also *Historiæ Dunelmensis Scriptores* (Surtees Soc.), 1839, p. 139, &c., the documents in Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii.; see, too, Bale's *Script.* *Brit. Cat.* (1548), p. 151; Godwin, *De Præsulibus* (1743), p. 747; Hutchin-

son's *Durham*, i. 284; Kippis's *Biog. Brit.* i. 370, under the name Augervylle; Cocheris' preface to his *Philobiblon*; J. Bass Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*, i. 201, &c.] M. C.

BURY, SAMUEL (1663-1730), presbyterian minister, son of Edward Bury (1616-1700) [q. v.], was born at Great Bolas, Shropshire, where he was baptised on 21 April 1663. He was educated at Thomas Doolittle's academy, then at Islington. Here he was contemporary with Matthew Henry, who entered in 1680, and remained long enough to contract a strong friendship with Bury. Edmund Calamy (1671-1732) [q. v.], who entered in 1682, speaks of Bury as a student of philosophy, not divinity. Bury's first settlement was at Bury St. Edmunds, prior to the date of the Toleration Act, 1689. In 1690 a house in Churchgate Street was bought, and converted into a place of worship. The congregation was considerable, and Bury became a recognised leader of Suffolk dissent. In Tymms's 'Handbook of Bury St. Edmunds' it is stated that Daniel Defoe was an attendant on his ministry.

In 1696 we find Bury engaged in collecting a list of the nonconforming ministers; Oliver Heywood supplied him (14 Aug.) with the names in Yorkshire and Lancashire, through Samuel Angier. On 11 Aug. 1700, John Fairfax, ejected from Barking-cum-Needham, Suffolk, died (aged seventy-six) at his house in that parish; Bury preached two funeral sermons for him, and Palmer rightly infers, from expressions in the one at the actual funeral at Barking, that, by an unusual concession, it was delivered in the parish church.

The still existing chapel in Churchgate Street was built in 1711, and opened 30 Dec. Bury preached the opening sermon. Bury, who was tortured with stone, went with his wife to Bath in the autumn of 1719, on a journey of health. Just before he set out on his return home, he received overtures from Lewin's Mead, Bristol. This was the larger of the two presbyterian congregations in Bristol, and it had been vacant since the death of Michael Pope in 1718. It counted 1,600 adherents. Some of its members had been sheriffs of the city; others were 'persons of condition; divers very rich, many more very substantial, few poor. The whole congregation computed worth near 400,000.' Bury agreed to go to Bristol for six months 'to make a tryal of the waters there.' He arrived there on 8 April 1720. In little more than a month he lost his wife. His stay at Bristol was permanent; he got as assistant (probably in 1721) John Diaper, who succeeded him as pastor, and resigned in 1751. Under Bury's ministry the congregation

increased both in numbers and in wealth. In the Hewley suit, 1830-42 [see BOWLES, EDWARD], great pains were taken by the unitarian defendants to collect indications of concession to heterodox opinion on the part of Bury, as a representative presbyterian of his time. James has shown that the 'Exhortation' at Savage's ordination, quoted to prove (which it does not) opposition to the Calvinistic doctrine of election, was not by Bury, but by John Rastrick, M.A., of Lynn (d. 18 Aug. 1727, aged seventy-eight). The strength of the unitarian case is in a farewell letter from Bury to his Lewin's Mead congregation. He here says, 'I never was prostituted to any party, but have endeavoured to serve God as a catholic christian,' and speaks of requirements which have no good Scripture warrant, as making 'apocryphal sins and duties.' The address is essentially practical, avoiding controversy, and the strain is fervently evangelical. Bury died 10 March 1730, and was buried in St. James's churchyard, where formerly was an altar tomb with Latin epitaphs to Bury and his wife (given in CORRY and EVANS's *Bristol*, 1816, ii. 181). The parish register has the entry, 'Burialls 1729, March 15. Mr. Saml. Bury. Tom [i.e. tomb] a techer lewends mead meating.' His portrait hangs in the vestry at Bury St. Edmunds. He married, on 29 May 1697, Elizabeth [q. v.], second daughter of Captain Adams Lawrence, of Linton, Cambridgeshire.

Bury published: 1. 'A Scriptural Catechism, being an Abridgment of Mr. O. Stockton's, design'd especially for the use of charity schools in Edmunds-Bury,' 1699 (not seen). 2. 'A Collection of Psalms, Hymns, &c., for private use, 3rd. ed. 1713 (not seen). 3. *Ἐρρηνῶδια*. The People's Lamentation for the Loss of their Dead Ministers, or Three Sermons occasioned by the death of the late Reverend and Learned Divines, Mr. John Fairfax and Mr. Timothy Wright,' 1702, 8vo. 4. 'A Funeral Sermon for the Rev. Mr. Samuel Cradock,' &c. 1707, 8vo. 5. 'Two sermons preach'd at the opening of a new erected Chappel in St. Edmunds-Bury,' &c., 1712, 8vo. 6. 'A Funeral Sermon for Robert Baker, Esq., &c., 1714, 8vo. 7. 'The Questions' at the ordination of S. Savage, printed with John Rastrick's 'Sermon' on the occasion, 1714, 8vo. 8. 'An Account of the Life and Death of Mrs. Elizabeth Bury, &c., chiefly collected out of her own Diary,' Bristol, 1720, 8vo, 4th edit. 1725, 8vo.

[Tong's Life of Matthew Henry, 1716, p. 27; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, 1803, iii. 250; Toulmin's Histor. View of Prot. Diss., 1814, p. 584; Calamy's Histor. Account of My Own

Time, 1830, i. 106; Prot. Diss. Mag. 1794, p. 235; Murch's Hist. of Presb. and Gen. Bapt. Churches in W. of Eng., 1835, p. 107 sq.; Historical Illustrations and Proofs, in Shore v. Attorney-Gen. [by Joseph Hunter], 1839, p. 17; Hunter's Life of O. Heywood, 1842, p. 389; James's Hist. Presb. Chapels and Charities, 1867, pp. 165 sq., 634 sq., 675, 679; Browne's Hist. of Congregationalism in Norf. and Suff., 1877, pp. 420, 498, 518; Bristol Times and Mirror, 13 April 1885; extract from Register of Bolas Magna, per Rev. R. S. Turner; Evans's MS. List of Congregations, in Dr. Williams's Library; manuscript minute-book of Churchgate Street Chapel, Bury St. Edmunds; and Bury's publications, noted above.] A. G.

BURY, THOMAS (1655-1722), judge, youngest son of Sir William Bury, knight, of Linwood in Lincolnshire, was born in 1655, took a bachelor's degree at Lincoln College, Oxford, in February 1667-8, and in 1668 was entered a student at Gray's Inn. He was called to the bar in 1676, and after some years' practice became a serjeant-at-law in 1700, and on 26 Jan. 1701, when Sir Littellton Powys was removed to the king's bench, he was created a baron of the exchequer. Of this his epitaph says that he 'by his Great Application to the Study of the Law, raised himself to one of the highest Degrees in that Profession,' but Mr. Speaker Onslow, in his notes to Bishop Burnet's 'History,' affirms that it appeared from Bury's book of accounts (a most unlikely place for such a revelation) that he gave Lord-keeper Wright a bribe of 1,000*l.* for elevating him to the bench. For fifteen years he continued to discharge the duties of a pious judge. In 1704, when corrupt practices had extensively prevailed at the Aylesbury election, the whigs, who were then defeated, knowing that proceeding by a petition to the House of Commons would be useless, caused actions to be brought in the queen's bench by some of the electors against the returning officers. One of these actions, the leading case of *Ashby v. White*, after judgment for the defendants in the queen's bench, from which Lord Chief Justice Holt dissented, was taken to the House of Lords upon a writ of error, and the judges were summoned to advise the house. Of these judges Bury was one, and his opinion was given in support of that of the lord chief justice in the court below; and Lord Somers being of the same opinion, the decision of the queen's bench was reversed by fifty to sixteen. On 20 and 22 April 1710 he, with Chief-justice Parker and Mr. Justice Tracy, at the Old Bailey, tried one Damary for riot and being ringleader of a mob. There is a letter of his (25 June 1713) preserved among

the treasury papers to the lord high treasurer, about offering a reward for the apprehension of one Robert Mann. On the death of Sir Samuel Dodd, Bury was raised by King George I to be chief baron of the exchequer 10 June 1716. He died on 4 May 1722, suddenly, having been engaged in the discharge of his judicial duties until within a few hours of his death; and was buried, with a handsome tomb, in the parish church of Grant-ham, Lincolnshire. He left no issue, and his estates at Irby, near Wainfleet, passed to his grandnephew, William Bury, of Lyndwood Grange, Lincolnshire. There is a portrait of him, engraved in mezzotint by J. Smith, after a picture by J. Richardson dated 1720 (NOBLE, *Granger*, iii. 198).

[Foss's *Lives of the Judges*; Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices*, ii. 160; Patents, William III, p. 5; Burnet, v. 219 note; Luttrell, 6, 572, 573; Wotton's *Baronetage*, iv. 99; Epitaph Grant-ham church; Turnor's *Grantham*, 18; Collins's *English Baronetage*, iv. 99; Cal. Treas. Papers, 1708-14; Redington, p. 492; Catalogue Oxford Graduates.] J. A. H.

BURY, THOMAS TALBOT (1811-1877), architect, was descended from a Worcestershire family, afterwards settled in the city of London. He was born on 26 Sept. 1811, and was articled in 1824 to Augustus Pugin. Among his fellow-pupils were Messrs. Ferrey, Dollman, Shaw, Lake Price, Nash, Walker, and Charles Mathews the actor. He commenced practice in Gerrard Street, Soho, in 1830; and, in addition to his architectural practice, was often engaged in engraving and lithographing his own and other architects' drawings, notably those of Pugin and Owen Jones. He was particularly skilful in colouring architectural studies, and his aid in this respect was often sought by the most eminent architects of the day when they were engaged in preparing designs for competition. In 1847 he published his 'Remains of Ecclesiastical Woodwork,' illustrated by himself; and in 1849, his 'History and Description of the Styles of Architecture of various Countries, from the Earliest to the Present Period.' He was engaged with Pugin in designing the details of the houses of parliament under Sir Charles Barry. He frequently exhibited his works at the Royal Academy between 1846 and 1872; and sent to the International Exhibition of 1862 a large picture representing, at one view, all the churches, schools, public and other buildings erected by him. This fine drawing is now preserved as a record at the Institute of British Architects. Among his principal works were 35 churches and chapels, 15 parsonages, 12

schools, and 20 other large public buildings and private residences in various parts of England and Wales. He was elected an associate of the Institute of British Architects in 1839, and a fellow in 1843. In 1876 he was elected a vice-president. He was in 1863 made a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and was also a member of the council of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, a member of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, and an associate of the Society of Civil Engineers. His collections of architectural and antiquarian books, his pictures, drawings, cabinets, and armour, were sold at Christie's in the autumn of 1877. On 23 Feb. 1877 he died, a widower and childless, and was buried at Norwood cemetery.

[Redgrave's *Dictionary of Artists of the English School*; Journal of the Archaeological Institute; *Archæologia Cambrensis*; Transactions of the Institute of British Architects; Builder, 1877.] W. H. T.

BUSBY, RICHARD (1606-1695), headmaster of Westminster School, was the second son of Mr. Richard Busby, a citizen of Westminster, but was born, 22 Sept. 1606, at Luton, otherwise called Sutton St. Nicholas, in Lincolnshire. He obtained a king's scholarship at Westminster, and was educated at that school, whence he was elected, in 1624, to a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his B.A. degree in 1628 and his M.A. in 1631. He was for some time a tutor at Christ Church, and in 1639 was admitted to the prebend and rectory of Cudworth, with the chapel of Knowle annexed, in Somersetshire. He was appointed master of Westminster School provisionally when Osbolston was deprived of that office in 1638, but was not confirmed in it till 23 Dec. 1640. In the civil war he lost the profits of his rectory and prebend, but in spite of his staunch loyalty and churchmanship managed to retain both his studentship and his mastership. His only trouble during this period was of a local character. The second master, Edward Bagshaw the younger [q. v.], tried to supplant him, but 'was removed out of his place for his insolence' in May 1658. Bagshaw published in 1659 an account of the transaction from his own point of view. Upon the restoration Dr. Busby's services to the royal cause were immediately recognised. In July 1660 he was made by the king prebendary of Westminster, and in the following month canon residentiary and treasurer at Wells. At the coronation of Charles II he had the high honour of carrying the am-pulla. He was elected proctor for the chapter

of Bath and Wells, and in the convocation of 1661 was, of course, among the number of those who approved and subscribed to the Book of Common Prayer. Busby's name has become proverbial as a type of the severest of severe pedagogues; and though this character of him only rests upon general tradition, there appears to be little doubt that during his extraordinarily long reign at Westminster he ruled the school with a rod of iron, or rather of birch. But it is also clear that his rule was as successful as it was severe. He gained the veneration and even love of his pupils, among whom were numbered a vast majority of the most distinguished men in a distinguished era. John Dryden, John Locke, Robert South, Francis Atterbury, Philip Henry, and George Hooper were among his pupils. He is said to have boasted that at one time sixteen out of the whole bench of bishops had been educated by him; and, it may be added, at a time when the bench contained more brilliant men than it has perhaps ever contained before or since. His favourite pupil among those who afterwards became bishops was the friend and ultimately the successor of the saintly Ken, George Hooper, of whom he said: 'Hooper is the best scholar, the finest gentleman, and will make the completest bishop that ever was educated at Westminster.' It has been hinted that Busby's reputation for extreme severity arose from the malignity of party spirit. But it is remarkable that one of the strongest and most definite testimonies to the merits of Dr. Busby as a master comes from the mouth of a puritan. 'Dr. Busby,' writes Sir J. B. Williams in his 'Life of Philip Henry,' 'was noted as a very stern schoolmaster, especially in the beginning of his time. But Mr. Henry would say sometimes that as in so great a school there was need of a strict discipline, so for his own part, of the four years he was in the school, he never felt the weight of his hand but once, and then, saith he, I deserved it. . . . Dr. Busby took a particular kindness to him, called him his child, and would sometimes tell him he should be his heir; and there was no love lost betwixt them. . . . He often spoke of the great pains which Dr. Busby took to prepare, for several weeks before, all king's scholars who stood candidates for election to the university, and who, according to the ancient custom of Westminster, were to receive the Lord's Supper the Easter before. He himself was most deeply impressed with Dr. Busby's preparation.' In fact, he dates his own conversion from that preparation; and 'he frequently referred with the deepest gratitude to the

earnest solicitude and care of his old master for his instruction in the best of all knowledge.' Other old pupils were equally grateful. Atterbury describes him as 'a man to be revered very highly,' and speaks of leaving his school for college 'loaded with his counsels, his warnings, and his gifts.' Dryden all through his life retained a deep respect for him. Dr. William King, one of the brilliant scholars whom he trained, referred to him many years later as 'the grave Busby, whose memory to me shall be for ever sacred.' Dr. Basire's letters, when he was in exile, evidently show that it was a real comfort to him to feel that his son was under the care of Dr. Busby. The traditions of his excessive severity are of rather a vague character. Dr. Johnson's saying, for instance, that Busby used to declare that his rod was his sieve, and that whosoever could not pass through that was not the boy for him, is often quoted. The unfavourable impression of public schools given in Locke's 'Thoughts upon Education' is thought to have been derived from his own experience under Dr. Busby. The story of his thrashing the sulkiness out of Robert South is not referred to by South's earliest biographer, who merely states that 'he was under the care of Dr. Richard Busby, who cultivated and improved so promising a genius with industry and encouragement.' The report, again, has been perpetuated by an epigram 'on Dr. Freind's appointment to Westminster' to the following effect:—

Ye sons of Westminster who still retain  
Your antient dread of Busby's awful reign,  
Forget at length your fears,—your panic end,—  
The monarch of the place is now a Freind.

But too much importance must not be attached to such *jeux d'esprit*, nor yet to such stories as that of Dr. Busby refusing to take his hat off before Charles II in the presence of his scholars, lest they should think there was any man greater than himself. At any rate he was the most pious and benevolent of men. He took the deepest interest in the church life of the period, and was most intimate with other leading churchmen besides his old pupils. His neighbour Peter Barwick found his great solace in his later years, when his eyesight failed him, in Busby's society; Isaac Basire cultivated the closest friendship with him; Busby's letters to Basire breathe a spirit of the most ardent piety. Anthony à Wood rightly describes him as being 'a person eminent and exemplary for piety and justice.' His liberality to the church, both in his lifetime and by his bequests, was not only most munificent, but

also shows a most thoughtful consideration for the special wants of the age. He built in his lifetime a handsome church at Willan, and a library within the church filled with books, and gave 20*l.* a year for the vicar if he would perform the services in the church every Wednesday, Friday, and holy day throughout the year (WHITE KENNET). He gave 250*l.* towards the 'repairing and beautifying of Christ Church and the cathedral' at Oxford. He offered to found 'two catechetical lectures, one in each university, for instructing undergraduates in the rudiments of religion, provided the undergraduates should be obliged to attend those lectures, and not receive the B.A. degree till they had been examined and approved by the catechist.' The offer was rejected by both universities, and Wood may be right in saying that they could not accept them consistently with their statutes. He died on 6 April 1695, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where there is a curious monument to his memory. His portrait by Riley is in the hall at Christ Church, and there are also portraits of him in the chapter-house and in the common room, where there is a bust by Rysbrac. All, however, are copied from a cast taken after death. By his will he left 520*l.* a year in trust for non-clergymen, who were to deliver thirty lectures, which are still known as the 'Busby Lectures.' Among numerous other bequests (see WHITE KENNET'S *Case of Impropriations and Augmentation of Poor Benefices*), he remembered his native place, leaving a sum of money for the erection of an elaborate pulpit in Sutton Church, and for the education of poor boys in Sutton and Gedney. Dr. Busby's literary works are not very important, or at any rate are now out of date; but they too show the high moral character of the man. They consist for the most part of expurgated editions of the classics, and were published solely for the pious purpose of enabling his own pupils to imbibe the beauties without being polluted by the impurities of the ancients. The titles and dates are as follows: 1. 'A Short Institution of Grammar,' 1647. 2. 'Juvenalis et Persii Satiræ,' purged of all indecent passages, 1656. 3. 'An English Introduction to the Latin Tongue,' 1659. 4. 'Martialis Epigrammata selecta,' 1661. 5. 'Græcæ Grammaticæ Rudimenta,' 1663. 6. 'Nomenclatura Brevis Reformata,' and appended to this 'Duplex Centenarius Proverbiorum Anglo-Latino-Græcorum,' 1667. 7. 'Ἀνθολογία δευτέρα, sive Græcorum Epigrammatum Florilegium novum,' 1673. 8. 'Rudimentum Latinum, Grammatica literalis et numeralis,' 1688.

9. 'Rudimentum Grammaticæ Græco-Latinæ Metricum,' 1689.

[Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), iv. 417-20; *Fasti*, i. 438, 430, 464, ii. 242, 258, 260, 360; *Colleges and Halls* (Gutch), 436, 448, app. 292, 301, 302; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis), iii. 52-6; Noble's *Continuation of Grainger*, i. 98-9; *Gent. Mag.* lxxv. 15-17; Nichols's *Illustr. of Lit.* iv. 398; Evelyn's *Memoirs*, iii. 415; Seward's *Anecdotes*; Williams's *Life of Philip Henry*; Warton's edition of Pope's *Works*; Welch's *Alumni Westmon.* (1852) pp. 95-7; Russell Barker's *Memoirs of Busby*, 1895.] J. H. O.

BUSBY, THOMAS (1755-1838), musical composer, was the son of a coach-painter. He was born at Westminster in December 1755, and though as a boy he received but little education, yet at an early age he was distinguished by his cleverness. Busby's father was fond of music, and sang himself with good taste. When his son developed a fine treble voice, he determined to bring him up as a musician. With this view, application was made to Dr. Cooke, the organist of Westminster Abbey, to take young Busby (who was then between twelve and thirteen) as a chorister; but Cooke thinking him too old, he was placed under Champness for singing, and Knyvett for the harpsichord. Subsequently he studied under Battishill, and made so much progress that in the summer of 1769 he was engaged to sing at Vauxhall at a salary of ten guineas a week. On his voice breaking, he was articulated to Battishill for three years, during which time both his musical and general education rapidly improved, though more by his own efforts than by those of his master. On the expiration of his articles he returned to his father's house, and set himself to earn his living by music and literature. His first venture was the composition of music to a play by Dr. Kenrick, 'The Man the Master,' but this was never finished. He then turned his attention to oratorio, and began a setting of Pope's 'Messiah,' at which he worked intermittently for several years. Busby was more successful with literary pursuits than with musical. He was for some time parliamentary reporter of the 'London Courant,' and assisted in editing the 'Morning Post,' besides acting as musical critic to the 'European Magazine' and Johnson's 'Analytical Review,' and contributing to the 'Celtic Miscellany' and 'Whitehall Evening Post.' In 1785 he wrote a poem called 'The Age of Genius,' a satire in the style of Churchill, containing nearly 1,000 lines. About five years after the expiration of his articles Busby was elected organist of St. Mary, Newington. Shortly afterwards (July 1786) he married a Miss

Angier, daughter of Mr. Charles Angier of Earl's Court, Kensington. After his marriage he lived in Poland Street, where he was much in request as a teacher of Latin, French, and music. A few years later he moved to Battersea. In 1786 Busby and Arnold brought out a 'Musical Dictionary,' the success of which induced the former to issue a serial entitled 'The Divine Harmonist,' consisting of twelve folio numbers of music, partly selected and partly original. In this work are included some fragments of an oratorio by the editor, 'The Creation.' The 'Divine Harmonist' was followed by 'Melodia Britannica,' which was to be a collection of English music, but the work was unsuccessful, and was never completed. About the same time Busby completed a translation of Lucretius into rhymed verse. In 1798 he was elected organist of St. Mary Woolnoth. In the spring of 1799 his efforts to get an important musical work performed were crowned with success, and his early oratorio was produced by Cramer under the name of 'The Prophecy,' probably in order not to provoke comparison with Handel's 'Messiah.' The oratorio seems to have been well received, and Busby set to work upon settings of Gray's 'Progress of Poesy,' Pope's 'Ode on St. Cecilia's Day,' and a cantata from Ossian, 'Comala,' but it is doubtful whether any of these were performed. A so-called 'Secular Oratorio,' 'Britannia' (words by John Gretton), was more fortunate, as it was sung at Covent Garden in 1801 with Mara as the principal soprano. In the preceding year Busby wrote music for Cumberland's version of Kotzebue's 'Joanna,' which was produced at Covent Garden 16 Jan. 1800, without much success. Shortly afterwards he brought out 'A New and Complete Musical Dictionary,' and started the first musical periodical in England, 'The Monthly Musical Journal,' of which four numbers only saw the light. In June 1801 Busby obtained the degree of Mus. Doc. at Cambridge, for which purpose he entered at Magdalen College. His exercise on this occasion was 'A Thanksgiving Ode on the Naval Victories,' the words of which were written by Mrs. Crespigny. In 1802 he wrote music to Holcroft's melodrama, 'A Tale of Mystery,' the first play of this description which appeared on the English stage. It was produced at Covent Garden 13 Nov. 1802, and was very successful. In the following year Busby wrote music for Miss Porter's musical entertainment, 'The Fair Fugitives' (Covent Garden, 16 May 1803), but this was a failure. His connection with the stage ceased with Lewis's 'Rugantino' (Covent Garden, 18 Oct. 1805). The music to all these plays was pub-

lished, and shows Busby to have been but a poor composer, even for his day, when English music was at a very low ebb. From this time until his death he devoted himself more to literature. The translation of Lucretius was published in 1813, and was followed by an attempt to prove that the Letters of Junius were written by J. L. de Lolme (1816), 'A Grammar of Music' (1818), 'A Dictionary of Musical Terms,' 'A History of Music,' 2 vols. (1819)—a work which was successful in its day, though it is entirely a compilation from the Histories of Burney and Hawkins, 'Concert-room Anecdotes,' 3 vols. (1825), an amusing and useful collection, and a 'Musical Manual' (1828). In his latter years Busby lived with a married daughter at Queen's Row, Pentonville, where he died, aged eighty-four, on Monday, 28 May 1838. He was not an original genius, but a clever, hard-working man of letters. According to an obituary notice of him he was eccentric, and held 'loose notions on religious subjects.'

[Public Characters for 1802-3, 371; Concert-room Anecdotes, i. 93; Musical World for 1838, 80; Genest's Hist. of the Stage, vii.; Times, 30 May 1838; British Museum Catalogue; Graduat Cantab. 1760-1856.] W. B. S.

**BUSH, PAUL** (1490-1558), bishop of Bristol, according to Wood, was born in Somerset, 'of honest and sufficient parents,' in 1490. He studied at the university of Oxford, taking his degree of B.A. in June 1518, by which time he was 'numbered among the celebrated poets of the university' (Wood). He subsequently read divinity, studying among the Austin Friars, whose house stood on the site of Wadham College. He also applied himself to the study of medicine, and gained the reputation of 'a wise and grave man, well versed both in divinity and physic, and not only a grave orator, but a good poet' (Cole MSS. x. 76).

Bush took the degrees of B.D. and D.D., and having become a friar of the order, 'superstitious monachus,' according to Bale, he 'displayed his varied learning in the publication of many books,' 'superstitiose satis.' He rose to be provincial of the Bonhommes, a branch of the Franciscan order of friars, and became provost of the house of this order at Edington, near Westbury, Wiltshire. He held the prebendal stall of Bishopston in Salisbury Cathedral, about 1539, and became one of the residentiary canons (JONES, *Fasti Eccl. Sarisb.* p. 446). He obtained royal favour and was made chaplain to Henry VIII, who, on the foundation of the bishopric of Bristol, selected Bush as the first bishop of the new see (*Rot. Parl.* 34 Hen. VIII, p. 2). His consecration



took place in the parish church of Hampton, Middlesex, on Sunday, 25 June 1542 (STRYPE'S *Cranmer*, lib. i. c. 24). His consecration is erroneously placed both by Bale and Pits in the reign of Edward VI. The latter writer maliciously adds that he was appointed bishop by the protestant monarch, 'though of an adverse creed, in consequence of the dearth of learned divines among the sectaries,' and also with the hope that promotion would induce him to desert the old faith for the new. In this, says Pits, those who chose him were disappointed, inasmuch as Bush kept firm to the creed of Rome, and 'never by word or writing professes heresy' (PITS, *De Illust. Angl. Script.* ætat. xvi. No. 997). Pits is so far correct in his last statement, that in Bush's replies to certain questions relative to 'the abuses of the mass,' proposed in 1548, he displays a strong leaning to the old faith, and in opposition to Cranmer allows of solitary masses, and masses for departed souls sung for hire. He also lays down that while every christian man ought to communicate, and no one can receive the Eucharist for another, yet one man may be spiritually benefited by others partaking. The bread and wine after consecration are 'the very body and blood of Christ.' He does not regard it as contrary to God's word that the gospel should be expounded to the people at the time of mass, but is wholly opposed to discarding the Latin tongue. His answer on this point is remarkable: 'If the mass should be wholly in English, I think we should differ from the custom and manner of all other regions; therefore if it may stand with the king's majesty's pleasure, I think it not good to be said all in English. *Per me Paullum Episcopum Bristollensem*' (BURNET, *Hist. of Reform.* vol. ii. appendix No. 25, pp. 133, 147, ed. 1681, fol.) In one point, however, that of marriage, Bush showed no repugnance to the practice of the reformers. He took to wife Edith Ashley, scurrilously called by Pits his 'concubine.' She died, somewhat opportunely, three months after the accession of Mary, 8 Oct. 1553; but the fact of her death did not prevent proceedings being taken against him as a married priest. The following year, 20 March 1554, a commission, of which Gardiner and Bonner were the chief members, passed sentence of deprivation on him, the execution of which he forestalled by a voluntary resignation in the following June, when the dean and chapter of Canterbury assumed the spiritual jurisdiction of the see, 21 June 1554. He is accused of having impoverished the see by granting the manor of Leigh to Edward VI in 1549. At that time, however, bishops had little option in

such matters. On his resignation Bush retired to the rectory of Winterbourne, near Bristol, which he held till his death, which occurred at the age of 68, a few days before Mary's death, 11 Oct. 1558. He was buried near the grave of his wife, on the north side of the choir of Bristol Cathedral, where his mutilated renaissance monument, bearing his effigy as a ghastly decaying corpse with a tonsured head, still stands. The inscription ends after the old fashion, 'cujus animæ propitiatur Christus.' A long epitaph, now decayed, bristling with plays upon his name, is preserved by Wood and Davies, and more correctly by Cole. In his will, dated 25 Sept. 1558, and proved 1 Dec., he styles himself 'late bishop of Bristol, parson of Winterbourne.'

Bush was the author of the following works: 1. 'A Lyttell Treatyse in Englyshe called the Exposycyon of Miserere mei Deus,' London, 1525 (the date 1501 of a supposed earlier edition is impossible, as Bush was then only a boy of eleven). 2. 'Certayne Gostly Medycynes necessary to be used among wel disposed peple, to eschew and avoid the comen plage of pestilence' (Redman; no date). This is a small tract of twelve leaves containing prayers and conjurations against the plague, with some stanzas addressed to the reader at the end; the whole 'collecte and sette forth in order by the diligent labour of the religious brother, Syr Paul Bushe, prest and bonhomme of the good house Edynden.' 3. 'A Lyttell Treatyse in Englyshe called the Extripacion (*sic*) of Ignorance, and it treateth and speket of the ignorance of people, shewyng them how they are bounde to feare God . . . compiled by Sir Paul Bushe, prest and bonhome of Edyndon' (Pynson, 4to, no date). This is a little poetical tract 'dedicated unto the yong and most hye renomed Lady Mary, prinses and daughter unto the noble progenytour and worthy souerayne Kyng Henry Eight.' 4. 'De laudibus Crucis' (no date). 5. 'Dialogus inter Christum et Mariam,' 1525. 6. 'An Exhortacyon to Margaret, wyf of John Burgess, clothier of Kingswood, in the county of Wilts, by Paul Bush, bishop of Bristol' (London, Cawood, 1554, 8vo). 7. 'Carminum diversorum liber unus.'

[Wood's *Athen.* Oxon. i. 269, 270; Burnet's *Hist. of Reform.* vol. ii. App. 25; Pits, *De Illust. Angl. Script.* ætat. xvi. No. 997; Bale's *Script. Bryt.* p. 723, ed. Basel; Wharton's *Specimen of Errors*, p. 133; Strype's *Cranmer*, lib. i. c. 29; Browne-Willis's *Account of Bristol Cathedral*, ii. 777; Davies's *Athen.* Brit. ii. 294; Ames's *Typogr. Antiq.* ed. Dibdin, ii. 562, iii. 242, iv. 393; Cole MSS. x. 76; Watt's *Bibl. Britan.* i. 177; Lowndes's *Bibliogr. Manual*; Le Neve's *Fasti*, i. 214.] E. V.

**BUSHE, CHARLES KENDAL** (1767–1843), chief justice of the king's bench, Ireland, was the only son of the Rev. Thomas Bushe, of Kilmurry, co. Kilkenny, rector of Mitchelstown, co. Cork, and was born at Kilmurry on 13 Jan. 1767. His mother was Katherine Doyle, daughter of Charles Doyle, of Bramblestown, co. Kilkenny. Bushe received his early education at a private school in Dublin, and entered Trinity College, Dublin, in his sixteenth year July 1782. His university career was distinguished. He won high honours both in classics and in mathematics, was a scholar and a gold medallist. But his greatest triumphs were won in the famous 'College Historical Society,' founded by Grattan as a debating society for the students of Trinity College, and at that time numbering among its youthful orators Plunket (afterwards Lord Plunket), Magee, Curran, Shiel, and others. Here Grattan heard him, and declared that 'Bushe spoke with the lips of an angel.' He was called to the Irish bar in 1790, and soon acquired a good practice, a considerable portion of the proceeds of which he voluntarily devoted to the payment of the debts left by his father, and said to have amounted to 40,000*l*. In 1796 Bushe entered the Irish parliament as member for Callan. He sat for that place till 1799, when he was returned for Donegal borough. Bushe joined the opponents of the union. So anxious was Lord Cornwallis to silence the young barrister that he offered him the post of master of the rolls. Bushe declined the offer. In the list of members of the last Irish House of Commons given by Sir Jonah Barrington in the appendix to his 'Historic Memoirs of Ireland,' the single word 'incorruptible' is placed after Bushe's name. He wrote as well as spoke against the union, and Lord Brougham says of one of his pamphlets on this question—'Cease your Funning'—that it reminded him of Swift. For his efforts in defence of legislative independence, Bushe received among other honours the freedom of the city of Dublin.

He was made third serjeant July 1805. On the promotion of solicitor-general Plunket to the attorney-generalship in October 1805, Bushe, though differing from the government on the question of catholic emancipation—a measure which he steadily advocated—accepted the office of solicitor-general for Ireland, and he appears to have held it uninterruptedly until 1822, when, on the retirement of Lord Downes, he was appointed lord chief justice of the king's bench. This high position he resigned in 1841, having filled it for nearly twenty years 'with a character the purest

and most unsullied that ever shed lustre on the ermine' (*Legal Reporter*, 6 Nov. 1841). Bushe died at his son's residence, Furry Park, near Dublin, and was buried in Mount Jerome cemetery, where there is a monument erected to him with the simple inscription, 'Charles Kendal Bushe, July 10th, 1843.' He married, in 1793, Miss Crampton, daughter of John Crampton, of Dublin, and had a large family.

[*Irish Quarterly Review*, March 1853; Brougham's *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the Time of George III.* 3rd ser.; Nation, 22 July 1843; *Legal Reporter*, 6 Nov. 1841.] G. V. B.

**BUSHELL, BROWN** (*d.* 1651), sea captain, son of Nicholas Bushell of Ruswarpe, near Whitby, and Dorothy, daughter of Sir Henry Cholmley (or Cholmondley) of Rooksby, Yorkshire, knight (*Harleian MSS.* 1487, fol. 464), was one of the garrison that, under the command of his cousin, Sir Hugh Cholmley, held Scarborough for the parliament in 1643. In the March of that year Cholmley determined to give up the castle to the queen, who was then at York. Before he did so, however, he wished to secure some valuable goods he had at Hull, and on 24 March sent his kinsman Bushell thither in a small vessel armed with seven pieces of ordnance. Hotham, who was in command at Hull, took Bushell prisoner, but two days afterwards allowed him to return to Scarborough on his promising to deliver the castle again into the hands of the parliamentarians. When Cholmley, having made his surrender, left for York, Bushell and his brother Henry conspired with the soldiers, who were highly dissatisfied with Cholmley's conduct, and with little difficulty seized the castle for the parliament. Before long, however, Bushell entered into correspondence with the royalists and handed the castle over to them. It was probably in consequence of this action that Sir T. Fairfax on 19 April 1645 was ordered to send him to London to answer a charge made against him. Bushell again joined the parliamentary party, and received the command of a fine ship under Admiral Batten [q. v.] When, early in 1648, the fleet lay in the Downs, Bushell, like divers other captains, delivered his ship to the Prince of Wales. He was apprehended by two men, to whom, on 25 April, the council awarded 20*l*. for the good service they had done, resolving at the same time to lodge the prisoner in Windsor Castle. As late, however, as 27 Dec. 1649, it is evident that Bushell had not such good quarters, for on that day the council, in consequence of a petition received from him, ordered his removal to Windsor, directing the

governor 'to provide for him as necessary for one of his quality.' On 26 June 1650 it was determined to allow him 5s. a day for his maintenance. The council at first resolved that he should be tried as a pirate by the admiralty court. Now, however, the attorney-general was ordered to consider his offences, with a view to his trial by the high court of justice, and on 7 Sept. witnesses against him were sent for from Scarborough. He was found guilty, and was executed on 29 March 1651. A small medallion portrait of him is given in the frontispiece of Winstanley's 'Loyall Martyrology,' published in 1665.

[Harleian MSS. 1487, fol. 464; Rushworth's Collection, pt. iii. vol. ii. 264, pt. iv. vol. ii. 1070; Cal. State Papers, Dom., 1649-50, 455, 1650 passim, 1651, 5; Whitelocke's Memorials, fols. 143, 302; Winstanley's Loyall Martyrology, 32; Markham's Life of the great Lord Fairfax, 94, 95; Sir Hugh Cholmley's Memoirs, 1; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (5th ed.), iv. 9.] W. H.

**BUSHELL, SETH, D.D. (1621-1684),** divine, the only son of Adam Bushell, of Kuerden, near Preston, by his wife Alice, daughter of John Loggan, of Garstang, was born in the year 1621. At the age of eighteen he became a commoner of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and lived at the university until Oxford was garrisoned by King Charles's forces, when he returned to Lancashire. In 1654 he is mentioned as minister of Whitley, in Yorkshire, a living which has not been identified. In that year he was at Oxford, graduating B.A. in 1654 and M.A. in 1655. His further degrees of B.D. and D.D. were conferred in 1665 and 1672. In 1664 he was vicar of Preston, and continued there until 1682. He was also incumbent of Euxton before 27 Nov. 1649, to which place he succeeded by an order from the committee for plundered ministers. In 1682 he was appointed vicar of Lancaster, where he died 6 Nov. 1684, aged 63. He was a loyal, pious, and charitable man, courteous to the dissenters and respected by them. 'He discouraged persecution for religion, or prosecution of any of his parish for what was customary due,' as one of his quaker parishioners records. He was twice married—first to Mary, daughter of Roger Farrington, and secondly to Mary, daughter of William Stansfield, of Euxton—and was father of the Rev. William Bushell, incumbent of Goosnargh 1715-1721, and rector of Heysham, and grandfather of William Bushell, M.D., founder of the Goosnargh Hospital. There is a Latin epitaph to the memory of Dr. Seth Bushell in Lancaster parish church.

His published writings are: 1. 'A Warning-piece for the Unruly; in two Discourses,

at the Metropolitcal Visitation of Richard, Lord Archbishop of York, held at Preston, in Lancashire, and there preached May 8,' London, 1673 (4to). 2. 'The Believer's Groan for Heaven; in a Sermon at the Funeral of the Honourable Sir Rich. Hoghton, of Hoghton, Baronet, preached at Preston in Amounderness,' London, 1678 (4to). 3. A sermon preached on 25 Jan. 1658, which George Fox answered in his book, 'The Great Mystery of the Great Whore Unfolded,' 1659. 4. 'Cosmo-Meros, the Worldly Portion; or the best Portion of the Wicked and their Misery in the Enjoyment of it Opened and Applied. Together with some Directions and Helps in order to a Heavenly and Better Portion, enforced with many useful and divine considerations,' London, 1682 (12mo). He also wrote the preface to R. Towne's 'Reassertion of Grace,' &c. 1654, 4to. Bliss mentions a Latin dissertation, 'De Redemptione,' by him in the Cole MSS. in the British Museum.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon., ed. Bliss, iv. 161-2; Raines's Notitia Cestriensis (Chetham Society), xxii. 384, 428, 442; Lancashire and Cheshire Church Surveys (Record Society), p. 102; Fishwick's Hist. of Goosnargh, pp. 122-4; Fishwick's Lancashire Library, pp. 385-6; Autob. of William Stout, ed. Harland, p. 12.] C. W. S.

**BUSHELL, THOMAS (1594-1674),** speculator and farmer of the royal mines, was born about 1594, and was a younger son of a family of that name living at Cleve Prior in Worcestershire. At the age of fifteen he entered the service of the great Sir Francis Bacon, and afterwards acted as his master's seal-bearer. When Bacon became lord chancellor, Bushell accompanied him to court, and attracted the notice of James I by the gorgeousness of his attire (BIRCH, *Court of James I*, ii. 242). Anthony à Wood supposes that he received some education at Oxford, especially at Balliol College; but in any case his principal instructor was Bacon himself, who, observing the natural bent of his ingenious servant, imparted to him 'many secrets in discovering and extracting minerals.' Bacon's instruction was always gratefully acknowledged by Bushell, who admitted that his own mining processes were the outcome of his master's theories, of which, later on in life, he gave an account in a treatise entitled 'Mr. Bushell's Abridgment of the Lord Chancellor Bacon's Philosophical Theory in Mineral Prosecutions' (London, 1650), and in the 'Extract by Mr. Bushell of the Abridgment [of Bacon's Theory], printed for the Satisfaction of his Noble Friends that importunately desired it' (London, 1660). Bacon further earned his protégé's gratitude 'by paying all my debts

several times,' for Bushell's various speculations and experiments more than once in his career involved him in money difficulties. On the occasion of Bacon's disgrace Bushell thought it prudent to retire to the Isle of Wight, where he lived for some time disguised as a fisherman. He afterwards returned to London; but on his master's death in 1626 went again into retirement, and lived for three years in a hut constructed 470 feet above the sea in 'the desolated isle called the Calf of Man, where, in obedience to my dead lord's philosophical advice, I resolved to make a perfect experiment upon myself for the obtaining of a long and healthy life, most necessary for such a repentance as my former debauchedness required, by a parsimonious diet of herbs, oil, mustard, and honey, with water sufficient, most like to that [of] our long-lived fathers before the flood.' On leaving this retreat he came to live in Oxfordshire, where he had an estate at Road Enstone, near Woodstock. At this place he had the fortune to discover a spring and a rock of curious formation, with which, we are told, he at once proceeded to make 'all the curious fine water-works and artificial conclusions that could be imagined,' constructing cisterns, laying 'divers pipes between the rocks,' and building 'a house over them, containing one fair room for banquetting, and several other small closets for divers uses.' Charles I, when in the neighbourhood, heard of the fame of the 'rock,' and paid Bushell an unexpected visit; his ingenious host managed to improvise an entertainment of 'artificial thunders and lightnings, rain, hail-showers, drums beating, organs playing, birds singing, waters murmuring all sorts of tunes,' &c. On a subsequent royal visit in 1636 the rock was presented to Queen Henrietta in a kind of masque, for which Bushell himself provided some passable verse (see *The Several Speeches and Songs at the Presentation of the Rock at Enston*, Oxon. 1636).

In 1635 we find Bushell's name occurring in a list of persons to whom was granted the exclusive right of manufacturing soap in a particular manner; but his acquaintance with the king soon led to his obtaining (in January 1636-7) the more important grant of the royal mines in Wales. The mines of Cardiganshire, as containing silver mixed with their lead, formed crown property. They had formerly been farmed by Sir Hugh Middleton, who sent up the silver which he extracted to be coined at the mint in the Tower of London. After the death of Middleton the mines were reported to be inundated and 'like to decay.' Bushell in purchasing the lease proposed not only to recover the inundated mines, but also to employ new and more expeditious methods

of mining; he also proposed the more convenient plan of erecting a mint on the spot, in the castle at Aberystwith, taking care that the lead ore which in former times had been recklessly sent out of the country without the extraction of its silver should now be refined at home for the benefit of the king of England and his subjects. The mint was established in July 1637 with Bushell as warden and master-worker, and English silver coins of various denominations were issued from it. Bushell's mining schemes seem to have been fairly successful, at any rate so far as concerned the mines in Wales. He was certainly more than a mere adventurer, and always professed, probably not without sincerity, that he carried on his mining operations with a view to the enrichment of his king and country, and in order to give employment to the poorest classes as miners (see especially *Mr. Bushell's Invitation by Letter to Condemned Men for Petty Felonies, to work in the Mines of their own Country rather than be banished to Slavery in Foreign Parts*, and his curious composition, *The Miner's Contemplative Prayer in his solitary Delves, which is conceived requisite to be published that the Reader may know his heart implores Providence for his Mineral Increase*). In any case his labours were indefatigable. Shortly after his connection with the Welsh mines began, 'a great deluge of water' occurred, which necessitated a very considerable expenditure. He was laughed at by his enemies and pitied by his friends; but 'after nigh four years night and day' spent in recovering the decayed mines of the principality, and 'by the continued maintenance and industry of 500 families and the expense of about 7,000*l.*, as a reward of my hazard . . . [God] brought me to reap the harvest of my hope.' He recovered 'several drowned mines,' and discovered other 'new branches of the old mines wrought by the Romans (viz.) at the mountains called Tallibont, Broomfloid, Cambmerwin, Geginan, Commustwith, Comsum Lock, and the Beacon Hill of the Daren.' 'I contrived,' he says, 'a way of adits, cutting through the lowest part of the mountain (and not beginning at the top and sinking downward), whereby the work was made . . . less subject to the casualties of damp and drowning . . . also avoiding the tedious and chargeable sinking of air-shafts, by conveying air through the mountain many hundred fathoms with pipe and bellows, a way before never used by any undertakers, but now approved by all.' He further prevented the waste of wood by refining his lead-ore with 'turf and sea-coal chark.'

During the progress of the civil war Bushell proved himself a devoted royalist and a letter

addressed to him by Charles himself in June 1643 enumerates the 'manie true services you have actually done us in these times of trying a subject's loyalty : as in raising us the Darbyshire minors for our life guard at our first entrance to this war for our owne defence, when the lord-lieutenant of that countie refused to appear in the service : supplyinge us at Shrewsbury and Oxford with your mint for the payement of our armye, when all the officers in the mint of our Tower of London forsook their attendance, except Sr William Parkhurst: your changing the dollars with w<sup>ch</sup> wee paid our soldiers at six shillings a piece, when the malignant partie cried them down at five: your stopping the mutinie in Shropshire . . . your providing us one hundred tonnes of leadshot for our army without mony, when we paid before twentie pounds per tonne; and your helpinge us to twenty-six pieces of ordinance . . . your cloathing of our liefe guard and three regiments more, w<sup>th</sup> suites, stockings, shoes, and mounterees, when wee were readie to march in the feild . . . [your invention of badges of silver for rewarding the forlorne hope]; your contractinge with merchants beyond the seas, for providing good quantities of powder, pistol, carabine, muskett, and bullen, in exchange for your owne commodities, when wee were wantinge of such ammunition: with diverse other severall services.' Besides all this Bushell held Lundy Island for the king; but, with the royal sanction, surrendered it on 24 Feb. 1647. He now found it necessary to go into hiding; but at last, in August 1652, gave securities to the council of state for his future good behaviour. He obtained from the Protector a renewal of his lease of the mines royal, and a confirmation of his grant for coining the silver thence extracted. These privileges were confirmed in February 1658 by Richard Cromwell, who also protected and encouraged Bushell in his operations in connection with the lead mines in the forest of Mendip. Bushell's mining schemes in Somersetshire likewise received the sanction of Charles II; but little is known of the last few years of his life. It is probable that he was much embarrassed by pecuniary difficulties. The petition of 'Thomas Bushell, master workman of the royal mines,' dated March (?) 1663, prays the king 'for a royal protection from arrests for two years (on account of his) having contracted great debts in the service of the late king, which he hopes to repay in time from his mineral proceeds.' Bushell died in April 1674, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey. His wife was Anne, widow of Sir William Waad, lieutenant of the Tower.

[The Case of Thomas Bushell, of Enston, in the County of Oxford, Esquire, truly stated. Together with his progress in Minerals, London, 1649; A Just and True Remonstrance of His Majesty's Mines Royal . . . Presented by Thomas Bushell, Esq., London and Shrewsbury, 1642; Bushell's Tracts cited in the text and various printed documents relating to his mining schemes (see Brit. Mus. Catalogue); Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, especially 3 Sept. 1635, November 1635, 22 Oct. 1636, 3 Dec. 1636, 25 Jan. 1636-7, 9 July (?) 1637, 3 Oct. 1638, 16 April 1650, 16 Aug. 1652, 28 June 1653, August (?), November (?) 1660, 18 Nov. 1661, March (?) 1663; Ellis's Orig. Letters, 2nd ser. iii. 309; Memoirs of T. Bushell by Rev. A. de la Pryme (1878), printed in *Manx Miscellanies*, vol. ii. (1880); Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* iii. 1007-10, s. v. 'Thomas Bushell'; Spedding's *Life of Bacon*, vii. 199, 200, 235; Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*, ii. 237-39; Hawkins's *Silver Coins*, ed. Kenyon; Hawkins's *Medallie Illustrations*, ed. Franks and Grueber (Charles II, Nos. 67-69: Bushell's 'Mining Share Ticket'); Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting*) is in error as to there being a medallist named Bushell.] W. W.

**BUSHNAN, JOHN STEVENSON** (1808?-1884), medical writer, was born about 1808. After studying at Heidelberg, where he graduated M.D., he passed at Edinburgh in 1830 the examinations of the Royal College of Surgeons and of the Royal College of Physicians. Eventually he settled in London, where he filled the post of editor of the 'Medical Times and Gazette' from 1849 to 1852. He published 'A History of a Case of Animals in the Blood of a Boy,' 1833; and in the same year, from the German, Dieffenbach's 'Surgical Observations on the Restoration of the Nose,' and an 'Introduction to the Study of Nature.' This was followed in 1837 by the 'Philosophy of Instinct and Reason.' In 1840 he contributed to the *Naturalist's Library* an article on 'Ichthyology,' 'Observations on Hydrophathy,' 1846; and 'Cholera and its Cures,' 1850. In the same year he published an 'Address to the Medical Students of London,' and 'The Moral and Sanitary Aspects of the New Central Cattle-market,' 1851. In this year he engaged in a controversy with Miss Martineau, in 'Miss Martineau and her Master.' He wrote 'Homœopathy and the Homœopaths' in 1852; 'Household Medicine and Surgery' in 1854; and in the same year he contributed to Orr's 'Circle of the Sciences.' In 1860 he wrote 'Religious Revivals' and 'Our Holiday at Laverstock House Asylum,' and in 1861-2 two reviews in the 'Journal of Mental Science.'

Ultimately he became unfortunate in his affairs, his sight failed and he ended his

days as a 'poor brother' of the Charter House, where he died on 17 Feb. 1884, aged 76.

[Medical Times and Gazette, 8 March 1884.]  
J. D.

**BUSHNELL, Mrs. CATHERINE** (1825-1861), vocalist. [See HAYES, CATHERINE.]

**BUSHNELL, JOHN** (d. 1701), sculptor, was a pupil of Thomas Burman, who, having seduced his servant girl, forced Bushnell into marrying her. Bushnell thereupon quitted England in disgust, and, after studying his profession for two years in France, travelled thence into Italy, where he stayed in the first instance at Rome, but latterly at Venice. In Venice he carved a sumptuous monument for a procuratore di San Marco, representing the siege of Candia and a naval engagement between the Venetians and Turks. Having now attained considerable proficiency in his art, he returned home, and among his first commissions were the statues of Charles I, Charles II, and Sir Thomas Gresham for the Royal Exchange. Probably his best works were the kings which formerly adorned Temple Bar, and the statue of John, lord Mordaunt, in Roman costume at Fulham church. The monuments of Cowley and Sir Palmer Fairbourn in Westminster Abbey are also by him. Bushnell was a man of a wayward and jealous temper, and various tales are told of his eccentricities by Walpole and other authors. He had agreed to complete the set of kings at the Royal Exchange, but hearing that Caius Cibber [q. v.], his rival, was also engaged, he would not proceed, although he had begun six or seven. To disprove the assertion of some of his brother sculptors that he could not model undraped figures, he undertook a nude statue of Alexander the Great, but failed conspicuously. He next attempted to demonstrate the possibility of the Trojan horse, and began to make one upon the same principles, of wood covered with stucco; the head was capable of containing twelve men sitting round a table, the eyes were to serve as windows. Before it was half completed, a storm of wind demolished this unwieldy machine. The two publicans, who had contracted to use his horse as a drinking-booth, offered to be at the expense of erecting it again, but Bushnell was too greatly discouraged to recommence, although his whim had cost him 500*l*. A still heavier failure was a project for bringing coals to London in vessels of his own construction. The collapse of these and other schemes, together with the loss by a lawsuit of an estate that he had bought in Kent, totally upset his already disordered

brain, and he died insane in 1701. He was buried in Paddington church, but the entry does not occur in the register, which is imperfect during that year (LYSONS's *Environers of London*, iii. 340). He left issue two sons and a daughter, to whom, despite his losses, he was able to bequeath a sufficient maintenance.

The sons were as eccentric as their father, for they shut themselves up in a large house in Piccadilly, fronting Hyde Park, which had been built but left unfinished by Bushnell, having neither staircase nor floors. 'Here,' relates Walpole (*Anecdotes of Painting*, Wornum, ii. 623-4), 'they dwelt like hermits, reclusive from all mankind, sordid and unpracticable, and saying the world had not been worthy of their father.' To this strange residence, Vertue, the engraver, after many previous attempts, gained admission during the owners' absence in 1725, and has related what he saw. Among other curiosities he was shown a bar of iron, 'thicker than a man's wrist,' which was alleged to have been broken by one of Bushnell's many inventions.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878), p. 65.]  
G. G.

**BUSHNELL, WALTER** (1609-1667), ejected clergyman under the Commonwealth, was the son of William Bushnell of Corsham, Wiltshire. He became a batler of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1628, at the age of nineteen. He proceeded B.A. 20 Oct. 1631, and M.A. 11 June 1634. He afterwards was appointed vicar of Box in his native county. He appears to have escaped disturbance through the civil wars, but he suffered much persecution at the hands of the commissioners appointed in August 1654 to eject 'scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters.' According to his own account he was summoned before the commissioners at Marlborough on 21 Jan. 1655-6, and charged with profaning the sabbath, gambling, drunkenness, a specific act of immorality, with using the common prayer and baptising with the sign of the cross, and with general disaffection to the existing government. The charges were preferred against Bushnell by a professional informer named John Travers, and Bushnell insisted on a public trial. On 28 April 1656 a court was held for the purpose at Market Lavington. A large number of parishioners were called as witnesses to support the case for the prosecution, but their testimony, even if genuine, merely proved that Bushnell conducted much parish business in alehouses, but was not known to drink to excess. The commissioners adjourned till 4 June, when they met at Calne. More testi-

mony of the vaguest character was there adduced against Bushnell, and at the defendant's request a further adjournment took place. On 1 July the court met at Marlborough, and Bushnell called witnesses for the defence, but their testimony was refused on the ground that they were 'against the Commonwealth and present government,' and their places were taken by more witnesses on the other side. On 14 July at Lavington the scene was repeated; on 23 July at Salisbury Bushnell was privately examined 'touching his sufficiency,' and was finally ejected from his living. Under a recent ordinance Bushnell could claim 'the fifths' of his living, and this pittance he obtained with some difficulty. His case does not differ from that of many other beneficed clergymen, but it is regarded as a typical one because Bushnell described his experience at full length in 'A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Commissioners appointed by Oliver Cromwell for ejecting scandalous and ignorant Ministers in the case of Walt. Bushnell, clerk, vicar of Box in the county of Wiltshire.' Under the Commonwealth the publication of this work was prohibited, but in 1660 it was printed and became popular. Humphrey Chambers, the chief commissioner concerned, answered the charge somewhat lamely in a pamphlet published in the same year. To this answer was also appended a 'Vindication of the Commissioners,' by an anonymous writer. At the Restoration Bushnell was restored to his living. He died at the beginning of 1667, and was buried in the church at Box, 'having then,' says Wood, 'lying by him more things fit to be printed, as I have been informed by some of the neighbourhood.'

[Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), iii. 760, and *Fasti* (Bliss), i. 460, 474; Walker's *Sufferings of Clergy*, pt. i. 189-94, where Bushnell's pamphlet is summarised at length.] S. L.

**BUSK, HANS**, the elder (1772-1862), scholar and poet, was descended from the family Du Busc of Normandy, one of whom was created Marquis de Fresney in 1668. The great-grandson of the marquis was naturalised in England in 1723. From his eldest son Lord Houghton was descended, and his youngest son was Sir Wadsworth Busk, treasurer of the Inner Temple. Hans Busk, the youngest son of Sir Wadsworth Busk and Alice, daughter and co-heiress of Edward Parish of Ipswich and Walthamstow, was born on 28 May 1772. Possessing an estate at Glendalder, Radnorshire, he took an active interest in county business, was a justice of the peace, and for some time high sheriff. His leisure was devoted to classical studies and general

literature, and he published several volumes of verse, including 'Fugitive Pieces in Verse,' 1814; 'The Vestriad or the Opera, a Mock Epic Poem, in Five Cantos,' 1819; 'The Banquet, in Three Cantos,' 1819; 'The Dessert, to which is added the Tea,' 1820; 'The Lay of Life,' 1834. He died at Great Cumberland Place, Hyde Park, on 8 Feb. 1862. By his wife, Maria, daughter and heiress of Joseph Green, he left two sons (the eldest of whom was Hans Busk, born 1815 [q. v.]), and five daughters.

[Burke's *Landed Gentry*, i. 242-3; *Annual Register*, civ. 336; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*] T. F. H.

**BUSK, HANS**, the younger (1815-1882), one of the principal originators of the volunteer movement in England, son of Hans Busk, born 1772 [q. v.], was born on 11 May 1815. He was educated at King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1839, and M.A. in 1844. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple in 1841. While still an undergraduate, he represented to the government the advisability of forming rifle clubs in the different districts of the kingdom for defence against invasion, and on receiving a discouraging reply from Lord Melbourne, he instituted a model rifle club in the university, and published a popular treatise on 'The Rifle and how to use it.' In 1858 he restored vitality to the Victoria Rifles, the only volunteer corps then existing, and the lectures he delivered throughout the country were instrumental in extending the movement over the whole kingdom. He also published a number of treatises and pamphlets, which proved to be of great practical value in the development of the movement, and have passed through numerous editions. They include 'The Rifleman's Manual,' 'Tabular Arrangement of Company Drill,' 'Hand-book for Hythe,' 'Rifle Target Registers,' and 'Rifle Volunteers, how to organise and drill them.' He took an equal interest in the navy. Originally it was his intention to adopt a naval career, and, being forced to abandon it, he devoted much of his leisure to yachting. He mastered the principles of naval construction, and made designs for several yachts which were very successful. He was the first to advocate life-ship stations, and fitted out a model life-ship at his own expense. In 1859 he published 'The Navies of the World, their Present State and Future Capabilities,' a comprehensive description of the condition of the principal navies of Europe, with suggestions for the improvement of the navy of England. By his friends he was held in high repute as a *gastronome*, and characteristically turned his

special knowledge to practical account for the general good, by assisting to establish the school of cookery at South Kensington. Besides the technical works above referred to, he was the author of a number of minor pamphlets, including 'The Education Craze,' 'Horæ Viaticæ,' and 'Golden Truths.' In 1847 he was chosen high sheriff of Radnorshire. He died at Ashley Place, Westminster, on 11 March 1882.

Busk's youngest sister, Rachel Harriette Busk, was an authoress of repute.

[Annual Register, cxxiv. 119-20; Men of the Time, 9th ed.; Burke's Landed Gentry, i. 242; Brit. Mus. Cat.] T. F. H.

**BUSS, ROBERT WILLIAM** (1804-1875), subject painter, was born in London on 4 Aug. 1804. He served an apprenticeship with his father, who was an engraver and enameller, and then studied painting under George Clint, A.R.A. For some years he confined himself to painting theatrical portraits, and many of the leading actors of the day sat to him, including Macready, Harley, Buckstone, Miss Tree, and Mrs. Nisbet. Later he essayed historical and humorous subjects, and was a frequent exhibitor of pictures of this class at the Royal Academy, British Institution, and Suffolk Street between 1826 and 1859. Among his principal works were 'Watt's First Experiments on Steam,' engraved by James Scott; 'Soliciting a Vote,' engraved by Lupton, 1834; 'The Stingy Traveller,' engraved by J. Brown, 1845; and 'The Bitter Morning,' lithographed by T. Fairland, 1834. He also contributed to the Westminster competition a cartoon of 'Prince Henry and Judge Gascoigne.' Buss illustrated Knight's editions of 'London,' Chaucer, Shakespeare, and 'Old England.' He published lectures on 'Comic and Satiric Art,' 'Fresco,' 'The Beautiful Picturesques,' and printed privately in 1874 'English Graphic Satire,' with etchings by himself. He at one time edited 'The Fine Art Almanack.' He died at Camden Town on 26 Feb. 1875.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 8vo, 1878; Athenæum, 1875, p. 366.] L. F.

**BUSSY, SIR JOHN** (d. 1399), speaker of the House of Commons, was sheriff of Lincoln in 1379, 1381, and 1391. He was first chosen a knight of the shire for Lincoln in 1388, and continued to sit for that county during the remaining parliaments of Richard II's reign. He was three times elected speaker, first by the parliament of 1393-4, and afterwards by the two parliaments of 1397. Though at first he showed some signs of a spirit of in-

dependence, he soon became a servile supporter of Richard's arbitrary and unconstitutional action. In the second parliament of 1397, which met at Westminster on 17 Sept., Sir John Bussy, Sir William Bagot, and Sir Thomas Green acted as prolocutors of the king's grievances, and Fitzalan, archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick were convicted of high treason. Bussy gained the favour of the king by grossly flattering his vanity. Holinshed, in his account of the trial of these nobles, says that 'Sir John Bushie in all his talke, when he proponed any matter vnto the king, did not attribute to him titles of honour due and accustomed, but inuented vnused termes and such strange names as were rather agreeable to the diuine maiestie of God than to any earthlie potentate. The prince, being desirous of all honour, and more ambitious than was requisite, seemed to like well of his speech and gave good eare to his talke' (ii. 340). This parliament was adjourned to Shrewsbury, where it met on 28 Jan. 1398, and Bussy was again formally presented as speaker. It sat there only three days, and by its last act delegated its authority to a committee of eighteen members—twelve lords and six members of the House of Commons—of whom Bussy was one. By his manipulation of this parliament Richard had contrived to become an absolute king, and every man of this committee was believed by him to be devoted to his interests. Upon the landing of Henry, duke of Lancaster, in England during the absence of Richard in Ireland, Bussy fled to Bristol. The Duke of York joined his nephew; they marched with their combined armies to Bristol, which quickly surrendered to them, and Bussy, the Earl of Wiltshire, and Sir Henry Green, three of the parliamentary committee, were put to death without trial on 29 July 1399. Shakespeare has introduced Bussy into the play of 'Richard II' (i. 4, ii. 2, iii. 1).

[Manning's Lives of the Speakers (1851), 14-21; Rot. Parl. iii. 310-85; Parliamentary Papers, 1878, lxii. (part i.) 235-56; Holinshed's Chronicles (1807), ii. 839-54; Stubbs's Constitutional History of England (1875), ii. 491-502.]

G. F. R. B.

**BUTCHELL, MARTIN VAN** (1735-1812?), empiric, son of Martin van Butchell, tapestry maker to George II, was born in Eagle Street, near Red Lion Square, London, in February 1735. Having shown an aptitude for the study of medicine and anatomy, he became a pupil of John Hunter, and after successfully practising as a dentist for many years, he became eminent as a maker of trusses, and acquired celebrity by his skill



in treating cases of fistula. He was still more noted for the eccentricity of his manners. His long beard and extraordinary costume astonished all beholders, and it was his custom to ride about in Hyde Park and the streets on a white pony, which he sometimes painted all purple, sometimes with purple or black spots. To defend himself against rude molestation, he carried a large white bone, which was said to have been used as a weapon of war in the island of Otaheite. For many years he resided in Mount Street, Berkeley Square, and attracted numerous patients by his quaintly worded advertisements in the newspapers.

On the death of his first wife in 1775 he applied to Dr. William Hunter and Mr. Cruickshank to exert their skill in preventing, if possible, the changes of form after the cessation of life. The mode pursued in this embalment was principally that of injecting the vascular system with oil of turpentine and camphorated spirit of wine, coloured, so that the minute vessels of the cheeks and lips were filled, and exhibited their original hue, the body in general having its cavities filled with powdered nitre and camphor, so that it remained free from corruption; glass eyes were also inserted. The corpse was then deposited in a bed of thin plaster of Paris in a box with a glass lid that could be withdrawn at pleasure. For many years Van Butchell kept the mummy of his wife in his parlour, and frequently exhibited the corpse to his friends and visitors. On his second marriage it was found expedient to remove the body to the museum of the College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where it is still preserved. At the present time it is a repulsive-looking object.

Van Butchell appears to have been alive in 1812. There is an engraved portrait of him on his spotted pony in Kirby's 'Wonderful and Scientific Museum,' 1803.

[Gent. Mag. lxxiii. 5, 6, 165, lxxvi. 681, lxxxii. (1.) 326; Kirby's Wonderful Museum, i. 191; Eccentric Magazine (1812), i. 109; Malcolm's Curiosities of Biography, 333; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Lysons's Suppl. to 1st. edit. of Environs of London, 113; Timbs's Doctors and Patients, i. 129; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, 10664; Burning the Dead, by a member of the Royal Coll. of Surgeons (1857), 13.]

T. C.

**BUTCHER, EDMUND** (1757-1822), unitarian minister, was born on 28 April 1757, at Colchester. He was descended from John Butcher, vicar of Feering, Essex, about 1667. The only son of an unsuccessful builder, he had early to struggle for a living. His primary education was given him by Dr. Tho-

mas Stanton, presbyterian minister at Colchester. At fourteen years of age he gave sign of precocious talent in an heroic poem, the 'Brutæis,' illustrated with pen-and-ink drawings (not printed). He was soon apprenticed to a London linendraper, and at this early age wrote for periodicals, sending the profits to his parents and sister. Subsequently the family inherited the smallest estate of their ancestor above mentioned. Butcher attended the ministry of Hugh Worthington, the eloquent Arian of Salters' Hall, who prepared him for the ministry. He entered Daventry academy, under Thomas Belsham, in 1783, having previously received some classical training from Richard Wright, presbyterian minister at Atherstone. He had been taught the assembly's catechism, but he says he never gave credence to the trinitarian doctrine, and his studies confirmed him in Arian views. His first settlement was at Sowerby, near Halifax, but he soon removed to London, where Worthington got him temporary engagements at Monkwell Street and Carter Lane. He was ordained 19 March 1789 as successor to Thomas Pope at Leather Lane, Holborn. In this ordination Belsham, who was still reputed orthodox, was associated, for the first time, with Lindsey, the only humanitarian minister in London, and five Arian ministers. While at Leather Lane Butcher took part with others in the Wednesday evening lecture established by Worthington (after 1792) at Salters' Hall. His feebleness of voice precluded him from popularity, and compelled his retirement from active duty in 1797. Butcher's lungs recovered tone, and in 1798 he became minister at Sidmouth. Here he remained till 1820, building a house on a piece of ground presented to him by a member of a wealthy Jewish family, who attended his services. Relinquishing all belief in a propitiatory atonement, his views gradually passed from the Arian to the humanitarian form of unitarianism. A paralytic stroke weakened the later years of his ministry, but did not prevent him from preaching. Early in 1821 he went to reside with his son at Bristol, and removed thence in November to Bath. A fall, which dislocated his hip, confined him to bed. He died on Sunday (his own wish), 14 April 1822, and was buried at Lyncomb Vale, near Bath. A tablet to his memory was placed in the Old Meeting House, Sidmouth. One who knew him describes him as 'a most lovable man in all respects.' He married, 6 July 1790, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of John Lawrence, a Shropshire landowner, and widow of Samuel Lowe; she died at Bath 25 Nov. 1831. By

her he had one son, Edmand, a churchman and a tory, and alderman of Bristol 1838-50, and a daughter, Emma. Butcher is known among topographers by his account of Sidmouth, and among poets by a few hymns of merit. His hymn 'From north and south' won the commendation of Mrs. Barbauld. He published: 1. 'Sermons, to which are subjoined suitable Hymns,' 1798, 8vo (the hymns are original; the second edition, 1805, 8vo, has title 'Sermons for the use of Families,' contains twenty-two sermons and no hymns). 2. 'Moral Tales,' 1801, 12mo. 3. 'The Substance of the Holy Scriptures methodised,' 1801, 4to, 2nd ed. 1813, 4to (intended as a sort of family Bible; Butcher assisted Worthington and others in its preparation, and contributed a hymn to each lesson). 4. 'An Excursion from Sidmouth to Chester in the Summer of 1803,' 2 vols. 1805, 12mo. 5. 'A Picture of Sidmouth;' the fourth edition, Exeter [1830], 12mo, has title 'A new Guide, descriptive of the Beauties of Sidmouth.' 6. 'Sermons for the use of Families,' vol. ii. 1806, 8vo. 7. 'Unitarian Claims described and vindicated,' 1809, 12mo (sermon on 2 Cor. x. 7, at Bridgwater, Wednesday, 5 July, before the Western Unitarian Society, of biographical interest as giving the process by which he reached his latest views). 8. 'Sermons for the use of Families,' vol. iii. 1819, 8vo (twenty-eight sermons printed at the Chiswick Press; the preface, 1 May, reproduces the autobiographical details of No. 7). 9. 'Prayers for the use of Families and Individuals,' 1822, 8vo (one for each sermon in his three volumes, and some for special occasions); and single sermons. Posthumous were 10. 'Discourses on our Lord's Sermon on the Mount,' Bath and London, 1825, 12mo (twenty-one sermons edited by his widow; the preface says he had selected the materials for another volume). 11. 'A Poetical Version of the Chronological History of the Kings of England,' 1827, 12mo. Besides these, Butcher contributed to the 'Protestant Dissenters' Magazine,' 1794-9 (see especially vol. i. pp. 120, 204, 246, 330, 373, 417, 460, for poetical pieces), and edited the later volumes.

[Evans, in *Monthly Repos.* 1822, p. 309 seq. (revised in *Christian Moderator*, 1827, p. 347 seq.); *Monthly Repos.* 1821, p. 345; 1822, pp. 285, 332, 471; 1832, p. 70; Belsham's *Mem. of Lindsey*, 1812, p. 292; Murch's *Hist. of Presb. and Gen. Bapt. Churches in W. of Eng.* 1835, p. 349 seq.; Lawrence's *Descendants of Philip Henry*, 1844, p. 21 seq.; Miller's *Our Hymns*, 1866, p. 265 seq.; Spears's *Record of Unit. Worthies* (1877), p. 211; private information.]

A. G.

BUTCHER, RICHARD (1583-1665?), antiquary, was a native of Stamford, and became town clerk of that borough. He compiled 'The Survey and Antiquitie of the Towne of Stamforde, in the county of Lincoln,' Lond. 1646, 4to, reprinted Lond. 1717, 8vo, and also with additions by Francis Peck, at the end of his 'Academia tertia Anglicana; or the Antiquarian Annals of Stamford,' Lond. 1727, fol. A manuscript by him, in two volumes, entitled 'Antiquity revived,' is preserved in the library of St. John's College, Cambridge. It is a translation from Camden. Butcher's portrait has been engraved by Clamp.

[Gough's *British Topography*, ii. 29, 523; Granger's *Biog. Hist. of England* (1824), iii. 152; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* viii. 573; Lowndes's *Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 352.] T. C.

BUTCHER, SAMUEL, D.D. (1811-1876), bishop of Meath, eldest son of Vice-admiral Samuel Butcher, was born in 1811 at his father's residence, Danesfort, near Killylarny, co. Kerry. His mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Townsend Herbert, of Cahirmane, in the same county. He was educated at home until his sixteenth or seventeenth year, when his father removed to Cork, and he was sent to the school of Drs. Hamblin and Porter. In 1829 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, where he won high honours in classics and mathematics, and obtained a foundation scholarship for classics in 1832. He graduated in 1834, obtained a fellowship in 1837, and was soon after appointed tutor and lecturer. The improvement in classical taste and scholarship which was observable about this time in the university of Dublin has been with justice attributed in no small degree to Butcher's lectures. In 1849 the degree of D.D. was conferred on him. In 1850 he was appointed to the professorship of ecclesiastical history, and two years later to the important office of regius professor of divinity, on which occasion he vacated his fellowship. In 1854 he accepted the college living of Ballymoney, co. Cork, which he continued to hold along with his professorship until, on the recommendation of Lord Derby, he was appointed in August 1866 to the vacant see of Meath, the premier bishopric of Ireland. Butcher ably supported the Irish church against external assailants, and his wise and moderate counsels contributed not a little to avert the dangers of disruption which threatened it after its disestablishment. He laboured unsparingly to reorganise the affairs of the church throughout Ireland, and especially in his own diocese. He took an active part in promoting the movement for securing

an endowment for the divinity school in Trinity College. On the important question of the revision of the prayer book 'Dr. Butcher rather sided with the revision party, to which undoubtedly his character, position, and learning contributed very considerable weight' (*Freeman's Journal*, 31 July 1876).

In the midst of these labours, and while still in the enjoyment of a remarkably vigorous constitution, he was suddenly prostrated by a severe attack of congestion of the lungs and bronchitis. In a moment of delirium he inflicted on himself a wound from which he expired almost immediately. He died on 29 July 1876, at his episcopal residence, Ardbraccan House, Navan. His public life was a solid and unbroken success, no less honourable to himself than useful to the university and the church to which he belonged. Within the private circle of his own family he was peculiarly happy and fortunate. He was buried in the churchyard of Ardbraccan. He married, in 1847, Mary, second daughter of John Leahy, of South Hill, Killarney, by whom he had two sons and four daughters. His elder son (Samuel Henry Butcher), a distinguished classical scholar, formerly professor of Greek at Edinburgh, was elected M. P. for Cambridge University in 1906.

His published works consist chiefly of occasional addresses, sermons, and charges to his clergy, and a treatise (published after his death) on the 'Theory and Construction of the Ecclesiastical Calendar,' London, 1877. Of his charges perhaps the one which excited most attention was that of October 1874 (Dublin), in which he dealt exhaustively with Professor Tyndall's address to the British Association, delivered in Belfast in 1874.

[Cork Examiner; Saunders's Newsletter, 8 Aug. 1866; Irish Times, 7 Aug. 1866; Daily Express, 31 July 1876.] G. V. B.

**BUTE**, third EARL OF. [See **STUART**, JOHN, 1713-1792.]

**BUTLER**, ALBAN (1711-1773), hagiographer, was descended from the ancient family of the Butlers of Aston-le-Walls, in Northamptonshire. Towards the close of the seventeenth century that family was represented by two brothers, Alban and Simon. Alban, the elder, had issue only one daughter, who married Mr. Edward Plowden, of Plowden, Shropshire. She inherited the estate at Aston-le-Walls, and from her it descended to the Plowden family. The Appletree estate devolved to Simon, the younger brother. His son, also named Simon, married Ann, daughter of Thomas Birch, of Garscott, Staffordshire. They had issue three sons, Charles, Alban, and James. At a very early age Alban

Butler was sent to a school in Lancashire, where he distinguished himself by his intense application to literature, sacred biography being, even then, his favourite pursuit. When eight years old he was transferred to the English college at Douay, and about this time lost both his parents. After the usual course of study he was admitted an alumnus of the college, and appointed professor, first of philosophy, and then of divinity. He was ordained priest in 1735. The solicitude with which he tended the wounded English soldiers who were conveyed as prisoners to Douay, after the battle of Fontenoy, was brought under the notice of the Duke of Cumberland, who promised Butler a special protection whenever he should come over to England. While he remained at Douay his first publication made its appearance: 'Letters on the History of the Popes published by Mr. Archibald Bower' [q. v.]. In 1745-6 he accompanied the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Hon. James Talbot and Thomas Talbot on their travels through France and Italy. He wrote a full account of the tour, which was published at Edinburgh in 1803 by his nephew, Charles Butler. On his return from his travels he was sent to the English mission. He had long been engaged in composing the 'Lives of the Saints,' and he naturally wished to be stationed in London for its literary resources; but the vicar apostolic of the midland district claimed him as belonging to that district, and appointed him to a mission in Staffordshire. Thence he removed to Warkworth, the seat of Mr. Francis Eyre, and next he was appointed chaplain to Edward, duke of Norfolk, and charged with superintending the education of Edward, the duke's nephew, and presumptive heir to the title. His first residence, after he was appointed to this situation, was at Norwich, in a house generally called the Duke's palace. Thither some large boxes of books belonging to him were directed, but by mistake were sent to the bishop's palace. The bishop opened them, and, finding that they contained catholic books, refused to deliver them. In this difficulty Butler appealed to the Duke of Cumberland, who immediately wrote to the bishop, and the books were sent to the owner.

Butler accompanied his pupil, Mr. Edward Howard, to Paris, where that young nobleman, who was the Marcellus of the English catholics, was suddenly taken ill and died a few days afterwards. During his residence in the French capital he completed his 'Lives of the Saints,' a monument of erudition on which he had been engaged for thirty years. The work was published anonymously in London, the full title being 'The Lives of

the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints; compiled from original monuments and other authentick records; illustrated with the remarks of judicious modern critics and historians.' The original edition, bearing the imprint of London, but without the printer's name, appeared in four bulky octavo volumes, the first two in 1756; the third, consisting of two parts, in 1757 and 1758; and the fourth in 1759. The notes were omitted from this edition on the suggestion of Bishop Challoner. The second edition was undertaken after Butler's death by Dr. Carpenter, archbishop of Dublin, and published in that city in 12 vols. 8vo, 1779-80. It contains all the notes omitted from the previous edition, and other matter prepared by the author. The third edition, also in 12 vols., appeared at Edinburgh in 1798-1800. Other editions were published at London, 12 vols., 1812; and at Dublin, 2 vols., 1833-6, 8vo. Dr. Hussenbeth's edition was begun in 1857. A 'free' translation into French, by the Abbé Godescard, and Marie Villefranche, in 12 vols. 8vo, was published in 1763 and subsequent years; a new edition, in 10 vols., appeared at Besançon in 1843. The work has been translated into Italian by G. Brunati.

Soon after his return to England he was chosen president of the English college at Saint-Omer. This office he continued to hold during the remainder of his life. He was also appointed vicar-general to the bishops of Arras, Saint-Omer, Ypres, and Boulogne-sur-Mer. He died at Saint-Omer on 15 May 1773.

He projected many works besides the 'Lives of the Saints.' His 'Life of Mary of the Cross,' a nun in the English convent of Poor Clares at Rouen, appeared in his lifetime; but his treatise on the 'Moveable Feasts and Fasts, and other Annual Observances of the Catholic Church,' was left incomplete, and was published after his death by Bishop Challoner in 1774. He made large collections for lives of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More; and he began a treatise to explain the evidence and truths of natural and revealed religion, being dissatisfied with what Bergier had published on those subjects. He composed many sermons and an immense number of pious discourses. From what remained of the latter the 'Meditations and Discourses on the sublime Truths and important Duties of Christianity,' published by his nephew Charles Butler (1750-1832) [q. v.] (3 vols., London, 1791-3), were collected. He was also the author of 'The Life of Sir Tobie Matthews,' published at London in 1795 by his nephew, who also edited his uncle's 'Travels through France and Italy, and part of

Austrian, French, and Dutch Netherlands, during the years 1745 and 1746' (Edinburgh, 1803).

His portrait has been engraved by Finden.

[Life of his nephew, Charles Butler (Edin. 1800, with portrait); Catholicicon, iv. 184; Catholic Magazine and Review (Birmingham, 1832), ii. 451; Edinburgh Catholic Magazine (1832-3), i. 166; Notes and Queries (1st series), viii. 387, ix. 360, (2nd series) ix. 502, x. 79, (3rd series) vi. 538, (5th series) vi. 409, vii. 35; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, ii. 65; The True State of the Case of John Butler, B.D., a Minister of the True Church of England; in answer to the Libel of Martha, his sometimes wife (Lond. 1697); Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 332; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.] T. C.

**BUTLER, CHARLES** (d. 1647), philologist and author of 'The Feminine Monarchie,' was born at one of the Wycombes ('Great Wycomb, I suppose,' says Wood) in Buckinghamshire. He entered Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1579, and afterwards became a bible-clerk at Magdalen College, where he took the degree of B.A. on 6 Feb. 1583-4, and proceeded M.A. on 28 June 1587. On leaving the university he received the mastership of the free school in Basingstoke, Hampshire, which appointment, together with the cure of a small church named Skewres, he held for seven years. Afterwards he was advanced to the poor vicarage of Laurence-Wotton (three miles from Basingstoke), where he continued to officiate for forty-eight years. He died on 29 March 1647, and was buried in the chancel of Laurence-Wotton church.

Butler is the author of 'The Feminine Monarchie, or a Treatise concerning Bees and the due ordering of Bees,' 1609, 8vo. Prefixed to the treatise are some commendatory verses by Warner, South, and H. Crosby; the preface to the reader is dated from Wotton, 11 July 1609. A second edition, with commendatory verses by Wither, and a frontispiece, appeared in 1623. The third edition (1634) is printed in phonetic spelling, under the title of 'The Feminin' Monarchi', or the Histori of Bees.' A Latin translation by Richard Richardson, of Emmanuel College, was published in 1673. The most curious part of this entertaining book is the bees' song, a stave of musical notes, arranged in triple time, to represent the humming of bees at swarming. Butler had previously written a Latin treatise on rhetoric, 'Rhetoricæ Libri Duo. Quorum Prior de Tropis & Figuris, Posterior de Voce & Gestu præcipit,' 4to, which is not known to have been published before 1629, although the dedicatory epistle to Lord Keeper Egerton is dated from Basingstoke '5 Idus Martii 1600.' In 1625 Butler pub-

lished a treatise displaying considerable learning on affinity as a bar to marriage. The title of the work is 'Συγγέμετα. De Propinquitatē Matrimonium impediēte Regula, quæ una omnes quæstionis hujus difficultates facile expediat,' Oxford, 4to. In 1633 appeared 'The English Grammar, or the Institution of Letters, Syllables, and Words in the English Tongue. Whereunto is annexed an index of words like and unlike,' Oxford, 4to; 2nd ed. 1634, Oxford, 4to. The author dwells upon the capriciousness of English orthography ('neither our new writers agreeing with the old, nor either new nor old among themselves'), and proposes the adoption of a system whereby men should 'write altogether according to the sound now generally received.' Butler's last work was 'The Principles of Musik in Singing and Setting. With the two-fold vse thereof, Ecclesiasticall and Civil,' London, 1636, 4to, dedicated to Prince Charles. Hawkins commends this treatise as learned and valuable.

[Wood's *Athenæ* (ed. Bliss), iii. 209–10, Fasti, i. 223, 240; Hist. of Hampshire by Woodward, Willis, and Lockhart, iii. 230–2; Fuller's *Worthies*; Hawkins's *History of Music*, ed. 1853, p. 574.] A. H. B.

BUTLER, CHARLES (1750–1832), catholic and legal writer, was the son of James Butler, brother of the Rev. Alban Butler [q. v.], author of the 'Lives of the Saints,' and was descended from the ancient family of the Butlers of Aston-le-Walls, Northamptonshire. James Butler settled in London and carried on the business of a linen-draper at the sign of the Golden Ball in Pall Mall. There Charles Butler was born on 14 Aug. 1750. In his sixth year he was sent to a catholic school at Hammersmith, kept by a Mr. Plunkett. He remained there three years, and was then sent to Esquerchin, a school dependent on the English college at Douay, to which college, after three years, he was removed. He continued his studies to the end of rhetoric. About 1766 he returned to England, and in 1769 began the study of the law under Mr. Maire, a catholic conveyancer. On the decease of that gentleman he was placed under the care of Mr. Duane, a catholic conveyancer of much greater eminence. Here he formed a close friendship with John Scott, afterwards Lord Eldon, who, after attaining to legal eminence, did not forget his old fellow-student. In 1775 Butler set up in business for himself, and entered at Lincoln's Inn. At this period a catholic could not be called to the bar nor hold any official position. In these circumstances Butler commenced practice

under the bar as a conveyancer, which department of the profession was then becoming particularly celebrated, and counted among its members Fearne, Booth, Duane, Shadwell, and others nearly as famous. For many years he was in the full swing of practice, and he was at the head of his profession as a landed property lawyer and a conveyancer until his seventy-fifth year, when he experienced a decay in his sight, and his business considerably declined. He had numerous pupils, and he took delight in making the fortunes of all the young barristers who studied under him. While he was drawing deeds, writing opinions, and delivering *dicta* to his pupils, he was editing 'Coke upon Littleton,' in conjunction with Mr. Hargrave, or composing some literary work. He would steal from his home, even in midwinter, at four in the morning, taking his lantern, lighting the fire in his chamber, and setting doggedly to work till breakfast-time. The whole of the day afterwards was given to the ordinary routine of business.

In the 31st George III, c. 32, an act passed for the relief of the catholics, a clause was inserted (§ 6), as it was understood by the instrumentality of Lord Eldon, then solicitor-general, for dispensing with the necessity of a barrister taking the oath of supremacy or the declaration against transubstantiation. Soon after the passing of this statute Butler availed himself of its provisions, and in 1791 he was called to the bar, being the first catholic barrister since the revolution of 1688. He took this degree rather for the sake of the rank than with any intention of going into court, and he never argued any case at the bar, except the celebrated one of 'Cholmondeley v. Clinton' before Sir Thomas Plumer and the House of Lords. His argument is printed at great length in the reports of Merivale and of Jacob and Walker. In 1831 the lord chancellor (Brougham) informed him that, if he chose to accept a silk gown, he was desirous of giving it to him, and he was accordingly called within the bar and made a bencher of Lincoln's Inn. He took the honour, however, without any view to practice, and he never appeared in court except on the day on which he received his rank, when the lord chancellor departed from the common rule and complimented him on his advancement. This honour was thrown open to him by the catholic relief act.

Butler acted as secretary to the committees formed for promoting the abolition of the penal laws. The first of these committees was appointed in 1782 at a general meeting of the English catholics. It consisted of five members, all laymen; it was to continue

for five years, and its object was to promote and attend to the affairs of the catholic body in England. Dr. (afterwards bishop) Milner, who was Butler's constant and uncompromising antagonist, writing in 1820, says that 'here probably begins that system of lay interference in the ecclesiastical affairs of English catholics which . . . has perpetuated disorder, divisions, and irreligion among too many of them for nearly the last forty years.' The only measure which engaged the attention of the committee was an abortive scheme for the establishment of a regular hierarchy by the appointment of bishops in ordinary instead of vicars apostolic. This first committee was succeeded by another, formed in 1787, consisting of ten lay members, to whom were added, in the year following, three ecclesiastics. In 1788 the committee resolved that Butler, their secretary, should prepare a bill for the repeal of the laws against the catholics. This was accompanied by a declaration of catholic principles, known as the 'Protestation,' which was transmitted to the vicars-apostolic, and eventually, but very reluctantly, signed by them. The committee soon framed an oath containing a new profession of faith, in which they adopted the extraordinary name of *Protesting Catholic Dissenters*. The oath was formally condemned by the unanimous decision of the four vicars-apostolic (October 1789), but in spite of this Butler wrote an 'Appeal' addressed to the catholics of England, in defence of the 'protestation' and 'oath,' which appeal was signed by two clerical and five lay members of the committee, who also signed a long letter to the vicars-apostolic, remonstrating against their censure. These papers form the contents of the first of the three famous 'blue books,' so called from their being stitched up in blue, or rather purple covers. Two of the vicars-apostolic died soon after the condemnation of the oath, and these deaths led to active intrigues on the part of the committee to procure the appointment of two successors who might favour their views. Various publications appeared, the object of which was to persuade the clergy and laity that they had a right to choose their own bishops and to procure their consecration by any bishop without reference to the pope. This scheme fell through, and two new vicars-apostolic having been appointed by the holy see, they joined with Dr. Walmsley, the vicar-apostolic of the western district, in an encyclical letter, condemning the proposed oath and disapproving the appellation of protesting catholic dissenters. Instead of submitting, however, the committee published a

'protest,' drawn up by Butler, against the encyclical, and pressed forward the bill containing the condemned oath. At this juncture Dr. Milner was appointed by the two new vicars-apostolic to act as their agent, and he exerted himself to the utmost to circumvent the designs of the committee. His efforts were crowned with success. Soon after the bill was introduced the ministry obliged the committee to drop their new appellation, and they resumed their proper name of Roman catholics. The condemned oath was discarded by parliament, and the Irish oath of 1778 was substituted for it, as the bishops had petitioned.

After the passing of the bill on 7 June 1791 the services of the committee were no longer required, but the members determined to preserve its principles and spirit in another association. Accordingly the *Cis-Alpine Club* was established (12 April 1792), its avowed object being 'to resist any ecclesiastical interference which may militate against the freedom of English catholics.' Eventually a reconciliation was effected between the members of the club and the vicars-apostolic, by means of what was called at the time 'the mediation,' and the catholic board was founded in 1808. At a later period Butler was strongly in favour of giving the government a veto on the appointment of catholic bishops, and this led him into another fierce conflict with Milner, who again achieved a triumph. Butler was, in fact, an ultra-Gallican in regard to his religious views, while his political opinions coincided with those of his distinguished friend, Charles James Fox, and his sympathy was with the French revolution in its civil, though not in its religious, aspect. Towards the close of his life he retracted some of the opinions contained in his writings, and, to quote the words of a personal friend of his, 'he then became a Gallican within the limits of orthodoxy.' He died at his house in Great Ormond Street, London, on 2 June 1832, aged 82. He married Mary, daughter of John Eyston, of East Hendred, in Berkshire, and left two surviving daughters. The elder, Mary, married Lieutenant Charles Stonor, and Theresia, the younger, became the wife of Andrew Lynch, of Lynch Castle, in the town of Galway. His portrait has been engraved by Sievier from a painting by Barry.

As a lawyer he will be remembered chiefly on account of his having continued and completed Hargrave's edition of 'Coke upon Littleton.' In 1785 Hargrave relinquished his part of this arduous undertaking, having annotated to folio 190, being nearly one half of the work, which consists of 393 folios.

The other half was undertaken by Butler, and published in 1787. The merits of this edition of Lord Coke's first institute have been proved by numerous reprints, and Butler's notes have been universally considered the most valuable part of the work. In 1809 he brought out the sixth edition of Fearn's 'Essay on Contingent Remainders.'

His 'Philological and Biographical Works,' published in 5 vols. in 1817, comprise: In vol. i. 'Horæ Biblicæ,' being a connected series of notes on the text and literary history of the bibles or sacred books of the Jews and christians; and on the bibles or books accounted sacred by the Mahometans, Hindus, Parsees, Chinese, and Scandinavians. This work, published first in 1797, has been translated into French. In vol. ii., 'History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the Empire of Germany,' originally published in 1806. 'Horæ Juridicæ Subsecivæ,' or notes on the Grecian, Roman, Feudal, and Canon Law, published first in 1804. In vol. iii., 'Lives of Fénelon, Bossuet, Boudon, De Rancé, Kempis, and Alban Butler. In vol. iv., 'An Historical and Literary Account of the Formularies, Confessions of Faith, or Symbolic Books of the Roman Catholic, Greek, and principal Protestant Churches,' published originally in 1816; and various essays. In vol. v., 'Historical Memoirs of the Church of France.'

Among his works not included in the above collection are: 1. 'Biographical Account of the Chancellor l'Hôpital and of the Chancellor d'Aguesseau, with a short historical notice of the Mississippi scheme,' 1814. 2. 'Historical Memoirs of the English, Irish, and Scottish Catholics since the Reformation; with a succinct account of the principal events in the ecclesiastical history of this country antecedent to that period, and in the histories of the established church and the dissenting congregations,' 4 vols., London, 1819-21, 8vo; 3rd edit., considerably augmented, 4 vols., London, 1822, 8vo. This book contains much useful information, but Butler's statements should be received with caution. Some of them are corrected in Bishop Milner's 'Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics,' 1820. 3. 'Continuation of the Rev. Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints to the Present Time,' with some biographical accounts of the Holy Family, Pope Pius VI, Cardinal Ximenes, Cardinal Bellarmine, Bartholomew de Martyribus, and St. Vincent of Paul; with a republication of his historical memoirs of the Society of Jesus, 1823. 4. 'Reminiscences,' 4th ed., 2 vols., 1824. 5. 'The Book of the Roman Catholic Church,' in a series of letters addressed to Robert Southey,

Esq., on his 'Book of the Church,' 1825. Southey's rejoinder was entitled 'Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ,' 1826, and Dr. Phillpotts, afterwards bishop of Exeter, answered the theological part of Butler's book. Altogether ten replies appeared on the protestant side; another reply was composed by the Rev. Richard Garnett, but this still remains in manuscript. To these Butler rejoined in the two following publications: 6. 'A Letter to the Right Rev. C. J. Blomfield, bishop of Chester, in vindication of a passage in the Book of the Roman Catholic Church, censured in a Letter addressed to the Author, by his lordship,' 1825. 7. 'Vindication of the Book of the Roman Catholic Church,' 1826. After the appearance of the 'Vindication,' six additional replies were published by the writers on the protestant side of the question, in reference to which Butler added an Appendix to his 'Vindication.' 8. 'The Life of Erasmus, with Historical Remarks on the state of Literature between the tenth and sixteenth Centuries,' 1825. 9. 'The Life of Hugo Grotius, with brief Minutes of the Civil, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of the Netherlands,' 1826. 10. 'Memoir of the Life of Henry Francis d'Aguesseau, with an account of the Roman and Canon Law,' 1830.

His letter-books, containing transcripts of his correspondence between 1808 and 1818, are preserved in the British Museum (*Addit. MSS.* 25127-25129). These valuable volumes were presented to the museum by Mr. William Heslop, who rescued them from destruction as waste paper.

[Rev. W. J. Anheuser on the Jubilee of Emancipation in Catholic Progress, 1879-84; C. Butler's Reminiscences, and his Memoirs of English Catholics; Catholic Magazine and Review (Birmingham, 1831-4), i. 571, ii. 262, 448, 451, v. 206; Catholicon, iv. 184; Dibdin's Literary Reminiscences, i. 129; Edinburgh Catholic Magazine (1832-3), i. 101, 166; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, ii. 65; Gent. Mag., N.S., cii. (ii.), 269, 661; Georgian Era, iii. 568; Prefaces to Hargrave and Butler's edition of Coke upon Littleton; Hist. MSS. Comm. 3rd Rep. 257; Home and Foreign Review, ii. 536; Husenbeth's Life of Bishop Milner; Legal Observer, iv. 113; *Addit. MSS.* 25127-25129, 28167 ff. 85-87; Martineau's Hist. of England (1850), ii. 190; Milner's Supplementary Memoirs of English Catholics; Moore's Journals and Corresp. iv. 261, v. 19; Nichols's Illust. of Lit. v. 615, 618, 680, 692, viii. 333; Notes and Queries (2nd series), viii. 494; Pamphleteer, Nos. 2, 14, 45, 49; Parr's Life and Works, viii. 505-12; Southey's Life and Corresp. v. 204, 207, 234; Tablet, 17 April, 1875, p. 493.] T. C.

BUTLER, EDMUND (d. 1551), archbishop of Cashel, illegitimate son of Piers,

eighth Earl of Ormonde, studied at Oxford, became a canon regular of St. Augustine, and was appointed prior of the abbey of that order at Athassel in the county of Tipperary. In 1524 Butler was nominated by the pope to the archbishopric of Cashel, with permission to retain the priory of Athassel. The consecration of Butler took place in 1527. He was a member of the privy council in Ireland, held a provincial synod at Limerick in 1529, and, on the dissolution of religious houses in Ireland, surrendered the abbey of Athassel to the crown.

Butler was present in the parliament at Dublin in 1541 which enacted the statute conferring the title of 'King of Ireland' on Henry VIII and his heirs. The communication addressed to the king on this subject, bearing the signature of the Archbishop of Cashel, has been reproduced on plate lxxi in the third part of 'Facsimiles of National Manuscripts of Ireland.' Butler's autograph and archiepiscopal seal were attached to the 'Complaint' addressed to Henry VIII in 1542 by 'the Gentlemen, Inheritors, and Freeholders of the county of Tipperary.' This document also appears in the same 'Facsimiles.' A letter from Butler to the Protector, Somerset, in 1548, is preserved among the state papers in the Public Record Office, London. In 1549-50 Butler took part at Limerick with James, Earl of Desmond, and the king's commissioners, in the enactment of ordinances for the government of Munster. References to Butler and his proceedings concerning public affairs in the districts of Ireland with which he was connected occur in the English governmental correspondence of his time. Butler died in March 1550-1, and was buried in the cathedral, Cashel, under an elaborate marble monument which he had erected, but which does not now exist.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 757; *Archiepiscoporum Casselliensium Vitæ*, 1626; Ware's *Bishops of Ireland*, i. 482-3; *Hibernia Sacra*, 1717; *State Papers, Ireland*; *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland*, 1848; Shirley's *Original Letters*, 1851; Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, 1876.]

J. T. G.

**BUTLER, SIR EDWARD GERARD** (1770-1825), one of the heroes of the affair at Villiers-en-Couche, entered the army by purchasing a cornetcy in the 15th light dragoons in 1792. He was at once sent to Flanders on the outbreak of the war in 1793, and on 24 April 1794 was one of the officers of the two companies of his regiment which overthrew a French army and saved the life of the emperor. Landrecy was closely invested by the Austrian and English armies, when a corps of 10,000 Frenchmen moved from Cæsar's

camp to raise the siege. Their march was so rapid that they were close to the allied lines, and on the point of taking the emperor himself prisoner as he was riding along the road almost unattended, when General Otto perceived the danger, and ordered the only cavalry he had at hand, namely, 160 of the 15th light dragoons and 112 Austrian hussars, to charge the French, in order rather to save the emperor than to defeat the enemy. They charged, and the French were seized with an unaccountable panic and fled, leaving three guns behind them. For this gallant charge the emperor conferred upon every one of the eight English officers who were present the order of Maria Theresa, and the king of England, at the emperor's request, knighted them all. Butler had been promoted lieutenant in the 11th light dragoons in May 1794, and he was in 1796 gazetted major without purchase in the newly raised 87th regiment. With it he served in the West Indies in 1797 at Trinidad and Porto Rico, and remained in garrison there till 1802. In 1804 he was promoted lieutenant-colonel, and in 1806 the 87th was ordered to form part of the expedition under Sir Samuel Auchmuty to Monte Video. In the attack on Monte Video Butler especially distinguished himself, and also in White-locke's attempt on Buenos Ayres, where the 87th had 17 officers and 400 men killed and wounded. From 1807 to 1810, while the 2nd battalion, under Colonel Hugh Gough, was distinguishing itself in the Peninsula, the 1st battalion of the 87th, under Butler, garrisoned the Cape of Good Hope. In 1810 he was second in command of a force ordered from the Cape to assist Major-general Abercromby in the reduction of the Mauritius, but the island was already taken when the contingent arrived. Nevertheless, though he saw no more service, Butler was promoted colonel in 1811 and major-general in 1814, and made a C.B. in 1815. He died in Normandy in June 1825.

[*Royal Military Calendar*, ed. 1820, for the affair of Villiers-en-Couche, and contemporary journals; *Records of 87th Regiment*.] H. M. S.

**BUTLER, LADY ELEANOR** (1745?-1829), recluse of Llangollen, was the youngest daughter of Walter Butler, by Ellen, daughter of Nicholas Morres of Latargh, Tipperary. Her father was a collateral descendant and only lineal representative of James Butler, second duke of Ormonde, who had been attainted in 1715. Her brother John (1740-1795) claimed the Irish titles of his family, which had been forfeited by the act of attainder, and in 1791 he was acknowledged seventeenth earl of Ormonde by the Irish House of Lords. The rank



of an earl's daughter was at the same time bestowed on Eleanor and her sisters. Some years previously—in 1774 according to one account, and in 1779 according to another—Lady Eleanor and a friend, Sarah Ponsonby, daughter of Chambre Brabazon Ponsonby, cousin of the Earl of Bessborough, had resolved to live together in complete isolation from society. According to a writer in 'Notes and Queries,' 4th ser. iv. 12, they were both born on the same day of the same year at Dublin, and lost their parents at the same time. But the obituary notice of Miss Ponsonby in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' 1831, pt. i. 272, is probably correct in making her ten years younger than her companion. Their relatives dissuaded them from their plan, and, when they first left their homes, brought them back. Soon afterwards, however, they made their way to a cottage at Plasnewydd in the vale of Llangollen, accompanied by a maid-servant, Mary Caryll. Their names were not known in the neighbourhood, and they were called 'the ladies of the vale.' Here they lived in complete seclusion for some fifty years, and neither left the cottage for a single night until their deaths. Their devotion to each other and their eccentric manners gave them wide notoriety. All tourists in Wales sought introduction to them, and many made the journey to Llangollen for the special purpose of visiting them. Foreigners of distinction figured largely among their visitors, and they received a number of orders from members of the Bourbon family. In 1796 Miss Anna Seward wrote a poem, 'Llangollen Vale,' in their honour. In September 1802 she addressed a poetical farewell to them. Madame de Genlis, another visitor, has given an account of them in her 'Souvenirs de Félicie.' De Quincey saw them during his Welsh ramble (*Confessions*, 1856, p. 121). In 1828 Prince Pückler-Muskau saw them at their cottage, and wrote a very elaborate description of them. He says that his grandfather had visited them half a century before, that 'the two celebrated virgins' were 'certainly the most celebrated in Europe.' According to the prince they were invariably dressed in a semi-masculine costume. Lady Eleanor Butler died 2 June 1829, and her companion, Miss Ponsonby, died 8 Dec. 1831. With their servant, Mary Caryll, who died before either of them, they lie buried in Plasnewydd churchyard under a triangular pyramid inscribed with their names. Portraits of them and their cottage are often met with. A painting of them by Lady Leighton has been engraved by Lane.

[Gent. Mag. 1829, ii. 175-6, and 1832, i. 274; Notes and Queries, 4th ser. iv. 12, 220 (where

Prince Pückler's account is translated from his *Briefe eines Verstorbenen*, Stuttgart, 1831, i. 18-22); Burke's *Patrician* (1841), v. 485; Brit. Mag. (ed. S. C. Hall), 1830, p. 8; Burke's *Peerage*, s.v. 'Ormonde'; Seward's *Letters*, iii. 70-80, 345.]  
S. L.]

BUTLER, GEORGE, D.D. (1774-1853), head master of Harrow and dean of Peterborough, was born in Pimlico, London, 5 July 1774, being the second son of the Rev. Weeden Butler, the elder [q. v.], by Anne, daughter of Isaac Louis Giberne. He was educated in his father's school, Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, and then became a foundation scholar of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where he was senior wrangler and senior Smith's prizeman, January 1794, graduated B.A. in the same year, took his M.A. 1797, and his B.D. and D.D. in 1804 and 1805. His college elected him a fellow, and for some years he acted as mathematical lecturer, and then as classical tutor. It was also probably during this period that he commenced keeping his terms at Lincoln's Inn. He was elected a public examiner at Cambridge in 1804, and in 1805 was nominated one of the eight select preachers before the university. In April 1805 he became head-master of Harrow School in succession to Dr. Joseph Drury. In 1814 he was presented by his college to the rectory of Gayton, Northamptonshire. He continued in his arduous office at Harrow until 1829, when, after a head-mastership of four and twenty years, he retired to the living of Gayton, and devoted himself with the same unwearied zeal to the duties of a parish priest. In November 1836 he was named chancellor of the diocese of Peterborough, and he was appointed by Sir Robert Peel to the deanery of Peterborough 3 Nov. 1842. Few men could compete with Butler in versatility of mind, and in the variety of his accomplishments. Besides his great mathematical attainments he was also a distinguished classical scholar, and spoke German, French, and Italian with correctness and fluency. He was practically versed in chemistry and other branches of physical science. He was a good physician and draughtsman, and he excelled in all athletic exercises. His affection for Harrow School, in the service of which so many of the most active years of his life had been passed, amounted to a passion, and he maintained with his successors a constant and most friendly intercourse. On leaving Harrow he was presented by his pupils and others who had left the school with a piece of plate of the value of nearly 500*l*. His latter years were years of suffering; in 1849 disease of the heart declared itself, and a gradual failure of sight

ensued, ending in almost total blindness. His death was quite sudden; while seated at table with his family he became rapidly insensible, and in the course of ten minutes passed away, almost without a struggle, at the Deanery, Peterborough, 30 April 1853. He was buried at Gayton church. A monument by Richard Westmacott, R.A., to the memory of Butler was erected in Harrow Church in July 1854. He married, 18 March 1818, Sarah Maria, eldest daughter of John Gray of Wembley Park, Middlesex. Four sons obtained distinguished honours at the universities. His youngest son, Henry Montagu, headmaster of Harrow from 1859 to 1885, was appointed master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1886. His published work includes: 1. 'Extracts from the Communion Service of the Church,' 1839; second edition 1842. 2. 'Statutes of Peterborough Cathedral, translated by G. Butler,' 1853. 3. 'Harrow, a selection of the Lists of the School, 1770-1828, with annotations upon the later fortunes of the scholars,' 1849. He also published two sermons preached respectively in 1830 and 1843.

[Gent. Mag. xxxix. 662-64 (1853), and xlii. 153-54 (1854); Illustrated London News, xxii. 343, 483 (1853), and xxv. 257 (1854).] G. C. B.

**BUTLER, GEORGE SLADE** (1821-1882), antiquary, was the son of Richard Weeden Butler, a surgeon in large practice at Rye, Sussex, by his third wife, Rhoda Jane, only daughter of Daniel Slade, of London and Rye. Born at Rye, 4 March 1821, he was educated at a private school at Brighton, and, adopting the law as his future profession, was admitted a solicitor in Hilary term, 1843. He soon attained considerable business in his native town, where, among other valuable appointments, he held the town-clerkship and the registrarship of the county court. His 'Topographica Sussexiana,' which originally appeared in the 'Collections' of the Sussex Archaeological Society, and was afterwards reprinted in one volume, is a creditable attempt towards forming a list of the various publications relating to the county. Butler also contributed to the same serial many papers on the antiquities of Rye, where he died, 11 April 1882. He had been elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in March 1862.

[Information from Mr. Slade Butler; Hastings and St. Leonards News, 21 April 1882; Hastings and St. Leonards Independent, 13 April 1882; Law List.] G. G.

**BUTLER, JAMES, second EARL OF ORMONDE** (1331-1382), was descended from the same family as Theobald Butler [q. v.] The

grandfather of the second earl of Ormonde was created earl of Carrick, but this title, according to Mr. J. H. Round, was not inherited by the son, who was created earl of Ormonde after his marriage to Eleanor de Bohun, granddaughter of Edward I. The second earl, surnamed the 'noble earl' (because the son of a princess), was born at Kilkenny on 4 Oct. 1331. On his father's death in 1337-8 he was given in ward to Maurice, earl of Desmond, and afterwards to Sir John d'Arcy, whose daughter he married during his minority. His royal descent, as well as his personal services, commended him to the favour of Edward III and Richard II, from whom he received many grants of lands. On 18 April 1359 he was made viceroy of Ireland as lord justice, and after a short absence in England, during which the office was held by Maurice FitzThomas, earl of Kildare, he was again appointed on 15 March 1360. When Lionel, duke of Clarence, was sent to Ireland as viceroy in 1361 in order to take more energetic measures for its reduction, he was appointed one of the three chief officers of his army at the pay of 4s. a day. He did great service in assisting the prince, and, according to records preserved in the corporation books of Kilkenny, slew at Teagstoffin, in the county of Kilkenny, 600 of MacMorrough's men on the feast of St. Kenelm, 1362. During Lionel's absence in 1364-6 he was appointed deputy along with Sir Thomas Dale. He was again made lord justice in 1376, and continued in this office till the first of Richard II. He died on 18 Oct. 1382 in his castle of Knocktopher, and was buried in the cathedral of St. Canice, Kilkenny. He left one son, James, who succeeded him as third earl.

[Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxx-i; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, iv. pp. 8, 9; Gilbert's Viceroys of Ireland; Genealogist, new ser. vol. ii. (1885), p. 188.] T. F. H.

**BUTLER, JAMES, fourth EARL OF ORMONDE** (d. 1452), commonly called the 'white earl,' son of the third earl of Ormonde [see under BUTLER, JAMES, second earl], and Anne, daughter of John, Lord Welles, succeeded his father in September 1405, not being at that time of full age. Owing to the care his father had taken in his education, he excelled in learning most of the noblemen of his time. While still under age, he was in 1407 appointed deputy during the absence of Sir Stephen Scrope in England. After the arrival soon afterwards of Thomas of Lancaster, the lord-lieutenant, he contracted with him an intimate friendship, and in 1412 accompanied him on his travels in France. Having attended Henry V in his French wars, he was on his return appointed in 1420

lord-lieutenant. In 1422 he invaded the territory of the O'Mores, and pursued his army through the red bog of Athy, when, according to the chroniclers, the sun favoured him by miraculously standing still for three hours. Violent feuds had long existed between the Butlers and the Talbots, and in 1422 Sir John Talbot arraigned the Earl of Ormonde for treason, but the crown and council in 1423 ordered the annulment of all proceedings connected with the dispute. After the death of Henry V, the Earl of Ormonde was replaced in the government of Ireland by Edmund Mortimer, but on several occasions he acted as deputy before he was again appointed viceroy in 1440. Attempts were again made by the Talbots to overthrow his influence, and Richard Talbot, archbishop of Dublin, having been delegated in November 1441 to lay various requests before the king, took the opportunity of representing the advantages that would accrue to Ireland by his removal from office; but notwithstanding this he was appointed lord-lieutenant in 1443. Owing, however, to representations that he was old and feeble, he was dismissed in 1446. In 1447 John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who had succeeded him as lord-lieutenant, accused him of high treason, but the king dismissed the complaint, and by patent, 20 Sept. 1448, declared that 'no one should dare, on pain of his indignation, to revive the accusation or reproach of his conduct.' He died at Atherdee in the county of Louth, on 23 Aug. 1452. He specially interested himself in history and antiquities, and bequeathed lands to the College of Heralds. By his first wife, Johan, daughter of Gerald, fifth earl of Kildare, he had three sons—successively earls of Ormonde—and two daughters; but by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Bergavenny and widow of Lord Grey, he had no issue.

[Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxxiv-viii; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, iv. 11-14; Gilbert's Viceroys of Ireland.]

T. F. H.

**BUTLER, JAMES**, fifth EARL OF ORMONDE and EARL OF WILTSHIRE (1420-1461), was the eldest son of James Butler, the fourth earl [q. v.], by Johan, daughter of Gerald, fifth earl of Kildare, and was born on 24 Nov. 1420. He was knighted when very young by Henry VI, and he attended Richard, duke of York, regent of France, in his expedition into that kingdom. On account of his zealous support of the Lancastrian interest, he was on 8 July 1449, during the lifetime of his father, created a peer of England by the title of earl of Wiltshire. In the following year he was

constituted a commissioner, to whom the town and castle of Calais, with other French fortresses, were committed for five years. In 1451 he was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland in the absence of the Duke of York, and on the death of his father he was in 1453 appointed viceroy for ten years. In the same year, along with the Earl of Salisbury and other great lords, he undertook the guarding of the seas for three years, receiving the tonnage and poundage to support the charge thereof. On 13 March 1455 he was appointed lord high treasurer of England, and shortly afterwards fought for the king at the battle of St. Albans, when, the Yorkists prevailing, he fled, casting his armour into a ditch. He was superseded as lord-lieutenant of Ireland by the Duke of York, but in 37 Henry VI was restored to the post of lord-treasurer, and next year made a knight of the Garter. Soon afterwards he fitted out a fleet of five ships at Genoa, with which he sailed to the Netherlands against the Earl of Warwick, but returned before the battle of Wakefield on 31 Dec. 1460, in which he commanded a wing of the army which enclosed and slew the Duke of York. On 2 Feb. 1461, along with the Earl of Pembroke, he suffered a disastrous defeat from Edward, earl of March, at Mortimer's Cross, and on 29 March was taken prisoner at the battle of Towton, Yorkshire. He is said to have been beheaded at Newcastle on 1 May following. In the first parliament of Edward IV he was attainted, along with his brothers John and Thomas, and his estates forfeited and resumed. As he left no issue, the earldom of Wiltshire lapsed with him, but he was succeeded in the earldom of Ormonde by his brother, Sir John de Ormonde.

[Stow's Annals; Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 235; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, iv. 14-16; Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxxix-lxxxii; The Ormonde Attainders, by Hubert Hall, in the Genealogist, new ser. i. 76-9; The Barony of Arklow, by J. H. Round, in vol. i. of Foster's Collectanea Genealogica.]

T. F. H.

**BUTLER, JAMES** (fl. 1631-1634), military adventurer, was one of the many members of the Irish house of Butler who in the seventeenth century gained reputation as soldiers. Not less than six officers of the name appear to be distinguishable in the imperial service during the thirty years' war. The James Butler in question is said to have belonged to the branch of his house which traced its origin to the first viscount Mountgarret, the second son of Pierce, eighth earl of Ormonde and Ossory [q. v.] He is first met with in Poland, where he levied at his own

expense a regiment of not less than fifteen companies (ten being the usual number in the imperial army). Very possibly, since Gustavus Adolphus is said to have cherished a deadly hatred against him, he was the Butler who, after having in 1627 shared in a defeat of the Poles near Danzig, in the following year contributed to the Polish success against the Swedes at Osterode. It was certainly he who early in 1631 opportunely brought up his regiment, which was largely officered by Irishmen, including his kinsman Walter Butler [q. v.], to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, in Silesia, where the imperialists under Tiefenbach were awaiting the approach of Gustavus Adolphus at the head of a much superior force. Before the arrival of the Swedes, James Butler, in order if possible to obtain more soldiers and supplies for Frankfort, proceeded to the camp of Tilly, who was marching upon Magdeburg. Butler came too late, but he appears to have taken part in the siege of Magdeburg, the result of which terribly avenged the fall of Frankfort. After the capture of Magdeburg and before the battle of Breitenfeld he appears to have rejoined Tiefenbach, who had invaded Lusatia with such forces as he could command, but whom the news of the great defeat of Tilly obliged to retreat into Bohemia, where he occupied Nimburg on the Elbe, November 1631. A Saxon army under Arnim having taken position on the other side of the river, Butler was with his Irish regiment, as it is now called, sent across a wooden bridge to fortify and hold the *tête de pont* on the enemy's side; and his defence, ending with the burning down of the bridge, was so vigorous that finally Arnim returned to Prague.

Not long afterwards, however, the Irish colonel, who had many adversaries or rivals, quitted the imperial service, and, making use of the liberty which he had reserved to himself, returned into Poland, where he fought against the Muscovites in the war which lasted from 1632 to 1634. He was at least in so far consistent in his choice of side, that he served against an enemy who on principle excluded mercenaries professing the faith of Rome (HERRMANN, *Geschichte des russischen Reiches*, iii. 54). After this nothing certain is known of him, for there seems no reason for accepting a conjecture which identifies him with a Butler said to have fallen at Ross in March 1643, fighting on the side of the Irish catholics under General Preston against the royal troops under the head of his house James Butler, twelfth earl (afterwards marquis and duke) of Ormonde.

[Carve's *Itinerarium*, pars i. (1st ed. 1639), and the *Series Butlerianæ Prosapiæ* in pars ii.

(1st ed. 1641); La Roche's *Der dreissigjährige Krieg vom militärischen Standpunkte*, &c., vol. ii. (1851); Hess's *Biographien &c. zu Schillers Wallenstein* (1859) pp. 392, 396.] A. W. W.

BUTLER, JAMES, twelfth EARL and first DUKE of ORMONDE (1610-1688), was the eldest son of Thomas, Viscount Thurles, and Elizabeth Poyntz, and grandson of Walter Butler of Kilcash, eleventh Earl of Ormonde in 1614 [q. v.]. He was born on 19 Oct. 1610 at Clerkenwell. His pedigree reaches back to Theobald Butler [q. v.], hereditary butler of Ireland. His earliest infancy was spent at Hatfield under the care of a carpenter's wife, during his parents' absence, but in 1613 they sent for him to Ireland. In 1619 his father was drowned at sea, and his mother then took him back to England and placed him at school under a Roman catholic tutor at Finchley. On his father's death he became, by some legal subtlety, a royal ward, although holding no lands in chief of the crown. The king, anxious to bring up the head of so powerful a family as a protestant, placed him at Lambeth under the tutelage of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, where, however, he appears to have received a very meagre education, and where, the whole estate of his family being in sequestration, he was in great want of money, 40*l.* a year being all that was allowed him. His grandfather [see BUTLER, WALTER] was released from the Fleet prison in 1625, and the youth, who was termed by courtesy Lord Thurles, went to reside with him in Drury Lane. Here he continued for two years in the enjoyment of town life, and in constant attendance on the court. Upon the occasion of the Duke of Buckingham's projected expedition to Rochelle, he went to Portsmouth in the hope of being allowed to volunteer for service, but the duke refused permission on finding that he had not secured his grandfather's consent. Six months later he fell in love with his cousin, Elizabeth Preston, the sole daughter and heir of Richard, earl of Desmond, and Elizabeth Butler, the daughter of his grandfather's brother, Earl Thomas. She was herself a ward of the crown, or rather of the Earl of Holland, upon whom Charles I had bestowed the wardship. A marriage between them appeared a convenient way of putting an end to the lawsuits between the families, and of uniting the Ormonde and Desmond estates. The opportune deaths of the Duke of Buckingham, who had warmly espoused the cause of the Desmond family, and of the Earl of Desmond, the lad's guardian since 1624, removed the chief obstacles to this step; while Lord Holland's approval was purchased for 15,000*l.* Charles gave his con-

sent by letters patent of 8 Sept. 1629, and the marriage took place at Christmas of the same year. The following year Lord Thurles spent with his wife at his uncle's, Sir Robert Poyntz, at Acton in Gloucestershire, where he studied Latin for the first time, and at the end of 1630 they went to live with his grandfather, Earl Walter, at Carrick, until his death in 1632, when James succeeded to the earldom of Ormonde and Ossory. He then made a journey to England, travelling through Scotland, and showed his activity by riding from Edinburgh to Ware in three days. In the beginning of 1633, his grandmother too having died, he returned to Ireland, accomplishing the whole journey to Carrick between four in the morning of Saturday and three o'clock on Monday afternoon. Throughout his life he was distinguished for his physical strength and comeliness, for his attention to dress, and for the dignity of his carriage. His own tastes were simple—it is recorded that his favourite dinner was a boiled leg of mutton (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 8th Rep. 486 b)—but he was careful always to observe an almost regal display in the conduct of his household. Upon the arrival of Wentworth in Ireland as deputy in July 1633, Ormonde at once attracted his attention, as much by his distinguished appearance as by his readiness to assist in raising the supplies of which Charles was in need. On 14 July 1634, at the opening of parliament, he carried the sword before Wentworth. There shortly occurred a characteristic instance of his independence of spirit. Wentworth, fearing scenes of violence in the parliament, had ordered that none should enter wearing their swords. Ormonde refusing to give up his sword, and the usher insisting, 'the earl told him that if he had his sword it should be in his guts, and so marched on to his seat, and was the only peer who sat with a sword that day in the house.' When sent for by Wentworth he replied that he had seen the proclamation, but was only obeying a higher order, inasmuch as his writ summoned him to come to parliament *cum gladio cinctus*. It was clear to Wentworth that he must either crush so independent a man or make a friend of him; wisely enough he determined to take the latter course, and shortly reported most highly of him to the king, finishing the eulogium with 'He is young, but take it from me, a very staid head.' Ormonde and Wentworth lived on the best terms until the latter's death. Ormonde actively supported the deputy in the parliament of 1640; and when Wentworth left the country in April to join Charles, he committed to Ormonde the entire care of levy-

ing and raising the new army. Since 1631 he had been in command of a troop of horse, and in 1638 had raised a second troop of cuirassiers. A regiment of cavalry was now given to him; he was made lieutenant-general of the horse, and commander-in-chief of all the forces in the kingdom during Strafford's absence. So active was he in his charge that by the middle of July the troops came to the rendezvous at Carrickfergus in complete readiness for action. Ormonde was, however, unable himself to join them in consequence of his wife's illness.

Towards the end of 1640 a remonstrance against Strafford's government was passed by the Irish House of Commons and published in England, but Ormonde successfully opposed a similar remonstrance in the House of Lords. On the death of Wandesford, Strafford urged Charles to make Ormonde deputy; the opposition, however, in the Irish Commons, who were now acting in a great degree under the inspiration of the English parliament, was too strong. He supported Strafford against the attacks made upon him in the parliament of 1641, and, as chairman of the lords' committee on privileges, strongly opposed the commons in the dispute which arose in the Fitzgerald case (*CARTE, Ormond*, i. 250, *Clar. Press* edit.) Strafford had, it is stated, urged the king, as one of his last requests, that the garter which his death left vacant might be bestowed upon Ormonde. The latter, however, declined it on the ground that such a gift might possibly engage some other person to the crown, and desired that rewards to himself might be reserved until all danger was over. This story is vouched for by Sir Robert Southwell in his manuscripts, p. 18.

Upon the news of the outbreak of the rebellion in Ireland in 1641 reaching Charles, he at once appointed Ormonde lieutenant-general of his army. Twice also he sent him private instructions to gather into one body the Irish army which was being disbanded, and to seize Dublin Castle in his name by the authority of the Irish parliament, hoping to win the Irish to his cause by the grant of religious liberty (*GARDINER, Hist. Eng.* x. 7, ed. 1884). He does not, however, appear to have moved in this direction. His proposal to collect immediately all available forces and march against the rebels was overruled by the lords justices, who appear to have been jealous of his power, and who were in correspondence with the English commons. Their policy, indeed, appears to have been to employ him as little as possible in his military capacity, and the jealousy with which they regarded him was of the greatest disadvantage at the time of the dis-

affection of the English pale and the insurrection of Munster. In January 1641-2, however, Ormonde made a short expedition to drive the rebels out of the Naas, and, fresh forces having arrived from England, attacked and defeated a body of 3,000 rebels at Kilsalghen, and in March he received orders from the lords justices to march with fire and sword into the pale, after the rebellion had drawn in the catholic gentry of English descent. He raised the siege of Drogheda, but from the further march on Newry which he proposed he was stopped by letters of recall from the lords justices. The success of the expedition was recognised by the English parliament in a letter written by the speaker on 9 April. He received their approbation a second time in a letter drawn up by Hollis on 20 July, accompanied by a jewel of the value of 620*l.*, and it is stated that on 10 May the House of Commons moved the lords to join in an address to the king that he should offer Ormonde the garter (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 147). On 15 March he had fought and won the bloody battle of Kilrush with great slaughter of the rebels, displaying sound generalship and personal courage. In June of the same year he was employed in quieting Connaught. A dispute with Lord Leicester, the lord-lieutenant, on the subject of the power of appointment in the army, was ruled by the king in Ormonde's favour, and a warrant was shortly afterwards signed under the great seal, 16 Sept., whereby he was appointed to the lieutenant-generalship immediately under the crown instead of, as heretofore, under the lord-lieutenant. At the same time he was created a marquis by the king. His appointment to the independent command of the army was of great importance at this juncture, as endeavours were being made to engage the Irish forces for the parliament. The continued obstructions, however, from the lords justices, and a violent illness which threatened his life, prevented him from taking an active part in suppressing the rebellion during the autumn of 1642. Meantime Thomas Preston had landed at Wexford with abundant supplies for the rebel army, a general assembly had been held at Kilkenny, and a complete political organisation established by the rebels. The catholic nobility and gentry having desired to lay their grievances before Charles, Ormonde sent their request to the king, and in January 1642-3 was appointed with others by him to receive and transmit their statement of grievances. He therefore on 3 Feb. sent to Kilkenny to request the discontented lords and gentry to send a deputation to meet himself and his fellow-commissioners

at Drogheda on the 23rd. The meeting took place at Trim on 17 March. Meanwhile, much against the desire of the lords justices, he insisted upon leading the expedition to Ross, leaving Dublin on 2 March with 3,000 men. He reached Ross, in which the rebels were entrenched, on the 12th, but in an assault was beaten off, and through want of provisions was compelled to raise the siege on the 17th, and give battle on the 18th to Preston, who had under his command nearly 7,000 men. In this battle Ormonde showed considerable generalship, and won an important victory with slight loss. He returned to Dublin, where he received from the meeting at Trim the remonstrance of the rebels, which he at once transmitted to Charles. The lords justices had taken advantage of his absence to write a letter to the king urging him on no account to consent to a peace, but they refused to accept Ormonde's motion for sending also an account of the present state of the country, and Ormonde, to counteract them, drew up, in conjunction with other leading loyalists, an account of the desperate condition of the army and the immediate need of further help. Charles, however, was not capable of sending the required assistance, nor could it be obtained from the English parliament. On 23 April, therefore, the king sent Ormonde a commission, 'with all secrecy and convenient expedition,' to treat with the rebels and agree to a cessation of arms. Meantime, in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught the rebels had been carrying all before them, and it was only in Ulster that they were severely checked in the rout of Owen O'Neile by the Scotch forces under Stewart. The treaty for the cessation began in June, but, through Ormonde's refusal to accept the conditions of the rebels, was broken off in July. The Scotch had now declared for the parliament and raised an army against the king; peace in Ireland became more than ever necessary, and on 2 July Ormonde received fresh instructions to conclude the cessation for a year. He reopened the negotiations at once on 26 Aug., and the cessation was signed on 15 Sept. The king now required all the Irish troops that could be spared for England, and in November, having first extracted from his officers an oath of loyalty to the king and the church, which only two of them, Monck being one, declined to take, Ormonde managed to send over some 5,000 men under Lord Byron, who did good service in Cheshire until routed by Fairfax, at Nantwich, in January 1644. At the same time, in obedience to special instructions, he exerted himself to keep the Scotch army from joining their fellows in Scotland.

An attempt by Ormonde to induce the Irish catholics also to carry out the articles of the cessation and furnish the king with an army was entirely futile. Meanwhile the king called for Lord Leicester's resignation, and made Ormonde lord-lieutenant by a commission which he received in January 1643-4. In pursuance of his instructions he vigorously forwarded the expedition of the Irish forces, prepared by the Earl of Antrim, to assist Montrose in Scotland; and to prevent a renewal of the war gave favourable terms to the catholics. He was not, however, able to prevent many of the English troops from joining the Scotch forces in Ulster in taking the covenant, or wholly to keep the latter, a point much pressed by Charles, from joining their fellows in Scotland. In April, Monroe, who commanded in Ulster, received a commission from the English parliament to command in chief all the forces in Ulster, both Scotch and English. He at once seized Belfast, and in breach of the cessation marched against the Irish. Ormonde knew that Monroe was acting in the parliament's interest. At the same time the council of Kilkenny urged him to declare the Scots rebels, and the council offered him the command of all their forces. It appeared therefore that he must either assist the parliamentary party or that of the catholic rebels. He refused to listen to the suggestion of the Irish, and contented himself with assisting them to send agents to the king at Oxford to represent them at the treaty then being carried on. The demands, both of protestants and catholics, were referred by the English council to him for settlement on 26 July, and negotiations for a definite peace, the cessation having been renewed, were opened on 6 Sept. at Dublin. So irreconcilable, however, were the rival demands, that they were broken off in October, and not again renewed until April 1645. Ormonde meanwhile had, in despair of any favourable settlement, urgently requested to be relieved of his government. Charles refused to comply with this request, and not only appointed a commission to inquire into the amount of his personal sacrifices in his service and to arrange for their repayment, but sent him full discretionary powers for concluding a peace, even to the restoring of the rebels, who should submit, to their estates and possessions; the entire repeal of the penal statutes was alone denied him. Meantime his government was much harassed by frequent plots among discontented officers. He succeeded, however, in making a temporary arrangement with Monroe, the commander of the Scotch forces, whereby union was established until the arrival in October of Sir R. King and Arthur

Annesley, who came as a commission from the English parliament. Through great difficulties the treaty of peace gradually drew to a conclusion. As the weakness of the king became more apparent the demands of the rebels increased. On the subject of the penal laws they insisted upon entire freedom being granted, and they refused Ormonde's demand for the restoration of the churches to the protestant clergy; while they further insisted upon the maintenance of their provisional government until every article had been confirmed by act of parliament. These demands Charles utterly refused, and Ormonde then drew up a list of the 'concessions' which he thought proper for the king's consideration. There were exemptions from penalties and incapacities on the score of religion, concessions of places of command, honour, and trust, and the removal of many minor grievances. It was at this point that the Glamorgan episode occurred which cut the ground from Ormonde's feet. On 25 Aug., representing himself as empowered by the king, who had given him merely a roving commission, Glamorgan signed a private treaty with the Irish agents, by which the catholics obtained the entire repeal of the penal laws, the possession of all the churches which they had seized since 23 Oct. 1641, exemption from all jurisdiction of protestant clergy, and the enjoyment of the tithes, glebes, and church revenues then in their possession. In return they promised a force of 10,000 men for England under Glamorgan's leadership. The warrant which Glamorgan produced was utterly repudiated by Charles and his ministers as a forgery, and Glamorgan was imprisoned at Dublin. This naturally excited the Irish to the utmost, and the difficulties in the way of the treaty were rendered still greater by the indefatigable efforts of the pope's nuncio to defeat it. Nevertheless Ormonde succeeded in bringing it to a conclusion on 28 March 1646, upon the basis of the above-mentioned 'concessions,' with the condition that it should not be held of force until the Irish had despatched 10,000 men to England by 1 May. Meantime Charles, now in the hands of the Scots, sent to Ormonde, through the Prince of Wales, private assurances of his full confidence; and Digby, on the king's part, declared that the immediate conclusion of the peace was absolutely necessary. The peace was therefore published, although the conditions had not been fulfilled, on 29 July. Supported, however, by the pope's nuncio, the Irish rebels strongly opposed it, and it seemed probable that Dublin would fall into their hands. In this extreme Ormonde determined to apply to the

English parliament for help. By 2 Nov. Dublin was for a few days besieged by Preston and O'Neill. On the 14th the parliamentary commissioners arrived, and a treaty with them was immediately begun, but conditions could not be arranged, and the commissioners were forced to retire to Ulster. The agreement between Preston and the nuncio, however, and the rejection of the peace by the general assembly of the catholics at Kilkenny in February 1646-7, on the nuncio's advice, determined Ormonde again to approach the parliament. Dublin was relieved by an English force in the spring, and on 7 June the commissioners of the parliament again arrived. On the 19th the treaty was concluded. Ormonde was to give up the sword on 28 July or sooner, on four days' notice. The protestants were to be secured in their estates; all who had paid contributions were to be protected in person and estate; all noblemen, gentlemen, and officers who wished to leave Ireland with Ormonde were to have free passes; popish recusants who had remained loyal were to be in all respects favourably regarded by the parliament; and the debts he had incurred in the defence of Dublin were to be paid. This last condition was very imperfectly fulfilled. On the 28th Ormonde delivered up the regalia and sailed for England, landing at Bristol on 2 Aug. Having reached London, he had an interview with Charles at Hampton Court, when he received a full approval of his conduct in Ireland, and where he had directions to agree, if possible, upon measures with the Scotch commissioners, who had just arrived in London. Warned in February 1647-8 that the parliament intended to seize his person, he escaped to France, and at Paris found the Irish agents who had been sent by the Kilkenny assembly to treat with the queen and Prince of Wales, with the particular object of inducing the latter to come over with arms and money, but also with wide demands for the restoration of the native Irish to their estates. Under Ormonde's advice an answer was returned that the queen and the prince would send a representative to treat with the assembly on the spot, and in August he himself began his journey thither. On leaving Havre he was shipwrecked and had to wait in that port for some weeks; but at the end of September he again embarked, arriving at Cork on the 29th. At the end of October he received full instructions from Charles, who was in the Isle of Wight. He was ordered to obey the queen's commands, and to disobey all issued by the king publicly till he should give him notice that he was free from restraint. On 6 Oct. Ormonde had published

a declaration against both the rebels and the independents, promising equal favour to all who remained loyal. Having pacified the mutiny which had broken out in the army under Inchiquin, he succeeded in bringing about a general peace between the royalists and the Irish rebels on 17 Jan. 1649.

Upon the death of the king Ormonde at once proclaimed Charles II, and strongly urged the young king to come to Ireland. With the utmost difficulty he collected forces to attack Dublin. He took Drogheda, and in July blockaded the capital, but was defeated at Rathmines, with the loss of all his artillery, by Jones, who commanded in Dublin, and who made a determined sally. He thereupon managed to conclude a treaty with O'Neill, who had kept aloof from the general pacification; but all dreams of reconquering the country were finally ended by the landing of Cromwell on 15 Aug. On 9 Sept. Drogheda, which Ormonde had strongly garrisoned, was stormed by Cromwell, Ulster was overrun, Wexford betrayed, and Ross surrendered. So hopeless were the king's affairs, that in December Ormonde requested to be recalled. Charles, meanwhile, had come to terms with the Scots at Breda, and Ormonde was commanded to remain until it was seen whether the alliance would not bring about a more favourable state of things in England. Cromwell's uninterrupted successes again brought Ormonde to the necessity of leaving the kingdom. To the last, however, he held haughty language. To Cromwell, who had sent a pass to him to leave the kingdom through Dean Boyle, he replied: 'I have by this trumpeter returned your papers, and for your unsought courtesy do assure you that when you shall desire a pass from me, and I think fit to grant it, I shall not make use of it to corrupt any that commands under you' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1650, p. 236). The bishops in August 1650 requested Ormonde to give up the government, and raised forces independently of him. Under the pressure of the extreme covenanting party in Scotland, moreover, Charles had on 16 Aug. unwillingly annulled the Irish peace of 1648 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 695 a), and in his letter announcing this step urged Ormonde to mind his own safety and withdraw to Holland or France. This advice he repeated in November. Leaving Clanricarde therefore as his deputy, Ormonde set sail on 6 Dec., and, after delaying to consider some proposals made by a number of nobles and bishops assembled at Loughreagh, arrived, after a three weeks' voyage, at Perose in Brittany. He had left his family at Caen on his return to



Ireland, and after a short stay with them joined the queen at Paris on 21 Jan. 1650-1. In June he was again at Paris waiting upon the Duke of York. After settling the duke's household he returned to Caen, and remained there until the young king's arrival at Paris after the battle of Worcester (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1-11 Nov. 1651), when, being at once placed on the privy council and consulted on all important business, he took up his permanent residence there. He was at this time in such dire straits for money that his wife went over in August 1652 to England to endeavour to claim Cromwell's promise of reserving to her that portion of their estate which had been her inheritance. After many delays (*ib.* 1652, 25 May, 1 June, 1 Aug.) she succeeded in getting 500*l.* in hand and an allowance of 2,000*l.* a year from estates around Dunmore House (*ib.* 1653, p. 145). Ormonde meanwhile had been in constant attendance on Charles, and accompanied him to Cologne when driven from France by Mazarin's treaty with Cromwell in 1655. He probably incurred at this time the queen mother's enmity by frustrating, at Charles's request, the attempts which she made to induce the Duke of Gloucester to become a catholic. During his absence at Paris on this mission he was reduced to such straits for money as to be compelled to pawn both his garter and the jewel presented him by parliament (CARTE, but cf. LONGE's *Portraits*). He was employed also in negotiating a treaty with the Duke of Neuburg. In May he was at Antwerp (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1656, p. 319). In the end of 1656, when the king was residing at Brussels, he had the command of one of the six regiments formed out of the English and Irish on the continent for the service of Spain (*ib.* 1657, p. 5), and in October 1657 was quartered at Furnes. He attended Charles when the latter accompanied Don John in a reconnaissance on the works at Mardyke, and had his horse killed under him by a cannon-shot (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 149). In 1658, after being employed in Germany (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1658, p. 259), he volunteered to go in disguise to England to collect information, and landed at Westmarsh in Essex in the beginning of January (EVELYN, 8 June 1658). Finding the chances of success in a rising very small, he persuaded the royalists to risk nothing at present, and after a month's stay in London succeeded in reaching Dieppe in March; thence he went to Paris, where he lay in strict concealment from Mazarin until the following month. With great difficulty he finally succeeded in joining Charles once more at Brussels in May. He was con-

tinually employed in all important transactions, such as the correspondence with Montague, the reconciliation of Charles with his mother, and the conference with Mazarin in 1659. He afterwards attended Charles at the treaty of Fontarabia. It was at this time that Ormonde discovered Charles's change of religion, and it was his revelation of the fact to Clarendon and Southampton that led to the insertion in the act for the security of the king's person of a clause making it treason to assert that the king was a catholic. He was actively engaged in all the secret transactions with the English royalists and Monck immediately before the Restoration, upon which event he went in the king's train to England.

In the distribution of honours which followed he had a considerable share; he was placed on the commission for the treasury and navy, made lord steward of the household, privy councillor, lord-lieutenant of Somerset (resigned 1672), high steward of Westminster, Kingston, and Bristol, chancellor of Dublin University, Baron Butler of Llanthony, and Earl of Brecknock in the English peerage, and on 30 March 1661 he was created Duke of Ormonde in the Irish peerage, and lord high steward of England, carrying the crown in that capacity at the coronation (see PEPYS, 23 April 1661). At the same time the county palatine of Tipperary, seized by James I from his grandfather Walter, was restored to him, and he recovered his own Irish estates, which had been parcelled out among the adventurers, as well as those which he had mortgaged, and the prisage of wines, hereditary in the family, while large grants in recompense of the fortune he had spent in the royal service were made by the king. In the following year the Irish parliament presented him with 30,000*l.* His losses, however, according to Carte, exceeded his gains by nearly a million, a sum incredibly large (CARTE, iv. 418, Clar. Press). As lord steward he was present at the birth of the Duchess of York's child. He was at once engaged in Irish affairs; the restoration of episcopacy was of course a foremost aim, and in August he secured the appointment of the four archbishoprics and twelve bishoprics, while he did much to improve the condition of the inferior clergy. He appointed Jeremy Taylor to the vice-chancellorship of the Dublin University to carry out useful reforms, and aided its prosperity in every way. He refused, however, to be mixed up in the disputes over the Bill of Settlement in 1661, until on 4 Nov. he was again made lord-lieutenant of Ireland. His journey thither was delayed by the king's marriage, when, as lord steward, he was sent to Ply-

mouth to meet the infant, and it was not until 27 July 1662 that he landed at Dublin after a journey characterised by the utmost pomp. He was at once occupied in dealing with the grievances caused by the Act of Settlement, in purging the army of its dangerous elements, and in quieting the presbyterians after the blow of the Act of Uniformity. His office was a most responsible one. Plots of various kinds were formed during 1663 for seizing Dublin Castle and for a general insurrection, but were crushed with firmness, though without undue severity.

Ormonde had now become the mark of much jealous intrigue in England. Sir Henry Bennet plotted against him from private pique and as the friend of Clarendon; Lady Castlemaine hated him for having stopped the king's grant to her of the Phoenix Park; Buckingham was irritated at his backwardness in forwarding his ambitious schemes; and the queen mother was angered at the firmness of his refusal to regard the case of her protégé Antrim with favour. Ormonde's character made him the natural object of the attacks of all that was base in the court. He had been noted for purity of life and purpose, and for unswerving devotion, even when such qualities were not rare in the court of Charles I. But in that of Charles II he was almost the sole representative of the high-toned virtues of a nobler generation. By force of what is emphatically called 'character,' far more than by marked ability, he stood alone. The comrade of Strafford, one who had willingly sacrificed a princely fortune for a great cause, he held aloof while persons like Bennet intrigued and lied for office, money, or spite. His strict purity of life was a living rebuke to the Sedleys and Castlemaines, who turned the court into a brothel. Compelled to see the councils of the king guided by dishonour or greed, he acquired over him the influence which Charles was always ready to concede to nobility of character (PEPYS, *Diary*, 19 May 1668). Proud of the loyalty of his race, unspotted through five centuries, he bore in after years calumny, envy, and his seven years' loss of court favour, waiting until his master should be shamed into an acknowledgment of the wrong. In investigating the careers of other men of this time we are always face to face with intrigue and mystery. Ormonde's and his son Ossory's are unique in their freedom from any suspicion of double dealing.

Meantime Ormonde was sorely puzzled how to frame an explanation of the Act of Settlement which should soothe the prevailing discontent. With this purpose he went to London in June 1664, and from 29 July

until 26 May 1665 was busily engaged with a committee of council on the work, in the course of which he appears (CARTE, iv. 211, *Clar. Press*) to have exhibited much self-sacrifice. This 'explanation' having received the seal, he returned to Ireland in August, but did not make his solemn entry, which was the occasion of excessive display, until 17 Oct. He succeeded in passing the Act of Explanation through parliament on 23 Dec., which fixed the general rights of the several parties in Ireland. Ormonde's heart was thoroughly in his government and the welfare of his country. He vehemently opposed the bill passed in England prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle; and, when it was passed, he prohibited the import of Scotch linen, and further obtained leave for a certain number of Irish vessels to trade with the foreign enemies of England. In every way he encouraged native manufactures and learning, and it was to his efforts that the Irish College of Physicians owed its incorporation. He watched carefully over its internal peace, and promptly suppressed the disturbance at Carrickfergus, where the garrison had mutinied for arrears of pay.

In 1667 and 1668 Buckingham put himself at the head of all those who had grievances against Ormonde, and proceeded to find matter in the few arbitrary acts for which evidence was forthcoming whereon to frame an impeachment. In his almost irresponsible government of Ireland during troublous times Ormonde had no doubt acted now and then in a way which offered advantages to men eager for his overthrow. He had, for instance, billeted soldiers on civilians and executed martial law (PEPYS, 4 Nov. 1667). Ormonde was urgently pressed to return to England, whence he had intelligence that Orrery was secretly plotting against him. He therefore left Dublin on 24 April, arriving in London amid general respect on 6 May. An inquiry into the management of the Irish revenues was at once set on foot, and Buckingham, probably with Arlington's assistance, caballed vigorously for Ormonde's removal from the lord-lieutenancy (*ib.* 4 Nov. 1668, and 1 Feb. 1669). To this constant insistence Charles at length unwillingly gave way, and on 14 March 1669 appointed Lord Roberts in his room. Ormonde received the dismissal, which was made with every public expression of trust and satisfaction in his services by Charles, with perfect dignity, and earnestly enjoined all his sons and friends on no account to quit their posts in the army or elsewhere, while he continued to fulfil with dignified persistence all the

duties of his other offices. He speedily received every possible consolation from the public. He was chosen chancellor of Oxford on 4 Aug., while in January 1669-70 the city of Dublin, ignoring the lord-lieutenant, conferred the freedom of the city upon Ossory, his eldest son, with an address composed chiefly of compliments to himself. This followed immediately upon the publication of various libellous pamphlets and of a series of charges, similar to those brought by Buckingham the year before. In 1670 Peter Talbot, the titular archbishop of Dublin, having come over to oppose the remonstrants, or loyal catholic gentry and clergy, who were being persecuted by the ultramontane party, Ormonde was active in their favour, though to little avail in the face of the opposition of Buckingham and Berkeley, who had succeeded Robarts in the lord-lieutenancy.

In the same year occurred the remarkable attempt upon his life by the notorious ruffian Blood [see BLOOD, THOMAS]. On the night of 6 Dec. Blood with five accomplices stopped Ormonde's coach in St. James's Street, dragged the duke from it, placed him on horseback behind one of his companions, and rode off. By whom Blood was instigated is not known, though Ossory publicly before the king laid the blame on Buckingham, and there declared aloud that should his father come to his end by violence or poison he would pistol Buckingham though he stood behind the king's chair. Nothing appears to have saved Ormonde's life but the whim of Blood to hang him at Tyburn. The delay thus caused and Ormonde's vigorous resistance gave time to rescue him (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 486*b*). What was the mysterious connection between Blood and the court has never been known; but it is certain that when Blood was captured Charles himself asked Ormonde to pardon him.

In January 1670-1 Richard Talbot was sent by the 'discontented Irish gentry to obtain if possible the repeal of the Act of Settlement. Ormonde was at first placed on a committee for investigating the petition which Talbot brought; but his opposition to the petitioners led to a second committee being formed in February for a full revision of the settlement, from which he was excluded. This was, of course, at the time when Charles, by the Declaration of Indulgence, was endeavouring to dispense with the penal laws, and it is noticed that whereas Ormonde would never permit a papist to be a justice of the peace, such an appointment was now allowed. The committee was superseded in July 1673, and the attempt to upset the settlement fell to the ground.

During the seven years which elapsed between his dismissal from office and his second appointment—seven years of coldness on the king's part and enmity from the courtiers—Ormonde bore himself without reproach. At the end of June, however, tired of his disagreeable position, he returned for a while to Ireland, and on 14 July waited upon Essex, the lord-lieutenant, at Dublin, where he was received with enthusiasm. In April 1675 he returned to London at the special request of Charles, who wished to consult him about the course to be pursued in parliament. During the next two years he was occupied almost exclusively with refuting the charges brought against his government by Ranelagh, the mischiefs of whose 'undertaking' he had strongly represented to the king. For nearly a year Charles had not spoken to Ormonde, when suddenly he received a message that his majesty would sup with him that night. Charles then declared his intention of again appointing him to Ireland, saying next day: 'Yonder comes Ormonde; I have done all I can to disoblige that man, and to make him as discontented as others; but he will not be out of humour with me; he will be loyal in spite of my teeth; I must even take him in again, and he is the fittest person to govern Ireland.' How far this restoration was due to the desire of James to keep Monmouth from obtaining the post is uncertain.

In the beginning of August 1677 Ormonde set out for Ireland, passing through Oxford, where he held a convocation with great ceremony, and entering Dublin with royal display. His first and most important work was to get the revenue into some sort of order. On the subject of limiting the royal grants he seems to have made his own terms with Charles (CARTE, iv. 532, Clar. Press), and he took a bold step in insisting that when the revenue ran short it should be the pensions and not the civil or military lists that suffered. He was enabled, moreover, shortly to increase the army, build a military hospital at Kilmainham and a fort at Kinsale, and put many others in repair. It was now too that he formed the magnificent collection of manuscripts at his house of Kilkenny (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep.* passim). Upon the breaking out of the popish terror in England Ormonde took energetic measures. On 7 Oct. he was informed that the plot had extended to Ireland. On the 14th the council met. A proclamation was issued banishing all ecclesiastics whose authority was derived from Rome, dissolving all popish societies, convents, and schools, requiring catholics to bring in their arms within twenty

days, and all merchants and shopkeepers, both protestants and papists, to make a return of the amount of powder in their possession. The militia was put on guard, arms were sent from England, and Dublin Castle was jealously guarded. Ormonde was urged to measures still more severe, and refused to use them, thus raising the bitterest disappointment among those who hoped to profit by confiscations, and drawing upon himself the attacks of Shaftesbury and the other patrons of the plot. Ossory defended his father in the Lords with spirit, and Charles refused to consent to the removal of his old and tried servant. Ireland kept perfectly quiet, and the credit of the plot in England suffered in consequence, but a fictitious plot was concocted to give it support. In the midst of the trouble that ensued Ormonde heard of the death of his pure and gallant son Ossory, between whom and himself there had always existed the utmost affection and confidence. He shortly lost both his sister and his wife, the latter on 21 July 1685 (*ib.* vii. 498), and, later, several of his grandchildren. In the beginning of May 1682, the country having quieted down as soon as the king had mastered the exclusionists, Ormonde went to court, where he was at once employed in furnishing an answer to Anglesey's letter on Castlehaven's memoirs, in which the memory of Charles I was reflected on. He was now in constant attendance on the king, and was particularly active in securing the election of tory sheriffs for London, which compelled Shaftesbury to leave the country. On 9 Nov. one English dukedom having lapsed with the death of Lauderdale, another was conferred upon Ormonde. In the following February he was dangerously ill (*ib.* vii. 376 *a*), but recovered sufficiently to set out again for Ireland in August. Scarcely had he reached Dublin, however, before he was recalled to make way for the Earl of Rochester. This was in October. The causes of this sudden decision are not clear, though it is probable that Charles had made up his mind to favour the catholics in a manner which he thought Ormonde would not approve. Before he had time to hand over his government, however, the king died, and Ormonde's last act was to cause James II to be proclaimed in Dublin. His arrival in London on 31 March 1685 was signalled by a show of popular respect even more remarkable than on former occasions. At the coronation of James he carried the crown as lord steward, but otherwise lived as retired a life as possible. In January 1685-6 his second son, Richard, the earl of Arran, died, and in February Ormonde re-

tired to Cornbury in Oxfordshire, leaving it only to attend James in August on his progress in the west. He signalled his loyalty to protestantism and the church of England in 1687 by opposing the attempt of James to assume the dispensing power in the case of the Charterhouse, and it is to the credit of James that in spite of Ormonde's refusal to yield to his solicitation in this matter, or to listen to endeavours now made to induce him to turn catholic (CARTE, iv. 685, *Clar. Press*), he retained the duke in all his offices and held him in respect and favour to the last. The king paid Ormonde two personal visits when laid up with gout at Badminton. In 1688 he was taken for change of air to Kingston Hall in Dorsetshire, where in March he had a violent attack of fever from which he recovered with difficulty. On 22 June he was seized with ague, and on Saturday, 21 July, the anniversary of his wife's death four years before, died quietly of decay, not having, as he rejoiced to know, 'outlived his intellectuals.' He was buried in Westminster Abbey on the night of Saturday, 4 Aug. He had eight sons and two daughters, of whom only the two daughters—Elizabeth, married to Philip Stanhope, the earl of Chesterfield, and Mary, married to Lord Cavendish, the first duke of Devonshire—survived him. His grandson, James Butler (1665-1745) [*q. v.*], son of Thomas Butler, earl of Ossory [*q. v.*], his second child, succeeded him in the title.

[The chief authorities for Ormonde's life are Carte, especially the letters in the Appendix, and the Carte Papers in the Bodleian; Cox's and Leland's Histories of Ireland; Pepys's and Evelyn's Diaries, and the other diaries and memoirs of the period; the article in the *Biographia Britannica*; Burke's *Peerage and Lodge's Portraits*; while Mr. J. T. Gilbert's description and analysis of the Ormonde manuscripts at Kilkenny (which had previously neither been catalogued nor arranged), in the *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 8th Rep., are of the utmost value.] O. A.

**BUTLER, JAMES**, second DUKE OF ORMONDE (1665-1745), was born in Dublin Castle, 29 April 1665, the second but eldest living son of Thomas, Earl of Ossory [*q. v.*], and of his wife Emilia, daughter of de Beverweert, governor of Sluys. In 1675 he was sent to France 'to learn the French air and language, the two things which' the first duke his grandfather 'thought the best worth acquiring in that country' (CARTE). But his tutor, one de l'Ange, having 'in a manner buried' the boy among the tutor's relations at Orange, and having otherwise proved unsatisfactory, the duke summoned his grandson home and entered him at Christ Church,

Oxford, where he resided till Lord Ossory's death in 1680. From his father he seems to have inherited some of the personal qualities which afterwards helped to make him one of the most popular men of his age. The young Earl of Ossory now resided with his grandfather in Ireland till the duke's return to England in 1682. After this various matches were proposed for him, and he was married 15 July 1682 to Anne, daughter of Lawrence, Lord Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester. Her premature death, 25 Jan. 1684, no doubt helped to determine him in April of the same year to betake himself to the siege of Luxemburg, of which he witnessed the surrender in June. In July he was again summoned home by his grandfather, whom he accompanied to Ireland, where he had been appointed colonel of a regiment of horse. The duke was, however, recalled after a few months, and on his way back had to leave his grandson, who had been seized with small-pox at sea, to recover at Knowsley. Although the new king James II had treated the Duke of Ormonde with studied disrespect, Lord Ossory was soon after his recovery appointed a lord of the bedchamber, and served in the army despatched against Monmouth in the west. In the same year, 3 Aug. 1685, he married his second wife, Mary, eldest surviving daughter of the first Duke of Beaufort, by whom he had a son, who died in infancy, and five daughters. The death of the Duke of Ormonde, 21 July 1688, raised his grandson to the dukedom at a very critical moment; for three weeks previously the seven bishops had been acquitted, and the invitation to William of Orange despatched. In order at once to secure a chief whose loyalty to the church of England could be absolutely depended upon, the convocation at Oxford without delay elected by a majority the young Duke of Ormonde successor to his grandfather in the chancellorship of the university. As it proved, they only escaped Jeffreys by a couple of hours (MACAULAY; and cf. Appendix to *Diary of Henry, earl of Clarendon* (1828), ii. 489-92).

In September 1688 James II made Ormonde K.G., but the duke, who had no love for James II, and was connected by family ties with the United Provinces, pursued an independent course during the brief remainder of the reign. After the landing of the Prince of Orange he joined in the petition of 17 Nov. which called upon King James to summon a free parliament. The king's ungracious answer may have finally determined his course. Together with Prince George he supped at King James's table at Andover 25 Nov., and then with Lord Drum-

lanrig accompanied the prince in his ride to the quarters of the Prince of Orange. In the House of Lords Ormonde afterwards voted in the minority which approved the proposal of a regency; but he must have readily acquiesced in the decision actually arrived at, for at the coronation of William and Mary he acted as lord high constable, and declared defiance against all who should deny the title of the new sovereigns. In return, he was installed K.G. and gratified by the offices of gentleman of the bedchamber and colonel of the second troop of horse guards. His support was above all valuable on account of the position held by him in Ireland; and it was in his house in London that the Irish proprietors met to discuss the situation and to request King William if possible to come to terms with Tyrconnel. When the decision of arms was resorted to, Ormonde showed no hesitation. His name had been included in the great Act of Attainder passed at Dublin in May 1689, and his vast Irish estates, of which the annual income was valued at 25,000*l.*, had been declared confiscate to the crown. In the following year he served in King William's army at the head of his life guards, and was present at the battle of the Boyne. Immediately afterwards he was despatched with his uncle Lord Auverquerque to secure Dublin; and 19 July he had the satisfaction of entertaining King William in his ancestral castle at Kilkenny, which he had been sent forward to recover. In January 1691 he accompanied William to the Hague, and in 1692 took part, though not as active a part as he desired, in the battle of Steinkirk. At the battle of Landen, 29 July 1693, after nearly losing his life amidst the terrible carnage of the day, he was taken prisoner by the French; but after a brief captivity at Namur, where he found opportunities of munificence towards his fellow-prisoners, he was exchanged for the Duke of Berwick. His name headed the list of those specially excepted from the hope of any future pardon in the declaration issued by King James in April 1692, on the eve of the battle of La Hogue (CLARKE, *Life of James II*, ii. 485).

He had thus been consistently loyal towards William III, though, in accordance with the traditions of his house, he was reckoned among the Tories. A certain independence of action marked his conduct on the occasion of the debates about Fenwick's attainder in 1696 (MACAULAY, iv. 759-762); and he was in some measure identified with the popular sentiment of aversion to the foreigners in the service of the king. In 1699 William promoted his Dutch favourite

Albemarle over the heads of Ormonde and Rivers to the command of the first troop of life guards. Ormonde then resigned his command of the second troop; whereupon not only did fifty members of parliament join in expressing to him their sympathy, but there was talk of bringing in a bill to exclude all foreigners from official employment. The affair was, however, arranged by a compromise, and Ormonde magnanimously withdrew his resignation (KLOPP, viii. 341-2). It had been further hoped that of the Irish forfeitures resumed by parliament those in Tipperary would be bestowed upon him; but instead of this a proviso forgiving him the debts owed by him to persons whose property had been confiscated by the crown was introduced into the abnormal arrangements forced upon both king and lords by the spleen of the commons. These transactions, however, seem to have occasioned no personal estrangement between William III and Ormonde; for in March 1702 the latter was among the Englishmen who stood by the deathbed of the king.

Such was the popularity of Ormonde, that when in the new reign war had been actually declared, general satisfaction was caused by his appointment, 20 April 1702, to the command of the English and Dutch land forces which accompanied Sir George Rooke's fleet on the expedition against Cadiz (August). In June he was further gratified by being made lord-lieutenant of Somersetshire. His hope to prevail by pleasant words upon the governor of Cadiz, his former companion in arms in Flanders, proved as futile as his grandiloquent proclamation to the inhabitants. His plan for seizing the city by a *coup de main* having been outvoted, he assented to a counter-proposal that the troops should be landed midway between the towns of Rota and Puerto de Santa Maria. The former fell at once into the hands of the allies, and Santa Maria too was easily taken. Ormonde, whose headquarters were at Rota, failed to repress the excesses which followed on the part of his soldiery, though he held a court of inquiry into the conduct of his lieutenants. The attempt to capture Fort Matagorda failed, and discretionary powers having arrived, leaving it open to Rooke and Ormonde either to winter in Spain or to send part of the ships and troops to the West Indies and return home with the rest, a long series of bickerings ensued, which ended in the defeat of the general's wish to effect another landing in Spain. On 30 Sept. the fleet ingloriously weighed anchor; but a fortunate accident enabled the commanders before their return home to cover their discomfiture by a brilliant success.

The land forces under Ormonde had a share in the operations, which, after the taking of the batteries at Redondela, ended in the destruction of many Spanish and French ships, and the capture of part of the treasure of the Plate fleet, in Vigo harbour (12 Oct.) After this victory Ormonde would gladly have attempted to seize Vigo and hold it during the winter, but Rooke refused his co-operation, and both returned to England. Here they were most warmly received, and their achievements joined with Marlborough's in the vote of thanks from the two houses, and in the thanksgiving ceremony at St. Paul's, where Ormonde was hailed with special acclamations. He, however, notwithstanding the objections raised by his friends, insisted upon and ultimately obtained a parliamentary inquiry into the Cadiz miscarriage. It ended honourably for Rooke, Ormonde generously abstaining from taking any part in the final decision. The queen had sought to soothe him by naming him a privy councillor; and in 1703 he was appointed to the government of Ireland, which his father-in-law, Rochester, the queen's uncle, had just wrathfully resigned. Ormonde had a kind of ancestral claim to the lord-lieutenancy, and the history of his house was closely bound up with the protestant and loyal interest in Ireland. It is therefore not wonderful that he should have been enthusiastically received by the Irish parliament, which he opened 21 Sept. and which speedily voted the necessary supplies. But the session after all proved an unfortunate one. The cruel intolerance of the act against popery was little to the taste of the lord-lieutenant, though he promised to do his best for it in England; here, however, much to the vexation of the Irish parliament, a clause devised on the principle of the Test Act was added which bore hardly upon the presbyterians. Furthermore, some of Ormonde's subordinates were believed to have cooked the public accounts, and he was supposed to have held but a slack rein over the cupidity of those who surrounded him. The parliament, which had become violently incensed against him, was abruptly prorogued. In 1705, when a dispute raged between the commons and the lower house of convocation, he twice resorted to the same expedient, and in June he embarked for England. He was in April 1707 superseded in the government of Ireland by the Earl of Pembroke. On the overthrow of the whigs in 1710 he was reappointed to the same post, but in less than two years he was called away from the exercise of its duties, and retired 22 Sept. 1713. In December 1711 Marlborough had been dismissed from all

his offices, and soon afterwards Ormonde, besides being appointed colonel of the first regiment of foot guards, was appointed to succeed him in the post of captain-general and in the conduct of the campaign in Flanders, for which he took his departure in April 1712. Burnet declares that he was 'well satisfied both with his instructions and his appointments; for he had the same allowances that had been voted criminal in the Duke of Marlborough.' His instructions were to inform the States-General and Prince Eugene that the queen intended vigorously to push the war. The coldness of the reception, however, which he met with from Pensionary Heinsius, was speedily justified by the conduct of the government, which had selected an honourable man for the performance of a more than dubious task. Within a fortnight of his landing he was warned by St. John to be extremely cautious about engaging in any action, and at the end of May, just after he and Prince Eugene had reviewed the allied forces near Douai, arrived the orders, which were afterwards notorious as the restraining orders, but which he was instructed to keep secret, forbidding his joining in any siege or engaging in any action without further commands. The allies crossed the Scheldt, while Villars, whose position had seemed nearly desperate, at once found a pretext for entering into communications with Ormonde. They greatly embarrassed the British general, who, in reply to a pressing invitation from Prince Eugene, felt himself constrained to avow that he could not join in any operation before receiving further instructions from home. The true nature of his position was now an open secret, and as such was hotly discussed both at the Hague and in the houses of parliament at Westminster. When in June Prince Eugene gave orders for the siege of Quesnoy, Ormonde, in accordance with the declaration of ministers in parliament that such an operation was within his powers, consented to cover the siege in conjunction with the imperialist commander; but no sooner had the fall of the place become imminent than he informed Prince Eugene (25 June) that he was instructed to proclaim a cessation of arms for two months. Quesnoy, however, capitulated (10 July), and Ormonde failed to induce the commanders of the German troops in the queen's pay, headed by the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Cassel, to follow him to Dunkirk, which Louis XIV had agreed provisionally to give up to Great Britain. Instead of half the allied army, only the native British troops, 12,000 in number, now obeyed Ormonde's orders. Hav-

ing proclaimed a cessation of arms, he withdrew at the head of these troops (16 July) and marched upon Ghent and Bruges, which were already in British occupation, and which nearly alone among the places in Flanders opened their gates to our forces. Here and hereabouts they spent the winter, while Dunkirk was also nominally in British occupation. When the spring came, peace had been made.

Humiliating as Ormonde's experiences had been during his command—for his own officers and soldiers had expressed their share in the indignation excited by the policy which he was doomed to carry out—it does not seem as if his personal credit had permanently suffered from these proceedings. A general impression, more complimentary to his integrity than to his intelligence, prevailed that he had been employed because he did not at first penetrate the motives of his employers. The government rewarded him for his services by conferring on him the wardenship and admiralty of the Cinque Ports and the constableness of Dover Castle, together with a pension of 5,000*l.* a year upon the Irish revenues, this last in compensation of the recent restoration to the crown of some royalties in Tipperary which had formerly been for a time in his family. Inasmuch as he still held both the lord-lieutenancy and the captain-generalship, he was during the last part of Queen Anne's reign one of the most important personages in the state, and one on whom a large share of responsibility rested as to the conduct and policy of its government. As lord-lieutenant he at least found occasion for an act creditable both to his sense of justice and to his moral courage; for it was to 'his brother' Ormonde, in whose gift the preferment lay, that Swift primarily owed his appointment to the deanery of St. Patrick by an arrangement concerted, as he relates, between the queen, the duke, and the lord treasurer Oxford (*Journal to Stella*, 18 April 1713). It is less easy to determine the more important question, to what extent Ormonde was prepared to further the Jacobite designs rife in the last years of the reign. He was not a man usually capable of acting for himself, and he seems to have followed the lead of Bolingbroke rather than that of the more cautious Oxford, though the former afterwards explicitly denied having been at any time 'in his secret' (*Letter to Windham*). As captain-general he co-operated in the purification of the army from the leaven of Marlborough; and though as lord warden of the Cinque Ports he was specially responsible for the safety of the south coast, he was actually engaged in correspondence

with the Duke of Berwick (*Mémoires du Maréchal de Berwick*, cited in MACKNIGHT'S *Life of Bolingbroke*, 392). When Bolingbroke had at last succeeded in ousting Oxford from office and intended to form an essentially Jacobite administration of his own, Ormonde was to have been included in it (STANHOPE). Instead of this, his name together with Bolingbroke's figured among the signatures under the proclamation notifying the death of Queen Anne and the accession of King George. It was noticed that at the proclamation of the king, when Oxford was hissed and Bolingbroke met with a dubious reception, Ormonde was lustily cheered by the crowd (*Ford to Swift*, 5 Aug. 1714, cited by WYON, ii. 529-30). He was lord-lieutenant of Norfolk, 1713-14.

On the arrival in England of the new king, it seemed at first as if Ormonde were to be received into the royal favour. But 18 Sept. he was deprived of the captain-generalship; and though 9 Oct. he was named of the privy council in Ireland, he was a few days afterwards dismissed, being however apprised through Lord Townshend that the king would be glad to see him at court. When parliament met in March 1715, Stanhope, who in the debate on the address hinted at the willingness of ministers to call their predecessors to account, spoke of 'a certain English general who had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, Marshal Villars.' But Ormonde continued to maintain an attitude of dignity and even of defiance, holding receptions at Richmond to which Jacobites were openly admitted, and enjoying the huzzas of the London mob. To what extent he was at this time involved with the Pretender, who, according to Bolingbroke, had conferred upon Ormonde a commission 'with the most ample powers that could be given' for the conduct of a rising in England, will probably never be known. There seems even now to have existed among the whigs a wish to avoid prosecuting him with the other late tory leaders, and to induce him to recant his errors instead (see the letter from Cardonnel to Marlborough cited by STANHOPE, *History*, i. 122 note). But it was ultimately determined otherwise. On 21 June Stanhope moved his impeachment, and after a protracted debate, in which several known friends of the protestant succession spoke in his favour, the motion was carried by a majority of forty-nine. Yet it was still hoped that an audience with the king might set matters right, and many of his Jacobite friends urged him to take a conciliatory course, which still seemed open to him. Others wished him to co-operate in

the scheme for an insurrection in the west, to which he was already privy. But he refused to accept either advice, and once more following Bolingbroke's lead fled to France on 8 Aug. (for the story of his parting interview with Oxford in the Tower see STANHOPE, i. 127). He arrived, if Bolingbroke is to be believed, 'almost literally alone,' and for a time the two exiles lived together in the same house. On 20 Aug. he was attainted, his estates were declared forfeited, and his honours extinguished, and on 26 June 1716 an act vested his estates in the crown. Another act, however, passed in 1721, enabled his brother the Earl of Arran to purchase them, and this was done.

Ormonde, who had not yet lost heart, and was still, in Bolingbroke's phrase, 'the bubble of his own popularity,' took a prominent part in the unfortunate enterprise of 1715. Trusting in the promises of the Jacobites in England and in the pretences of the regent Orleans or his agents, he embarked in Normandy for the neighbourhood of Plymouth, where the country was to rise for King James. But on his arrival he was soon convinced of the futility of his expectations, and speedily sailed back to France. He never again returned to this country. In 1719, when Alberoni had resolved to assist the Pretender with a Spanish armada sailing from Cadiz, the conduct of it was offered to Ormonde, who was to join the fleet at Corunna, and there assume its command, with the title of captain-general of the King of Spain. In Ireland a reward of 10,000*l.* and in England one of 5,000*l.* were proclaimed for his apprehension on landing, and about the same time his house in St. James's Square was sold by auction by the crown. He was himself altogether distrustful of the success of the expedition, which numbered not more than 5,000 soldiers (partly Irish), and wrote from Corunna to Alberoni requesting that it might be postponed, which was tantamount to its being abandoned. But the fleet was dissipated off Cape Finisterre by a hurricane which lasted twelve days, and only two frigates reached the Scottish shore. In 1721, St. Simon found him resident at Madrid, and in favour with the queen and the court; and either there or later the Spanish government acknowledged his services, or his distinction, by a pension of 2,000 pistoles. Many years afterwards—in 1740—he was again in the Spanish capital, where he and Earl Marischal hoped to take advantage for the Jacobite cause of the breach between Spain and England. He was once more disappointed; nor could he well have now participated in any military enterprise.



The latter years of his life were spent chiefly at Avignon, where Lady Mary Wortley Montagu saw him in 1733, the year of his second wife's death. He died himself 16 Nov. 1745. His remains were brought to England and buried in the family vault in King Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey. With the death of his brother Charles, earl of Arran, in 1758 the titles of the family became extinct.

The second Duke of Ormonde, though in a sense born to greatness, certainly did not contrive to achieve it. The exceptional popularity which he enjoyed in England in the earlier half of his life is easily accounted for. Swift, describing the French ambassador to Stella, says that 'he is a fine gentleman, something like the Duke of Ormonde, and just such an expensive man.' He was not less munificent than he was wealthy, gracious in manner, and high-church in opinions. In other respects, too, he fell in with the then popular ideal of a patriotic English statesman, though really as little capable in the cabinet as on the battle-field, where, according to Prior (*Carmen Seculare*), his glory paled neither before that of his ancestors nor before that of King William himself. His loftiness of spirit was, however, not altogether for show, if St. Simon's anecdote be true, that he refused large domains offered to him in Spain as the price of conversion to the church of Rome, while we know that he declined to follow Bolingbroke in attempting to persuade the Pretender to abandon this faith. Except by virtue of his rank and position, he was as a politician throughout his life what Lady Mary Wortley Montagu says he was in 1733, quite insignificant. He never accomplished anything of importance except when by separating the British troops from those of the allies in Flanders he enabled his tory colleagues to conclude peace with dishonour.

There is a half-length portrait of the duke by Michael Dahl in the National Portrait Gallery.

[A useful biographical sketch of the second Duke of Ormonde is given in Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, ed. Archdall, 1789, iv. 59-64 note. Several facts concerning his early days and family connections will be found in Carte's *Life of [the first] James, Duke of Ormonde*, vol. iv. ed. 1851. Of his proceedings immediately before and after his flight to France, Bolingbroke gives an untrustworthy account in the Letter to Sir William Windham. Other modern authorities are Lord Macaulay's *History of England*; Lord Stanhope's *Reign of Queen Anne* (1870), and *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht* (1858); Smollett's *History of England*; O. Klopp's *Fall des Hauses Stuart* (1875-1881); Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*; and, more especially, F. W.

Wyon's *History of Great Britain during the reign of Queen Anne* (2 vols. 1876).]

A. W. W.

BUTLER, JAMES ARMAR (1827-1854), captain in the army, born in 1827, was the fourth son of Lieutenant-general the Hon. Henry Edward Butler, who had served in the 27th regiment in Egypt, and afterwards as a colonel in the Portuguese army at Busaco, where he was wounded. He was nephew of Somerset Richard Butler, third earl of Carrick. He was educated on the continent and at Sandhurst, and received his commission as an ensign in the 90th regiment in 1843. He served in the Caffre war of 1846-7, was promoted lieutenant in 1847, and purchased his captaincy in the Ceylon rifle regiment in May 1853. He was in England on furlough in the summer of 1854, when the war between Russia and Turkey had just broken out, and since he could not hope to be ordered with the expeditionary force, he set out with a friend, Lieutenant Charles Nasmyth, of the Bombay artillery, to see the fighting. The two friends went first to Omar Pasha's camp at Shumla; but as he did not seem inclined to advance, they asked leave to join the garrison at Silistria, to which the Russian army had laid siege on 19 May. Butler and Nasmyth soon obtained over the garrison the same absolute power that Eldred Pottinger acquired at Herat. The key to the fortress was believed to be the earthwork known as the Arab Tabia, and this work was perpetually bombarded and mined by the Russians, and attacked by heavy columns at all hours of the day and night. Mussa Pasha, the Turkish commandant, was killed, and so was the Russian commanding engineer; but still Omar Pasha would not send help, and when General Cannon (Behram Pasha) did introduce his brigade, he dared not keep it there, and retired within two days. On 13 June Butler had been slightly wounded in the forehead; privation and hard work made the wound dangerous, and on 22 June, two hours before the Russians retired, the hero of Silistria—who deserves the credit, though but a young English captain of twenty-seven, of defeating a whole Russian army—died peacefully without knowing of his triumph. On 14 July, before the news of his untimely death arrived, he had been gazetted a major in the army, and lieutenant and captain in the Coldstream guards.

[For the siege of Silistria see Nasmyth's letters to the Times in 1854; for a short memoir, Nolan's *Illustrated History of the War against Russia*, 2 vols. 1855 7; and generally, for the effect of the defence, Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, chap. 30.]

H. M. S.

**BUTLER, JOHN**, sixth EARL OF ORMONDE (*d.* 1478), brother of James, fifth earl [q. v.], was with his brother attainted by the first parliament of Edward IV, but was soon afterwards pardoned and restored in blood by Edward, and to all his estate except his lands in Essex, which had been granted by the king to his sister Anne. The attainder by the Irish parliament at Dublin, 2 Edward IV, was not however repealed till 16 Edward IV. Previous to succeeding to the earldom he was known as Sir John de Ormonde, having been knighted at Leicester by the Duke of Bedford, the king's uncle, for adherence to Henry VI. Edward IV used to say of him that he was 'the goodliest knight he ever beheld and the finest gentleman in Christendom; and that if good breeding, nurture, and liberal qualities were lost in the world, they might all be found in John, earl of Ormonde.' He had a thorough mastery of every European language, and had been an ambassador to nearly every European court. He died in the Holy Land during a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1478. He was unmarried, and was succeeded in the earldom by his brother Thomas.

[Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, iv. 14-16; Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxxxi; The Ormonde Attainders, by Hubert Hall, in the Genealogist, new ser., i. 76-9; The Barony of Arklow, by J. H. Round, in vol. i. of Foster's Collectanea Genealogica.] T. F. H.

**BUTLER, JOHN, D.D.** (*d.* 1800), catholic bishop of Cork, styled by courtesy Lord Dunboyne, was the third son of Edmond Butler, of Dunboyne, co. Meath, by courtesy eighth Baron Dunboyne (he died in 1732), and Anne, daughter of Oliver Grace, of Shanganagh, co. Tipperary. In his early days he devoted himself to the service of the church, but in consequence of his having lost an eye his ordination was delayed till the consequent canonical impediment had been dispensed with at Rome. The dignity of his birth and the interest of powerful friends procured his appointment to the see of Cork by brief of Pope Clement XIII, dated 16 April 1763, and he was consecrated in June the same year. After having occupied that see for twenty-three years he resigned his position and renounced his creed under very peculiar circumstances. On the death in December 1785 of his nephew, Pearce Edmond Creagh Butler, styled the eleventh Baron Dunboyne, the title and estates devolved on him. He expected from Rome a dispensation from the obligations of his episcopal character and permission to marry, but his application to the Holy See was an-

swered by Pius VI. in language of stern rebuke. With the hope of perpetuating his name and family he violated his vow of celibacy and married at Clonmel a protestant young lady, a cousin of his own, and daughter of Theobald Butler, of Wilford, co. Tipperary. On the intelligence being conveyed to Rome of the bishop's marriage the pope addressed to him a letter couched in severe terms. The original of this document, dated 9 June 1787, and an English translation are printed in England's 'Life of the Rev. Arthur O'Leary' (pp. 227, 332). Dr. Butler paid no heed to this document, but read his recantation of the distinctive doctrines of catholicism in the parish church of Clonmel on 19 Aug. 1787. He never officiated, however, in the protestant church. After his apostasy he frequented the services of the established religion on Sundays; and on one or two occasions, when ordinations were held in the chapel of Trinity College, during his residence in Dublin, he was invited to assist at the imposition of hands, but he anxiously declined to do so (*Life of O'Leary*, 226). No issue came of his marriage. Lord Dunboyne, as he was called, being by courtesy the twelfth baron, died at his residence, Dunboyne Castle, on 7 May 1800, having been a few days previously reconciled to the catholic church by William Gahan, D.D., a celebrated Augustinian friar. His widow survived him sixty years. She afterwards married J. Hubert Moore, of Shannon Grove, King's County, barrister-at-law, but died without issue in August 1860, aged 96.

By his will he bequeathed the Dunboyne estate to Maynooth College for the education of youths intended for the priesthood, devising his other estates to his heir-at-law and family. The bequest was disputed in December 1801, in a suit against the trustees of Maynooth, on the ground that any one 'relapsing into popery from the protestant religion was deprived of the benefit of the laws made in favour of Roman catholics, and was therefore incapable of making a will of landed property under the penal laws.' Dr. Gahan was examined at the assizes at Trim, on 24 Aug. 1802, to elicit from him whether he administered the last sacraments to Lord Dunboyne, and, on his refusing to reveal the secrets of the confessional, was sentenced to imprisonment in the gaol of Trim for contempt of court by Lord Kilwarden; but the jury having found, on a separate issue submitted to them, that the deceased had died a catholic, the judge directed the witness's release after a week's confinement.

The title of Dunboyne in the peerage of Ireland was created by Henry VIII in 1541, but was forfeited in the person of James, fourth baron, for his implication in the rebellion of 1641; he was outlawed in 1691 for adherence to the cause of King James II. The attainder was not reversed till 26 Oct. 1827, when James, thirteenth baron, was restored by the reversal of the outlawries affecting the title.

[England's Life of Arthur O'Leary; Brady's Episcopal Succession, ii. 95; Notes and Queries, 5th series, xi. 8, 31, 69; Universe, 20 Jan. 1866, p. 6; Burke's Peerage (1885), 444; Foster's Peerage (1882), 233; Madden's Revelations of Ireland, 61.] T. C.

**BUTLER, JOHN** (1717-1802), bishop of Hereford, son of James Butler of Hamburg, was born there in 1717. As a young man he was a tutor in the family of Mr. Child, the banker. He matriculated from University College, Oxford, on 10 May 1733, and graduated B.C.L. in 1746 and D.C.L. in 1752. He married for his first wife a lady who kept a school at Westminster; his second was the sister and coheiress of Sir Charles Vernon, of Farnham in Surrey, and this marriage considerably improved his social standing. Having taken orders he became a popular preacher in London, and in 1754 he published a sermon, preached at St. Paul's before the Sons of the Clergy. In the title-page he is described as chaplain to the Princess Dowager of Wales. In the same year he also published a sermon preached before the trustees of the Public Infirmary. He was installed as a prebendary of Winchester in 1760. In the title-page of a sermon preached before the House of Commons at St. Margaret's, Westminster, on the occasion of a general fast in 1758, he is described as minister of Great Yarmouth and chaplain to the Princess Dowager. In spite of this relation to the princess's household, in 1762 he issued a political pamphlet addressed to the 'Cocoa Tree' and signed 'A Whig.' In this pamphlet, which ran to three editions, he bitterly attacked Bute and the conduct of the ministry since the accession of George III. He was appointed chaplain to the Bishop of London (Dr. Hayter), received the living of Everley, Wiltshire, and on the recommendation of Lord Onslow was made one of the king's chaplains. In 1769 he was made archdeacon of Surrey. During the American war he issued a number of political pamphlets, under the signature of 'Vindex,' in which he strongly supports the policy of Lord North. He reaped the reward of his services in 1777, when he was appointed bishop of Oxford, being consecrated at Lambeth on 25 May. Butler had now adopted strong tory principles, and on

30 Jan. 1787 preached before the House of Lords on the death of Charles I. While bishop of Oxford he helped Dr. Woide to transcribe the Alexandrine MS. of the Bible. In 1788 he was translated to the bishopric of Hereford. He died 10 Dec. 1802, in his eighty-fifth year, leaving no children. At the advanced age of sixty he had undergone the operation of cutting for the stone. His published works are: 1. 'An Answer to the Cocoa Tree, by a Whig,' 1762. 2. 'A Consultation on the Subject of a Standing Army,' 1763. 3. 'Serious Consideration on the Character of the Present Administration,' 4. 'Account of the Character of the Rt. Hon. H. B. Legge.' 5. Sermons and charges of various dates, republished in a collective edition, 1801.

[Gent. Mag. lxxii. pt. i. 233, ii. 1170; Letter to the Cocoa Tree, by a Whig, in Collected Pamphlets B. (Brit. Mus.); Chalmers's Biog. Dict. vii. 455; Watt's Bibl. Brit. i. 177; Le Neve's Fasti Eccl. Angl.; Nichols's Lit. Anec. ix. 10.] B. C. S.

**BUTLER, JOSEPH** (1692-1752), bishop of Durham, was born at Wantage 18 May 1692. He was the youngest of the eight children of a well-to-do draper who had retired from business, and occupied a house called 'The Priory,' on the outskirts of the town. The room in which the bishop was born is still shown. He was first sent to the Latin school under the Rev. Philip Barton. Long afterwards, on becoming dean of St. Paul's, he bestowed one of his first pieces of patronage, the rectory of Hutton, in Essex, upon his old schoolmaster. (According to a statement by G. Lavington in the 'Rawlinson MSS.' he was educated at St. Paul's School. The statement is made on behalf of Butler, who 'doth not care to fill up' Rawlinson's form. He 'likes not to have his life wrote while he is living.') Butler's father intended him for the presbyterian ministry. He therefore sent the boy to a dissenting academy kept by Samuel Jones at Gloucester, and afterwards at Tewkesbury. Among Butler's fellow-pupils were Secker, afterwards archbishop, with whom he formed a lifelong friendship; Maddox, afterwards bishop of Worcester; and a well-known dissenting divine, Samuel Chandler. Jones's academy is described in a letter from Secker to Dr. Watts (GIBBONS, *Memoirs of Isaac Watts* (1780), p. 346). There were sixteen pupils who studied logic, Hebrew, mathematics, and classics. Butler's intellectual development is proved by the correspondence which he carried on while still at Tewkesbury with Samuel Clarke, a philosopher frequently consulted by youthful inquirers. Butler in his

first letter (4 Nov. 1713) advances two objections to the arguments by which Clarke in the Boyle Lectures of 1704-5 sought to demonstrate the existence and attributes of God. Butler doubts whether it is a contradiction to assert the 'self-existence of a finite being,' but declares himself convinced (in his fourth letter) by Clarke's arguments. He also doubts whether it is a contradiction to suppose the existence of two independent self-existing beings. This latter difficulty, after some discussion, resolves itself into a question as to the nature of time and space; and at the close of the correspondence Butler is still in doubt. At a later period he professed himself to be fully satisfied upon this point also (STEELE'S *Remains*, p. 18). Butler did not give his name, and sent his letters to the post through his friend Secker, describing himself to Clarke as 'a gentleman from Gloucestershire.' [The letters are given in Butler's 'Works' and in Clarke's 'Works,' vol. ii. 1738.] He declares in the fourth that he designs 'the search after truth as the business of his life,' and his obvious candour and ability made a favourable impression upon Clarke, with whom he soon afterwards corresponded under his own name. He had decided to conform to the church of England, and persuaded his father, after a little trouble, to allow him to enter at Oriel, March 1714-15, to pursue the necessary studies. He expresses to Clarke his dissatisfaction with Oxford. He regrets that he is obliged to quit his divinity studies by the want of encouragement to independent thinkers (STEELE'S *Remains*, p. 12). He has made up his mind (30 Sept. 1717) to migrate to Cambridge to avoid the 'frivolous lectures' and 'unintelligible disputations' by which he is 'quite tired out' at Oxford (*European Magazine*, xli. 9). Meanwhile he had become intimate with Edward Talbot, son of the bishop of Salisbury. In 1717 Talbot became vicar of East Hendred, near Wantage; and from entries in the parish registers it appears that Butler helped him in some of his duties. Butler took his B.A. degree on 16 Oct. 1718, and the B.C.L. on 10 June 1721. He was ordained deacon and priest by Bishop Talbot at Salisbury in October and December 1718 (*Rawlinson MSS.* fol. 16, 144), and was appointed in July 1719, through the influence of Clarke and Talbot, to the preacher-ship at the Rolls Chapel. His friend Talbot died in December 1720, leaving a widow and a posthumous daughter, who became the intimate friend of Mrs. Carter, and speaks with warmth of Butler's continued courtesy and kindness to her through his life (*Memoirs of Mrs. Carter*, i. 128). Mrs. Talbot and her daughter became inmates of Secker's family

after his marriage in 1725. Talbot had on his deathbed recommended Butler and Secker (known to him through Butler) to his father, the bishop. In 1721 Butler became prebendary of Salisbury. In the same year Bishop Talbot was translated to Durham, and in 1722 gave Butler the rectory of Houghton-le-Skerne, near Darlington. Butler was still a poor man, and received money at times from an elder brother, the last sum paid being 100*l.* in January 1725. A taste for building, which he showed through life, led him to spend more than he could afford upon repairing the Houghton parsonage. Meanwhile Bishop Talbot had ordained Secker in 1722, and in 1724 presented him to the rectory of Houghton-le-Spring. Secker, we are told, now used his influence with the bishop, due in the first instance to Butler's friendship, by inducing him to bestow upon Butler, in 1725, the rectory of Stanhope in Weardale, known in the north as the 'golden rectory.' Butler then became independent for the first time; and in the autumn of 1726 he resigned his preacher-ship, and published the celebrated 'Fifteen Sermons.' In the preface to the second edition, dated 6 Sept. 1729, he says that the selection of these from many others preached in the same place was 'in great measure accidental.' Butler led a secluded life at Stanhope, and little is known of his pursuits. A tradition, collected by Bishop Phillpotts, a successor in the living, tells us that he 'rode a black pony, and rode very fast' (BARTLETT'S *Butler*, p. 76), though a remoter tradition adds that he fell into reveries, and allowed his pony to graze at will (EGGLESTONE). We are also told that he found it hard to resist the importunity of beggars, and would try to escape them by shutting himself up in his house. His main occupation must have been the composition of the 'Analogy,' which was published in 1736. The 'Analogy' is dedicated to Charles, lord Talbot, who became chancellor in 1733, 'in acknowledgment of the highest obligations to the late Lord Bishop of Durham' (Talbot's father) 'and himself.' Talbot, on becoming chancellor, had appointed Butler his chaplain, and upon this occasion Butler took the D.C.L. degree at Oxford in December 1733. Talbot further made him a prebendary of Rochester (July 1736), and the same month he had become clerk of the closet to Queen Caroline. The old connection with the Talbots might well account for these preferments, to which, however, we are told that Secker again contributed. Queen Caroline took great interest in philosophical discussions. The controversy between Clarke and Leibnitz had been carried on through her, and Clarke, Berkeley, Hoad-

ly, and Sherlock had held conversations in her presence. Butler, as a friend of Clarke's, may have been introduced at these during his preachingship at the Rolls. Secker, who in 1733 had become chaplain to the king, mentioned his friend soon afterwards to the queen, who said that she thought he had been dead. She repeated this to Archbishop Blackburne of York, who replied, 'No, madame, he is not dead, but he is buried.' However this may be, the queen became interested in Butler, and commanded his attendance, we are told, every evening from seven till nine. The queen died next year (20 Nov. 1737), and just before her death commended Butler to Potter, the new archbishop of Canterbury. Butler, according to Lord Hervey (*Memoirs*, ii. 529), was the only person whom she recommended 'particularly and by name' during her illness. A month later, as Secker told Jekyll, who told Dr. Thomas Wilson, son of the bishop of Man, he preached a sermon before the king upon profiting by affliction; his hearer was much affected, and promised to 'do something very good for him' (STEELE'S *Remains*, p. 5).

George II, in any case, desired to carry out the queen's wishes. Butler received next year an offer from Walpole of the bishopric of Bristol, from which Dr. Gooch was translated to Norwich. In a letter to Walpole (dated Stanhope, 28 Aug. 1738) Butler accepts the offer, but says that it was 'not very suitable either to the condition of my fortune or the circumstances of my preferment, nor, as I should have thought, to the recommendation' (that is the queen's) 'with which I was honoured.' The bishopric was in fact the poorest in England. Butler was allowed to hold his prebend at Rochester (resigning that at Salisbury) and his rectory at Stanhope *in commendam*, until 1740, when he was appointed dean of St. Paul's with a prebend and residentiary canonry. He was installed 24 May, and resigned his preferments at Rochester and Stanhope. Butler spent considerable sums in improving the bishop's palace at Bristol; some report from three to five thousand pounds, others the whole income of the see for twelve years. The merchants of the town offered a large gift of cedar, part of which he carried afterwards to Durham. The few glimpses of Butler's private life belong to this period. In March 1737 John Byrom was introduced to him by the famous David Hartley, at whose house they met. A long argument took place, in which Butler supported the claims of reason, while Byrom defended the claims of authority. Byrom ends by wishing that he had 'Dr. Butler's temper and calmness, yet not quite,

because I thought he was a little too little vigorous' (BYROM'S *Remains* (Chetham Soc.), ii. 96-9). Byrom dined with Butler 14 Feb. 1749, when the bishop entertained a party of fifteen, and was 'very civil and courteous' (*ib.* p. 486). In August 1739 Wesley had an interview with Butler. Wesley was at the beginning of his career as a preacher, and his sermons had caused some of those phenomena which to Wesley appeared to be proofs of divine power, while Butler would regard them with suspicion as symptoms of 'enthusiasm' in the bad sense of the word. They had caused scandal, and the bishop probably felt it a duty to remonstrate. After some argument about faith and works, Butler spoke with horror of claims to 'extraordinary revelations and gifts of the Holy Spirit,' he spoke of people falling into fits at the meetings of the society, and ended by advising Wesley to leave his diocese. Wesley declined to give any promise (TYERMAN'S *Life of Wesley*, i. 247). At Bristol, Butler made the acquaintance of Josiah Tucker, afterwards the well-known dean of Gloucester. Butler made Tucker his domestic chaplain, and gave him a prebend in the cathedral. Tucker tells us that Butler used to walk for hours in the garden behind his palace at night, and upon one such occasion suddenly asked his chaplain whether public bodies might not go mad as well as individuals, adding that nothing else could account for most of the transactions in history (TUCKER'S *Humble Address and earnest Appeal to the Landed Interest*, p. 20, note).

On the death of Archbishop Potter in 1747 an offer of the primacy was made to Butler, who had in 1746 been made clerk of the closet to the king (on the death of Egerton, bishop of Hereford). Butler is said to have declined it on the ground that 'it was too late for him to try to support a falling church' (BARTLETT, p. 96). One of his nephews, John Butler, a rich bachelor, had previously shown his appreciation of the 'Analogy' by exchanging a presentation copy from his uncle for an iron vice belonging to a 'shrewd Scotch solicitor' named Thomson. Hearing, however, that his uncle had a chance of the archbishopric, he came up to town prepared to advance 20,000*l.* to meet his first expenses. In 1750 the bishopric of Durham was offered to Butler. It was proposed to him that the lord-lieutenancy of the county, previously attached to the bishopric, should be given to a layman, and that the deanery of St. Paul's to be vacated by him should be conferred upon Secker on condition that Butler should give the stall at Durham vacated by Secker to Dr. Chapman (master of Magdalene, Cam-

bridge). Butler declined to allow the dignity of the see to be diminished by the separation of the lord-lieutenancy, or to agree to a contract which he thought simoniacal. He was accordingly appointed to the bishopric unconditionally. The arrangement, however, as to Chapman and Secker was carried into effect. The lord-lieutenancy was not separated from the bishopric till the next vacancy. A plan for establishing bishops in the American colonies was suggested at this time by Butler (*Annual Register*, 1765, p. 108). It came to nothing, but was noticed in a later controversy between Secker and a Dr. Mayhew, of Boston, in 1763. A contemporary reference is made in R. Baron's 'Cordial for Low Spirits' (1751, preface to vol. iii.) [see BARON, R.] Butler was translated to Durham in July 1750, succeeding E. Chandler. He delivered a charge in 1751 (printed in his works). In this, after speaking strongly of the 'general decay of religion in the nation,' and speaking of the evil effects of light conversation in promoting scepticism, he insists upon the importance of observing outward forms, of maintaining churches, and regular services, as well as impressing the people by proper personal admonitions. He speaks incidentally of the influence of outward form in strengthening the beliefs, superstitions, and religions of heathens, Mahomedans, and Catholics. This passage gave very needless offence, and in 1752 Archdeacon Blackburne published an anonymous pamphlet called 'A Serious Enquiry into the Use and Importance of External Religion,' &c., in which Butler was accused of a tendency to Romanism. This pamphlet was republished with Blackburne's name by R. Baron, in a collection called 'The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy shaken,' and is included in Blackburne's works. It is only worth notice as partly accounting for the report afterwards spread, that Butler had died a catholic. Another circumstance which aroused the suspicions of his contemporaries was his erection in the chapel of his palace at Bristol of a slab of black marble over the altar, with an inlaid cross of white marble. It remained till the destruction of the palace in the Bristol riots of 1831.

The assertion that Butler died a catholic was made in 1767 in an anonymous pamphlet called 'The Root of Protestant Errors Examined' (attributed to Blackburne or Theophilus Lindsey). Secker replied in a letter to the 'St. James's Chronicle' (9 May), signed 'Misopseudes,' challenging the author to produce his authority. 'Phileleutheros,' the author, replied, giving no reasons beyond rumour, made probable, as he thought, by the circumstances of the Bristol cross and the

Durham charge. Secker on 23 May said that he regretted the cross, but emphatically denied the truth of the rumour. Other letters appeared in the same paper, showing only that the writers were determined to believe, though without a tittle of evidence. Secker in a letter of 21 July replied, exposing sufficiently the utter groundlessness of the statement. Butler's 'natural melancholy' and his fondness for 'lives of Romish saints and other books of mystic piety' are noticed and apparently admitted by the archbishop. He says that Butler was 'never a communicant in any dissenting assembly;' that he attended the established worship from his early years, and became 'a constant conformist' from his entrance at Oxford. (A full account is given in the notes to Halifax's preface to Butler's *Works*, i. p. xxxiii.)

Butler does not appear to have taken any part in politics. He had been wafted to his see, says Horace Walpole, 'in a cloud of metaphysics, and remained absorbed in it' (*George II*, i. 148). He had, however, a house at Hampstead, which had once belonged to Sir Henry Vane. Butler had filled the windows with painted glass, including some figures of the apostles, presented to him by the pope, according to 'local tradition.' Miss Talbot describes it to Mrs. Carter as a 'most enchanting, gay, pretty, elegant house' (*Letters* of 29 Feb. and 9 April 1751). The house was sold upon his death (see PARK'S *Hampstead*, p. 269). During his short tenure of the see of Durham, Butler showed great liberality, received the principal gentry three times a week, subscribed liberally to charities, and visited his clergy. The story was told that, in answer to some application for a subscription, he asked his steward how much money he had in the house. 'Five hundred pounds,' was the reply; upon which the bishop bestowed the whole upon the applicant, saying that it was a shame for a bishop to have so much.

Butler's health was failing, and his physicians sent him to Bristol and afterwards to Bath, where he died on 16 June 1752. He was buried in the cathedral at Bristol. Bishop Benson (Secker's brother-in-law) and Nathaniel Forster, Butler's chaplain, were in attendance. The last tells Secker that Butler was constantly talking of writing to his old friend, even when unable to express himself clearly. By his will he left 200*l.* to Forster, whom he appointed executor. The balance of his estate after various bequests, including 500*l.* to the Newcastle Infirmary and 500*l.* to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, was to be distributed among his nephews and nieces. The total amount left seems to

have been between 9,000*l.* and 10,000*l.* (BARTLETT, 277). He also directed that 'all his sermons, letters, and papers whatever, which are in a deal box locked, directed to Dr. Forster, and now standing in the little room within my library at Hampstead, be burnt, without being read by any one, as soon as may be after my decease.' A writer in Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes' (ix. 292) says that he has reason to know that some of Butler's manuscript sermons 'are still (1815) in being.'

One portrait of Bishop Butler is in the Newcastle Infirmary, and was taken during his last illness. It is engraved in the Oxford edition of his works. A second was painted by Hudson for his nephew Joseph, and a third by Vanderbank in 1732, which is engraved in Bartlett's 'Life.' The last two were both at Kirby House, the residence of his nephew's grandson.

Butler's position in contemporary speculation was unique. The deist controversy, which culminated about 1730, is throughout in his mind, though he designedly abstains from special references. The method of abstract metaphysical reasoning applied by his early friend Clarke both to ethical and theological speculations had led to a system which tended to reduce the historical element of belief to a secondary position or to eliminate it entirely. Butler, while admitting the validity of Clarke's reasoning, adopts the different method of appealing to observation of facts (*Preface to Sermons*, p. vii). His ethical system is therefore psychological, or appeals to the constitution of human nature, as the 'Analogy' to the constitution of the world at large. In the sermons and the dissertation on 'The Nature of Virtue' he assails especially the egoistic utilitarianism of which Hobbes had been the great teacher in the previous age, and which was maintained both on *à priori* and empirical grounds. In this he follows Shaftesbury (the only writer to whom he explicitly refers), who had endeavoured to show the general harmony between virtue and happiness; but he tries to fill a gap in Shaftesbury's argument by showing the natural supremacy of conscience, and therefore the existence of moral obligation, even where self-interest is opposed to conscience. The main result of the sermons is therefore the psychological system, in which the conscience is represented as holding a supreme position by its own self-evidencing authority among the various faculties which constitute human nature; while other passions, and in particular self-love and benevolence, are independent but subordinate. The psychology, though some-

what perplexed, shows remarkable acuteness, and the argument that self-love, instead of being the sole or supreme faculty, really presupposes the existence of co-ordinate passions, is especially noteworthy. Butler greatly influenced the common-sense school of Hutcheson and his followers, who are also allied to Shaftesbury; and his influence upon Hume is perceptible, especially in Hume's admission of independent benevolent impulses, in connection with a utilitarian principle which had generally been interpreted as leading to pure egoism. Hume (it may be noticed) desired in 1737 to be introduced to Butler, and sent him a copy of the 'Treatise on Human Nature' on its publication in 1739. He expressed his pleasure in 1742 upon hearing that his first set of essays (which did not include those offensive to the orthodox) had been 'everywhere recommended' by Butler (BURTON'S *Hume*, i. 64, 106, 143).

The famous 'Analogy' is an endeavour to show that, as the particular frame of man reveals a supreme conscience, so the frame of nature shows a moral governor revealed through conscience. Assuming the validity of the *à priori* arguments for theism and the immortality of the soul, he maintains that the facts of observation fall in with the belief that this life is a probationary state where men are, as a matter of fact, under a system of government which encourages virtue as such and discourages vice, and therefore imply the probability that in a future life there will be a complete satisfaction of the claims of justice. This leads to a consideration of the problem of free will and necessity, while the second part argues for the conformity between the doctrine thus taught by fact and the nature of the christian revelation.

The impressiveness of Butler's argument, the candour of his reasonings, and the vigour and originality of his thought have been denied by no one. It is remarkable, indeed, that the greatest theological work of the time, and one of the most original of any time, produced little contemporary controversy. The only works directed against him during his life were a short and feeble tract, 'Remarks upon Dr. Butler's sixth chapter, &c., by Philanthropus' (Mr. Bott) [see BOTT, THOMAS], in 1737, and 'A Second Vindication of Mr. Locke, wherein his sentiments relating to personal identity are cleared up from some mistakes of the Rev. Dr. Butler, &c., 1738, by Vincent Perronet, vicar of Shoreham. This is a sequel to a vindication of Locke against Bishop Browne, and includes an answer to Andrew Baxter. These pamphlets are worthless. Butler's contemporaries

were perhaps deterred by the fear of venturing into the profundities of his argument. Hume's writings on theology, indeed, especially the essay upon 'A Providence and a Future State,' contain an implicit criticism of the 'Analogy.' At a later period the proofs of Butler's influence are abundant. To some thinkers he appears as the most profound apologist of christian theology, while others have held that his argument leads to scepticism, because, while conclusive against the optimism of the deists, it really shows only that the difficulties in revealed theology are equalled by the difficulties of natural religion. It is a retort, not an explanation, and therefore sceptical in essence. This was the view taken by James Mill, in whose mental history the study of the 'Analogy' was a turning point, according to his son (J. S. MILL's *Autobiography*, p. 38). A similar view is stated by Mr. James Martineau, who says (*Studies of Christianity*, p. 93) that Butler has unintentionally 'furnished . . . one of the most terrible persuasives to atheism ever produced.' A different view is expressed by Cardinal Newman, who says (*Apologia*, part iii.) that the study of the 'Analogy' formed an 'era in his religious opinions.' He learnt from it the view that the world is a 'sacramental system' in which 'material phenomena are both the types and instruments of the things unseen; and he was deeply impressed by Butler's characteristic doctrine that 'probability is the guide of life.' Other references may be found in Mr. Hunt's 'History of Religious Thought in England; Mr. Pattison's essay on the 'Tendencies of Religious Thought in England (1688-1750); Hennell's 'Sceptical Tendency of Butler's "Analogy,"' 1865; Mr. Matthew Arnold's 'Butler and the Zeitgeist' in 'Last Essays on the Church and Religion; William Lucas Collins's 'Butler,' 1881; and Canon Spooner's 'Bishop Butler,' 1901.

Butler's works are: 1. 'Fifteen Sermons preached at the Rolls Chapel, 1726 (dedicated to Sir Joseph Jekyll). 2. 'The Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Constitution and Course of Nature. To which are added two brief dissertations: (1) Of Personal Identity; (2) Of the Nature of Virtue,' 1736. 3. 'Six Sermons preached upon Public Occasions,' viz.: (1) before the Society for Propagating the Gospel, 16 Feb. 1739; (2) before the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs, and the governors of the several hospitals of the city of London, Monday in Easter Week, 1740; (3) before the House of Lords, 30 Jan. 1740-1; (4) at the annual meeting of the charity children at Christ

Church, 9 May 1745; (5) before the House of Lords, 11 June 1747; (6) before the governors of the London Infirmary, 31 March 1748. 4. 'A Charge at the Primary Visitation of Durham in 1751.'

These, together with the correspondence with Clarke, form Butler's works. The first collected edition was published at Edinburgh in 1804, with a Life by Kippis from the 'Biographia,' and a preface and notes by Halifax, bishop of Gloucester. It was reprinted, at Oxford in 1807 and subsequently. The statesman W. E. Gladstone edited Butler's works (2 vols. with a third volume of subsidiary studies) for the Oxford University Press, 1896. Another collection, edited by Dr. J. H. Bernard, appeared in 1901 (2 vols.) An edition of the 'Analogy,' with a careful collation of the first editions, was published at Dublin in 1860 by W. Fitzgerald, bishop of Cork. A sermon attributed to Butler was first printed in the appendix to Bartlett's 'Life.' An 'Enquiry concerning Faith,' London, 1744, has been doubtfully attributed to him (*Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. vi. 198). A list of writings upon the Bangorian controversy by a Mr. Herne says that a letter of thanks from a young clergyman to the Rev. Dr. Hare for his visitation sermon at Putney in 1719 'was written by the author of some papers in the 'Freethinker,' including No. 125 (1 June 1719) upon 'Optical Glasses.' In the reprint of this list in Hoadly's 'Works' (1761) this author is identified with Butler, probably owing to confusion with Archbishop Boulter of Dublin, bishop of Bristol 1719-24, who helped Ambrose Philips in the 'Freethinker.'

[The first Life of Butler is in the supplement to the Biog. Britannica (1753), with information from a nephew; a further Life by Kippis in his edition of the Biographia is prefixed to Butler's Works; cf. Rawlinson MSS. fo. 16144, 8vo, v. 221, vi. 63. The Life by Thomas Bartlett (1839) gives the fullest information and refers to unpublished documents. Some Remains (hitherto unpublished MSS. in the British Museum) of Bishop Butler, 1853 (preface by E. Steere). Stanhope Memorials of Bishop Butler, by W. M. Egglestone, adds little. Cf. Porteus's Life of Secker; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy).] L. S.

BUTLER, SIR PIERCE or PIERS, eighth EARL OF ORMONDE and first EARL OF OSSORY (d. 1539), was descended from the Butlers, baronets of Poolestown, and was the son of Sir James Butler and Sawe (Sabina), daughter of Donnell Reogh MacMurrrough Cavenagh, prince of his sept. He succeeded Thomas, seventh earl of Ormonde, in 1515. He took a prominent part in suppressing the Irish rebellions, and when the Earl of Surrey, who was his intimate friend, left the



kingdom in 1521, he was appointed lord-deputy. Owing to the representations of the Talbots he was removed from the government in 1524, but the king, to indicate his disagreement with the decision of the commissioners, created him on 13 May lord-treasurer of Ireland. At the special request of the king he surrendered the earldom of Ormonde to Sir Thomas Boleyn (or Bullen), grandson of the seventh earl of Ormonde and brother of Anne Boleyn, and in lieu thereof he was created Earl of Ossory by patent dated 23 Feb. 1527-8. By Lodge and other authorities it is stated that the earldom of Ormonde was restored to Sir Pierce Butler on 22 Feb. 1537-8, on the death of Sir Thomas Boleyn; but, as is shown by Mr. J. H. Round (*FOSTER, Collect. Geneal.* vol. i.), the grant of the earldom was made before the death of Thomas Boleyn, earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde, and that the earldom was a new one is sufficiently attested by the fact that it was limited to heirs male of his body. After its conferment 'the Earl of Wilts,' as is mentioned in the 'Carew State Papers,' 'was content to be so named earl of Ormonde in Ireland, semblably as the two Lords Dacres be named the one of the south and the other of the north' (*Calendar, Carew MSS.* 1515-1574, p. 127). The Earl of Ormonde manifested the sincerity of his loyalty by his activity in taking measures for crushing the insurrection of his brother-in-law, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, and after the latter's execution he was rewarded by a large grant of lands. He afterwards turned his arms against the Earl of Desmond, who submitted and took an oath of fidelity. He died on 21 or 26 Aug. 1539, and was buried in the chancel of St. Canice's Cathedral, Kilkenny. He is stated to have been 'a man of great honour and sincerity, infinitely good-natured.' He brought over to Kilkenny artificers and manufacturers from Flanders and the neighbouring provinces, whom he employed in working tapestry, diaper, Turkey carpets, and similar industries. By his wife Margaret, daughter of Gerald Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, he had three sons and six daughters. His second son, RICHARD, created Viscount Mountgarret, 23 Oct. 1550, was grandfather of Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret [q.v.] His eldest son, JAMES, created Viscount Thurles in 1535, became ninth Earl of Ormonde, married Lady Joan Fitzgerald, daughter and heiress of James, eleventh earl of Desmond, was suspected of hostility to the English government, and was poisoned while in London at a supper at Ely House. He died on 28 Oct. 1546. His son Thomas (1532-1614) [q.v.] succeeded to the earldom.

[*Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde* (Oxford ed. 1851), i. lxxxvi-xciii; *Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, iv. 19-22; *Paper on the Barony of Arklow* by J. H. Round in *Foster's Collectanea Genealogica*, vol. i.; and on the Ormonde Attainders in the *Genealogist*, new ser., vol. i. No. 7, 186-9; *State Papers, Irish Series*; *Calendar of Carew MSS.*] T. F. H.

BUTLER, PIERCE, third VISCOUNT GALMOY (1652-1740), was descended from Thomas Butler, tenth earl of Ormonde [q.v.], and was the son of Edward, second viscount Galmoy, and Eleanor, daughter of Charles White of Leixlip, and widow of Sir Arthur Aston. He was born on 21 March 1652. On 6 Aug. 1677 he was created D.C.L. of Oxford. By James II he was appointed a privy councillor of Ireland, and lieutenant of the county of Kilkenny. As colonel of a regiment of Irish horse he was at the siege of Londonderry, where the protestants accused him of barbarity and treachery (*MACAULAY, c. xii.*) He fought at the Boyne and Aughrim, and was afterwards outlawed. He was Irish commissioner at the capitulation of Limerick, and included in the amnesty (3 Oct. 1691). He retired to France, and was created Earl of Newcastle by James II. His English estates were forfeited and he was attainted in 1697. In France he was named colonel of the second queen's regiment of Irish horse in the service of that country, and served with distinction in various continental wars. He died at Paris on 18 June 1740. His only son, JAMES, by Elizabeth, daughter of Theobald Matthew, was killed at Malplaquet. A nephew, James, assumed the title of third viscount Galmoy.

[*Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, iv. 48, 49; *O'Callaghan's Irish Brigades in the Service of France*; *List of Oxford Graduates*; *Burke's Extinct Peerages*, 97.] T. F. H.

BUTLER, RICHARD, third VISCOUNT MOUNTGARRET (1578-1651), was the son of Edmund, second viscount Mountgarret, and Grany or Grizzel, daughter of Barnaby, first lord of Upper Ossory, and was born in 1578. His first wife was Margaret, eldest daughter of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and having joined in his father-in-law's rebellion, he specially distinguished himself by his defence of the castles of Ballyragget and Cullihill. His estates were nevertheless confirmed to him on the death of his father in 1605, and he sat in the parliaments of 1613, 1615, and 1634. At the rebellion of 1641 he was appointed joint governor of Kilkenny with the Earl of Ormonde, but being alarmed by designs said to have been formed against the lords of the Pale, he, after writing an explanatory letter to the Earl of Ormonde,

took possession of Kilkenny in the name of the confederates. He then detached parties to secure other adjacent towns, which was done with such success that in the space of a week all the fortresses in the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary were in their power. After this he was chosen general of the confederates; but the county of Cork having insisted on choosing a general of its own, his forces were thereby considerably weakened, and he was defeated by the Earl of Ormonde at Kilrush, near Athy, on 10 April 1642; but, returning to Kilkenny, he was chosen president of the supreme council formed there in the following summer. In 1643 he was at the battle of Ross, fought by General Preston against the Marquis of Ormonde, and he took part in the capture of various fortresses. He died in 1651, but was excepted, though dead, from pardon for life or estate by the crown in the act of parliament for the settlement of Ireland passed on 12 Aug. 1652. He was buried in the chancel of St. Canice's cathedral, Kilkenny, under a monument with a eulogistic Latin inscription. By his first wife, Margaret, eldest daughter of Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, he had three sons and six daughters, of whom Edmund became fourth viscount. He was again twice married: to Thomasine (afterwards named Elizabeth), daughter of Sir William Andrews of Newport, and to Margaret, daughter of Richard Branthwaite, serjeant-at-law, and widow of Sir Thomas Spencer of Yarnton, Oxfordshire, but by neither of these marriages had he any issue.

[Lodge's Peerage of Ireland, iv. 49-66; State Papers, Irish Series; Carew State Papers; Cox's History of Ireland; Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormonde.] T. F. H.

**BUTLER, RICHARD** (d. 1791), major-general in the United States army, was a native of Ireland, and went to America some time before 1760. At the outbreak of the war of independence he became a lieutenant-colonel of the Pennsylvania troops, and in 1777 held that rank in Morgan's rifle corps, with which he distinguished himself on various occasions. In 1781 he was with Lafayette in Virginia, and at the close of the war was lieutenant-colonel of the 9th Pennsylvania regiment. About 1787 he was agent for Indian affairs in Oregon; and in St. Clair's expedition against the Indian tribes in 1791 commanded the right wing of the force, with the rank of major-general. The troops, composed of United States regulars and militia, were attacked in their camp, about twenty miles from Miami Towns, by the Indians, on

the morning of 4 Nov. 1791, and defeated with heavy loss. Butler, after fighting bravely on foot in the front line, was shot down just as he mounted his horse, and was tomahawked and scalped.

[Drake's American Biography (1852); Diary of Colonel Winthrop Sargent, adjutant-general, U.S. army, in the campaign of 1791, edited by his grandson (Wormsloe, 1851, 4to).] H. M. C.

**BUTLER, SAMUEL** (1612-1680), poet, was the fifth child and the second son of Samuel Butler, a Worcestershire farmer, and a churchwarden of the parish of Strensham, where the poet was baptised on 8 Feb. 1612. The entry is in his father's handwriting. The elder Samuel Butler owned a house and a piece of land, which was still called Butler's tenement fifty years ago; the value of this was about 8*l.* a year (see *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, iv. 387, 469). According to Aubrey, however, the poet was not born in this Strensham house, but at a hamlet called Bartonbridge, half a mile out of Worcester. The father, according to Wood, leased of Sir Thomas Russell, lord of the manor of Strensham, an estate of 300*l.* a year. The boy was educated in Worcester free school. He has been identified, but against probability, with the Samuel Butler who went up to Christ Church, Oxford, from Westminster in 1623; another legend, somewhat better supported, says that he proceeded for a short time, about 1627, to Cambridge. It is probable that the first of several situations which he occupied was that of attendant, with a salary of 20*l.* a year, to Elizabeth, countess of Kent, at her residence of Wrest in Bedfordshire. The fact that he found Selden under the same roof makes it probable that this occurred in 1628. Selden seems to have interested himself in Butler's talents, and to have trained his mind. The young man spent several years at Wrest, and employed his leisure in studying painting under Samuel Cooper, or more probably with him, for Cooper was not yet illustrious. Butler is said to have painted a head of Oliver Cromwell from life; his pictures were long in existence at Earl's Coombe in Worcestershire, but were all used, in the last century, to stop up broken windows. Butler spent some years of his early life at Earl's Coombe as clerk to a justice of the name of Jeffereys. He seems to have served as clerk or attendant to a succession of country gentlemen. One of these was Sir Samuel Luke of Cople Hoo, near Bedford, a stiff presbyterian, and one of Cromwell's generals. This person sat for the character of Hudibras,

A Knight as errant as e'er was;

but some of the touches are said to be studied from another puritan employer of Butler's, Sir Henry Rosewell of Ford Abbey in Devonshire. It is supposed that Butler spent some time in France and Holland, which indeed his own writings show. He is not known to have published anything, or to have attained the smallest reputation, until after the death of Cromwell. In 1659, at the age of forty-seven, he first appeared before the public with an anonymous prose tract, in favour of the Stuarts, entitled '*Mola Asinaria*.' Perhaps in reward for this service, he was appointed secretary to Richard, earl of Carbury, when he was made lord president of Wales in 1660. Lord Carbury made Butler steward of Ludlow Castle. Some bills in which his name occurs are published in '*Notes and Queries*' (1st ser. v. 5). He married soon after this, his wife being differently described as a spinster of the name of Herbert and as a widow of the name of Morgan. Whatever her name was, she was supposed to be well dowered, and Butler probably had the rashness to resign his appointment at Ludlow on that account, for he certainly did not hold it more than a year. He lived comfortably on his wife's jointure for a time, till the money was lost on bad securities. The obscurity which hangs over every part of Butler's life makes it impossible to say whether he did or did not succeed in securing the patronage of George, duke of Buckingham. Wycherley told a lively story which, if true, shows that Butler was not so successful; but Butler has left a sketch of Buckingham which, though extremely satirical, seems founded on such study as a secretary alone would have the opportunity of making.

At the age of fifty Butler suddenly became famous. Fifteen years before, in the puritan houses where he had lived, he had strung his pungent observations and jingling satirical rhymes into a long heroi-comic poem. The times had changed, and this could now be produced without offence to the ruling powers. On 11 Nov. 1662 was licensed, and early in 1663 appeared, a small anonymous volume entitled '*Hudibras* : the first part written in the time of the late wars.' This is the first genuine edition, but the manuscript appears to have been pirated, for an advertisement says that 'a most false and imperfect copy' of the poem is being circulated without any printer's or publisher's name. Exactly a year later a second part appeared, also heralded by a piracy. The book was introduced at court early in 1663 by the Earl of Dorset, and was instantly patronised by the king. Copies of the first editions of '*Hudibras*,' not very unfrequently have inscriptions show-

ing that they were the gift of Charles II to their first owner. Butler has himself recorded this royal partiality for his book :—

He never ate, nor drank, nor slept,  
But '*Hudibras*' still near him kept;  
Nor would he go to church or so,  
But '*Hudibras*' must with him go.

It was, however, the scandal of the age, that though the king was lavish in promises, he never did anything to relieve Butler's poverty. Lord Clarendon also greatly admired him, and had his portrait painted for his own library, but in spite of all his promises gave him no employment. The neglect of Butler is one of the commonplaces of literary morality, but the reader is apt to fancy that Butler was not easy to help. It is not plain that he had any talent, save this one of matchless satire; and in his private intercourse he was displeasing. From childhood 'he would make observations and reflections on everything one said or did;' he had few friends, and was not careful to retain those few. He lived in poverty and obscurity for seventeen years after the first appearance of '*Hudibras*,' publishing a third part of that poem in 1678 (the different forms of which are described in '*Notes and Queries*,' 6th ser. vi. 108, 150, 276, 311, 370, 454), and two slight pieces, the '*Geneva Ballad*' in 1674, and an '*Ode to the Memory of Du-Val*' in 1671. In 1672 he printed an abusive prose tract against the nonconformists, called '*Two Letters*.' Butler in his later years was much troubled with the gout, and from October 1679 to Easter 1680 he did not stir out of his room. He lived in Rose Street, Covent Garden, until he died of consumption, although he was not yet seventy, on 25 Sept. 1680. His best friend, William Longueville, a benchor of the Inner Temple, tried to have Butler buried in Westminster Abbey, but found no one to second him in this proposal. He therefore buried the poet at his own expense, on the 27th, in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. Aubrey says :— 'In the north part, next the church at the east end; his feet touch the wall; his grave 2 yards distant from the pilaster of the door, by his desire, 6 foot deep.' Wood describes Butler as 'a boon and witty companion, especially among the company he knew well.' Aubrey writes of Butler's appearance: 'He is of a middle stature, strong set, high coloured, a head of sorrel hair, a severe and sound judgment, a good fellow.' This writer, who knew him pretty well, gives us an idea that the legend of Butler's poverty was exaggerated in the reaction which began in his favour soon after his death. A tradition is preserved

by Granger that Butler was in receipt of a pension of 100*l.* a year at the time of his death.

The success of 'Hudibras,' and a rumour that a large quantity of Butler's unpublished manuscript was in existence, encouraged the production of a great many spurious posthumous collections of his verses. For some reason or other, however, the papers of Butler were preserved untouched by William Longueville, who bequeathed them to his son Charles, and he in his turn to a John Clarke of Walgherton in Cheshire. This gentleman, in November 1754, consented to allow R. Thyer, the keeper of the public library in Manchester, to examine them. The result was the publication in 1759 of two very interesting volumes, entitled 'The Genuine Remains in Verse and Prose of Mr. Samuel Butler.' These volumes contain much that is only second in merit to 'Hudibras' itself, among others a brilliant satire on the Royal Society, entitled 'The Elephant in the Moon,' and a series of prose 'Characters.' The collection of manuscripts from which these were selected was sold in London to the British Museum in 1885, and is now numbered there (*MSS. Addit.* 32625-6). Several of the pieces are still unpublished. 'Hudibras,' which received the honour of being illustrated by Hogarth in 1726, was several times carefully edited during the eighteenth century (for an account of the illustrated editions see *Notes and Queries*, 4th series, xi. 352, and 5th series, iii. 456). The edition of Dr. Grey, which appeared first in 1744, is still considered the standard one. 'Hudibras' was translated into French verse with great skill by John Townley (1697-1782). In 1721 a monument to Butler was raised in Westminster Abbey, at the expense of the lord mayor, John Barber, a graceful act which Pope rewarded in two spiteful lines: But whence this Barber? that a name so mean Should, join'd with Butler's, on a tomb be seen.

A portrait of Butler by Lely is in the gallery at Oxford; another by Lely was painted for Clarendon (see *EVGLYN'S Diary*, BRAY and WHEATLEY, iii. 444); Soest painted a third portrait, which was engraved for Grey's edition of 'Hudibras.'

[Very little has been discovered with regard to Butler's life beyond what Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss) iii. 874) reported. That little was mainly given to the world by Dr. Nash, in the second volume of his *Collections for the History of Worcestershire*, in 1782. There have been no later discoveries than those made by Nash more than a century ago. Oldys made some notes for a life of Butler, which are in *Brit. Mus. MS. Addit.* 4221, pp. 198-203. See also Granger's *Biog. Hist.* iv. 38-40.] E. G.

**BUTLER, SAMUEL** (1774-1839), bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, born at Kenilworth 30 Jan. 1774, was the son of William Butler of that place; was admitted to Rugby 31 March 1783, and entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1792. At Cambridge his career was singularly brilliant. He obtained three of Sir William Browne's medals, and in 1793 was elected Craven scholar in competition with Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Keate, afterwards head-master of Eton, and Christopher Bethell, afterwards bishop of Bangor. He was a senior optime in the mathematical tripos of 1796, when he proceeded B.A. He carried off the chancellor's medals in 1797, and the member's prizes for 1797 and 1798. He became fellow of St. John's 4 April 1797, and in 1798 was appointed head-master of Shrewsbury School. He held this appointment for thirty-eight years. Although many ecclesiastical benefices were conferred on him within that period, the school occupied most of his attention, and it acquired a very high reputation during his head-mastership, in which he was succeeded by his pupil, Dr. Benjamin Hall Kennedy, in 1836. In 1802 Butler became vicar of Kenilworth, and in 1811 he proceeded D.D. In 1807 he was instituted to a prebend at Lichfield, in 1821 to the archdeaconry of Derby, and in June 1836 (when he left Shrewsbury) to the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry. In December 1836 the archdeaconry of Coventry was annexed to the see of Worcester, and left Butler bishop of Lichfield. While holding this office Butler suffered much ill-health, but he administered his diocese with great energy, and was popular with his clergy. He died 4 Dec. 1839, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Shrewsbury. He married in 1798 Harriet, daughter of the Rev. East Aphthorp, B.D., vicar of Croydon and rector of St. Mary-le-Bow, by whom he had two daughters, Mary and Harriet, and one son, Thomas. His elder daughter married Edward Bather [q. v.], and his son became rector of Langar.

Butler was the author of many educational works, the chief of which are: 1. An elaborate edition of 'Æschylus,' published at the Cambridge University Press in four volumes between 1809 and 1826. 2. 'A Sketch of Modern and Ancient Geography,' Shrewsbury, 1813 (and frequently reprinted). 3. 'An Atlas of Ancient Geography.' 4. 'An Atlas of Modern Geography.' He was also the editor of 'M. Musuri Carmen in Platonem, Is. Casauboni in Josephum Scaligerum Ode. Accedunt Poemata et Exercitationes utriusque linguae,' 1797, and of 'Sidneiana' for the Roxburgh Club, 1837. He published several sermons, one of them being the funeral ser-

mon on Dr. Parr. Butler's library was rich in Aldines, and in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek manuscripts. The latter were purchased for the British Museum, and are now numbered there Addit. MSS. 11828-12117.

[Life by grandson, Samuel Butler, 1896; Le Neve's *Fasti Eccl. Angl.*; Baker's *St. John's Coll.* (ed. Mayor), i. 311.] S. L.

**BUTLER, SIMON** (1757-1797), first president of the United Irishmen of Dublin, was the third son of Edmund, tenth Viscount Mountgarret, and his wife Charlotte, the second daughter of Sir Simon Bradstreet, bart. He was born in July 1757. Having been called to the Irish bar in Michaelmas term, 1778, he was made a king's counsel and a bencher of the Honourable Society of the King's Inns, Dublin, in Trinity term, 1784. With Wolfe Tone he was a zealous leader of the United Irishmen, and on 9 Nov. 1791 he presided at the first meeting of the Dublin society of that body. He compiled a digest of the popery laws, which was published in 1792, and made a great impression on the minds of the people. For this work, and 'for other professional business,' the 'Catholic Committee' voted him 500*l.* On 1 March 1793 Butler and Oliver Bond [q. v.], as chairman and secretary respectively of the Dublin Society, were summoned before the Irish House of Lords on account of a paper which had been issued by the society, referring to a committee of secrecy of that house. They avowed the publication, but submitted that it contained nothing unconstitutional. The lords, however, voted it a 'false, scandalous, and seditious libel'; a high breach of the privileges of this house, tending to disturb the public peace, and questioning the authority of this High Court of Parliament,' and thereupon ordered the defendants to be imprisoned in Newgate gaol for six months, and to pay a fine of 500*l.* each. On the termination of his imprisonment, Butler went with his friend, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, another energetic leader of the United Irishmen, to Scotland, where they continued to aid in directing the proceedings of the society, until they were compelled to fly the country. On 18 Jan. 1795 Butler married Eliza, the daughter of Edward Lynch of Hampstead, in the county of Dublin, by whom he had an only son, Edward. Though his name was erased from the list of king's counsel in 1793, he remained a bencher of the King's Inns until his death, which took place at his lodgings in Brompton Row on 19 May 1797, in the fortieth year of his age. An etching of him and his friend Rowan as they appeared in the streets of Edinburgh in 1793, by Kay, will be found

in the second volume of 'Original Portraits,' No. 230.

[Kay's *Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings* (1877), ii. 121, 168, 171, 176-7; Plowden's *Historical Review of the State of Ireland* (1803), ii. pt. i. 376-94; Sir Richard Musgrave's *Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland* (1802), i. 112-54; *Gent. Mag.* 1797, lxxvii. pt. i. 529; *Annual Register*, 1797, p. 97.]

G. F. R. B.

**BUTLER, THEOBALD** (d. 1205-6), first butler of Ireland, was son and heir of Hervey (Herveus) Walter of Amounderness in Lancashire and of Suffolk, by Maud (Matilda), daughter and coheir of Theobald de Valoines. Her sister Berthe (Berta), the other coheir, married the celebrated Randulf de Glanville, justiciary of England [q. v.], who was thus uncle by marriage to Theobald. This much is certain from his own charters, as is also the fact that he was elder brother of Hubert Walter [q. v.], archbishop of Canterbury, but beyond this all is obscure. The various theories of earlier writers, especially the belief that Theobald was nearly of kin to Becket (cf. *Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. xii. 30), are exhaustively discussed by Carte in the introduction to his 'Life of James, Duke of Ormonde,' in which he has collected much useful information. Lord A. C. Hervey argues that he sprang from the family of Hervey, while Mr. Glanville-Richards claims his father as a younger brother of Randulf de Glanville. But this latter view is doubted by Mr. Yeatman, who discusses the point in his introduction to Mr. Glanville-Richards' work, and it must certainly be rejected. Theobald's surname appears in the various forms, *LE BOTILLER*, *WALTER*, *WALTERI*, and *FITZWALTER*.

Theobald first appears in the 'Liber Niger' (i.e. circa 1166) as holding Amounderness 'per servicium 1 militis.' The received statement that he accompanied Henry II to Ireland (1171-2), and was made by him butler of Ireland 'soon after 1170,' though accepted by Lynch (p. 79), and repeated by Mr. Gilbert (p. 31), rests upon no evidence, and must be dismissed as erroneous, as must also that of Carte that he appears previously (1170) with Henry in France. It was probably in 1182 (EYTON, p. 248; GLANVILLE-RICHARDS, p. 41) that he witnessed, with 'John the king's son,' Randulf de Glanville's charter to Leystone, and it was through the influence of Randulf that, in 1185, he accompanied John to Ireland. The freight of his 'harnesium' thither is charged for in that year (*Rot. Pip.* 31 H. II). Landing with John at Waterford on 25 April, he received a grant to Randulf and himself of 5½ cantreds in

Limerick (see CARTE for charter tested at Waterford); and the same year, with the men of Cork, fought and slew Dermot Mac-Arthy (*Expugnatio*, v. 386). He further received from John (before 1189) the fief of Arklow afterwards confirmed to him by William Marshal on becoming *jure uxoris* lord of Leinster (see CARTE for charters, though he explains them wrongly), where he fixed his chief residence, and in later days founded an abbey, as a cell to Furness (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 1025). It is in virtue of this fief that Lynch and others have attempted to claim a 'feudal barony' for Theobald and his descendants. Returning to England, he witnessed his brother Hubert's charter to West Derham (*ib.* ii. 624) in 1188, and then accompanied his uncle Randulf to France, witnessing with him a charter of Henry II at Chinon (*ib.* ii. 648) on the eve of his death, July 1189 (EYTON, p. 297).

He now was in constant attendance on John, witnessing his charters to St. Augustine's, Bristol (*ib.* ii. 234), and Jeriponte Abbey (*ib.* 1029), and receiving from him, as lord of Ireland, the office of his 'butler.' He first assumes this style ('Pincerna') when testing John's charter to Dublin, 15 May 1192, at London (*Mun. Doc.* p. 55; *St. Mary's Chart.* i. 266-70); and it was apparently about this time that he received a grant from the Archbishop of Dublin as 'pincerna domini comitis Moretoniæ in Hiberniâ' (*Cotton. MS.* fo. 266), a style proving that he was appointed by John. He now adopted a fresh seal, adding to his name (Theobald Walter) the style 'Pincerna Hiberniæ.' This has escaped notice. Hence he is occasionally, in his latter days, spoken of as 'Le Botiller,' or 'Butler,' which latter became the surname of his descendants. Carte states, on the authority of Roberts (who professed to have seen the patent), that he also had a grant of the prisage of wines, but this is clearly an error. Towards the end of 1192 he was with John at Nottingham (see charter in *Cotton. MS.* fo. 347), and received from him probably about this time a fresh grant of Amounderness (*ib.* fo. 352). John going abroad at the close of the year 1192, entrusted him with Lancaster Castle, but on his brother Hubert, then justiciar, summoning it, in Richard's name (February 1194), he surrendered it (HOVEDEN, ii. 237), and, making his peace through Hubert, had a re-grant from Richard of Amounderness, 22 April 1194 (*Rot. Pat.* 5 Ric. I. Printed by BAINES, iv. 289), and was appointed by Hubert in August 1194 collector of the money for his tournament licenses (HOVEDEN, ii. 268). He was further made sheriff of Lancashire, and appears to

have remained so till 1 John (*Deputy Keeper's Reports*, xxxi. 300). In 1197-8 (9 Ric. I.), he acted as a justice itinerant, assessing the tollage on Colchester (MADDOX, i. 733), and it was in the course of Richard's reign that he founded the abbey of Cokersand (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 631; BAINES, iv. 290).

John, on his accession, soon took vengeance for Theobald's defection to Richard. He disseised him of Amounderness, deprived him of his shrievalty (1200), and on 12 Jan. 1201 sold his Limerick fief—not, as Hoveden states (iv. 152-3), all his Irish possessions—to his then favourite, William de Braose [q. v.] But Theobald, by the influence of his brother Hubert, effected a compromise in the matter, and within a year was restored to favour, Amounderness being re-granted to him on 2 Jan. 1202 as 'dilecto et fideli nostro' (*Rot. de Lib.* p. 25). While out of favour (1199-1201) numerous complaints were made against him of past oppressions (*Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*) In 1203 or 1204 he withdrew to Ireland by license (*Rot. Pip.* 5 John m. 18 dors.), and busied himself with his religious foundations in Arklow, Nenagh in Tipperary (*Mon. Angl.* ii. 1044), and Wothenehy in Limerick (*ib.* ii. 1034). He also gave a charter (printed by Carte) to his men of Gowran. He is said, on the authority of 'Rothe's Register' (compiled in 1616 from the Ormonde evidences), to have died in 1206, and to have been buried at Wothenehy; but if so, it must have been very early in the year, as John informs the sheriff as early as 14 Feb. (1206) that he has committed his widow to her father (*Claus.* 7 John), and he is not mentioned as living on the Rolls later than 4 Aug. 1205 (*ib.*).

He had married late in life Maud (Matilda), daughter of Robert le Vavasor, by whom he left a son Theobald, born about 1200, whom his grandfather was ordered (2 March 1206) to deliver up to Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid (*Pat.* 7 John, m. 3), and a daughter Maud, also committed to Gilbert and his son till 1220 (*Rot. Pat.* 4 Henry III, m. 5), who is said by Lodge to have married Thomas de Hereford, but who seems from an inquisition of 1251 (*Calendar*) to have married Gerard de Prendergast. It is ingeniously suggested by Carte (pp. xii-xiv), on the strength of a plea-roll of 1295-6 (*Plac.* 24 Ed. I, m. 68), that Theobald had, by a previous marriage, a daughter Beatrice, who married, firstly, Thomas de Hereford, and secondly, in her father's lifetime, Hugh Purcell. This is not improbable. His widow Maud was given up, at first, to her father Robert, on payment of over 1200 marks (*Rot. de Obl. et Fin.*), but afterwards (by 1 Oct. 1206) to John's fa-

vourite, Fulke FitzWarine (*Rot. Claus. John*).

[Close Rolls, Patent Rolls, Fine Rolls, and Liberate Rolls (Record Commission); Pipe Rolls; Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, Giraldus Cambrensis' Expugnatio, Roger de Hoveden, Municipal Documents of Ireland, and St. Mary's Chartulary (Rolls Ser.); Cottonian MSS. Titus B. xi, containing transcripts of Charters; 31st Report of Dep. Keeper of the Records; Madox's Exchequer; Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, 1661; Carte's Life of James, Duke of Ormonde, 1736; Lodge's Peerage of Ireland; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. xii; Lynch's Feudal Baronies in Ireland; Gilbert's Viceroy's of Ireland; Baines's Lancashire, 1836; Lord A. C. Hervey's Family of Hervey; Glanville-Richards's Records of the Anglo-Norman House of Glanville; The Barony of Arklow (Foster's Collectanea Genealogica, No. iv.); The Barony of Arklow in Ireland (Antiquarian Magazine and Bibliographer, vol. i.); Abstract of Roberts's MS. History of the House of Ormonde, 1648, in Appendix to 8th Report Hist. MSS. i. 586-8.] J. H. R.

BUTLER, THOMAS, LL.D. (fl. 1570), catholic writer, graduated B.A. at Cambridge in 1548, and, afterwards going abroad, took in some foreign university the degree of doctor of the canon and civil laws. He is the author of 'A Treatise of the Holy Sacrifice of the Altar called the Masse: In which by the Word of God, and testimonies of the apostles and primitive church, it is proved that our Saviour Jesus Christ did institute the Masse, and the apostles did celebrate the same. Translated out of Italian into English.' Antwerp, 1570, 8vo.

[Strype's Life of Abp. Parker, fol. 477; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), iii. 1627; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. i. 294.] T. C.

BUTLER, THOMAS, tenth EARL OF ORMONDE (1532-1614), born in 1532, was son and heir of James Butler, ninth earl, who died of poison at Ely House, London, 28 Oct. 1546. His mother was Lady Joan Fitzgerald, heiress of James, eleventh earl of Desmond. His grandfather was Sir Pierce Butler, eighth earl of Ormonde [q. v.] Thomas, who was called, from his dark complexion, the 'Black Earl,' succeeded his father in the earldom and estates at the age of fourteen. He was brought up at the English court with a view to alienating his sympathies from Ireland, and was the first of his family to adopt protestantism. He was knighted on Edward VI's accession in 1547. After Edward's death in 1553, the priests spread a false report that the young earl had been murdered in England, and the Irish on his estates, which were then managed by English officials, rose in revolt. In 1564 Ormonde set foot in Ireland amid

great rejoicings on the part of the native population, and from the first attempted to act as mediator between the native Irish and their English rulers. He entered into friendly relations with Sussex, the lord deputy; in 1559 took the oath as privy councillor, and became lord treasurer of Ireland until death; but his action was unhappily fettered. The house of Desmond was the hereditary and implacable foe of the house of Ormonde, and neither the present earl's relationship (through his mother) with the then Earl of Desmond nor his conciliatory disposition could remove the ancient grudge. A quarrel respecting the ownership of the manors of Clonmel, Kilsheelan, and Kilfeacle was made in 1560 the pretext for a military demonstration, near Tipperary, of the retainers of the two houses. This happily proved abortive, and the English government tried to bring the rivalry to an end by a judicial award of the disputed territory in this case to the Earl of Desmond, but a permanent settlement was out of the question.

Ormonde, though openly avowing strong Irish sympathies, resolved to throw the weight of his influence on the side of law and order. In 1561 he sought, by means of his personal influence, to extract from Shan O'Neill, the virtually independent ruler of Ulster, an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the English crown and a promise to abstain from further aggression on other Ulster chieftains. O'Neill treated Ormonde with consideration, and agreed to visit England in his company in order to come to some settlement with Queen Elizabeth herself. In the result he was willing to submit all his differences to a board of arbitration, at which he desired Ormonde to take a seat. But when in 1562 O'Neill broke his vague promises and re-opened attack on the MacDonnells, his chief rivals in Ulster, it was with great reluctance (6 April 1563) that Ormonde, fearful of offending Irish feeling, aided Sussex in repressing the powerful chieftain. Meanwhile his quarrel with Desmond grew fiercer, and Munster, where the chief estates of either house lay, was in constant turmoil. Both leaders were summoned to London at the close of 1561, but little came of their interview with Elizabeth. Ormonde tried hard for a while to keep the peace in the face of Desmond's continued aggressions. Late in 1563 Ormonde complained to Sussex that Desmond was repeatedly attacking his relatives and tenants, and that it was only just that he should retaliate. On 1 July 1564 Ormonde issued a notable proclamation forbidding, in the interest of his poorer dependents, the exaction of the ancient Irish customs within his dominions, and he was

contemplating other similar reforms, when an attack by Desmond on his kinsman Sir Maurice Fitzgerald led (1565) to a pitched battle between the supporters of the two earls at Affone, a ford near the river Finisk, a tributary of the Blackwater. Desmond was wounded by Sir Edmund Butler, Ormonde's brother, and taken prisoner. Elizabeth, angered beyond measure by this act of private war, summoned both earls again to her presence. The queen's councillors were divided as to the degrees of guilt attaching to the offenders, and the court factions aggravated the local struggle. Sussex insisted that Ormonde was guiltless. Sir Henry Sidney and the Leicester faction denied that Desmond had shown disloyalty to the English cause. Finally, both earls agreed (September 1565) to enter into their recognisances in 20,000*l.* to abide such orders as her majesty might prescribe. Elizabeth evinced unmistakable sympathy for Ormonde; the attentions she paid him at the time gave rise to no little scandal, and induced him to linger at court for the next five years. Meanwhile Sir Henry Sidney succeeded Sussex as lord deputy, and he was inclined to favour Desmond, but the queen insisted that Ormonde's claims whenever conflict arose deserved the higher consideration. In 1567 Sidney visited Munster and reported that it was absolutely uncontrolled, and as turbulent as it well could be. Desmond was ravaging Ormonde's territory in the earl's absence. A royal commission was nominated in October 1567 to determine the truth of Ormonde's allegation, that he had suffered terribly from Desmond's aggressions; an award was made in his favour, and Desmond was mulcted in the sum of 20,894*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* Early in 1568 the Earl of Desmond and his brother John were sent to the Tower of London. Although Ormonde (in Sidney's words) still 'politically kept himself in England,' the Butler influence was in the ascendant during the imprisonment of the rival earl. Edward and Sir Edmund, Ormonde's brothers, used their power, as his representatives in Munster, with the utmost cruelty and injustice. In June 1569 Sir Edmund, who had a personal hatred of Sidney, in temporary concert with some members of the Desmond family, broke into open revolt against the lord deputy. Sidney asserted that Ormonde's presence was indispensable to the peace of South Ireland, and the earl returned home with the queen's permission. He landed at Waterford in July 1569, and found Munster in the throes of a civil war, in which his brother Sir Edmund was matched against Sidney's lieutenant, Sir Peter Carew. Ormonde honestly endeavoured to arbitrate between the combatants, but Sid-

ney clearly regarded him at the time with deep suspicion. Early in 1570, however, Ormonde wrote to Cecil that he and Sidney were reconciled, and as proof of his goodwill he crushed, at Sidney's request, a rebellion of the Earl of Thomond, one of the Munster malcontents. In April Ormonde's three brothers, Edmund, Edward, and Piers, were attainted, and Ormonde passionately protested against the indignity; but though the three Butlers were pardoned in 1573, and became loyal subjects, they were not, through some legal error, restored in blood. In 1571 Ormonde was busily engaged in repressing further tumults in Munster, which the Desmond influence continued to foment. At the beginning of 1572 Fitzwilliam, the lord deputy, wrote to Burghley that 'the South was always the ticklish part of Ireland, and that Ormonde alone could manage it.'

In 1572 the earl spent several months in London, and visited his old rival, the Earl of Desmond, who was still in confinement. Desmond begged Ormonde to use his influence to secure his release, and probably Ormonde recommended the course, which was soon after adopted, of letting Desmond return to Ireland under guarantees of good behaviour. Ormonde's domain grew very turbulent in his renewed absence, and Desmond, scorning all his promises, resolved on striking a desperate blow at English rule in South Ireland. In July 1573 Ormonde entreated him in vain to abandon his threatening designs. While Ormonde was on another visit to London, news reached Elizabeth (December 1579) of a rising of the Desmond faction in Munster, aided and encouraged by papal envoys and Spanish soldiers. Ormonde was straightway appointed military governor of the province, with a commission 'to banish and vanquish those cankered Desmonds.' In March 1580 he marched from Kilkenny to Kerry, ravaging the country with fire and sword. In the mountains of Kerry he captured many of the rebel leaders, and in a report of his services drawn up in July 1580 he claimed to have put to the sword within three months 46 captains, 800 notorious traitors and malefactors, and 4,000 other persons. In September, when the rebels were encouraged to renew the struggle by the arrival of a second detachment of Spaniards at Smerwick, Ormonde showed less activity, although he still maintained a large army and supported the movements of the government. His conduct gave rise in England to some groundless suspicions of his loyalty. In April 1581, when the immediate danger had passed, he declared himself weary of killing, and induced Elizabeth to proclaim pardon to



all the rebels save Desmond and his brothers. But in 1582 the country was still disturbed. 'They seek,' wrote Sir Henry Wallop of the native Irish (10 June 1582), 'to have the government among themselves,' and Lord Burghley and Walsingham thought to conciliate Irish feeling by appointing Ormonde lord deputy. Wallop and other English officials, however, who, like Sidney, were jealous of Ormonde's influence both at the English court and in Ireland, protested that 'Ormonde is too great for Ireland already,' and he was merely confirmed in the military government of Munster. Desmond was still at large in the Kerry mountains, and a few of his supporters maintained the old warfare. Ormonde was inclined to treat the enemy leniently for a time, but in May 1583 he deemed it prudent to attack with his former rigour all the known adherents of Desmond. At the same time he set a price on Desmond's head, and in October the rebellious earl was captured and slain. Ormonde thus succeeded in pacifying Munster. In November he insisted on the grant of an indemnity to all who had taken part in the revolt, and spoke very roughly in letters to Burghley of those English officers who advocated further rigorous measures, or wished him to break faith with the penitent rebels whom he had taken under his protection. In 1588 he helped to capture and kill the Spanish refugees who had escaped the wreck of the Armada, and received the distinction of K.G.

In October 1597 Ormonde was appointed lieutenant-general of the army in Ireland, and he supported the English troops in their tedious attempts to repress the rebellion of O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, in 1598-9. With Essex he was on no friendly terms (SPEDDINE'S *Life and Letters of Bacon*, ii. 93 et seq.) Ormonde complained that Essex did not honestly strive to crush Tyrone, and Essex and his associates retaliated by hinting suspicions of Ormonde's loyalty. In 1602 Elizabeth granted him much confiscated lands in Munster, and a pension of 40*l*. In 1612 he was vice-admiral of Ireland and sought to repress piracy. He died 22 Nov. 1614, at the age of eighty-two.

Ormonde was thrice married: first, to Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas, tenth lord Berkeley, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Elizabeth, daughter of John, ninth lord Sheffield, by whom he had two sons, James and Thomas, and a daughter Elizabeth; and thirdly, to Helen, daughter of David, viscount Buttevant. His sons both died before him, and his title descended to Walter, son of his brother John of Kilcash. In 1597 Ormonde

conveyed some rich church lands (originally granted by the crown to his brother James, and reverting to him on the death of James's only son without issue) to an illegitimate son, Piers Fitz Thomas (b. 1576). This son married Katherine, eldest daughter of Thomas, lord Stone, and was the father of Sir Edward Butler, created Viscount Galmoy 16 May 1646.

A sonnet in Ormonde's praise is prefixed by Spenser to the 'Faerie Queene' (1590).

[Bagwell's *History of Ireland under the Tudors*, vols. i. and ii.; Froude's *Hist. of England*, vols. vii. and x.; Burke's *Peerage*; Chamberlain's *Letters*, temp. Elizabeth (Camden Soc.); Camden's *Annals*; Cal. State Papers (Irish), 1560-1614; Carew MSS.; Cal. State Papers (Dom.), 1600-1614.] S. L.

BUTLER, THOMAS, EARL OF OSSORY (1634-1680), was the eldest son of James, first duke of Ormonde [q. v.], and was born in the castle of Kilkenny on 9 July 1634. Here he remained, and was carefully educated, throughout the Irish rebellion, until Ormonde surrendered Dublin to the parliamentary commissioners in 1647, when he accompanied his father to England, and shortly afterwards, in February 1647-8, to France. He stayed with his brother Richard at Paris until Ormonde's return to Ireland in September. They were then placed in the house of a French protestant minister at Caen for a year, and were subsequently sent to the academy of M. de Camp at Paris, where Ossory distinguished himself, as he did throughout his life, by his skill in all manly exercises. Evelyn's friendship with Ossory dates from this time, and on 16 March 1650 he writes that he 'saw a triumph here [i.e. at Paris], where divers of the French and English noblesse, especially my lord of Ossorie and Richard, sons to the Marquis of Ormonde, did their exercises on horseback in noble equipage.' In another entry, on 7 May, Evelyn gives an early instance of Ossory's display of temper. In December 1650 the youth returned to Caen, where his mother was now residing, and in August 1652 accompanied her to England, whither she went to petition parliament for part of the Ormonde estates. Having succeeded in her object, she went to Ireland in the following year, leaving Ossory and his brother in London, and only returned to England after two years' absence. The two passages in Carte upon this point are contradictory (cf. iii. 631 and iv. 596). The place of residence of the brothers during these two years is uncertain, but after Lady Ormonde's return to London they lived with her at Wild House. Ossory's character at this time is thus given by

Sir R. Southwell: 'He is a young man with a very handsome face, a good head of hair, a pretty big voice, well set, and a good round leg. He pleaseth me exceedingly, being very good natured, talking freely, asking many questions, and humouring the answers. He rides the great horse very well; is a good tennis player, fencer, and dancer. He understands music, and plays on the guitar and lute; speaks French elegantly, reads Italian fluently, is a good historian, and so well versed in romances that if a gallery be full of pictures or hangings he will tell the stories of all that are there described. He shuts up his door at eight o'clock in the evening, and studies till midnight. He is temperate, courteous, and excellent in all his behaviour.' The heir of a great house, with such endowments, soon became the darling of society. As late as 20 Feb. 1655 he was at full liberty; on that day he was at the Swedish ambassador's (WHITELOCKE, p. 621). But his unconcealed sympathies with the royal cause roused the jealousy of Cromwell, who, in March 1655, sent a guard to secure him. He was out at the time, but Lady Ormonde promised that he should wait upon Cromwell next morning. This, though offers were made to assist him in escaping, he did, and was sent to the Tower, although Cromwell had shortly before given him a pass to travel through Italy and the Holy Land. Ossory remained in the Tower eight months, during which his mother in vain appealed to Cromwell for his release or for information as to his crime. In October he fell ill of ague, and was partially released, but not finally freed until the following spring, when he accompanied Lady Ormonde to Acton in Gloucestershire, and later went with his brother to Flanders, apparently in disguise. Thence he went to Holland, and avoided the refugee court of Charles, lest he should give Cromwell a pretence for taking away his mother's estate. On the continent he stayed four years, chiefly in Holland. He was in Basle in April 1658 (*Album of Museum Feschianum* in Basle Univ. Libr.) In Holland Ossory became acquainted with the Lord of Beverwaert, the governor of Sluys, kinsman of the Prince of Orange, and married his eldest daughter Emilia on 17 Nov. 1659. Ormonde himself was present at the wedding, and approved the match. He hoped that by its agency he might induce De Witt, a great friend of Beverwaert, to enter heartily into the design of the king's restoration. To secure this marriage, Ossory's mother was compelled to give up 1,200*l.* a year out of the 2,000*l.* a year settled upon her by Cromwell. The father of the bride gave 10,000*l.* dowry, with which Ormonde's sister was to

have been married and his brother John educated; but the money appears to have been immediately devoted to the necessities of the royal service. Ossory's relations with his wife were of the purest kind, and he appears to have lived without even a suspicion of libertinism. Lady Ossory 'was an excellent woman, had exceeding good sense, and the sweetest temper in the world.' Ossory fell into one of the court follies, that of gambling; and it is said that when, 'after losing, he came home thoughtful and out of humour, and upon her inquiring the reason told her that he was vexed at himself for playing the fool and gaming, and that he had lost one thousand pounds, she still desired him not to be troubled—she would find ways to save it at home. She was indeed an admirable economist, always cheerful, and never known to be out of humour; so that they lived together in the most perfect harmony imaginable.' By this marriage he became united with Henry Bennet [q. v.], earl of Arlington, already an intimate friend, who married Isabella, his wife's sister, in 1666.

At the Restoration Ossory accompanied Charles. He was already the valued friend not merely of young gallants like himself, but of the best men of the time. On 6 July 1660, for instance, Evelyn speaks of him as his 'excellent and worthy noble friend, my Lord Ossory,' and frequently mentions him in terms of enthusiastic admiration; while the confidence reposed in him by James is shown by the fact that he was one of the two witnesses to the duke's marriage with Anne Hyde (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 159). On 8 Feb. 1660–1 he was made by patent colonel of foot in Ireland, on 13 June following colonel and captain of horse, and on the 19th of the same month lieutenant-general of the horse. At the ceremony of the coronation he was one of the young noblemen appointed to bear the king's mantle, and as such he challenged the place before Lord Percy, the eldest son of the Duke of Northumberland. His pretension, which gave great offence, was unjustifiable, as Ormonde's dukedom was only an Irish one, and it was overruled by the king (CLARENDON, *Life*, 194). In the beginning of 1662 he succeeded the Earl of Mountrath in various military commands, and on 16 Aug. 1665 was appointed lieutenant-general of the army in Ireland.

Meantime Ossory had been elected M.P. for Bristol (8 May 1661), and was also M.P. for Dublin University in the Irish House of Commons 1661–2. On 22 June 1662 Charles ordered that he should be called to the House of Peers in that country. By special order of the commons he was accompanied by Sir

Paul Davys and Sir H. Tichborne, with the body of members, to the bar of the House of Lords. The lords themselves ordered that his seat should be above all the earls. The speaker of the commons gave thanks to the lords for the honour thus done to Ossory, who was further complimented by the lord chancellor. In April 1664 Ormonde left Ireland for court, returning in October 1665, during which interval Ossory acted as his deputy.

In 1665 he returned to England, and was on a visit to his future brother-in-law, Arlington, at the latter's seat at Euston, when the first great battle, lasting for four days, took place with the Dutch off the Suffolk coast. Hearing the guns at sea, he, with Sir Thomas Clifford, managed to get from Harwich on board the Duke of Albemarle's ship, and bring him the welcome news that Rupert was on his way to reinforce him; and he remained with the duke, for whom he had ever afterwards a high opinion, during two days' fighting. He is stated by his daring conduct in this fight to have 'become the darling of the kingdom, and especially of the seamen, who called him the preserver of the navy.' He was shortly made a gentleman of the king's bedchamber upon his father's resignation, was placed on the English privy council in June 1666, and on 14 Sept. in the same year was summoned to the English House of Lords by the title of Lord Butler of Moore Park, taking his seat on 18 Sept. The lords were soon treated to a specimen of his fiery temper. The Duke of Buckingham, who was busily plotting against Ormonde, asserted in the house that none were against the bill then before them, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle, except such as had Irish estates or Irish understandings (PERS., 27 Oct. 1666). Ossory, on 26 Oct., angrily replied, and delighted to find an excuse for quarrelling with Buckingham at once challenged him, but on arriving at the place of meeting was arrested by the king's guard, Buckingham having, according to Carte (iv. 270), given notice to Charles. Clarendon's account differs somewhat from that of Carte. He says nothing of an arrest, and mentions that Buckingham went to a place other than that appointed, pretending that it was called by the same name (*Life*, 969). Buckingham having complained of a breach of privilege, Ossory was released by the king to make his defence, but was sent back to the Tower by the lords, the duke too being taken into custody. On 31 Oct. Ossory presented a petition to the lords, drawn up by Arlington, who had vigorously espoused his quarrel in the house, expressing his regret,

and praying to be released, which was done two days after the arrest. Pepys states that the quarrel was between Ossory and Clarendon; but this is of course a clerical error, as Clarendon was one of Ormonde's greatest friends, and himself rebuked Buckingham (CARTE, iv. 270). A fresh quarrel, it appears, broke out on 19 Nov., in which Ossory flatly gave Buckingham the lie (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 8th Rep. 102 a, 102 b). For this, and for a similar attack upon Ashley, when, after great provocation, he said that Ashley spoke like one of Oliver's council, the fiery young man was compelled by the house to ask pardon of his opponents.

In 1668 Ormonde asked leave of Charles to come to court, leaving his son as his deputy. Ossory accordingly set out in March and remained until his father's deprivation of the lord-lieutenancy in March of the following year, 1669, when he returned to England. He had been put in full possession of the intrigues against Ormonde by Arlington, who was sincerely attached to himself, but who was at the time engaged in them.

In May 1670 Ossory went in the king's train to Dover to meet the Duchess of Orleans, and in the following October was sent with a fleet of yachts to bring the Prince of Orange to England, sailing from Harwich about the 13th (2b. 6th Rep. 367 b), and returning with him at the end of the month. It was in this year that the attempt was made by Blood upon his father's life. Ossory ascribed the outrage directly to the Duke of Buckingham before the king's face, and added: 'If my father comes to a violent end, by sword or pistol, . . . I shall not be at a loss to know the first author of it. I shall consider you as the assassin; . . . and wherever I meet you I shall pistol you, though you stood behind the king's chair. And I tell it you in his majesty's presence, that you may be sure I shall keep my word.'

In February Ossory was again appointed to attend the Prince of Orange back to the Hague. Thence he returned by Flanders and Paris, intending to serve as a volunteer in the French force destined for Alsace. The expedition having, however, fallen through, Ossory once more came to Holland and thence to England. He had completely won the respect of Orange, who in April sent him as a present 'a bason and ewer of massy gold.'

In June 1671 Ossory went over to Flanders to be present at the siege of Brunswick. Disappointed here, he was, in January 1671-2, in command of the third-rate king's ship the *Resolution*, and was on board of her when, along with Sir Robert Holmes, he attacked, on 14 March, the Dutch *Smyrna*

fleet before any declaration of war had been issued—an action which deeply offended Ormonde, and which he himself afterwards accounted the one blot upon his life (EVELYN, 12 March 1672, 26 July 1680). In April he was promoted to the command of the second-rate the *Victory*, upon which he fought the sanguinary action with the Dutch in Southwold Bay on 28 May. After the action, in which he further increased his reputation for courage, he caused the sick and wounded seamen in the Southwark Hospital to be visited and relieved at his own cost. It is stated (*Biog. Brit.*) that shortly before this he had lost about 8,000*l.* at cards, and that from this difficulty he was relieved by the king without the knowledge of the court. On 30 Sept. Charles bestowed the garter upon him, and he was installed at Windsor on 25 Oct. He was next employed, in November, as envoy extraordinary to carry formal condolences to Louis on the death of the Duke of Anjou. Every honour was shown him while at the French court, and the most enticing offers, both of place and money, were made him to induce him to take service with Louis, which he refused on the ground that he was already serving in the Dutch war. Upon his taking leave he was presented with a jewel of the value of 2,000*l.* On 26 March 1673, along with Evelyn, Ossory was sworn a younger brother of the Trinity House (EVELYN, 26 March 1673). In May 1673 he accepted the command of the first-rate *St. Michael*, and was made rear-admiral of the blue on the 17th. In the great battle which was fought on 11 Aug., Admiral Spragge, who commanded, being slain and his ship disabled, Ossory defended her from capture during the day, and at night brought her safely off. No one was left alive upon his quarter-deck but himself, his page, and Captain Narborough (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 719 *b* note). After this action he was made rear-admiral of the red, and in September commanded in chief during Rupert's absence, while the fleet was lying at the Nore, receiving henceforward, according to custom, a pension of 250*l.* a year. Towards the close of the year Ossory received intelligence that the harbour of Helvoetsluys, where, when in Holland, he had noticed the prizes taken by the Dutch at Chatham, and which he was now informed was filled with the Dutch navy, was very insufficiently guarded. He at once made a design for attacking it, and having secured a plan of the harbour, and having obtained the king's orders to sail with ten frigates and 2,000 soldiers, was on the eve of setting out when, from causes never known, the expedition was countermanded. Charles showed continued

confidence by choosing him in November 1674 to propose to Orange the marriage with James's daughter Mary. On 31 May, Trinity Monday, 1675, he was elected master of the Trinity House, Evelyn again being present (*ib.* 8th Rep. 255 *a*). In July 1680 there was a painting of him in the Trinity House, but it was distrained, along with other property, for hearth-money, which the corporation refused to pay, on 29 Sept. 1682 (*ib.* 257 *a*, 258 *b*). In August he was appointed one of the commissioners of the admiralty. Apparently his affairs were at this time somewhat embarrassed, for on 22 Dec. 1675 he is mentioned as petitioning the king for a pension of 2,000*l.* a year out of the 30,000*l.* reserved by him from the new farm of the revenue of Ireland (*ib.* 4th Rep. 248). On 18 Nov. 1676 he was made lord chamberlain to the queen. In June 1677 the Prince of Orange, when sending over Bentinck to continue the marriage negotiations, advised him to go, in the first place, to Ossory and Ormonde. Ossory now obtained permission to make a campaign with Orange, and joined him before Charleroi; and upon the raising of the siege, a battle with Luxembourg being imminent, he had the post of honour with the command of 6,000 men conferred upon him (*ib.* 5th Rep. 187). He returned to England that year, for at the beginning of December we find him and his second, Captain Mackarley, worsted in a duel with Mr. Buckley and Mr. Gerard (*ib.* 7th Rep. 469 *a*).

In February 1678 he again went to Holland, where he had been appointed general, by the prince's patent, of the British forces in the pay of the States. In that capacity he was present at the battle of Mons, and distinguished himself greatly, his own life being saved only by the fact that two shots which struck him were stopped by his armour. He returned to England in September 1678 with many testimonies to his reputation. He was desirous, however, of having his commission of general confirmed by the States, and in March 1680 sent to demand this, which, after much difficulty, he obtained through Orange's personal influence.

Upon his return in 1678 Ossory had been nominated to command the fleet intended to put down the pirates of Algiers; his demands for men and ships, however, were greater than the treasury would grant, and Narborough went in his stead.

Ossory had an active share in the early stages of the popish terror. It is stated, indeed, that on 11 Nov. 1678 he discovered 100,000 fireballs and grenades in Somersets House (*ib.* 471 *b*), which was, of course, merely an idle tale. In December he appears to

have given in a report concerning Godfrey's murder (*ib.* 8th Rep. 778 *b*), while he pointed out an evident falsehood in Oates's evidence, and on 30 Nov. was the first to carry to the queen the news that the lords had refused to concur in the vote of the commons of 28 Nov. for an address to the king for her removal from court. In June 1679 there was talk of removing Lauderdale from his commands in Scotland, and of the appointment of Ossory and another with Monmouth as a joint commission for governing that country (*ib.* 7th Rep. 473 *a*).

In September he was named envoy extraordinary to carry to the King of Spain Charles's congratulations on the marriage of the latter's niece. This expedition, however, in preparing for which he had incurred much expense, was stopped by Essex, then at the head of the treasury, who persuaded Charles to seek a less expensive method (*ib.* 6th Rep. 724 *b*). On 23 Oct. he walked before James at the artillery dinner given to the duke (*ib.* 7th Rep. 476 *b*). When a volunteer force of young men of position was raised as a body-guard to the king, Ossory had the command (*ib.* 3rd Rep. 270).

During the winter Ormonde was warmly attacked in the House of Lords by Shaftesbury, who saw in his continuance in Ireland one of the greatest difficulties to the success of the anti-catholic and exclusion programme. He was, however, defended with the utmost spirit by Ossory, who retorted upon Shaftesbury himself with telling effect: 'Having spoke of what he has done, I presume with the same truth to tell your lordships what he has not done. He never advised the breaking up of the triple league, he never advised the shutting up of the exchequer, he never advised the declaration for a toleration, he never advised the falling out with the Dutch and joining with the French; he was not the author of that most excellent position of "Delenda est Carthago," that Holland, a protestant country, should, contrary to the true interest of England, be totally destroyed. I beg your lordships will be so just as to judge of my father and of all men according to their actions and counsels.' This speech was translated into Dutch, and drew from Orange a sincere letter of praise.

In April 1680 Ossory was replaced on the privy council, from which he had been removed at the dissolution of the old council. In June, greatly to his own dislike, he was nominated to the governorship of Tangier, with the generalship of the forces. He took it greatly to heart, since he was being sent out with an incompetent force upon what Sunderland the secretary told the king before

his face was an errand that must fail, even if it were not intended to fail. The gallant and high-spirited man appears to have brooded deeply over this unworthy reward of his own and his father's services, and he unburdened his mind to Evelyn. On the evening of the same day, 26 July, he attended the king at the sheriffs' supper in Fishmongers' Hall. There he was taken ill, and was removed to Arlington House, where Evelyn watched his bedside. He speedily became delirious, with short lucid intervals, during which the sacrament was administered, and, in spite of the efforts of six doctors, died on Friday, 30 July (EVELYN, 26 July 1680). His body was placed temporarily in Westminster Abbey, and afterwards removed to the family vaults at Kilkenny Castle. The character which Evelyn gives him is supported by universal testimony. 'His majesty never lost a worthier subject, nor father a better or more dutiful son; a loving, generous, good-natured, and perfectly obliging friend, one who had done innumerable kindnesses to several before they knew it; nor did he ever advance any that were not worthy; no one more brave, more modest; none more humble, sober, and every way virtuous. . . . What shall I add? He deserved all that a sincere friend, a brave souldier, a virtuous courtier, a loyal subject, an honest man, a bountifull master, and good christian, could deserve of his prince and country.'

Ossory had eleven children, of whom two sons and four daughters survived him. The eldest of the sons, James Butler (1665-1745) [q. v.], became the second duke of Ormonde, while of the daughters one became Countess of Derby, another Countess of Grantham.

[The authorities for Ossory's life are, in the first place, Carte's Life of Ormonde; Evelyn gives much useful information; one or two anecdotes not otherwise mentioned will be found in Clarendon's Life, while the various notices in the Reports of the Hist. MSS. Commission, especially those contained in Mr. Gilbert's most interesting account of the Kilkenny MSS., with the numerous specimens of Ossory's letters, are of the greatest value.] O. A.

**BUTLER, THOMAS HAMLY** (1762?-1823), musical composer, the son of James Butler, a musician, was born in London about 1762. He was for nearly ten years a chorister of the Chapel Royal under Dr. Nares, and subsequently studied in Italy for three years under Piccini. On returning to England, he was engaged by Sheridan as composer for Covent Garden Theatre; but owing to a quarrel the engagement was not renewed. Butler wrote music to Cumberland's five-act play, 'The Widow of Delphi,' which was

produced at Covent Garden 1 Feb. 1780, and only acted six times. Soon afterwards he settled at Edinburgh, where he first lived at Bishop's Land, High Street, and subsequently at 24 Broughton Street and 3 Catherine Street. He enjoyed considerable reputation as a teacher, and wrote a quantity of music for the pianoforte—marches, arrangements of Scotch airs, sonatas, &c., all of which are now forgotten. Butler died in Edinburgh in 1823.

[A Dictionary of Musicians, 1827, i. 125; Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 386 a; Genest's Hist. of the Stage, vi. 146; British Museum Music Catalogue.] W. B. S.

**BUTLER, WALTER**, of Kilcass, eleventh **EARL OF ORMONDE** (1569–1633), was the eldest son of Sir John Butler, the younger brother of Thomas, tenth earl of Ormonde and Ossory [q. v.] He was but half a year old at his father's death, after which he lived under the guardianship of his uncle. In 1599 he led a portion of the army commanded by the latter, and defeated Redmond Bourke at Ormond with the loss of 200 men, and on another occasion drove him out of the castle of Drehednefarney. In the former of these actions he behaved with great gallantry, and was wounded by a pike in the knee. When, a year later, Owen Grane and the O'Mores entered Kilkenny, and burnt his uncle's house at Bowlike, Walter Butler again fell upon the enemy, killing sixty of them, with two of their leaders, and recovering a large part of the booty. Upon the death of Earl Thomas, in 1614, without legitimate male issue, he succeeded to the earldom of Ormonde and Ossory. His title to the estates, however, was contested by Sir R. Preston, afterwards the Earl of Desmond, who had married the sole daughter of Earl Thomas, and who, under the favour and with the active interference of James I, laid claim to a large portion in right of his wife. After much time and money had been spent in litigation, James made an award which Earl Walter refused to submit to. He was thereupon, in 1617, committed to the Fleet prison by James, where he remained for eight years in great want, no rents reaching him from his estate. James meanwhile brought a writ of *quo warranto* against him for the county palatine of Tipperary, which had been vested in the head of the family for nearly four hundred years, and which could not therefore under any circumstances have belonged to his cousin Elizabeth, the wife of Preston; no answer was made to the writ, if indeed an opportunity was afforded for answer, and James took the county palatine into his own hands. It was not

restored until 1663, when Charles II returned it to the Duke of Ormonde with enlarged privileges. Earl Walter, however, was set at liberty in 1625, and a large part of his estates restored to him. For some while he lived in a house in Drury Lane, with his grandson James, afterwards Duke of Ormonde, but shortly retired to Ireland. In 1629, on the projected marriage of his grandson and Elizabeth Preston Charles I granted her marriage and the wardship of her lands to him by letters patent dated 8 Sept. After the marriage he was recognised, 9 Oct. 1630, as heir to the lands of Earl Thomas as well as of Sir John Butler his father. He died at Carrick on 24 Feb. 1632–3, and was buried at Kilkenny 18 June 1633.

By his marriage with Ellen Butler, daughter of Edmund, second Viscount Mountgarret, he had three sons (Thomas, Lord Thurles, the father of James Butler, first duke of Ormonde [q. v.], James and John, who died young, without issue) and nine daughters.

[Carte's Introduction to his Life of Ormonde, and a few notices in the Reports of the Hist. MSS. Com.] O. A.

**BUTLER, WALTER, COUNT** (d. 1634), was the second son of Peter Butler of Roscrea, and his wife Catharine de Burgo. His father was the great grandson of Sir Richard Butler of Poolestown in Kilkenny, a younger son of James, third Earl of Ormonde (Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland*, 1789, iv. 17). It is supposed that Walter Butler served on the Linguistic side in the battle of Prague (1620), but he is first mentioned by name as lieutenant-colonel of James Butler's regiment, in which capacity he accompanied his kinsman [see BUTLER, JAMES, *Æ*. 1631–1634] on his march from Poland to Frankfort-on-the-Oder early in 1631. There seems no satisfactory evidence of his having before this time become connected with the Tipperary priest Thomas Carve, who then or soon afterwards was appointed chaplain of his regiment, and to whom Walter Butler is indebted for the only literary attempt ever made to glorify his tarnished name (see, however, *Preface to Itinerarium*, v). According to the chaplain, Butler brilliantly distinguished himself at the siege of Frankfort, having apparently been left there in command of his absent kinsman's regiment. Although placed in the most dangerous position, he successfully resisted a Swedish attack made when the rest of the garrison was enjoying itself at table; and on the day of the general assault (April 3–13) stayed the retreat of two imperial regiments. The latter part of this account is confirmed by Colonel Robert Monro, whose own regi-

ment (Mackay's) was present at the siege on the Swedish side. He says that Butler's regiment bravely resisted the onslaught of the yellow and blue brigades, till most of the Irishmen fell to the ground; and Butler, 'being shot in the arm, and pierced with a pike through the thigh, was taken prisoner' (MONRO, *His Expedition*, London, 1637, ii. 34). Carve gives a list of the Irish officers who fell. He further relates, with many surprising details, that after the city had been taken Gustavus Adolphus ordered the wounded officer to be brought into his presence, when, after drawing his sword and ascertaining that it was the younger and not the elder Butler who was before him, he declared that had it been the elder he would have perished by the royal hand. In the same strain the chaplain goes on to tell how Walter Butler, having been accused on his own side of having caused the fall of Frankfort, received from the magnanimous king of Sweden a testimonial of valour, signed and sealed by all the Swedish generals, which he afterwards exhibited to the emperor at Vienna, while a broadsheet vindicating him was also published at Frankfort.

After remaining in captivity for six months Butler, from what resources does not appear, purchased his freedom for 1,000 dollars. He immediately joined the imperial army in Silesia under Tiefenbach, by whom he was most honourably received. He paid two visits to Poland for the purpose of levying troops, meeting with strange adventures on the way, and in January 1632 was about to settle down in remote winter quarters, when he was entrusted by Wallenstein, who had just reassumed the command, with the defence of his own duchy of Sagan. According to Carve, Butler more than justified the choice, and was rewarded for his deeds of valour against the Saxons by being assigned the Silesian county of Jägerndorf (on the Bohemian frontier) and its appurtenances as his winter quarters. This is possible, as Jägerndorf had been recently confiscated by the emperor, and bestowed by him upon a catholic magnate. Here Butler married a countess of Fondana. The brilliant victory of Eger, in which he and his cavalry captured twelve standards, may be identified with a brief stand made there by the Saxon Colonel von Starschettel before capitulating (cf. FÖRSTER, *Briefe Wallenstein's*, &c. ii. 218). Nothing more is heard of him till the fatal year 1634; nor was it till at a very late stage in the series of events which led to the death of Wallenstein that Butler intervened in the action.

From the narrative of Butler's regimental chaplain, Patrick Taaffe, which there seems

no reason for distrusting, it appears that at the beginning of the year 1634 Butler was in winter quarters at Klatrup (Kladran) on the Bohemian frontier, his regiment, composed of about 1,000 excellent soldiers, being posted about the neighbourhood for the defence of the passes between Bohemia and the Upper Palatinate. Though he had received no recent favours from Wallenstein, and had his suspicions as to the general's ultimate designs, he seems to have known neither of the steps which Wallenstein had in vain taken for assuring himself of the fidelity of his superior officers, nor of the imperial rescript of Feb. 18 bidding those officers cease to yield obedience to the deposed commander-in-chief. When, therefore, about this time an order from Wallenstein suddenly reached Butler, bidding him collect his regiment and march at once to Prague, where it had been the general's original intention to assemble his forces before opening the decisive negotiations, Butler obeyed. But he told his chaplain and confessor that the order confirmed his suspicions of the general's loyalty, and that he expected that at Prague death awaited him as a faithful soldier. Clearly he expected a battle there; but in truth the Prague garrison had already declared for Gallas and the emperor, and Wallenstein, after a design of seizing his person at Pilsen had been frustrated, had no choice but to hold Eger and the adjoining frontier district with such troops as still adhered to him. When, therefore, on 22 Feb., Butler on his way to Prague reached Mies, near Pilsen, he was accidentally met by Wallenstein himself, proceeding from Pilsen to Eger with Ilow, Terzka, Kinsky, and a small body of troops. (The statement that these included two hundred of Butler's own dragoons is probably founded on a mistake.) Butler was told to spend the night at Mies away from his soldiery; and next morning had with his regiment, under certain precautions, to accompany the duke on his progress to Eger. On the 24th Wallenstein entered into confidential conversation with him, enlarging on his own and his army's grievances against the emperor, and plying his companion with compliments and promises. Butler in return assured the duke that he would serve him rather than any other mortal. On the same day Eger was reached, and Butler was assigned quarters in the town, while his regiment remained outside the gates. Meanwhile on the 23rd Butler had contrived to despatch his chaplain to Piccolomini, now at Pilsen, assuring him that he would be true to the emperor, and adding that perchance God's providence designed to force him to do some heroic deed. Piccolomini bade the chaplain

tell Butler that if he desired the imperial favour and promotion, he must deliver up Wallenstein dead or alive. The message did not reach Butler till all was over; but Piccolomini is stated to have added that he would find some other way of letting Butler know his mind on the subject. If this account be correct, it results that Butler's presence at Eger was due to chance; that after first mistrusting him Wallenstein believed himself to have gained him over; and that Butler did not enter Eger, as he had certainly not left his quarters on the frontier, with any set purpose of assassinating the duke. Most assuredly he had received no orders to that effect from the emperor, by whom none were given; nor can we suppose any instructions to have reached him from Piccolomini. At the same time, as Ranke says, the idea of this particular solution was in the air and had previously suggested itself to various minds.

On the night of his arrival at Eger, Butler had an interview with Lieutenant-colonel Gordon and Major Leslie, two Scotch protestant officers in Terzka's infantry regiment, which formed the garrison of Eger. Finding them alarmed at the situation of affairs, he began to sound them as to what should be done. Gordon having proposed flight, which Butler rejected, Leslie was led to declare that they should kill the traitors. Hereupon Butler opened to them his design, to which at last Gordon signified his assent. Then followed the well-known incidents of 25 Feb. Several officers—including Devereux, Geraldine, and de Burgo, possibly a connection of Butler's—and about a hundred men of Butler's regiment, together with nearly the same number of German soldiers, were secretly introduced into the town. In the course of the day the rumour spread that the Swedes were approaching, and this no doubt helped to nerve the hands of the conspirators. In the evening a banquet was held in the castle, at which Butler's Irish dragoons cut down Ilow, Terzka, Kinsky, and Neumann, and then Devereux killed Wallenstein himself in his quarters at the burgomaster's house. Next morning Butler informed the town councillors of what had happened, and after making them swear fidelity to the emperor, imposed a similar oath upon the regiments encamped outside the town. He also took measures for the capture of Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg, who was expected from across the frontier with tidings from Duke Bernard of Weimar. Information was sent to Gallas, and a proclamation to the army was issued by Butler and Gordon, declaring the treason of Wallenstein, and stat-

ing what measures had been taken against him and his associates. All these proceedings were substantially successful.

The deed of Butler and his fellows may not have saved the house of Austria and the Roman catholic cause in the empire from any grave danger, for Wallenstein had been abandoned by the great body of his army before he quitted Pilsen for Eger, and beyond that frontier fortress hardly anything in Bohemia remained in his power. But the Irish dragoons had relieved the emperor, Spain, Bavaria, and the Roman catholic party in general from a grievous incubus; and Butler in especial had done his part of the work promptly and effectively, and, what was most acceptable of all, without waiting for definite orders on the subject. Nor was he left unrewarded. Besides receiving the personal thanks of the emperor, who presented him with a gold chain and a medal bearing the imperial portrait, he was made owner of the regiment of which he held the command, ennobled as a count, appointed chamberlain, and endowed with Friedberg, the most considerable of the late duke's domains next to Friedland itself. He afterwards took part in the battle of Nördlingen (7 Sept. 1634); but Carve's word must be taken for the statement that on this occasion Butler fought most valiantly under the eyes of the king of Hungary and the Cardinal-Infante without intermission for twenty-four hours, not giving way a single foot's breadth till the Spaniards and Croats came to his aid. After the victory Butler was sent with eight regiments to lay siege to Aurach and Schorndorf, in Würtemberg, both of which places he took. At Schorndorf he died, 25 Dec. 1634, 'most placidly,' after duly receiving the last sacraments of his church. Carve arrived in time to see his hero's coffin and to read his last will, in which he left 20,000 dollars to a convent of Franciscans at Prague, specially devoted to the interests of the faithful and the conversion of heretics in Ireland and Scotland, besides legacies to jesuits and other priests, and to his faithful lieutenant-colonel Walter Devereux, who succeeded to his regiment. Butler was sumptuously buried by his widow, but as he left no children his estate of Friedberg passed to a kinsman of the Poolestown house, whom the Emperor Leopold I confirmed in the possession of the title of count. The family afterwards migrated to Bavaria, where it still survives.

[The Itinerarium of Thomas Carve, who was chaplain first to Butler and then to Devereux, and afterwards called himself head-chaplain to the English, Scotch, and Irish serving in the imperial army, contains many more or less trustworthy



particulars as to Butler, more especially in chaps. vii. viii. ix. and xi. of part i., and in part ii. concerning his descent. It was reprinted London, 1859. As to Butler's share in Wallenstein's catastrophe, however, the best authority is the account written in answer to the inquiries of a Ratisbon priest by Patrick Taaffe, Butler's regimental chaplain, at the time of the murder, which is printed by Mailáth, *Geschichte d. österreich. Kaiserstaats* (1842), iii. 367-376, and is in substance accepted by Ranke, for whose account of the catastrophe see his *Geschichte Wallenstein's* (1869), 402-456. Cf. also the article on Walter Butler by Landmann, in *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, iii. 651-653; and Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland* (1789), iv. 17.]

A. W. W.

**BUTLER, WEEDEN**, the elder (1742-1823), miscellaneous writer, was born at Margate on 22 Sept. 1742. He was articled to a solicitor in London, but quitted the legal profession for the church. He acted as amanuensis to Dr. William Dodd from 1764 till his patron's ignominious end in 1777. In 1776 he had succeeded Dodd as morning preacher at Charlotte Street chapel, Pimlico, in which fashionable place of worship he officiated till 1814. In 1778 he was lecturer of St. Clement's, Eastcheap, and St. Martin Orgars; and for more than forty years he was master of a classical school at Chelsea. In 1814 he retired to Gayton, where he acted as curate to his son till 1820, when, in consequence of increasing infirmities, he withdrew, at first to the Isle of Wight, next to Bristol, and finally to Greenhill, near Harrow, where he died on 14 July 1823. He was father of Weeden Butler, the younger [q. v.], and of George Butler, D.D., headmaster of Harrow [q. v.]. He was chaplain to the Duke of Kent and the queen's volunteers.

His works are: 1. 'The Cheltenham Guide,' London, 1781, 8vo (anon.) 2. 'Account of the Life and Writings of the Rev. George Stanhope, D.D., Dean of Canterbury,' London, 1797, 8vo (anon.) 3. 'Memoir of Mark Hildesley, D.D., Bishop of Sodor and Man,' London, 1799, 8vo. 4. 'Pleasing Recollections, or a Walk through the British Museum. An interlude of two acts,' Addit. MS. 27276. 5. Poems in manuscript, including 'The Syracusan,' a tragedy, and 'Sir Roger de Coverley,' a comedy. He also prepared editions of Jortin's 'Tracts,' 2 vols. 1790, and Wilcock's 'Roman Conversations,' 2 vols. 1797.

[Addit. MSS. 27577, 27578; Nichols's *Illustr. of Lit.* v. 130; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* ix. 223; *Gent. Mag.* xciii. (ii.) 182-4; *Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.*; *Biog. Dict. of Living Authors* (1816), 50.]

T. C.

**BUTLER, WEEDEN**, the younger (1773-1831), author, eldest son of the Rev. Weeden Butler mentioned above, was educated by his father till 1790, when he entered Sidney College, Cambridge (B.A. 1794, M.A. 1797). He became afternoon lecturer of Charlotte Street Chapel, and evening lecturer of Brompton in 1811, and was presented to the rectory of Great Woolston, Buckinghamshire, in 1816. After having for nineteen years acted as classical assistant in his father's school, he succeeded to the superintendence of it on his father's retirement in 1814. He died in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, on 28 June 1831.

He published: 'Bagatelles; or miscellaneous productions, consisting of Original Poetry and Translations,' London, 1795, 8vo; and translated 'Prospect of the Political Relations which subsist between the French Republic and the Helvetic Body,' from the French of Weiss, 1794; 'The Wrongs of Unterwalden,' 1799; and 'Zimao, the African,' 1800 and 1807.

[Addit. MS. 19209, ff. 123b, 124b; Nichols's *Illustr. of Lit.*; *Gent. Mag.* ci. (ii.) 186; *Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.*; *Biog. Dict. of Living Authors* (1816), 51.]

**BUTLER, or BOTELER, WILLIAM** (d. 1410?), a controversial writer against the Wycliffites, was the thirtieth provincial of the Minorites in England. At Oxford in 1401 he wrote as his 'Determinatio,' or academical thesis, a tract against the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. Pits says this was in vindication of some public edict which ordered the burning of English Bibles, probably deriving the statement from Bale, who says that Purvey asserts (but Bale gives no reference for his citation) that such an order was issued at the instance of the friars; but no such injunction is known of so early a date. It was not until 1408 that Wycliffe's version was condemned in the provincial constitutions of Archbishop Arundel, and owners and readers of the book were declared excommunicate unless license had been obtained by them from their diocessans (WILKINS, *Concilia*, 317). Butler's tract exists in one manuscript which is preserved in Merton College, Oxford; unfortunately the first leaf has been deliberately cut out, and all information which the beginning may have afforded as to the immediate cause of the composition of the tract is consequently lost. The colophon alone gives name, date, place, and title, as stated above, except that the first remaining page is also headed 'Buttiler contra translationem Anglicanam.' Bale says that Butler states in this tract that the

Psalter was translated by Bede, and other portions of the Scriptures by an (arch)bishop of York. This statement must have occurred in the introductory portion now lost. He also says (in his manuscript referred to below) that the book existed in Queen's College, Oxford, but this is probably a mistake for Merton College. The tract contains six sections devoted to as many arguments against the allowance of the Scriptures in the vernacular; and is possibly the earliest extant statement in English controversy of the opponent's case.

The first argument is that the use of the vernacular would quickly lead to multiplication of erroneous copies, while Latin copies, being written and read in the universities, are easily corrected. 2. That human understanding is insufficient for all the difficulties of Scripture. The knowledge of God is better gained by meditation and prayer than by reading. 3. That in the celestial hierarchy the angels of lower order depend for illumination upon angels of higher order, who convey to them God's revelations, and that the church militant corresponds to the church triumphant. 4. That the teaching of the apostles was not by books, but by the power of the Spirit. And Christ himself in the temple asked the doctors, and did not read. 5. That if men were to read Scripture for themselves, disputes would soon arise. 6. That in Christ's body each member has its proper office, but if everyone may read, then the foot becomes the eye; and who would offer a book to a joint of his foot? Butler also wrote a tract 'De Indulgentiis,' of which Bale saw a copy which had belonged to the Minorites at Reading; four books of commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard; one book treating of various questions; and several other works which his biographers do not specify. To Reading he is said to have removed from Oxford, and there, according to Pits, he died about 1410.

[Bale's *Collectanea de Scriptt. Anglis*, a MS. in the Bodl. Lib., 'Selden supra, 64,' p. 215; Bale's *Scriptt. Brit. Catalogus*, Basle, 1557, p. 537; Merton Coll. MS. 68, ff. 202-4; Pits, *De Angliæ Scriptoribus*, Par. 1619; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.-Hib.* 1748; Madden's and Forshall's *Pref. to Wycliffe's Bible*, Oxford, 1850, i. xxxiii.; Brewer's *Monumenta Franciscana*, Lond. 1855, pp. 538, 561.] W. D. M.

**BUTLER, WILLIAM** (1535-1618), physician, was born at Ipswich, and educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, of which he became fellow. He graduated M.A., and was probably incorporated in that degree at Oxford in 1563. In October 1572 the university of Cambridge granted him a license to practise physic, he having then been a regent in arts

for six years. He was usually styled Doctor, though he never took the degree of M.D. He acquired the most extraordinary reputation in his profession, and it is said that 'he was the first Englishman who quickened Galenical physic with a touch of Paracelsus, trading in chemical receipts with great success.' In October 1612 he was summoned from Cambridge to attend Henry, prince of Wales, in his last illness. Although Sir Edward Peyton has not scrupled to cite Butler's opinion that the prince was poisoned, it appears that, in common with the other physicians, he entertained no such suspicion (*Secret Hist. of the Court of James I.* ii. 247, 346). In November 1614 Butler attended the king at Newmarket for an injury received in hunting; and when the king was at Cambridge in May 1615 he visited Butler and stayed with him nearly an hour. Butler lived in the house of John Crane, a celebrated apothecary of Cambridge, and many anecdotes are recorded of his eccentricities and empirical mode of practice. Aubrey relates: 'The Dr. lyeing at the Savoy in London, next the water side where was a balcony look't into the Thames, a patient came to him that was grievously tormented with an ague. The Dr. orders a boate to be in readinesse under his window, and discoursed with the patient (a gent.) in the balcony, when on a signall given, 2 or 3 lusty fellowes came behind the gent. and threw him a matter of 20 feete into the Thames. This surprize absolutely cured him.'

Butler died at Cambridge on 29 Jan. 1617-18, and was buried in Great St. Mary's. On the south side of the chancel of that church there is a mural monument with his bust, in the costume of the period, and a Latin inscription in which he is termed 'Medicorum omnium quos præsens ætas vidit facile Princeps.'

Butler left his estate to his friend John Crane, and he was a benefactor to Clare Hall, to which he bequeathed many of his books and 260*l.* for the purchase of a gold communion cup. Thirty-five years after his death 'his reputation was still so great, that many empyrics got credit among the vulgar by claiming relation to him as having served him and learned much from him.' In the reign of Charles II there was in use in London 'a sort of ale called Dr. Butler's ale.' His portrait has been engraved by S. Pass.

[Addit. MSS. 5810, p. 28, 5863, f. 87*b*; Aikin's *Biog. Memoirs of Medicine*, 186; Blomefield's *Collectanea Cantab.* 92; Cambridge Portfolio, 490; Cooper's *Annals of Camb.* iii. 73*n*, 94*n*, 119-124; Lives of Nicholas Ferrar, ed. Mayor; Fuller's *Hist. of the Univ. of Camb.*, ed. Prickett

and Wright, 307; Fuller's Worthies (1662), Suffolk, 67; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), ii. 119; Harl. MS. 7049, f. 39; Hist. MSS. Comm. 3rd Rep. 172, 6th Rep. 269, 7th Rep. 188; Letters written by Eminent Persons in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (1813), ii., pt. i., 265; Leland's Collectanea, v. 197; Parker's Hist. of the Univ. of Camb. 43; Peckard's Life of Ferrar, 24; Wadd's Nugæ Chirurgicæ, 31; Winwood's Memorials, iii. 429; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 163.] T. C.

**BUTLER, WILLIAM ARCHER** (1814-1848), professor of moral philosophy in the university of Dublin, was born of an old and respectable family at Annerville, near Clonmel, Ireland. The year of his birth is uncertain, but it is believed to have been 1814. His father was a member of the established church of Ireland, his mother a Roman catholic. Through her influence the boy was baptized and educated as a member of the church to which she belonged. While Butler was a child his parents removed to Garnavilla, on the river Suir, about two miles from the town of Cahir. The beautiful landscape made a deep impression on his feelings and imagination—an impression which lived in his verse. At nine years old he became a schoolboy at the endowed school of Clonmel. He was a modest, retiring boy, a favourite with the master, and beloved by his companions. Here he was an eager, discursive reader, already attracted by metaphysical study, but also giving many leisure hours to poetry and to music, in which he acquired considerable skill. He especially distinguished himself by his public speaking for 'oratory' exhibitions. While at school, about two years before entering college, Butler passed over from the Roman catholic to the established church. It is said that a shock given to his moral nature by his confessor's dealings with his conscience led him to examine the grounds of his creed, and that he found his own way by study and meditation from his early to his later faith.

On entering Trinity College, Dublin, he was quickly recognised as a youth of bright intellect, generous feeling, and varied culture. His prize compositions in prose and verse attracted the attention of the heads of the college, and while still an undergraduate he contributed a considerable body of writings—poems and essays, critical, historical, and speculative—to the 'Dublin University Review.' In the debates of the College Historical Society he took a leading part, and in 1835 delivered, as auditor of the society, an address which was printed. In November 1834 took place the first examination for the newly instituted prize of moderatorship in logic and

ethics, and Butler's name stands first upon the roll of moderators. Having thus obtained with honours his B.A. degree, he continued for two years in residence as a scholar. His friends designed him for the bar, but his tastes and habits were those of a student and a man of letters. By the exertions of Provost Lloyd a professorship of moral philosophy was founded in 1837, and Butler was at once appointed to the chair. At the same time, having been ordained a clergyman of the church of Ireland, he was presented by the board of Trinity College to the prebend of Clondehorka, in the diocese of Raphoe, county of Donegal, where he resided, except when his professorial duties required his presence at the university. 'Amongst a large and humble flock of nearly two thousand, he was,' says Mr. Woodward, 'the most indefatigable of pastors.' In 1842 he was re-elected to the chair of moral philosophy, and promoted to the rectory of Raymoghly, in the same diocese as Clondehorka. His sermon 'Primitive Church Principles not inconsistent with Universal Christian Sympathy' (1842), preached at the visitation of the united dioceses of Derry and Raphoe, 1842, was published at the request of the bishop and clergy. In 1844 he visited the English lakes, and made the acquaintance of Wordsworth. It was on a walk to Loughrigg Fells, in which Wordsworth was accompanied by Butler, Archdeacon Hare, and Sir William Rowan Hamilton, that the poet observed the daisy-shadow on a stone, which he has celebrated in the poem beginning 'So fair, so sweet, withal so sensitive.' In 1845 the Roman catholic controversy occupied Butler, and beginning in December of that year, he contributed to the 'Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette' a series of 'Letters on Mr. Newman's Theory of Development,' collected after his death into a volume ('Letters on the Development of Christian Doctrine,' a reply to J. H. Newman, edited by Dean Woodward, Dublin, 1850). During the Irish famine of 1846-7 Butler's exertions were untiring: 'literature, philosophy, and divinity were all postponed to the labours of relieving officer to his parish.' During the closing months of 1847 and the first six months of the following year, Butler was engaged in preparation for a work on faith, and collected with this object a vast mass of theological material; but the work was never to be completed. On Trinity Sunday 1848 he preached the ordination sermon in the church of Dunboe; five days later, on his way home, he was stricken with fever, the result of a chill following the excessive heat of midsummer exercise. On 5 July 1848 he died. He was buried in the churchyard of his own parish. Butler's lectures as pro-

fessor were remarkable for the large grasp of his subject, his aspiring views, and power of eloquent exposition. A noble person and countenance added to the impressiveness of his delivery. The same eloquence appears, with perhaps more appropriateness, in the sermons which he addressed to educated audiences; with rustic hearers he could be plain and simple. In his lectures on Plato, perhaps the most important thought is that the Platonic idea was no mere mistaken form of abstract notion, but was Plato's mode of expressing the fact that there is an objective element in perception. Butler's 'Lectures on the History of Ancient Philosophy,' 2 vols. were edited after his death with notes, by W. H. Thompson (Cambridge, 1856). The second volume, which is chiefly occupied with Plato, is the more valuable of the two. Two volumes of 'Sermons Doctrinal and Practical' have been published, the first series edited with a memoir of his life by the Rev. Thomas Woodward (Dublin, Hodges and Smith, 1849, 3rd. ed. Cambridge, 1855); the second series, edited by J. A. Jeremie (Cambridge, 1856). Besides his many poems and prose articles contributed to the 'Dublin University Review,' he published a sermon on the 'Eternal Life of Christ in Heaven,' in first series of sermons for Sundays, &c., edited by Alex. Watson (Joseph Masters, 1845); a sermon on 'Self Delusion as to our State before God' (Dublin, 1842); a sermon on the 'Atonement,' in a volume of sermons on that subject published by the Religious Tract Society (no date); and a memoir of Mrs. Hemans prefixed to her 'National Lyrics and Songs for Music' (Dublin, Curry and Co. 1839).

[Memoir by Woodward, prefixed to the first series of Butler's Sermons; article on Butler by J. T. Ball, afterwards Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in Dublin University Review, May 1842; article 'The late Professor Butler,' in same Review, July 1849.] E. D.

BUTT, GEORGE (1741-1795), divine and poet, was the son of Dr. Carey Butt, physician, of Lichfield, at whose house it is said that Dr. Johnson when a boy was a constant visitor (HAWKINS, *Life of Johnson*, p. 6), though this must have been before Butt was born, 26 Dec. 1741. The Butts were of the same family as Henry VIII's physician, Butts, though they had dropped the final s. After receiving his early education at the grammar school at Stafford, Butt was admitted, through the influence of his father's friend Thomas Newton (afterwards bishop of Bristol), on the foundation at Westminster in 1756, and was thence elected to Christ Church, Oxford,

in 1761, where he graduated B.A. in 1765, M.A. in 1768, taking the degrees of B.D. and D.D. on 29 Oct. 1793. Having received deacon's orders in 1765, he was appointed to the curacy of Leigh, Staffordshire, which he shortly afterwards resigned for the post of private tutor to the son of Sir E. Winnington of Stanford Court, Worcestershire, and in October 1767 accompanied his pupil to Christ Church. While acting as young Winnington's tutor, Butt, his daughter Mrs. Sherwood says, 'kept company with the noblemen and gentlemen, commoners of Christ Church, to whom the vivacity of his genius rendered his society acceptable,' though he was careful not to forget what was due to his profession. In 1771 he was presented by Sir E. Winnington to the rectory of Stanford and the vicarage of Clifton, and in 1773 married Martha Sherwood, the daughter of a London silk merchant. Expensive habits and especially his love of company had by this time involved him in debt. He was rescued from his difficulties by the good management of his wife, who, among other economical schemes, persuaded him to take private pupils. With these pupils, mostly young men of good family, he was popular, though his desultory mode of imparting instruction could not have been of much benefit to them. In 1778 he was presented by Newton, now bishop of Bristol, to the vicarage of Newchurch, in the Isle of Wight, which he held along with Stanford, where he continued to reside. About this time he occasionally joined the coterie of Lady Miller at Bathaston, and dropped verses into her vase. He exchanged the living of Newchurch for the rectory of Notgrove, Gloucestershire, in 1783, and the same year was appointed chaplain in ordinary to the king, and gave up taking pupils. In 1787, on application from Dr. Markham, his old master at Westminster, he was presented by Lord Foley to the rich vicarage of Kidderminster, which he held along with his other cures. He changed his residence to Kidderminster the next year, and lived there on good terms with the many dissenters of the town. In 1794 he returned to Stanford, and used to ride into Kidderminster to do duty. On 30 June 1795 he was struck with palsy, and died on 30 September following at Stanford, where he was buried. He left a son, John Martin Butt, who took orders and became the author of some theological works, and two daughters, afterwards the well-known authoresses, Mrs. Cameron and Mrs. Sherwood. Butt published 'Isaiah versified,' 1784, with a dedication to the king; several sermons on special occasions, and in 1791 'Sermons' in 2 vols. dedicated to Dr. Mark-

ham, archbishop of York; 'Poems' in 2 vols. 1793, dedicated to the Hon. George Annesley, afterwards Lord Valentia, one of his former pupils. Some of these poems had been already printed. They are devoid of beauty, power, and originality. One of them, written on the death of Dr. Johnson, is a dialogue between Lord Chesterfield and Garrick in the Elysian fields, and represents Garrick conversing with 'Avon's bard on those superior minds that since his day were gifted to produce their thoughts abroad.' In 1777 Butt submitted a play entitled 'Timoleon' to Garrick, with whom he was on terms of friendship. Garrick told him that the play could not be acted as it stood, but professed himself unable to point out any faults in it, a declaration that has been taken by Butt's biographers as a high compliment. 'Timoleon' does not appear to have been acted or published. He published either in or after 1784 a tract entitled 'The Practice of Liberal Piety Vindicated,' which he wrote in defence of his friend Richard Valpy of Reading, when a sermon of Valpy's was attacked by certain Calvinists. At the time of his death he was engaged in correcting a religious novel which he seems to have called 'Felicia.' This book was edited and published by his daughter, Mrs. Sherwood, in 2 vols. 1824, under the title of 'The Spanish Daughter;' it is a dreary production.

[Mrs. Sherwood's Biographical Preface to the Spanish Daughter; Mrs. Sherwood's Autobiography; Life of Mrs. Cameron; some account of the Rev. G. Butt in Valpy's Poems spoken at Reading, 225-264; Nash's Worcestershire, i. 250, ii. 371; Welch's Alumni Westmon. 376. where the Spanish Daughter is incorrectly described as a play; Gent. Mag. 1795, vol. lxxv. pt. ii. p. 969; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ix. 736.] W. H.

BUTT, ISAAC (1813-1879), Irish politician, only son of the Rev. Robert Butt, rector of Stranorlar, county Donegal, by Berkeley, daughter of the Rev. R. Cox, of Dovish, county Donegal, was born at Glenfin, in Donegal, 6 Sept. 1813, and educated at the Royal School, Raphoe, entered Trinity College, Dublin, as a scholar in 1832, took his B.A. 1835, LL.B. 1836, M.A. and LL.D. 1840. During his collegiate course he published a translation of the 'Georgics' of Virgil, and other classical brochures, which showed a highly finished taste and scholarship. In 1833 he was one of the original founders of the 'Dublin University Magazine,' of which he was editor from August 1834 to 1838. He was for many years a contributor to its pages, chiefly of political articles and reviews; but he also wrote for it some tales under the general title of 'Chap-

ters of College Romance.' In 1836 he was appointed to the chair of political economy, which was then founded by Archbishop Whately, and he continued in the chair until 1841. Having been called to the Irish bar November 1838, the high reputation which he had already won obtained for him a considerable share of practice. The old corporation of Dublin selected him as the junior barrister to plead their cause at the bar of the House of Lords 1840, and although he failed to induce that assembly to reject the Municipal Reform Bill, he added to his own prestige, and returning to Ireland was elected an alderman of the new corporation. He took an active part in the politics of the day, and was regarded as one of the ablest champions of the conservative cause. He entered the lists against O'Connell, opposed him in the corporation debates, and carried on a counter agitation to that of the Repeal Association in 1843.

He wrote for the conservative press on both sides of the Channel, and established in Dublin a weekly newspaper, called the 'Protestant Guardian.' This was afterwards amalgamated with the 'Warder,' with which he then became connected. The lord chancellor, Sir Edward Sugden, called him to the inner bar 2 Nov. 1844. Butt was retained as counsel in many great causes, and was one of those who defended Smith O'Brien and other prisoners in the state trials of 1848. On 8 May 1852 he entered parliament as member for Harwich; but he was not long in undisturbed possession of the seat, for in the same year there was a general election, and he then offered himself as a liberal-conservative for Youghal. This appears to have been his first divergence from the straight track of conservatism. He was opposed by the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, but was elected, and sat from July 1852 to July 1865, when he was defeated by Sir J. M'Kenna. Previously, on 17 Nov. 1859, he had been called to the English bar at the Inner Temple. About 1864 he returned to Ireland, and resumed practice in the Four Courts. The Fenian prisoners, beset by serious difficulties as to their defence, turned to him as one whose name alone was a tower of strength. For the greater part of four years, 1865-9, sacrificing to a considerable extent a splendid practice in more lucrative engagements, he busied himself in the prolonged and desperate effort of their defence. In 1869 he accepted the position of president of the Amnesty Association. Another opportunity of entering parliament now presented itself. He was chosen to represent the city of Limerick 20 Sept. 1871, and to take the leadership of the Home Rule party. He

soon became the one great figure in Irish popular politics. Butt was probably the inventor of the phrase Home Rule. He was certainly the first to use it as an effective election cry. Soon it was taken up and echoed by men of all shades of political opinion throughout the kingdom of Ireland. Latterly he found himself unable to manage the party he had created. It would perhaps be too much to say that the disobedience and disagreements of his party broke the leader's heart. A man in his sixty-sixth year, who had lived hard and worked hard, and who, besides his many public anxieties, had private troubles, was not in a fit state to resist a severe illness. He died at Roebuck Cottage, near Dundrum, county Dublin, 5 May 1879, and was buried at Stranorlar 10 May.

The following is a list of writings to which his name is found appended: 1. 'Ovid's Fasti Translated,' 1833. 2. 'An Introductory Lecture delivered before the University of Dublin,' 1837. 3. 'The Poor Law Bill for Ireland, examined in a Letter to Lord Viscount Morpeth,' 1837. 4. 'Irish Corporation Bill. A Speech at the Bar of the House of Lords,' 1840. 5. 'Speech delivered at the Great Protestant Meeting in Dublin,' 1840. 6. 'A Voice for Ireland—the Famine in the Land: What has been done and what is to be done?' 1847. 7. 'Zoology and Civilisation: a Lecture delivered before the Royal Zoological Society of Ireland,' 1847. 8. 'The Rate in Aid: a Letter to the Earl of Roden,' 1849. 9. 'The Transfer of Land by means of a Judicial Assurance: its Practicability and Advantages,' 1857. 10. 'The History of Italy, from the Abdication of Napoleon I, with Introductory References to that of Earlier Times,' 1860. 11. 'Daniel Manin and Venice in 1848-49, by B. L. H. Martin, with an introduction by Isaac Butt.' 12. 'Chapters of College Romance,' 1863. 13. 'The Liberty of Teaching Vindicated: Reflections and Proposals on the subject of Irish National Education,' 1865. 14. 'The Irish People and the Irish Land: a Letter to Lord Lifford,' 1867. 15. 'A Practical Treatise on the New Law of Compensation to Tenants in Ireland, and the other provisions of the Landlord and Tenant Act,' 1871. 16. 'The Irish Deep-Sea Fisheries: a Speech delivered at a meeting of the Home Government Association of Ireland,' 1874. 17. 'Home Government for Ireland—Irish Federalism: its Meaning,' 1874, of which four editions were printed. 18. 'The Problem of Irish Education, an Attempt at its Solution,' 1875.

[Dublin University Magazine, iii. 710-15 (1879): Sullivan's New Ireland, ii. 306-10, 319

(1877); Graphic, with portrait, iv. 483, 485 (1871), xix. 499, 508, with portrait (1879); Illustrated London News, with portrait, iv. 40 (1844).]  
G. C. B.

**BUTTER, JOHN, M.D.** (1791-1877), ophthalmic surgeon, was born at Woodbury, near Exeter, on 22 Jan. 1791. He was educated at Exeter grammar school, and studied for his profession at Devon and Exeter Hospital. He obtained the M.D. degree at Edinburgh in 1820, and was chosen a member of the Royal Society in 1822. He was appointed surgeon of the South Devon Militia, and ultimately settled at Plymouth, where he specially devoted himself to diseases of the eye. Along with Dr. Edward Moore, he was the originator of the Plymouth Eye Dispensary. He was the author of 'Ophthalmic Diseases,' 1821, 'Dockyard Diseases, or Irritative Fever,' 1825, and of various medical and chirurgical memoirs. In recognition of his services to the dispensary he was, in 1854, presented with his portrait, which hangs in the board room. He lost one eye through ophthalmic rheumatism, contracted by exposure while examining recruits for the Crimea, and in 1856 became totally blind.

[Plymouth Western Daily Mercury, 15 Jan. 1877.]

**BUTTER, NATHANIEL** (d. 1664), printer and journalist, was the son of Thomas Butter, a small London stationer, who died about 1589. His mother carried on the business after his father's death from 1589 to 1594, when she married another stationer named Newbery. On 20 Feb. 1603-4 Nathaniel was admitted a freeman of the Stationers' Company *per patrimonium*, and on 4 Dec. 1604 he entered on the company's registers his first publication ('The Life and Death of Cavaliero Dick Boyer'). On 12 Feb. 1604-5 he obtained permission to print "'The Interlude of Henry the 8th' . . . if he get good allowance for it.' Between 1605 and 1607 Butter published several sermons and tracts of no great value. On 26 Nov. 1607 he, together with John Busby, undertook the publication of Shakespeare's 'Lear'; in 1609 he printed Dekker's 'Belman of London,' and in 1611 he published a folio edition of Chapman's translation of the 'Iliad' But from an early date he turned his attention to the compilation and publication of pamphlets of news, and in this department he subsequently achieved very eminent success. He issued in June 1605 an account of two recent murders, one of them being the famous 'Yorkshire tragedy'; on 24 Aug. a report of the trial of the Yorkshire murderer, Walter Calverley [q. v.], which had taken place

a day or two previously; on 25 June 1607 'a true and tragical discourse' of the expedition to Guiana in 1605; on 19 May 1608 'Newes from Lough ffoyle in Ireland'; on 16 June 1609 'The Originall Ground of the present Warres of Sweden'; and in 1611 'Newes from Spain.' On 23 May 1622 two publishers, Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer, issued the first extant copy of 'The Weekly Newes from Italy, Germanie, &c.', and this was continued at weekly intervals by the same publishers until 25 Sept. of the same year, when Butter and one William Shefford produced a rival quarto sheet entitled 'Newes from most parts of Christendom.' This was Butter's first attempt at a newspaper, and its immediate success warranted him in issuing two days later, in conjunction with Thomas Archer, another budget of news from the continent, written (probably by himself) in the form of letters from foreign correspondents. From this date Butter made journalism his chief business, compiling and issuing reports of news at very frequent intervals, none of which exceeded a week, and his enterprise virtually created the London press. On 12 May 1623 an extant copy of a publication of 'The Newes of the present week,' printed by Butter, Bourne, and Shefford, bore a number (31) for the first time. The title of the news-sheet varied very much: sometimes it was headed 'More Newes,' sometimes 'Last Newes,' and at other times 'The Weekly Newes continued.' All were mainly compiled from similar sheets published abroad, and gave little information about home affairs, but unfortunately the extant sets are so incomplete that no very positive statement can be made about their contents. Butter soon gained notoriety as an industrious collector of news, and was satirised by the dramatists. Ben Jonson ridiculed him in 1625 in his 'Staple of News' under the title of 'Cymbal'; Fletcher refers to him in the 'Fair Maid of the Tun'; and Shirley in his 'Love Tricks.' In 1630 he began a series of half-yearly volumes of collected foreign news, under such titles as 'The German Intelligencer,' 'The Swedish Intelligencer,' and so forth. On 20 Dec. 1638 Charles I granted to Butter and Nicholas Bourne the right of 'printing and publishing all matter of history or news of any foreign place or kingdom since the first beginning of the late German wars to the present, and also for translating and publishing in the English tongue all news, novels, gazettes, currantes, and occurrences that concern foreign parts, for the term of twenty-one years, they paying yearly towards the repair of St. Paul's the sum of 10l.' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1638-9, p. 182). At the end of 1639 the li-

censer of the press prohibited Butter's weekly sheet, and on 11 Jan. 1640 he issued a 'Continuation of the Forraine Occurrents for 5 weeks last past . . . examined and licensed by a better and more impartiall hand than heretofore.' Butter had varied his news sheets in his later years with a few plays. In 1630 he issued the second part of Dekker's 'Honest Whore'; but on 21 May 1639 he made over the copyrights of all plays in his possession to a printer named Flesscher. By 1641 Butter appears to have retired from business; he was then more than seventy years old, and the competition of journalists during the civil war was intense. In Smith's 'Obituary' (Camden Soc. p. 60) Butter's death is recorded thus: 'Feb. 22 [1663-4] Nath. Butter, an old stationer, died very poor.'

[Arber's Transcript of the Stationers' Registers, ii. 736, iii. 277 et seq.; F. K. Hunt's *The Fourth Estate* (1850), i. 10-54; Alex. Andrews's *Hist. of Brit. Journalism*, i. 28-38; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* iv. 38-9; Ben Jonson's *Works*, ed. Gifford; British Museum Collection of Newspapers.] S. L.

**BUTTER, WILLIAM** (1726-1805), physician, was a native of the Orkneys, and studied medicine at Edinburgh, where he graduated M.D. in 1761. After practising for some years at Derby, having obtained some note by his treatises 'On the Kink-Cough' (hooping cough), London, 1773, and 'On Puerperal Fevers,' London, 1775, he removed to London, where he died on 23 March 1805. He is said to have attempted to open the carotid artery of a patient at the Edinburgh Infirmary, and to have only desisted when the patient fainted after the first incision. He is described as 'too much under the influence of very favourite hypotheses' (*Catalogue of Living English Authors*, 1799, i. 401). Besides the above his writings include 'A Method of Cure for Stone,' Edinburgh, 1754; 'Dissertatio de frigore quatenus morborum causa,' Edinburgh, 1757; 'Dissertatio de arteriotomia,' Edinburgh, 1761; 'A Treatise on Infantile Remittent Fever,' London, 1782; 'An Improved Method of Opening the Temporal Artery,' London, 1783; 'A Treatise on Angina Pectoris,' London, 1791; 'A Treatise on the Venereal Rose,' London, 1799.

[*New Catalogue of Living English Authors* (1799), i. 400; *Gent. Mag.* lxxv. 294, 580; *Munk's College of Physicians* (1878), ii. 360.]

G. T. B.

**BUTTERFIELD, ROBERT** (Æ. 1629), controversialist, received his academical education at St. John's College, Cambridge, as a member of which house he proceeded B.A.

in 1622-3, M.A. in 1626, and took orders. When the puritan divine, Henry Burton [q. v.], attacked Bishop Hall, Butterfield, with youthful zeal, hastened to champion the bishop's cause in a pamphlet entitled 'Maschil; or, a Treatise to give instruction touching the State of the Church of Rome . . . for the Vindication of . . . the Bishop of Exeter from the cavills of H. B., in his Book intitled "The Seven Vials,"' 12mo, 1629. Burton was not slow to reply; for the same year he published his 'Babel no Bethel. . . . In answer to Hugh Cholmley's Challenge and Rob. Butterfield's "Maschil," two masculine Champions for the Synagogue of Rome,' wherein he retorts, not without point, on Butterfield's boyish presumption and too evident desire to parade his classical and patristic learning, wishing him 'more ripenesse of yeares, and more soundnesse of judgement, before he doe any more handle such deepe controuersies.' Burton was sent to the Fleet prison for his pamphlet. Another reply was published about the same time, under the title of 'Maschil Unmasked,' in which the writer, Thomas Spencer, gent., author of 'The Art of Logick,' seeks to supply the defects of his learning and also logic by versatility of abuse.

[Cooper's New Biographical Dictionary, 334 ; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

**BUTTERFIELD, SWITHUN** (d. 1611), miscellaneous writer, is supposed to have been a member of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, as by his will, wherein he is described as of Cambridge, gentleman, dated 1608, and proved in the university court on 21 Dec. 1611, he gave to that college 10*l*. to buy books, also his manuscripts which are enumerated below, and his geometrical instruments and other curiosities.

He was author of: 1. 'A Summarie of the Principles of Christian Religion, selected in manner of Common-Places out of the Writings of the best Diuines of our Age,' London, 1582, 8vo. 2. 'A Catechism, or the Principles of the true Christian Religion: breifely selected out of manie good books,' London, 1590, 8vo. Licensed also to John Flasket, 26 June 1600. 3. 'A great Abridgement of the Common Lawes,' MS. 4. 'An Abridgement of the Civil Lawes,' MS. 5. 'Collection of Policies in Peace and War,' MS., written in 1604. 6. 'A Book of Physic and Surgery,' MS. 7. 'A Book of Controversie out of Bellarmine, &c.,' MS., written in 1606. 8. 'A Book of Common-Place in Religion,' MS., written in 1606.

[MS. Baker, xxvi. 118; Ames's Typogr. Antiquities, ed. Herbert, 1108, 1344, 1378; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. iii. 53.] T. C.

**BUTTERWORTH, EDWIN** (1812-1848), Lancashire topographer, was the tenth and youngest child of James Butterworth [q. v.], and was born at Pitses, near Oldham, on 1 Oct. 1812. He followed in the footsteps of his father, whom he assisted in his later works, but was more given to statistical research. When Mr. Edward Baines undertook the preparation of a history of Lancashire, he found a useful colleague in Edwin Butterworth, who visited many parts of the county in order to collect the requisite particulars. During the six years in which he was engaged by Mr. Baines he travelled on foot through nearly every town and village in the county. His own notes and those of his father formed a large mass of manuscript material. So extensive was it that in 1847 he conceived the idea of issuing a history of the county in fifty volumes, each of which, while part of the general series, should also be complete in itself. This project was encouraged by the Earl of Ellesmere. Overtures were made to Samuel Bamford, as it was thought that his pleasant style and Butterworth's facts would make a popular combination. The suggestion was roughly treated by the 'Radical,' and Butterworth's death occurred before such a plan could have been completed. In addition to his share of Baines's 'Lancashire' the following are from the pen of Butterworth: 1. 'Biography of Eminent Natives, Residents, and Benefactors of the Town of Manchester,' Manchester, 1829. 2. 'A History of Oldham in Lancashire,' London, 1832. 3. 'A Chronological History of Manchester brought down to 1834,' second edition, Manchester, 1834. The first edition was the 'Tabula Mancuniensis' of his father; a third edition appeared in 1834. 4. 'An Historical Description of the Town of Heywood and Vicinity,' Heywood, 1840. 5. 'A Statistical Sketch of the County Palatine of Lancaster,' London, 1841. 6. 'An Historical Account of the Towns of Ashton-under-Lyne, Stalybridge, and Dukinfield,' Ashton, 1842. 7. 'Views of the Manchester and Leeds Railway, drawn from nature and on stone by A. F. Tait, with a descriptive history by Edwin Butterworth,' London, 1845, folio. 8. 'Historical Sketches of Oldham, by the late Edwin Butterworth, with an appendix containing the history of the town to the present time,' Oldham, 1856. The previous edition appeared in 1847.

In addition to these labours Butterworth acted as correspondent for the Manchester newspapers, and was for a considerable time registrar of births and deaths for the township of Chadderton. He is described by those who knew him as genial and modest. Such of his books and manuscripts as had not been acci-



dentally dispersed were purchased by Messrs. Platt Brothers, and by them presented to the Oldham Lyceum. Butterworth died of typhoid fever on 19 April 1848. In 1859 a monument to his memory was erected by public subscription in Greenacres Cemetery, Oldham. His books are now for the most part scarce and difficult to obtain.

[Local Notes and Queries from the Manchester Guardian, 1874-5; Index Catalogue of the Manchester Free Library, Reference Department, Manchester, 1879; Historical Sketches of Oldham, 1856; Fishwick's Lancashire Library, 1875.]  
W. E. A. A.

**BUTTERWORTH, HENRY** (1786-1860), law publisher, was born at Coventry 28 Feb. 1786, being the son of a wealthy timber merchant of that place, and grandson of the Rev. John Butterworth [q. v.], baptist minister of Coventry, Warwickshire, and author of a 'Concordance of the Holy Scriptures.' Young Henry was educated first in the grammar school at Coventry, and afterwards at Bristol. When fifteen years old he entered the bookselling establishment of his uncle, Joseph Butterworth [q. v.], in Fleet Street, London. Living in his uncle's house he became acquainted with Lord Liverpool, Lord Teignmouth, William Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Dr. Adam Clarke, and others, who were frequent guests at his uncle's table. In 1818 he went into business on his own account, obtained the appointment of law publisher to the queen, took a leading part in the management of the Stationers' Company, and became the chief London law publisher. In 1823 he was elected a member of the city council, but declined other municipal office. He supported generously church extension, and many social and christian institutions. He was an active member of the Society of Antiquaries. In 1813 Butterworth married Miss Elizabeth H. Whitehead, daughter of Captain Whitehead of the 4th Irish dragoon guards. He died at Upper Tooting, Surrey, 2 Nov. 1860, aged 74. A painted glass window was placed in the choir of St. Paul's Cathedral by his friends, as a mark of respect to his memory.

[Annual Register for 1860, p. 400, et seq.]  
W. B. L.

**BUTTERWORTH, JAMES** (1771-1837), Manchester topographer, was the youngest of eleven children, and was born on 28 Aug. 1771 in the parish of Ashton-under-Lyne. His parents were probably handloom weavers. They sent the boy to school under Mr. John Taylor of Alt. Taylor allowed him a share in the instruction of the lower classes. But-

terworth attained some skill in ornamental penmanship. He married in 1792 Hannah Boyton, by whom he had ten children; the youngest, Edwin, attained, like his father, some distinction as a topographer. After many years spent in tuition, Butterworth acted for some years as postmaster of Oldham. He produced a lengthy series of books and pamphlets on the history of his native county, which record much that would have been forgotten but for his personal observation. He died on 23 Nov. 1837.

His writings are: 1. 'A Dish of Hodge Podge, or a Collection of Poems by Paul Bobbin, Esq., of Alt, near Oldham, Manchester, printed for the author, 1800.' 2. 'Rocher Vale,' a poem printed at Oxford 1804. 3. 'An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Town and Parochial Chapelry of Oldham,' Oldham, 1817; a second edition appeared in 1826, 'The Rustic Muse, a collection of poems,' Oldham, 1818. 4. 'A Sequel to the Lancashire Dialect, by Paul Bobbin, Cousin German of the famous Tim Bobbin of merry memory,' Manchester, 1819; professedly written in the local dialects of the parishes of Ashton and Rochdale. The frontispiece is a portrait of 'Paul Bobbin,' and represents a thin, sharp-featured, large-eyed man, with long and slightly curling hair. The plate is engraved by Slack from a drawing by Butterworth. 5. 'The Antiquities of the Town, and a Complete History of the Trade of Manchester,' Manchester, 1822; reissued in 1823 as 'A Complete History of the Cotton Trade, &c., by a person concerned in trade.' 6. 'History and Description of the Town and Parish of Ashton-under-Lyne and the Village of Dukinfield,' Ashton, 1823. 7. 'History and Description of the Towns and Parishes of Stockport, Ashton-under-Lyne, Mottram-Long-Den-Dale, and Glossop, with some memorials of the late F. D. Astley, Esq., of Dukinfield, and extracts from his poems, with an elegy to his memory,' Manchester, 1827. These four works appear also to have been issued separately; the 'Memorials of F. D. Astley' is dated 1828. 8. 'A History and Description of the Parochial Chapelry of Saddleworth,' Manchester, 1828. 9. 'An Historical and Topographical Account of the Town and Parish of Rochdale,' Manchester, 1828. 10. 'The Instruments of Freemasonry Moralised,' Manchester, 1829; a pamphlet. 11. 'Tabula Mancuniensis, chronological table of the history of Manchester,' Manchester, 1829; this pamphlet is the foundation of Timperley's 'Annals of Manchester,' and the 'Manchester Historical Recorder.' 12. 'A Gazetteer of the Hundred of Salford,' Manchester, 1830, \* pamphlet.

Some of his manuscripts were placed, with those of his youngest son, Edwin [q. v.], in the Oldham Lyceum. Many of his books have become scarce, and in addition to the list given above he is said to have published 'Mancunium,' a poem. In a letter addressed in 1802 to a Manchester bookseller he complains of lack of encouragement. 'How would I exert myself could I find one single friend of genius amongst all the host of Paternoster Row factors!' He mentions that he has a work entitled 'A Guide to Universal Manufacture, or the web disclosed,' which he may submit; 'but, if like the generality of your tribe, you are not willing to encourage a poor author, I'll commit the work to the flames and for ever renounce the business.'

[Biographical Sketch by John Higson; Ashton Reporter, 9 Oct. 1869; Skeat's Bibliography of English Dialects, 1875; Axon's Folk-Song and Folk-Speech of Lancashire, 1870; Fishwick's Lancashire Library, 1875; Local Notes and Queries from the Manchester Guardian, 1874-5.]

W. E. A. A.

**BUTTERWORTH, JOHN** (1727-1803), baptist minister, was the son of Henry Butterworth, a pious blacksmith of Goodshaw, a village in Rossendale, Lancashire. He was one of five sons, of whom three, besides John, became ministers of baptist congregations. One of them named Lawrence, a minister at Evesham, wrote two pamphlets against unitarian views. John was born 13 Dec. 1727, and went to the school of David Crosley, a Calvinistic minister who had known John Bunyan. About the year 1753 he was appointed pastor of Cow Lane Chapel, Coventry. With this congregation he remained upwards of fifty years, and died 24 April 1803, aged 75.

He published, in 1767, 'A New Concordance and Dictionary to the Holy Scriptures,' which was reprinted in 1785, 1792, and 1809. The last edition was edited by Dr. Adam Clarke. He also wrote 'A Serious Address to the Rev. Dr. Priestley,' 1790.

His son, Joseph, and his grandson, Henry, are separately noticed.

[Parry's Hist. of Cloughfold Baptist Church, p. 226; Newbigging's Forest of Rossendale, p. 176; Hargreaves's Life of Hirst, pp. 325, 365; Life of Adam Clarke, 1833, ii. 17, iii. 147; Poole's Coventry, p. 238.] C. W. S.

**BUTTERWORTH, JOSEPH** (1770-1826), law bookseller, was son of the Rev. John Butterworth [q. v.], baptist minister of Coventry. He was born at Coventry in 1770. At an early age he went to London, where he learned the business of a law bookseller, and founded a large and lucrative establishment in Fleet Street, in which his nephew,

Henry [q. v.], afterwards assisted him. His house became a resort of the leading philanthropists of the day. There Lords Liverpool and Teignmouth, William Wilberforce and the elder Macaulay discussed their benevolent schemes, and there the first meetings of the British and Foreign Bible Society were held. Butterworth liberally supported many philanthropic and christian institutions. He was M.P. for Coventry 1812-8, and for Dover 1820-6, and gave an independent support to the government of the day. In August 1819 he was appointed general treasurer of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, which office he retained until his death. For many years he was a loyal member of the Wesleyan community, but maintained a generous spirit towards all. He was author of 'A General Catalogue of Law Books,' with their dates and prices; a work of great value to members of the legal profession. He died at his house in Bedford Square, London, 30 June 1826, aged 56.

[Sermon by Rev. Richard Watson, 1826, in vol. ii. of Watson's Works; Minutes of the Methodist Conference.] W. B. L.

**BUTTEVANT, VISCOUNT** (1550-1617). [See BARRY, DAVID FITZJAMES DE.]

**BUTTON, RALPH** (d. 1680), canon of Christ Church under the Commonwealth, was the son of Robert Button of Bishopstow, Wiltshire, and was educated at Exeter College, Oxford. He proceeded B.A. in 1630; in 1633 the rector of Exeter, Dr. Prideaux, recommended him to Sir Nathaniel Brent, the warden of Merton, for a fellowship in his college. The fellowship was conferred on him, and he became famous in the university as a successful tutor. Among his pupils were Zachary Bogan and Anthony à Wood. On the outbreak of the civil war in 1642, Button, who sympathised with the parliamentarians, removed to London, and on 15 Nov. 1643 was elected professor of geometry at Gresham College, in the place of John Greaves. In 1647 he was nominated a delegate to aid the parliamentary visitors at Oxford in their work of reform, and apparently resumed his tutorship at Merton. On 18 Feb. 1647-8 Button was appointed by the visitors junior proctor; on 11 April he pronounced a Latin oration before Philip, earl of Pembroke, the new chancellor of the university, and on 13 June he resigned his Gresham professorship. On 4 Aug. he was made canon of Christ Church and public orator in the room of Edward Corbet, the successor of Dr. Henry Hammond, who had been removed by the parliamentary commission. At the same time Button declined to supplicate

for the degree of D.D. on the ground of the expense; it appears from Wood that he had then lately married. Button showed similar independence in successfully resisting the endeavour of the visitors to expel Edward Pocock from the Hebrew and Arabic lectureship on the ground of political disaffection. At the Restoration Button was ejected from all his offices and his place at Christ Church filled by Dr. Fell. Leaving Oxford, he retired to Brentford, where he kept a school. Baxter says that he was soon afterwards imprisoned for six months 'for teaching two knight's sons in his house, not having taken the Oxford oath.' At the date of the Declaration of Indulgence (1672) Button removed to Islington, and Sir Joseph Jekyll lived with him as his pupil. He died at Islington in October 1680, and was buried in the parish church. A son died and was buried at the same time. Baxter in 'Reliquiæ Baxterianæ' speaks of him as 'an excellent scholar, but of greater excellency; a most humble, worthy, godly man, of a plain, sincere heart and blameless.' He left a daughter, who married Dr. Boteler of London.

[Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 508, ii. 107, 158-9 (where a memoir is given); Ward's *Gresham Professors*; Baxter's *Reliquiæ*, pt. iii. pp. 36, 96; Palmer's *Nonconformist Memorial*, i. 315, iii. 126; Brodrick's *Memorials of Merton College*; Burrows's *Parliamentary Visitation of Oxford* (Camd. Soc.)] S. L.

**BUTTON, SIR THOMAS** (d. 1634), admiral, fourth son of Miles Button of Worlton, in Glamorganshire, entered the naval service of the crown about the year 1589. Of his early career we have no exact information, though from casual notices we learn that, with occasional intervals of wild and even lawless frolic (*Cal. S. P. Dom.* 15 Jan. 1600), he served with some distinction in the West Indies and in Ireland. His good and efficient service at the siege of Kinsale is especially reported (*Cal. S. P.*, Carew, 22 Oct. 1601), and won for him a pension of 6s. 8d. a day, which was confirmed on 25 March 1604. It is not, however, till 1612 that he comes prominently into notice, and then as the commander of an expedition to search for the north-west passage, under the direct patronage of Prince Henry, in whose name his instructions were drawn out. As captain of the *Resolution*, with the *Discovery* pinnace in company, Button put to sea early in May, and in the following August explored for the first time the coasts of Hudson's Bay, and named Nelson River after the master of the *Resolution*, who died there, New Wales, and Button's Bay, into which the river flows,

and where he wintered. For such severe service the ships' companies were but poorly provided, and great numbers of them perished, although game was plentiful. In the following spring and summer, with much enfeebled crews, Button succeeded in examining the west coast of Hudson's Bay, so far as to render it certain that there was no passage to the west in that direction, and as autumn approached he returned to England. He was shortly afterwards appointed admiral of the king's ships on the coast of Ireland. This office he held during the rest of his life, exercising it for the most part on the station implied by the name, frequently also in the Bristol Channel or Milford Haven, where his duty was to suppress pirates, which, of different nationalities, and more particularly French and Turkish, infested those seas. The only important break in this service occurred in 1620, when he was rear-admiral of the fleet which, under the command of his kinsman, Sir Robert Mansel, made an unsuccessful attack on Algiers. He had already been knighted at Dublin by his cousin, Sir Oliver St. John, then lord deputy (*Cal. S. P.*, Ireland, 30 Aug. 1616). In 1624 he was a member of the council of war, and in 1625 was on a commission for inquiring into the state of the navy. At this time he was necessarily a good deal in London, and appears to have resided at Fulham. The duties of his commission and of his command kept him in continual hot water with the navy board, against which he was supported by the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Denbigh. The quarrel reached a climax in February 1627-8. On the 12th Button wrote from Plymouth to Nicholas: 'All the world will take notice if I be unhorsed of the ship in which I have so long served. If dismissed, I shall shelter myself under the lee of a poor fortune which, I thank God, will give me bread, and say as the old Roman did "Votis non armis vincitur." On the 13th Lord Denbigh wrote to Buckingham that 'he should be sorry if so able and honest a man as Sir Thomas Button were neglected; and on the 15th the navy board complained that Sir Thomas Button would 'take no notice of any order unless he received the duke's immediate command.' Buckingham's interest, however, seems to have brought him successfully through his difficulties. His later years were much embittered by a series of disputes with the admiralty regarding several instances of alleged misconduct on the one side, and the non-payment of his pension and allowances on the other. Of the charges against him, which amounted to neglect of duty, fraudulent appropriation of prizes, shel-

tering of pirates, &c., Button cleared himself without any serious difficulty; but to make good his claim for money due to him was not so easy, for his accounts had become extremely complicated, and no one could say even what pay he was entitled to as admiral of the Irish seas, the opinions varying from 20s. a day to 5s. The question was still undetermined at his death in April 1634.

He was twice married, and left a large family. At least one of his sons, and two or three nephews of the name, were at one time or another captains in the navy, and we may fairly suppose that the Edmond Button who commanded the *Sampson* and was killed in the battle off Portland was one of these. It may be noted also that Sir Thomas Button was a near relation of the St. Johns, and more distantly of Cromwell himself. His eldest son Miles, however, after the Restoration, petitioned for compensation for losses sustained in the cause of royalty; it does not appear that he received any.

[Calendars of State Papers, Domestic, 1600-1635; Clark's *Glamorgan Worthies* (some account of Admiral Sir Thomas Button), 1833, 8vo; Button's *Journal of his Voyage to Hudson's Bay* is hopelessly lost; whatever traces of it remain have been collected in Rundall's *Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West* (Hakluyt Society), 81.] J. K. L.

**BUTTON, or BITTON, WILLIAM I** (*d.* 1264), bishop of Bath and Wells, came of a family that took its name from Bitton in Gloucestershire, where a chantry chapel of great beauty is still to be seen, built on the north side of the parish church by Thomas Button, bishop of Exeter, nephew of this William, and consecrated 1299 (*Somerset Archaeol. Society's Proc.* xxii. 67). William was rector of Sowey, sub-dean, and afterwards archdeacon of Wells. He was elected in the chapter-house of Bath on 24 Feb. 1247 by the monks of Bath and the canons of Wells conjointly, according to an arrangement made during the episcopate of his predecessor Roger for settling the claims of the two capitular bodies. He was consecrated at Lyons by Innocent IV on 14 June. On 21 Dec. his cathedral church was much damaged by an earthquake. The bishop gave an account of this event to Matthew Paris, telling him how fissures appeared in the walls, and how a new stone spire of great weight fell upon the church, destroying the finials and battlements, and crushing the capitals of the pillars (*MATT. PARIS*, v. 46). During a visit to the Roman court in 1251 he helped to defeat an attempt made to deprive Nicholas, the late bishop of Durham, of a portion of the revenues assigned

to him on his retirement. The reason of his visit was the necessity of resisting the oppressive extension of metropolitan claims, and on his return to England he brought a letter from the pope, forbidding the archbishop to visit secular non-collegiate churches, and fixing a maximum sum to be paid as procurations. William was present at the parliament held in April 1253, in which the bishops vainly petitioned the king to grant the church freedom in elections [see *AYMER DE VALENCE*, bishop], and joined in the solemn excommunication pronounced by the bishop in Westminster Hall on 3 May against the violators of the great charter and the charter of forests. A document relating the part taken by William in the ceremony is preserved at Wells (*Chapter Documents*, 533). Later in the year he was sent by Henry III to Alfonso X of Castile to ask for his sister Eleanor in marriage for Edward. In January 1254 he was with the king in Gascony. He had a long contention with Roger Forde, abbot of Glastonbury, who sought to recover the possessions and rights which his house had lost to the bishopric. In the course of these proceedings the bishop made an unjustifiable and unsuccessful attempt to deprive the abbot of his office. This quarrel took the bishop to Rome to uphold his cause. The king was in favour of the abbot, and this William thought hard after the expense he had been put to by his journey to Spain. He also quarrelled with his chapter, for he tried to take from them certain grants made to them by Bishop Jocelin for their common fund. Against this oppression the chapter appealed both to Canterbury and Rome. The matter was finally arranged by the friendly intervention of the archbishop, who in 1259 decided in their favour (*ib.* 464). Another dispute arose in 1262 on account of a trespass committed by the bishop's pigs in Winscombe wood, a right of pannage being of no inconsiderable value in those days; in this matter also the bishop appears to have been in the wrong (*MS. Reg.* iii. 99). In 1268, in obedience to a letter received from the pope, he joined Bishop Giles of Sarum in investigating the claim of Robert Chance to the see of Carlisle, and in consecrating him on 14 April. He was present at the dedication of Salisbury Cathedral at Michaelmas 1258. Among the hangings given to the church of St. Albans Matthew Paris mentions a gift from Bishop William (vi. 390). He found means during his episcopate to advance the interests of his own family. A nephew William II [q. v.] afterwards bishop, was made archdeacon of Wells, another of his name was precentor, one brother was treasurer, another was provost of Combe, and was suc-

ceeded by Thomas Button, afterwards dean of Wells and bishop of Exeter. Button died 3 April 1264, and was buried in the chapel of St. Mary behind the altar; on his tomb was his effigy in brass (LELAND, *Itin.* iii. 108).

[M. Paris, v. 46, 212, 373, 375, 396, 423, 534, 593, vi. 229, 232, 390, ed. Luard; Annales Burton., Dunstaple., Theokes.; Ann. Monast. i. 156, 157, 300, iii. 205; Canon of Wells in Anglia Sacra, i. 565; Godwin de Præsulibus, 372; Cassan's Bishops of Bath and Wells, 133; Adam of Domerham, 523, ed. Hearne; John of Glastonbury, 224-34, ed. Hearne; Reshanger, 62, Camden Soc.; Dean and Chapter MSS. at Wells.]

W. H.

**BUTTON or BITTON, WILLIAM II** (d. 1274), bishop of Bath and Wells, was nephew of the former bishop of the same name, and was also a relation of Walter Giffard, his immediate predecessor in the see of Bath and Wells. He was archdeacon of Wells. Giffard having been translated to the see of York in October 1266, William was elected bishop in February 1267, and received the temporalities on 4 March of that year. In view of the fact that the bishops of this see lost even the right of a seat in their chapter, it is interesting to note that in 1270 William presided over a meeting of the chapter, in which several new statutes were enacted (*Ordinale*, 57). This bishop was a man of a wholly different stamp from the uncle who preceded him. Little as we know of his work, he may be looked on as an example of the influence exercised by the preaching of the friars; for when Robert Kilwardby, the provincial of the Dominicans, was to be consecrated to the archbishopric of Canterbury, he declared that he would have the bishop of Bath to perform the rite on account of his eminent piety. He died 4 Dec. 1274, and was buried on the south side of the choir of his cathedral church. Though never acknowledged as a saint by the catholic church, he received the honour of popular canonisation. Crowds visited his tomb with prayers and offerings. Little progress probably had been made of late years in the work of building the church, and it seems that the effects of the storm of 1247 [see **BUTTON, WILLIAM I**, d. 1264] had not been repaired. The offerings brought to the shrine of 'Saint' William enriched the chapter, and are doubtless to be connected with a convocation held in 1284 'for finishing the new work and repairing the old.' Somerset folk believed that the aid of the good bishop was especially effectual for the cure of toothache, and the belief lingered down to the seventeenth century. On the capitals of some of the pillars in the transepts of Wells Cathedral are figures representing people suffering from

toothache, and it may be reasonably believed that those parts of the church were built from the offerings made at the saint's tomb soon after his death.

[Wykes, in Ann. Monast. iv. 194, 261; Matt. Paris Cont. 108; Reynolds's Wells Cathedral, Ordinale et Statuta; Somerset Archæol. Soc. Proc. xix. ii. 29; Godwin, De Præsulibus, 373; Cassan's Bishops of Bath and Wells, 141.]

W. H.

**BUTTON, SIR WILLIAM** (d. 1655), royalist, was descended from the old family of Bitton or Button, so called from the parish of Bitton in the county of Gloucester. He was the eldest son of William Button of Alton, and of Jane, daughter of John Lamb, in the county of Wiltshire (BERRY, *Hampshire Pedigrees*). Lloyd (*Memoirs*, 649) confounds him with his son who died in 1660, and the error is repeated by Jackson (AUBREY, *Collections for Wiltshire*, 190). Both state that he was educated at Exeter College under Dr. Prideaux, and attended Sir Arthur Hepton in his embassy through France and Spain, but the original source of these statements is the sermon preached on 12 April 1660 by Francis Bayly in the parish church of North Wraxall at the funeral of the second Sir William Button, to whom alone they apply. The father of this Sir William Button was raised to the baronetage on 18 April 1621 (BURKE, *History of the Commoners*, iv. 370). During the civil wars he was a staunch royalist, and on this account his house Tokenham Court was twice stripped and his property carried off, the first occasion being in June 1643 by Sir Ed. Hungerford, when his loss was 767l., and the second in June 1644 by a party of horse from Malmesbury garrison, when it amounted to 526l. 6s. In the November following his estate at Tokenham was sequestered, after which he lived at his manor of Shaw near Overton. In 1646 he was fined 2,880l. for 'delinquency.' He died on 28 Jan. 1654-5, and was buried in the vault in the north aisle of North Wraxall church. Lloyd, confounding him with his son, gives the date of his death erroneously as 1660. By his marriage with Ruth, daughter of Walter Dunche of Avebury, he left four sons and three daughters.

[Aubrey's Collections for Wiltshire, ed. Jackson, 190; Burke's History of the Commoners, iv. 370; Berry's Hampshire Pedigrees; Lloyd's Memoirs, 649.]

T. F. H.

**BUTTS, JOHN** (d. 1764), painter, was born and bred in Cork, and with but little instruction developed extraordinary powers in landscape. His compositions, in which he is fond of introducing figures, are Claude-

like in subject and in treatment, but English in touch and tint, showing great breadth and harmony of colour. To supply the wants of a large family of young children, and, it must be added, his own vicious propensities, Butts was glad to do anything, from scene-painting to coach-panels and signboards. He thus fell an easy prey, when about thirty years of age, to a dealer in Dublin, with whom he shared a garret and squandered his earnings in drink. His vices brought him to an early grave in 1764. James Barry, R.A., was a warm admirer of the genius of Butts, and declared that his works were his 'first guide' (see a letter to Dr. Sleight, *Works*, 1809, i. 20-22).

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists (1878), p. 66; Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's History of Dublin, ii. 1180.] G. G.

**BUTTS, ROBERT, D.D.** (1684-1748), bishop successively of Norwich 1733-1738, and of Ely 1738-1748, was the son of the Rev. William Butts, rector of Hartest, near Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, of the elder branch of the Butts of Shouldham Thorpe in Norfolk, collaterally connected with Sir William Butts, M.D. [q. v.] Butts was educated at the grammar school at Bury, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated as B.A. 1707, M.A. 1711, and D.D. 1728. As an undergraduate he was famous as a pugilist and a football player, and excelled in all manly exercises. After his ordination he served the curacy of Thurlow in his native county, and in 1703 was chosen one of the preachers of Bury. Here he rendered political services to the Hervey family. He was a zealous and unscrupulous party agent, and useful in elections to John, lord Hervey, eldest son of the first earl of Bristol, lord privy seal in Sir Robert Walpole's administration. So powerful a patron secured his steady and rapid preferment. In 1717 he was appointed by Lord Bristol to the rich family living of Ickworth, and in 1728 he became chaplain to George II, receiving his degree of D.D. at the same time by royal mandate. Three years later, 6 Feb. 1731, he was appointed dean of Norwich, retaining the living of Ickworth in *commendam*, till his succession to the bishopric, on the death of Bishop Baker, 20 Jan. 1733. He was consecrated by Bishop Gibson of London, at Bow Church, 25 Feb. According to Cole his great and sudden rise was a matter of surprise to most people, as he was almost unknown in the ecclesiastical world, and his merit went very little 'beyond hallooing at elections, and a most violent party spirit.' As bishop he is said to have 'shown some zeal and earnestness' in the management of

his diocese, but coupled with a haughtiness which rendered him the object of general dislike, being, according to Cole, 'universally hated, not to say detested.' Little pains were taken to conceal the joy felt when, in five years' time, he was translated to the much richer see of Ely, which at that time seems to have been regarded as the natural apotheosis of the bishops of Norwich. As bishop of Ely he found his palace in London a far more agreeable residence than his episcopal city. He spent little time at Ely, and when there, if we may believe the spiteful Cole, he was a far more frequent visitor to the public bowling-green than to the cathedral services. According to the same authority he took little care to restrain his language within professional decorum, having 'sufficient of every necessary language for his episcopal office but good language,' being often heard 'swearing a good round hand,' and using vulgar and scurrilous expressions. He took no more care at Ely than at Norwich to make himself acceptable to his clergy, whom he is charged with treating with the greatest insolence. Though paying little regard to his person in private, and rough and ungentlemanly in his manners, he knew how to comport himself with great dignity on public occasions. He was an excellent speaker, his voice being good, and his manner dignified. As a preacher also he displayed superior powers. During the latter years of his life Butts was crippled with gout, which did not mollify a temper never accustomed to be controlled. This disease flying to his stomach, caused his death at Ely House, Holborn, 26 Jan. 1748. His body was buried in the south aisle of the choir of his cathedral, under a tasteless marble monument, adorned with a bust and a laudatory epitaph, ascribing to him an ardent love for true religion: 'zelo B. Petri similis et sancte quoad licuit æmulus.'

The general estimate of this prelate may be gathered from the following passage in the 'Political Will and Testament' of Sir Robert Walpole, a party squib published after that minister's death in 1745: 'My eloquence I leave to that Good Shepherd, the Bishop of Ely, to persuade the Sheep of his Flock to leave off their Prophaneness, to turn from the evil of their Ways, and to follow the pious example of their Leader.' Butts was twice married. His first wife was Miss Elizabeth Eyton, of the old Shropshire family of that name, who died of consumption in 1734, at the age of forty-four, leaving two sons and five daughters. Mrs. Butts was buried in the chapel of the palace at Norwich, with a fulsome epitaph expressing the longing of the broken-hearted widow for 'præclarus ille dies'

which would restore her to him for ever. The bishop, however, consoled himself for his loss the next year, when, being over sixty, he married a young lady of twenty-three, the junior of his eldest daughter, the daughter of the Rev. Mr. Reynolds of Bury, by whom he had six more daughters. In 1753 Mrs. Butts took as her second husband Mr. George Green, the receiver of the late bishop's rents. The union was an unhappy one, the parties separated, and Mrs. Green retired to Chichester, where she died 3 Dec. 1781, at the age of sixty-nine. Butts printed nothing beyond a few charges and occasional discourses. The following may be mentioned: 1. A Sermon preached at Norwich on the day of the accession of George II, 1719. 2. A Charge at the primary visitation of the diocese of Norwich, 1735, London, 4to, 1736. 3. Sermon on Ps. cxvii. 6, preached before the House of Lords in Westminster Abbey, on the anniversary of the accession, 11 June 1737, London, 4to, 1737. 4. Charge delivered at the primary visitation of the diocese of Ely, London, 4to, 1740.

[Cole MSS. xviii. 140, 233; Bentham's History of Ely; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 80.] E. V.

BUTTS, SIR WILLIAM (d. 1545), physician to Henry VIII, was born in Norfolk, and educated at Gonville Hall, Cambridge, being admitted to the degrees of B.A. in 1506, M.A. 1509, and M.D. 1518. In the following year he applied for incorporation into the university of Oxford, but Wood could find no record of his incorporation. In 1524 he took a lease of St. Mary's Hostel, and was therefore probably principal of the house (*Athenæ Cantab.*); but he was at the same time practising his profession among the nobility, and from that time to his death he was constantly employed as physician at the court. The king, his queens, Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary, the king's natural son, Henry Fitzroy, duke of Richmond, Cardinal Wolsey, the Duke of Norfolk, Sir Thomas Lovell, George Boleyn, and Lord Rochford, are all known to have been his patients. As physician to the king his salary was 100*l.* a year, afterwards increased by forty marks, and an additional 20*l.* for attending on the young Duke of Richmond. He was also knighted. As physician to the Princess Mary he received a livery of blue and green damask for himself and two servants, and cloth for an apothecary. His wife was also in the princess's service as one of her gentlewomen, and her portrait was painted by Holbein. The finished picture was exhibited in 1866 at the Royal Academy, and the sketch is at Windsor. It

is engraved by Bartolozzi in 'The Court of Henry VIII.' It may fairly be said that the princess owed her life to her physician. Not only did he exert his professional skill in her behalf, but having good reason to suspect that there were plots to poison her, he frightened her governess, Lady Shelton, by telling her that it was commonly reported in London that she was guilty of this crime, and so made her doubly careful of her charge for her own sake. Some writers have spoken of him as being one of the founders of the College of Physicians, but this is an error. The college was founded in 1528, and he did not join till 1529. He does not seem to have held any collegiate office, but he was held in such esteem that he is entered in their books as 'vir gravis, eximia literarum cognitione, singulari iudicio, summa experientia et prudenti consilio doctor.'

This praise refers more particularly to his medical life; but he was a patron of other branches of learning, and a man whose influence with the king was invariably directed to good purposes. When Wolsey was in disgrace Butts tried to reconcile the king to him, and his interposition in favour of Archbishop Cranmer is well known to readers of Shakespeare (*Hen. VIII.* act v. sc. ii.). In religious matters his sympathies were with the reformation. He attempted in person to convert some of the monks of Sion who refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and two men, both prominent reformers, one on the side of religion and the other on the side of learning, Hugh Latimer and Sir John Cheke, both owed their advancement to him. He died 22 Nov. 1545, and was buried at Fulham church. His tomb was against the south wall, close to the altar, and formerly possessed a brass representing him in armour, with a shield bearing his arms: azure, three lozenges gules on a chevron or, between three estoiles or, and a scroll inscribed with the words 'Myn advantage.' Beneath it was a Latin epitaph in elegiacs by his friend Cheke. The tomb and brass are destroyed, but a slab with Cheke's verses, and an inscription stating that it was restored by Leonard Butts of Norfolk in 1627, is inserted in the wall of the tower. The epitaph gives the date of death as 17 Nov., 22 Nov. being found in both inquiries. The figures had perhaps become nearly illegible and were wrongly restored. All the authors who mention the date of death copy this mistake. He married Margaret Bacon, of Cambridgeshire, and left three sons: Sir William, of Thornage, Norfolk; Thomas, of Great Ribburgh, Norfolk, and Edmund, of Barrow, Suffolk. Sir William, junior, was not killed at the battle of Musselburgh, as Blomefield says, but lived till

1583. The epitaphs on him were collected and printed by R. Dallington. Edmund alone had issue, one daughter, who married Sir Nicholas Bacon, eldest son of Sir Nicholas, keeper of the great seal. His will at Somerset House and the inquisitions taken after his death show that he possessed houses at Fulham, and on the site of the White Friars, London, the manors of Thornage, Thornham, Edgefield, and Melton Constable, in Norfolk, and Panyngton, in Suffolk. Other lands with which the king rewarded him had been disposed of before his death. Sir William Butts was twice painted by Holbein. The portrait which belonged to William H. Pole Carew, of Antony, Cornwall, was exhibited at Burlington House in 1863; it ranks among the very best of the genuine works of the painter. The National Portrait Gallery possesses a copy of it. The other portrait of him is in the picture of the delivery of the charter to the barber surgeons, engraved by Baron. Many of his prescriptions, some devised in consultation with Drs. Chambers, Cromer, and Augustine, are preserved in Sloane MS., No. 1047, in the British Museum. There are three epigrams on him (Nos. 48, 49, 100) in Parkhurst's collection.

[Cal. of State Papers of Hen. VIII, vols. iv.-vii.; State Papers, Hen. VIII, i. 299, 311, 572, ix. 170, xi. 59; Strype's *Cranmer*, 179; *Eccl. Mem.* i. ii. 461, i. i. 261, iii. i. 514; Cheke, 166; Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* i. 244, Fasti, i. 50; Wright's *Suppression of the Monasteries*, 49 (Camden Soc.); Madden's *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary*; Blomefield's *Norfolk*; Foxe's *Acts and Mons.* (ed. 1838), v. 605, vii. 454, 461, 773, viii. 25-34; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 87, 535; Goodall's *Royal College of Physicians*; Munk's *Coll. of Phys.*; Granger's *Biog. Hist.* i. 76, 109; *Inq.* p. m. 37 Hen. VIII, pt. i. Nos. 50, 75; Patent Rolls, 28-38 Hen. VIII.] C. T. M.

**BUXHULL, SIR ALAN** (1323-1381), constable of the Tower, was the son of Alan Bokeshull, or Buxhull, the tenant in capite of a messuage now known as Bugzell, in the parish of Salehurst, Sussex, and of other lands in the same county, and who also held the manor and church of Bryanstone, in Dorsetshire, all of which were, upon his death in 1325, inherited by his son Alan, then an infant two years old. In 1355 he was a knight in the expedition of Edward III to succour the King of Navarre; and some years later, in 1363, he attended the king to welcome the King of Cyprus on his landing at Dover. The year following he was sent with the Lord Burghersh and Sir Richard Pembrugge to render similar honours to King John of France, when by reason of the inability of his subjects to ransom him he was obliged to

return to captivity in England. In 1369 Sir Alan, then the king's chamberlain, was sent with certain nobles to swear to the fulfilment of the treaty with Scotland, and in the same year he held a command under John of Gaunt at Tournheim. In 1370 he succeeded Sir John Chandos as captain and lieutenant of the king in the territory and fortress of St. Sauveur le Vicomte, near Valognes, in Normandy, where, as Froissart tells us, he bore himself as a right valiant knight, 'appert homme durement.' Soon afterwards he took part, with Sir Robert Knolles, in the expedition against the French near Le Mans. It was during his stay in Normandy that Sir Alan received a writ from the king addressed to his 'dear and faithful Aleyn de Buxhull,' commanding him to proceed into the district of Cotentin to redress the outrages alleged to have been committed by the king's subjects there against those of the King of Navarre. Upon the death of the Earl of Stafford, one of the founders of the order, in October 1372, Buxhull was created a knight of the garter, being the fifty-third person promoted to that distinction. He had been elected in 1365-6 successor to Sir Richard la Vache, K.G., in the office of constable of the Tower of London for life, and was also made custos of the forest and park of Clarendon and other forests in Wiltshire. Towards the close of his life Sir Alan was a party to the murder, under peculiarly atrocious circumstances, of Robert Hauley and John Schakell, two esquires who had escaped from the Tower and taken sanctuary at Westminster. To effect their capture, Sir Ralph Ferrers and Buxhull were despatched with fifty men, and, meeting with some resistance, slew their unhappy prisoners within the very precincts of the abbey. This deed happened on 11 Aug. 1378. The power of John of Gaunt, however, effectually screened the perpetrators from punishment. Buxhull did not long survive, for dying on 2 Nov. 1381, he was buried, according to Weever, in Jesus' chapel, under old St. Paul's, near the shrine of St. Erkenwald. He was twice married. By his first wife, whose name is unknown, he left two daughters: Elizabeth, the wife of Roger Lynde, and Amicia, the widow of John Beverley. He took to his second wife Maud, the daughter of Adam Franceis, citizen of London, and relict of John Aubrey, who subsequently married John de Montacute, afterwards third earl of Salisbury and K.G. She gave birth to a posthumous son, who also received the name of Alan, and in due time the honour of knighthood.

[Beltz's *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, pp. 188-92, and authorities cited; Lower's *Worthies of Sussex*, pp. 147-9; Weever's *Ancient*



Funerall Monuments, p. 380; Hutchins's Dorsetshire, 3rd ed. i. 249, 251; *Archæologia*, xx. 152 n., where the writer asserts, but without giving any authority, that Buxhull was excommunicated for his share in the murder.] G. G.

**BUXTON, BERTHA H.** (1844–1881), novelist, was born on 26 July 1844, and when only a girl of eleven years amused herself by writing stories for her schoolfellows at Queen's College, Tufnell Park, London. Both her parents were Germans, her mother being Madame Therese Leopold, well known in musical circles, and with them she travelled in America, Germany, and Holland during her fourteenth and fifteenth years. At sixteen she was married to Henry Buxton, club manager and author, but still pursued her literary work as an amusement, translating a German operetta into English, and writing a modest one-volume novel, which was published at her husband's expense, under the title of 'Percy's Wife.' In 1875 she suddenly found herself poverty-stricken, and, becoming entirely dependent on her own exertions, she turned to writing for a living. In 1876 appeared her novel, 'Jennie of the Prince's,' by B. H. B., dealing with theatrical life, which she had studied as a walking lady on the stage at Exeter. The book was a success. She wrote a serial for the 'World' during the following year, bringing out during the same period 'Won! By the Author of "Jennie of the Prince's,"' and a story for children entitled 'Rosabella,' published under the name of 'Auntie Bee.' From this period she wrote under her own name, and the following Christmas brought out another child's book, entitled 'More Dolls,' illustrated by Mr. T. D. White, and dedicated to the Princess of Wales. Shortly afterwards Mrs. Buxton met with an accident which rendered work impossible. Somewhat recovering, she produced 'Fetterless though Bound together' (1879); 'Great Grenfell Gardens' (1879); 'Nell—On and Off the Stage;' and 'From the Wings' (1880). The last two novels first appeared in 'Tinsley's Magazine.' Her other books were 'Many Loves' (1880), 'Little Pops, a nursery romance' (1881), and 'Sceptre and King' (1881). In collaboration with William Wilhem Fenn she brought out 'Oliver Gay, a Rattling Story of Field, Fight, and Fight,' in 1880, and a tale called 'A Noble Name' in a volume published by him in 1883. She died very suddenly from heart disease, at Claremont Villa, 12 St. Mary's Terrace, Kensington, London, on 31 March 1881.

[*Tinsley's Magazine*, xxviii. 499–500 (1881); *The Carisbrooke Magazine*, with portrait, April 1881.] G. C. B.

**BUXTON, CHARLES** (1823–1871), politician, was the third son of Sir Thomas Powell Buxton [q. v.], and was born on 18 Nov. 1823. Educated at home until the age of seventeen, he was then placed under the charge, successively, of the Rev. T. Fisher, at Luccombe, and the Rev. H. Alford (afterwards dean of Canterbury) at Wymeswold. In 1841 he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1845 and M.A. in 1850. On leaving the university he became a partner in the well-known brewery of Truman, Hanbury, Buxton, & Co. His father dying in 1845, Charles Buxton was entrusted with the task of preparing his biography. This work speedily passed through thirteen editions, and was translated into French and German.

In 1852 Buxton visited Ireland. He purchased an estate in county Kerry, and made it a model of cultivation in the course of a few years. In 1853 he published a pamphlet on national education in Ireland, in which he recommended for Ireland 'the system which had answered so admirably in England—that of encouraging each denomination to educate its own children in the best way possible.' In 1854 Buxton delivered a series of lectures on the theory of the construction of birds. In 1855 he published in the 'North British Review' an article on the sale and use of strong drink, which attracted much attention as coming from a partner of a great brewing house.

Buxton was returned to the House of Commons for Newport in 1857; for Maidstone in 1859; and for East Surrey in 1865, for which constituency he sat until his death. Buxton made an eloquent appeal in favour of referring the Trent question to arbitration; he frequently advocated the principle of the protection of private property during war, and the general amendment of international law in the interests of peace. In 1860 he published a work entitled 'Slavery and Freedom in the British West Indies,' in which he endeavoured to prove that England had secured the spread of civilisation in West Africa, as well as the permanent prosperity of the West India islands.

Buxton advocated the unpopular policy of clemency after the suppression of the Indian mutiny, and in the case of Governor Eyre and the Jamaica massacres. He declined to concur in the Jamaica committee's resolution to prosecute Governor Eyre on a charge of murder, and on 31 July 1866 brought forward in the House of Commons four resolutions, the first declaring that the punishments inflicted had been excessive; that grave excesses of severity on the part of any civil, military, or naval officers ought not to be passed

over with impunity; that compensation ought to be awarded to those who had suffered unjustly; and that all further punishment on account of the disturbances ought to be remitted. The government accepted the first resolution, and the others were withdrawn on the understanding that inquiries should be made with the object, if possible, of carrying out the resolutions. Buxton, however, felt it incumbent upon him subsequently to call for an effectual censure and repudiation of the conduct of Mr. Eyre and his subordinates.

Buxton was an advocate of church reform, of disestablishment, and of security of tenure in Ireland. In general politics an independent liberal, he strongly advocated the system of cumulative voting; took a deep interest in the volunteer movement, but condemned all wars except those of defence.

Buxton inherited his father's intense affection for animals and his passion for outdoor sports. To these he added a love for architecture. He was the architect of his own beautiful seat of Fox Warren, in Surrey, and he gained a prize of 100*l.* in the competitive designs for the government offices in 1856, being placed sixth in the list of competitors. He was an admirer of Gothic architecture for modern buildings, and he designed the fountain near Westminster Abbey, built by himself in 1863, as a memorial of his father's anti-slavery labours. In 1866 Buxton published 'The Ideas of the Day on Policy,' and a pamphlet in 1869 on self-government for London.

On 9 April 1867 Buxton was thrown from his horse in the hunting-field, and suffered concussion of the brain. During his illness he studied the subject of anæsthetics, and offered a prize of 2,000*l.* for the discovery of an anæsthetic agent which should satisfy certain conditions.

Buxton's health began to fail rapidly towards the close of 1870. He died while he was staying at Locheamhead, on 10 Aug. 1871. In 1850 Buxton married the eldest daughter of Sir Henry Holland, bart., M.D., by whom he had a family.

[Buxton's Survey of the System of National Education in Ireland, 1853; Buxton's Slavery and Freedom in the British West Indies, 1860; Buxton's Ideas of the Day on Policy, 1866; Buxton's Self-Government for London, a letter to the Right Hon. H. A. Bruce, M.P. (Home Secretary), 1869; Annual Register, 1871; Buxton's Notes of Thought, preceded by a biographical sketch by the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies, M.A., 1873.] G. B. S.

**BUXTON, JEDIDIAH (1707-1772)**, an untaught arithmetical genius, was born at Elmton, Derbyshire, on 20 March 1707. His

grandfather was vicar of Elmton, and his father schoolmaster of the same parish. Notwithstanding his father's profession, Jedidiah never learned to write, and continued throughout his life to be employed as a farm-labourer. His inability to acquire the rudiments of education seems to have been caused by his absorbing passion for mental calculations, which occupied his mind to the exclusion of all other objects of attention, and in which he attained a degree of skill that made him the wonder of the neighbourhood. He was first brought into more general notice by a letter in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for February 1751, signed G. Saxe (probably a pseudonym), which was shortly followed by two further communications from a Mr. Holliday, of Haughton Park, Nottinghamshire, who seems to have been the writer of the first letter. Among the many examples of Buxton's arithmetical feats which are given in these letters may be mentioned his calculation of the product of a farthing doubled 139 times. The result, expressed in pounds, extends to thirty-nine figures, and is correct so far as it can be readily verified by the use of logarithms. Buxton afterwards multiplied this enormous number by itself. It appears that he had invented an original nomenclature for large numbers, a 'tribe' being the cube of a million, and a 'cramp' (if Mr. Holliday's statement can be trusted) a thousand 'tribes of tribes.' In the spring of 1754 he walked to London, where he was entertained by 'Sylvanus Urban' at St. John's Gate. He was introduced to the Royal Society, before whom he gave some illustrations of his calculating powers. He was also taken to see Garrick in 'Richard III,' but paid no attention to the performance except to count the words spoken by the actors. In the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for June 1754 is a memoir of Buxton, accompanied by a portrait. His age is there given as forty-nine, which does not agree with the date of his birth as above stated on the authority of Lysons's 'Magna Britannia.' After spending some weeks in London he returned contentedly to his native village, where he was buried on 5 March 1772.

[Gent. Mag. xxi. 61, 347, xxiii. 557, xxiv. 251; Lysons's Magna Britannia, v. (Derbyshire), 157.] H. B.

**BUXTON, RICHARD (1786-1865)**, botanist, was born at Sedgley Hall Farm, Prestwich, on 15 Jan. 1786. His father, John Buxton, was a farmer, and both parents were from Derbyshire. Richard was the second son of a family of seven, but his father, re-

duced to giving up his farm within two years of his son's birth, came to live in Manchester as a labourer. As a child his education was almost entirely neglected, but his chief amusement was picking wild flowers in the fields and brickyards near Great Ancoats. At twelve he was apprenticed to a bat-maker—that is, a manufacturer of children's small leather shoes. When sixteen he determined to teach himself to read, and did so. Among his books he numbered some of the old herbalists, but found their indications quite inadequate to find out plant-names. He then fell in with Jenkinson's *Flora*, also Robson's, and the first edition of *Withering*. For several years he plodded on, without making any botanical friends; but in 1826 he encountered a kindred spirit in the person of John Horsfield, another of the keen Lancashire working-men botanists, who introduced Buxton to their meetings. He afterwards botanised in Derbyshire, North Wales, and the Craven district of Yorkshire. When his '*Botanical Guide*' was published, and for many years afterwards, he was living unmarried with a sister in Manchester, where he died on 2 Jan. 1865. He published only one book, entitled '*Botanical Guide to the Flowering Plants, Ferns, Mosses, and Algæ found . . . within 16 miles of Manchester*,' Lond. 1849 (2nd ed. 1859); but he is frequently cited by Dr. Wood in his '*Flora Mancuniensis*' as the authority for many localities of the rarer plants.

[Autobiography in *Guide*, iii-xv; Cash's *Where there's a Will*, 94-107; Seemann's *Journ. Bot.* iii. (1865), 71-2.] B. D. J.

**BUXTON, SIR THOMAS FOWELL** (1786-1845), philanthropist, was the eldest son of Thomas Fowell Buxton, of Earl's Colne, Essex, by a daughter of Osgood Hanbury, of Holfield Grange, in the same county. His mother, who was a member of the Society of Friends, was a woman of great intelligence and energy. He was born 1 April 1786, and at a very early age was sent to a school at Kingston, where he suffered severely from ill-treatment. His health gave way, and he was removed to Greenwich, and placed under the care of Dr. Burney, the brother of Madame d'Arlay. From his earliest youth he took great delight in all kinds of country sports.

At the age of fifteen he left school, and was thrown much into the society of the Gurneys, at Earlham Hall, Norwich. In October 1803 he was entered at Trinity College, Dublin. He passed all the thirteen examinations at Dublin (with a single exception) with the most distinguished success, and received the university gold medal, which is given only to men who have obtained in succession all the

previous prizes. Before he had attained the age of twenty-one he was pressed to stand as a candidate for the representation of the university. He was extremely gratified by the offer, but declined it in consideration of his approaching marriage to Hannah, daughter of Mr. John Gurney, of Earlham Hall, sister to Mrs. Fry, and of the business career for which he was intended. He returned to England, and his marriage took place on 18 May 1807.

Buxton joined the well-known firm of Truman, Hanbury, & Co., brewers, of Spitalfields, in 1808. Though his business engagements were very arduous, he found time to study English literature and political economy. Nor did he neglect those philanthropic efforts which had been pressed upon him by his mother, and in which he was encouraged by William Allen. Between 1808 and 1816 he interested himself in all the charitable undertakings in the distressed district of Spitalfields, especially in those connected with education, the Bible Society, and the sufferings of the weavers. He took an energetic part in defending the Bible Society when it was the subject of a violent controversy, initiated by Dr. Marsh, afterwards bishop of Peterborough.

In 1816 almost the whole population in Spitalfields was on the verge of starvation. A meeting was called at the Mansion House, and Buxton delivered a forcible speech. He narrated the results of his personal investigations; the sum of 43,369*l.* was raised at this one meeting, and an extensive and well-organised system of relief was established. Buxton joined the committee of the newly formed Society for the Reformation of Prison Discipline. He had previously gone through the gaol at Newgate, and the results of this and other visitations were afterwards collected and published in a volume, entitled '*An Inquiry whether Crime and Misery are produced or prevented by our present system of Prison Discipline*' (London, 1818). In the course of one year this work went through five large editions, and it had led to the formation of the Prison Discipline Society already mentioned. In the House of Commons, Sir James Mackintosh spoke highly of the book, which was translated into French, distributed over the continent, and reached India. There it indirectly led to a searching inquiry into the scandalous management of the Madras gaols.

In 1818 Buxton was returned to parliament at the head of the poll for Weymouth, and continued to represent the borough until 1837. He also devoted himself at this time to the preparation of a work on prison dis-

cipline, the foundation of a savings bank in Spitalfields, the establishment of a salt fish market in the same district, an investigation into the management of the London Hospital, and the formation of a new Bible Association. During his first session in parliament he paid close attention to the operation of the criminal laws. He seconded the motion made by Sir James Mackintosh for a committee on this subject. He sat on two select committees appointed to inquire into the penal code, and in consequence of the reports of the respective committees the government brought in a bill for consolidating and amending the prison laws then in existence. In 1820 Buxton lost his eldest son and three other children. A few months afterwards he removed from his house at Hampstead, and went to reside at Cromer Hall, Norfolk. In 1820 he supported Mackintosh's motion for abolishing the penalty of death for forgery.

In May 1824 Wilberforce, who had long led the anti-slavery party in the House of Commons, formally requested Buxton to become his successor. Buxton had been an active member of the African Institution. In 1822 he had begun his anti-slavery operations with vigour, being supported by Zachary Macaulay, Dr. Lushington, Lord Suffield, and others. In March 1823 Mr. Wilberforce issued his 'Appeal on behalf of the Slaves,' and immediately afterwards the Anti-Slavery Society was formed. On 15 May following Buxton—feeling, after mature deliberation, that he could not decline the important charge pressed on him by Wilberforce—brought forward a resolution in the House of Commons for the gradual abolition of slavery. It was carried, with the addition of some words proposed by Canning in reference to the planters' interests. The government issued a circular to the various colonial authorities, recommending the adoption of certain reforms; but the planters indignantly rejected them, and denounced the attack upon their rights.

Buxton laboured on, fortifying himself with facts concerning slave operations, and preparing documents charged with irrefragable statistics. Public meetings were held throughout the country in denunciation of the slave trade, and on 15 April 1831, the government having declined to take up the case, Buxton brought forward his resolution for the abolition of slavery. He showed that in 1807 the number of slaves in the West Indies was 800,000, while in 1830 it was only 700,000. In other words, the slave population had suffered a decrease in twenty-three years of 100,000. The necessity for emanci-

pation was conceded, and at the opening of the session of 1833 Lord Althorp announced that the government would introduce a measure. Eventually, on 28 Aug., the bill for the total abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions received the royal assent.

In spite of some forebodings, the colonial legislatures duly carried the Act into effect. On emancipation day, 1 Aug. 1834, a large number of friends assembled at the house of Buxton, and presented him with two handsome pieces of plate. On 22 March 1836 Buxton moved for a committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system. He spent much time and labour in his investigation of this question, and adduced a mass of statistical information, 'proving, on the one hand, that the negroes had behaved extremely well, and, on the other, that they had been harassed by vexatious by-laws and cruel punishments.' The committee was granted, and subsequently the under-secretary for the colonies introduced a bill for enforcing in Jamaica measures in favour of the negroes.

In June 1837 the death of the king necessitated the dissolution of parliament, and Buxton lost his seat at Weymouth. He had refused beforehand to lend money—'a gentle name for bribery'—to the extent of 1,000*l*. Proposals were made from twenty-seven boroughs to Buxton to stand as a candidate, but he declined them all.

He now sought to deliver Africa from the slave trade, and published in 1839 'The African Slave Trade and its Remedy.' He recommended the concentration upon the coast of Africa of a more efficient naval force; the formation of treaties with the native chiefs; the purchase by the British government of Fernando Po, as a kind of headquarters and mart of commerce; the despatch of an expedition up the Niger for the purpose of setting on foot preliminary arrangements; and the formation of a company for the introduction of agriculture and commerce into Africa.

The Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and the Civilisation of Africa was established; and the government resolved to send a frigate and two steamers to explore the Niger, and if possible to set on foot commercial relations with the tribes on its banks. Sir Edward Parry, the comptroller of steam machinery, was appointed to prepare the vessels. Meantime Buxton's health had given way, and he was ordered complete rest. Towards the close of 1839 he made a tour through Italy, where he engaged in a close investigation into the crimes of the banditti. He fully exposed the deeds of a notorious band

headed by Gasparoni. He also conducted a minute examination into the state of the Roman gaols.

On his return to England, Buxton eagerly threw himself into his previous plans. A baronetcy was conferred upon him 30 July 1840. For a brief period all went well with the Niger expedition, but at length there remained no doubt of its failure; and of the three hundred and one persons who composed the expedition, forty-one perished from the African fever. Sir Fowell Buxton was almost prostrated by this failure of his plans, and his health rapidly gave way.

In January 1843 the African Civilisation Society was dissolved. At its closing meeting Sir Fowell Buxton defended himself from the charge of imprudence. The ill-fated Niger expedition ultimately proved to be far from fruitless. It gave a new impulse to the African mind, and induced the emigration from Sierra Leone, which opened the way into Yoruba and Dahomey, and placed even Central Africa within the reach of British influences. The communication established between the river Niger and England opened up an important trade in cotton and other articles.

Sir Fowell Buxton now devoted himself to the cultivation of his estates. He established model farms and extensive plantations at Runtun and Trimmingham, near Cromer, and executed various plans of land-improvement. An essay upon the management of these estates gained the gold medal of the Royal Agricultural Society in 1845.

In the spring of 1843 Sir Fowell, whose health was failing, was recommended to try the Bath waters. He died 19 Feb. 1845, and was buried in the ruined chancel of Overstrand church, near his family seat of Northrepps Hall, Norfolk. His benevolence, his complete devotion to whatever was practical, his humility, his affection for children, and his love of animals were well known. He was eminently a religious man. Although attached to the church of England, Sir Fowell Buxton never allowed sectarian differences to interfere with his friendships and labours. The education of the poor and their social improvement were the especial objects of his endeavours. The prince consort headed a movement for a public tribute to the memory of Sir Fowell Buxton, and it took the form of a statue by Thrupp, which is erected near the monument to Wilberforce, in the north transept of Westminster Abbey. Lady Buxton, by whom he had three sons and two daughters, died 20 March 1872.

[Memoirs of Sir T. F. Buxton, Bart., edited by his son, Charles Buxton, M.P., 1872; Times, February 1845; Annual Register, 1845; the

African Slave Trade, 1839; An Inquiry whether Crime and Misery are produced or prevented by our present system of Prison Discipline, 1818; Read's Sir T. F. Buxton and the Niger Expedition, 1840; The Remedy, being a Sequel to the African Slave Trade, 1840; Binney's Sir T. F. Buxton, a Study for Young Men, 1845.]

G. B. S.

BYAM, HENRY, D.D. (1580-1669), royalist divine, was born 31 Aug. 1580, at Luckham, Somerset, the eldest of four sons of Lawrence Byam, presented to the rectory of Luckham 19 June 1575, and married 26 May 1578 to Anne or Agnes, daughter of Henry Ewens or Yewings of Capton in the parish of Stogumber. Henry matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, 10 June 1597, and was elected student of Christ Church 21 Dec. 1599. He graduated B.A. 30 June 1602, M.A. 9 June 1605, B.D. 9 July 1612, D.D. 31 Jan. 1643. Wood praises him as 'one of the greatest ornaments of the university,' and 'the most acute and eminent preacher of his age.' He succeeded his father (whose will was proved in the middle of July 1614) in the rectory of Luckham with Selworthy. On 17 March 1632 he was made prebendary of Exeter. His D.D. was given him by command of the king, just after he had escaped from the custody of Blake, Byam's family being the first to take up arms for the king in those parts. His living was sequestered in 1656. He accompanied Charles II to Scilly when he fled from England, and was chaplain in the isle of Jersey until the garrison surrendered. Henceforth he lived in obscurity till the restoration, when he was made prebendary of Wells, in addition to his prebend at Exeter. He died 16 June 1669 at Luckham, and was buried 29 June in the chancel of his church. Byam's wife and daughter were drowned in attempting to escape to Wales by sea during the troubles. He had five sons, four of whom were captains in the royalist army. He published: 1. 'A Returne from Argier: a sermon preached at Minhead, 16 March 1627-8 at the readmission of a lapsed Christian to our church,' 1628, 4to. Posthumously appeared 2. 'XIII Sermons: most of them preached before his majesty King Charles II in his exile,' &c., 1675, 8vo (edited, 'with the testimony given of him at his funeral,' by Hamnet Ward, M.D.; two of the sermons are in Latin, being a visitation sermon at Exeter, and a sermon for his B.D. degree). A bust of Byam has been placed in the Shire Hall at Taunton.

JOHN, second son of Lawrence Byam, was born about 1583, matriculated at Exeter College 12 Oct. 1599, and graduated B.A. 30 June 1603, M.A. 25 May 1606. He

married a daughter of William Mascal (*d.* 1609), rector of Clotworthy, Somerset, and succeeded to the rectory on Mascal's death. In May 1625 he received a dispensation to hold also the vicarage of Dulverton, Somerset. His living of Clotworthy was sequestered, and he was imprisoned at Wells for loyal correspondence. He died in 1653, and is said to have left a manuscript account of his sufferings.

EDWARD, third son of Lawrence Byam, was born at the end of September 1585, matriculated at Exeter College 31 Oct. 1600, chosen demy at Magdalen 1601 (till 1610), graduated B.A. 12 Dec. 1604, M.A. 18 July 1607, took priest's orders 7 April 1612, and was presented 4 Aug. 1612 to the vicarage of Dulverton, Somerset, which he resigned, May 1625 to his brother John. On 30 April 1627 he was collated to the precentorship of Cloyne, and he afterwards became vicar of Castle Lyons. On 17 April 1639 he received the prebend of Clashmore in the diocese of Lismore. He died at Kilwillin 6 June 1639, and was buried at Castle Lyons. He married 22 July 1613, at Walton, Elizabeth, daughter of Anthony Eaglesfield, formerly fellow of Queen's, then vicar of Chewton Mendip, rector of Walton-cum-Street, and prebendary of Wells. His widow, Elizabeth Byam, was among the despoiled and impoverished protestants of 1642. His son William was lieutenant-general, and governor of Guiana and Surinam. Edward Byam wrote 'Lines on the death of Q. Elizabeth' in 'Acad. Ox. Funebre Officium in mem. Eliz. Reginae,' Oxford, 1603.

[Chronological Memoir of the three clerical brothers, &c. Byam, by Edward S. Byam, Ryde, n. d. (dedication 5 Aug. 1854), 2nd ed. Tenby, 1862; Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, ii. 29, 207; Wood's *Athenae Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 836; Fasti, i. 296, &c.; Bloxam's *Register of Magdalen College, the Demies*, vol. ii. 1876, p. 1.]

A. G.

BYER, NICHOLAS (*d.* 1681), painter, was a native of Drontheim in Norway. He practised portrait and historical painting, and on coming to England found a steady patron in Sir William Temple, at whose seat at Sheen, in Surrey, he lived for three or four years (WALPOLE, *Anecdotes of Painting*, ed. Wornum, ii. 479). His reputation as a face-painter must have been considerable; several persons of distinction, including some members of the royal family, sat to him. Dying at Sheen in 1681 he is said to have been the first person buried at St. Clement Danes after the rebuilding of the church (REDGRAVE, *Dictionary of Artists*, 1878, p. 66).

[Authorities as above.]

G. G.

BYERLEY, KATHARINE (1797-1862), miscellaneous writer. [See THOMSON.]

BYERLEY, THOMAS (*d.* 1826), journalist and compiler of the 'Percy Anecdotes,' was the brother of Sir John Byerley. Devoting himself to literary pursuits, he became editor of the 'Literary Chronicle' and assistant editor of the 'Star' newspaper. He was also editor of 'The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction,' from 1823 till his death, on 28 July 1826.

Under the pseudonym of Stephen Collet Byerley published 'Relics of Literature,' London, 1823, 8vo, a collection of miscellanies, including a long article, reprinted in 1875, on the art of judging the character of individuals from their handwriting; but his chief claim to remembrance rests on 'The Percy Anecdotes,' 20 vols., London, 1821-3, 12mo. These volumes, which came out in forty-four monthly parts, were professedly written by 'Sholto and Reuben Percy, brothers of the Benedictine monastery of Mount Benger.' Reuben Percy was Thomas Byerley, and Sholto Percy was Joseph Clinton Robertson, who died in 1852. The name of the collection was taken from the Percy coffee-house in Rathbone Place, where Byerley and Robertson were accustomed to meet. Byren insisted that 'no man who has any pretensions to figure in good society can fail to make himself familiar with the "Percy Anecdotes;"' but the work is now acknowledged to be of no real value. The 'Anecdotes' were reprinted in 2 vols. in the 'Chandos Library,' with four pages of preface by John Timbs, F.S.A. The 'Brothers Percy' also compiled 'London, or Interesting Memorials of its Rise, Progress, and Present State,' 3 vols., London, 1823, 12mo.

[Notes and Queries, 1st ser. vii. 214, 3rd ser. ix. 168; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Preface to reprint of Percy Anecdotes; Gent. Mag. N.S. xxxviii. 548.]

T. C.

BYERS or BYRES, JAMES (1733-1817), architect and archæologist, died at his seat Tonley, in the parish of Tough, Aberdeenshire, on 3 Sept. 1817, in the eighty-fourth year of his age (*Scots Mag.* N.S. 1817, i. 196). During a residence of nearly forty years at Rome, from 1750 to 1790, he assiduously collected antique sculpture. At one time he possessed the Portland vase, which he parted with to Sir William Hamilton. Bishop Percy, for whom Byers procured old Italian romances, calls him 'the pope's antiquary at Rome' (NICHOLS'S *Illustr. of Lit.* iii. 726, vii. 718-19). Byers also gave lectures for many years on the favourite objects

of his study, and Sir James Hall, who has occasion in his 'Essay on Gothic Architecture' (1813) frequently to refer to his authority, bears testimony to 'the very great success with which he contributed to form the taste of his young countrymen.' In 1767 he proposed to publish by subscription 'The Etruscan Antiquities of Corneto, the antient Tarquinii' (*Gent. Mag.* xlix. 288); but for some not very satisfactory reason the book never appeared, a circumstance which gave rise to many complaints on the part of deluded subscribers (*ibid.* vol. lxii. pt. i. p. 201, 317, vol. lxvi. pt. i. p. 222). Long after his death forty-one drawings from his collection were published with the title 'Hypogæi, or Sepulchral Caverns of Tarquinia, the capital of antient Etruria; edited by Frank Howard,' folio, London (1842). Byers was elected an honorary fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 24 Feb. 1785, and was also a corresponding member of the Society of Arts and a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. His profile is given at p. 101 of T. Windus's 'Description of the Portland Vase,' and there is a portrait of him by Sir H. Raeburn.

[New Statistical Account of Scotland, xii. 614; Thom's History of Aberdeen, ii. 193-4.] G. G.

**BYFIELD, ADONIRAM** (d. 1660), puritan divine, the third son of Nicholas Byfield [q. v.], was probably born before 1615. He was educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and does not appear to have had any profession except the ministry, though Zachary Grey styles him 'a broken apothecary.' In 1642 he was chaplain to Sir Henry Cholmondeley's regiment. On 6 July 1643 he was appointed one of the two scribes to the Westminster Assembly, the other being Henry Roborough. Their amanuensis or assistant was John Wallis, afterwards Savilian professor of geometry. The scribes were not members of the assembly of which they kept the record, nor were they at first allowed, like the members, to wear their hats. (For a minute account of the way in which Byfield discharged the public part of his duties see Baillie's 'Letters and Journals,' ii. 107 sq.) In common with the other divines the scribes were entitled to the allowance (irregularly paid) of four shillings a day. For their special trouble they received the copyright of the 'Directory' (ordered to be published 13 March 1645), which they sold for 400*l.*; the anticipated circulation must have been large, as the selling price was threepence per copy. It was during the sitting of the assembly that Byfield obtained first the sinecure rectory, and then the vicarage of Fulham. Isaac Knight succeeded him in the

rectory in 1645, and in the vicarage in 1657. At some unknown date between 1649 and 1654 Byfield received an appointment to the rectory of Collingbourn Ducis, Wiltshire, from which Christopher Prior, D.D., had been removed. Prior died in 1659, when Byfield was probably duly instituted, for he was not disturbed at the Restoration. In 1654 he was nominated one of the assistant commissioners for Wiltshire, under the ordinance of 29 June for ejecting 'scandalous, ignorant, and insufficient ministers and schoolmasters,' and was the most active among them. Walker gives very full details of his procedure in the case against Walter Bushnell, vicar of Box (ejected in 1656). Byfield's assembly practice had made him as sharp as a lawyer in regard to all the catches and technical points of an examination. We hear little more about him. He died intestate in London, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, at the end of 1660 or very beginning of 1661. His wife, Katharine, survived him, and administered to his effects on 12 Feb. 1661. Granger describes a portrait of Byfield 'with a windmill on his head and the devil blowing the sails.' Butler has canonised him in 'Hudibras' (pt. iii. canto ii.) as a type of those zealots for presbytery whose headstrong tactics opened the way to independence. Walker has immortalised the tobacco-pipe which Byfield flourished in his satisfaction at the judgment on Bushnell.

Byfield's most important work consists of the manuscript minutes, or rather rough notes, of the debates in the assembly, which are almost entirely in his very difficult handwriting. They are preserved in Dr. Williams's library, and were edited by Mitchell and Struthers in 1874. According to Mitchell (*Westminster Assembly*, pp. 409, 419), Byfield had published a catechism some years before the assembly met. In 1626 he edited his father's 'Rule of Faith,' a work on the Apostles' Creed. To Byfield is ascribed 'A Brief View of Mr. Coleman his new modell of Church Government,' 1645, 4to. He also assisted Chambers in his 'Apology for the Ministers of the County of Wiltshire, . . . ' 1654, 4to.

[Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, 1714, i. 178 sq., ii. 68; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 670, &c.; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, 1802, ii. 447; Brook's Lives of the Puritans, 1813, iii. 374; authorities cited above.] A. G.

**BYFIELD, JOHN** (fl. 1830), wood engraver, held a high position in his profession, but no details of his life are recorded. He and his sister Mary cut the illustrations for an edition of Holbein's 'Icones Veteris

Testamenti,' published in 1830, and he executed with great skill and fidelity, in conjunction with Bonner, the facsimiles of Holbein's 'Dance of Death,' published by Francis Douce in 1833. He also engraved the illustrations for an edition of Gray's 'Elegy,' published in 1835.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 8vo, 1878.] L. F.

**BYFIELD, NICHOLAS** (1579-1622), puritan divine, a native of Warwickshire, son by his first wife of Richard Byfield, who became vicar of Stratford-on-Avon in January 1597. Nicholas was entered at Exeter College, Oxford, in Lent term 1596, as 'aged 17 at least,' which gives 1579 as the latest date for his birth; and this answers to the original inscription on his portrait, 'An<sup>o</sup> Dni 1620 *Ætatis suæ* 40,' thus making 1579 the earliest date. The second inscription (see below) shows that he was born in the last third of the year. He was four years at the university, but though a severe student did not graduate. Taking orders he intended to exercise his ministry in Ireland; but on his way thither he preached at Chester, and was prevailed upon to remain as one of the city preachers, without cure. He lectured at St. Peter's church, and was extremely popular. John Bruen [q. v.] was one of his hearers, and a kind friend to him. In 1611 he got into a controversy on the sabbath question in a curious way. A Chester lad, John Brerewood, was one of his catechists, and had been trained by Byfield in strict sabbatarian habits. Consequently, when the lad went to London to serve as an apprentice, he refused to do his master's errands on Sundays, such as fetching wine and feeding a horse, and obeyed only under compulsion. The lad wrote to Byfield with his case of conscience, and was told to disobey. His uncle, Edward Brerewood [q. v.], first professor of astronomy in Gresham College, noticed the lad's depression, and, learning its cause, gave him contrary advice, taking the ground that the fourth commandment was laid only upon masters. Brerewood opened a correspondence with Byfield on the subject. The discussion was not published till both Brerewood and Byfield had been long dead. It appeared at Oxford as 'A Learned Treatise of the Sabaoth, . . . ' 1630, 4to; second edition, 1631, 4to. Byfield's part in it is curt and harsh; his manner roused Brerewood, who charges his correspondent with 'ignorant phantasies' [see **BYFIELD, RICHARD**]. On 31 March 1615 Byfield was admitted to the vicarage of Isleworth, in succession to Thomas Hawkes. It appears from his own statement in a dedication (1615) to Edward, earl of Bedford,

whose chaplain he was, that his reputation had suffered from 'unjust aspersions.' What he means by saying that he had been cleared 'by the mouth and pen of the Lord's anointed, my most dread sovereign,' is not evident. At Isleworth he was diligent in preaching twice every Sunday, and in giving expository lectures every Wednesday and Friday. He kept up his public work till five weeks before his death, though for fifteen years he had been tortured with the stone. He died on Sunday, 8 Sept. 1622. His portrait, painted on a small panel, hangs in Dr. Williams's library. The face is lifelike and rather young for his years, with a pleasing expression. Painted over the lower part of the panel is a portentous figure of the calculus from which he suffered, accompanied by this inscription: 'Mr. Nicholas Byfield, minister some times in the City of Chester, but last of Isleworth, in the county of Midellsex, where he deceased on the Lord's day September the 8, anno domini 1622, aged near 43 years. The next day after his death he was opened by Mr. Millins, the chirurgeon, who took a stone out of his bladder of this forme, being of a solid substance 16 inches compasse the length way, and 13 inches compass in thicknesse, which weighed 35 ounces auerdupuis weight.' This corresponds closely with the account given in William Gouge's epistle prefixed to Byfield's 'Commentary upon the second chapter of the First Epistle of Saint Peter,' 1623, 4to. Gouge, who was present at the autopsy, makes the measurements of the calculus 15½ inches about the edges, above 13 about the length, and almost 13 about the breadth. By his wife, Elizabeth, Byfield had at least eight children, of whom the third was Adoniram [q. v.]

Byfield's works were numerous, and most of them went through many editions, some as late as 1665. His expository works, which are Calvinistic, have been praised in modern times. His first publication was 'An Essay concerning the Assurance of God's Love and of Man's Salvation,' 1614, 8vo. This was followed by 'An Exposition upon the Epistle to the Colossians . . . being the substance of neare seaven yeeres weeke-dayes sermons,' 1615, fol. Brook gives abridged titles of fourteen works (eight being posthumous), adding 'several sermons,' but these are included in one or other of the collections previously enumerated in the list. The date of 'The Beginning of the Doctrine of Christ,' &c., is not 1609, as given by Brook, but 1619, 12mo. 'The Marrow of the Oracles of God,' 1620, 12mo (the last thing published by Byfield himself), is a collection of six treatises, which includes one separately enumerated by



Brook, 'The Promises; or a Treatise showing how a godly Christian may support his heart,' &c., 1618, 12mo. Brook does not fully specify the issues of separate parts of Byfield's exposition of 1 Peter, nor does he give any indication of the later editions of the works.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 323; Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, 1813, ii. 297; Cox's *Literature of the Sabbath Question*, 1865, i. 159; authorities cited above; extracts from registers of St. Peter's, Chester, and Isleworth.]

A. G.

**BYFIELD, RICHARD** (1598?-1664), ejected minister, was a native of Worcestershire, according to Wood; yet as he is said to have been sixteen years of age in 1615 (Wood) and 'ætat. 67' (CALAMY) at his death in December 1664, he was probably born in 1598; and since his father became vicar of Stratford-on-Avon in January 1597, it is reasonable to conclude that, like his elder half-brother Nicholas Byfield [q. v.], he was a Warwickshire man, though his baptism is not to be found in the Stratford-on-Avon register. He was a son of Richard Byfield by his second wife. In Michaelmas term 1615 he was entered either as servitor or batler at Queen's College, Oxford. He graduated B.A. 19 Oct. 1619, M.A. 29 Oct. 1622. He was curate or lecturer at Isleworth, probably during his brother's incumbency (i.e. before 8 Sept. 1622), and had some other 'petite employments' before being presented (prior to 1630) by Sir John Evelyn to the rectory of Long Ditton, Surrey. He sat in the Westminster Assembly, but was not one of the divines nominated in the original ordinance of 12 June 1643, being appointed, perhaps through the influence of his nephew Adoniram [q. v.], to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Daniel Featley, D.D. (d. 17 April 1645). During the protectorate he quarrelled with Sir John Evelyn, his patron, about the reparation of the church, and Calamy recounts their amicable reconciliation through the intervention of Cromwell. In 1654 he was appointed one of the assistant commissioners for Surrey, under the ordinance of 29 June for the ejection of scandalous, &c. ministers and schoolmasters. He held his rectory, with a high character for personal piety and zeal in the ministry, until the passing of the Uniformity Act. At his ejection he was the oldest minister in Surrey, i.e. probably in seniority of appointment, for he was not an old man. Leaving Long Ditton, he retired to Mortlake, where he was in the habit of preaching twice every Sunday in his own family, and did so the very Sunday before his death. He died suddenly

in December 1664, and was buried in Mortlake church.

Some of the works of his brother Nicholas have been assigned to Richard; he edited a few of them. His own works are: 1. 'The Light of Faith and Way of Holiness,' 1630, 8vo. 2. 'The Doctrine of the Sabbath Vindicated, in Confutation of a Treatise of the Sabbath written by Mr. Edward Brerewood against Mr. Nicholas Byfield,' 1631, 4to [see BREREWOOD, EDWARD, and BYFIELD, NICHOLAS]. Byfield attacks the spelling 'Sabaoth' adopted by Brerewood. 3. 'A Brief Answer to a late Treatise of the Sabbath Day,' 1636? (given to Byfield by Peter Heylin, in 'The History of the Sabbath,' 2nd edit. 1636, 4to; it was in reply to 'A Treatise of the Sabbath Day,' &c., 1635, 4to, by Francis White, bishop of Ely, who rejoined in 'An Examination and Confutation,' &c. 1637, 4to). 4. 'The Power of the Christ of God,' &c. 1641, 4to. 5. 'Zion's Answer to the Nation's Ambassadors,' &c. 1645, 4to (fast sermon before the House of Commons on 25 June, from Is. xiv. 32). 6. 'Temple Defilers defiled,' 1645, 4to (two sermons at Kingston-on-Thames from 1 Cor. iii. 17; reissued with new title-page 'A short Treatise describing the true Church of Christ,' &c., 1653, 4to, directed against schism, anabaptism and libertinism). 7. 'A message sent from . . . Scotland to . . . the Prince of Wales,' 1648, 4to (letter from Byfield). 8. 'The Gospel's Glory without prejudice to the Law,' &c., 1659, 8vo (an exposition of Rom. viii. 3, 4). 9. 'The real Way to good Works: a Treatise of Charity,' 12mo (not seen; mentioned by Calamy; Palmer makes two works of it).

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 668, &c.; Calamy's *Account*, 1713, 664; Palmer's *Nonconf. Memorial*, 1803, iii. 301; Cox's *Literature of the Sabbath Question*, 1865, i. 160, &c.; Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly, 1874, pp. 90, 126; information from Rev. G. Arbuthnot, Stratford-on-Avon.]

A. G.

**BYLES, SIR JOHN BARNARD** (1801-1884), judge, was eldest son of Mr. Jeremiah Byles, timber-merchant, of Stowmarket in Suffolk, by his wife, the only daughter of William Barnard, of Holts in Essex. He was born at Stowmarket in 1801. He became a member of the Inner Temple, and, after reading as a pupil in the chambers of Chitty, the great pleader, and for a time practising as a special pleader himself, at 1 Garden Court, Temple, was called to the bar in November 1831. He joined the Norfolk circuit and attended sessions in that county. In 1840 he was appointed recorder of Buckingham, and in 1843 was raised to the degree of

serjeant-at-law. When in 1846 the court of common pleas was opened to all the members of the bar, Byles received a patent of precedence in all courts. He rapidly acquired a large and leading practice both on his own circuit, which he led for many years after Sir Fitzroy Kelly became solicitor-general, and also in London.

About 1855 Byles resigned his recorder-ship, and in 1857 he was appointed queen's serjeant, along with Serjeants Shee and Wrangham. This was the last appointment of queen's serjeants (see *PULLING, Order of the Coif*, 41, 182). Though he never sat in parliament, he was always a strong and old-fashioned conservative. He was once a candidate for Aylesbury, but being a rigid unitarian, and constant attendant at a unitarian chapel, was unacceptable to the church party. Nevertheless he was selected by Lord Cranworth in January 1858, though of opposite politics, for promotion to the bench, and when Sir Cresswell Cresswell retired, he was made a knight and justice of the common pleas. He proved a very strong judge, courteous, genial and humorous, and of especial learning in mercantile affairs; he was one of the judges who won for the court of common pleas its high repute and popularity among commercial litigants. Nevertheless, both as an advocate and a judge his mind was marked by a defect singular in one of his indubitable ability. He displayed a serious want of readiness in his perception of the facts of a case. What, however, he lacked in rapidity of mind, he made up for by extreme accuracy. He was an expert shorthand writer. In January 1873 failure of health and memory and inability any longer to sustain the labour of going circuit compelled him to resign his judgeship. He received a pension, and along with Baron Channell became, on 3 March, a member of the privy council, and for some time, when his presence was required, he continued to attend the sittings of the judicial committee. He continued to reside at Hanfield House, Uxbridge, where and in London he was a well-known figure on his old white horse, and was occupied largely with literary interests until his death, which occurred on 3 Feb. 1884, in his eighty-third year. In the course of his lifetime he published a considerable number of works. Before he was called he delivered a series of lectures on commercial law in the hall of Lyon's Inn, and the first of these, delivered 3 Nov. 1829, he published at the request and risk of friends, and without alteration, under the title of 'A Discourse on the Present State of the Law of England.' About the same time he pub-

lished 'A Practical Compendium of the Law of Bills of Exchange,' which has since become the standard work on this branch of law, and has reached a fourteenth edition. The sixth edition he dedicated to Baron Parke, and in the preparation of the ninth he was assisted by his son Maurice. During the long vacation of 1845, while absent from London, he composed a pamphlet called 'Observations on the Usury Laws, with suggestions for Amendment and a Draft Bill,' which he published in the October following. A keen protectionist, he wrote in 1849 a work called 'Sophisms of Free Trade,' which at once ran through eight editions, and was reprinted by his permission, but without his name, in 1870, with his notes brought up to date, by the Manchester Reciprocity Association. The book expressly disclaims party motives and displays considerable and wide reading. In 1875, after his retirement, he published 'Foundations of Religion in the Mind and Heart of Man.' It is non-controversial and didactic, and was written at different times and at considerable intervals. He was twice married, first in 1828 to a daughter of Mr. John Foster, of Biggleswade, who died very shortly after the marriage; second in 1836 to a daughter of Mr. James Webb, of Royston, who died in 1872. He had several children; the eldest son, Walter Barnard, was called to the bar in 1865, the second, Maurice Barnard, in 1866, and was for some years a revising barrister.

[*Foss's Lives of the Judges*; *Davy's Athenæ Suffolcienses*, iv. 35; *Davy's Suffolk Collections*; *Add. MS.* 19121, pp. 351-2; *Men of the Time*, ed. 1879; *Law Journal*, viii. 33; *Solicitors' Journal*, 9 Feb. 1884; *Serjeant Ballantine's Reminiscences*, p. 190.] J. A. H.

BYLOT, ROBERT (fl. 1610-1616), navigator, is first mentioned as a seaman of the *Discovery*, in the expedition to the North-West under Hudson in 1610-11. His being rated as master's mate, and the jealousy which this promotion excited, were among the causes of the mutiny of the ship's company and the death of the captain [see *HUDSON, HENRY*]. No blame seems to have been attributed to Bylot; and in 1612-13 he was again employed under Button, who completed the exploration of Hudson's Bay [see *BUTTON, SIR THOMAS*]. It seems probable that in 1614 he was employed with Gibbons, and in 1615 he was appointed to the command of the *Discovery*, with Baffin as his mate. The accounts of the voyages in this and the following year were written by Baffin, who was unquestionably the more scientific navigator, and whose name has

rightly been associated with the principal results [see BAFFIN, WILLIAM]. Bylot's name appears in the list of the company of the merchants-discoverers of the North-West Passage (*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial—East Indies*, 26 July 1612). The spelling of his name is uncertain. It appears in the different forms of Bylott, Bilot, and Byleth.

[Rundall's *Voyages towards the North-West* (Hakluyt Society), p. 97.] J. K. L.

BYNG, ANDREW, D.D. (1574–1652), Hebraist, was born at Cambridge, and educated at Peterhouse in that university. He was elected regius professor of Hebrew in 1608, and died at Winterton in Norfolk in March 1651–2. Byng was one of the translators of the authorised version of the Bible. About 1605 the chapter of York resolved to keep a residentiary's place for him, as he was then occupied in this business. He was sub-dean of York for forty-six years, from 1606 till death.

[Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, iii. 448; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; Drake's *Eboracum*, app. p. lxxvii; *Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. iv. 228.] J. M.

BYNG, GEORGE, VISCOUNT TORRINGTON (1663–1733), admiral, eldest son of John Byng, of a family settled for many centuries at Wrotham in Kent, was born on 27 Jan. 1662–3. In 1666 his father, having got into pecuniary difficulties, was obliged to part with the Wrotham estate, and went over to Ireland, where he would seem to have engaged in some speculations which were so far from fortunate that he lost what money had remained to him, and in 1672 he returned to England, flying, apparently, from his creditors. In 1678, by the interest of Lord Peterborough with the Duke of York, George Byng entered the navy as a king's letter-boy on board the *Swallow*. On 28 Nov. he was transferred to the *Reserve*, and again in June 1679 to the *Mary Rose*. The *Mary Rose* was paid off in June 1680, and in the following April young Byng was entered as a volunteer on board the *Phoenix*, commanded by Captain Blagg. The *Phoenix* was immediately afterwards sent to Tangier, where Byng's maternal uncle, Colonel Johnstone, was in garrison and on friendly terms with General Kirk, who, understanding that the boy complained of his captain's 'ill-temper,' offered him a cadetship in the grenadiers. This he gladly accepted, and was discharged from the *Phoenix* on 10 May 1681. In six months' time he was appointed as ensign, and early in 1683 was promoted to a lieutenantancy. As this was held to be a grievance by his seniors, over whose head he had been

promoted, Kirk appointed him as lieutenant of a galley which attended on the garrison, and shortly afterwards to the acting command of the Deptford ketch. From this, however, he was superseded at the end of the year by order of Lord Dartmouth, who consented at Kirk's request to give him a commission as 'lieutenant in the sea-service,' and appointed him (February 1683–4) to the *Oxford*. On the arrival of the fleet in England the officers and men of the *Oxford* were turned over to the *Phoenix*, fitting for a voyage to the East Indies, on which she finally sailed from Plymouth, 28 Nov. 1684. Byng had had his commission in the army confirmed by the king, and was at this time lieutenant of Charles Churchill's company of grenadiers, from which he received leave of absence to attend to his duty on board the *Phoenix*.

The work at Bombay consisted chiefly in suppressing European 'interlopers' and native pirates. These last were rude enemies and fought desperately when attacked. On one occasion Byng was dangerously wounded. The service against the 'interlopers' required tact, energy, and moral, rather than physical, courage, and Captain Tyrrell's views of it differed much from those held by Sir Josiah Child, the representative of the Company. It was thus that during an illness of Tyrrell's, Byng, being for the time in command, had an opportunity, by entering more fully into his designs, of cultivating Child's goodwill, with, as it would seem, very profitable results. Afterwards, on their return to England, 24 July 1687, Sir Josiah offered him the command of one of the Company's ships, which Byng declined 'as being bred up in the king's service;' and when the *Phoenix* was paid off he rejoined his regiment, then quartered at Bristol.

In May 1688 Byng, still a lieutenant, was appointed to the *Mordaunt*, and in September to the *Defiance*. While serving in this subordinate employment, he was, on Kirk's suggestion and recommendation, appointed as an agent for the Prince of Orange, with the special work of winning over certain captains in the fleet. He was afterwards deputed by these captains to convey their assurances of goodwill and obedience to the prince. He found William at Sherborne: the prince 'promised that he would take particular care to remember him,' and entrusted him with a reply to the officers of the fleet, and a more confidential letter to Lord Dartmouth, which may be said to have fixed his wavering mind (*Brit. Mus. Addl. MS.* 31958, ff. 15–21; DALRYMPLE'S *Memoirs*, appendix to pt. i., 314 *et seq.*) This was the turning-point of Byng's fortune; he had judiciously chosen

the winning side, and on 22 Dec. 1688 was appointed captain of the *Constant Warwick*, from which in April 1689 he was removed to the Reserve, and on 15 May to the *Dover*, in which he served during the summer in the main fleet under the Earl of Torrington, and was employed during the autumn and winter in independent cruising. On 20 May 1690 he was appointed to the *Hope* of 70 guns, which was one of the red squadron in the unfortunate action off Beachy Head. In September he was moved into the *Duchess*, which, however, was paid off a few weeks afterwards. His career afloat being now well established, in November he resigned his commission in the army to his brother John, and in January 1690-1 was appointed to the *Royal Oak* of 70 guns, in which he continued till the autumn of 1692; but, having been at the time delayed in the river refitting, he had no share in the glories of Barfleur and La Hogue. In September Sir John Ashby hoisted his flag on board the *Albemarle*, to which Byng was appointed as second-captain (*Admiralty Minute*, 12 Sept.), and which he paid off in the following November. In the spring of 1693 he was offered the post of first-captain to the joint admirals, but refused it out of compliment to his friend Admiral Russell, then in disgrace [see RUSSELL, EDWARD, Earl of Orford]; but accepted a similar offer made him in the autumn of the same year by Russell, then appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean. He continued on this station for the next two years, and in 1696 was appointed one of the commissioners for the registry of seamen, which office he held till its abolition in 1699.

In 1701, when the Earl of Pembroke was appointed lord high admiral, Byng was nominated as his secretary and first-captain if, as he intended, he took the command in person. This would have made Byng virtually commander-in-chief; for Lord Pembroke was neither sailor nor soldier, and had no experience in commanding men; but before the nomination took effect the king died, and the Churchills, who came into power, visited, it was believed, on Byng, the old grudge which they bore to Admiral Russell, whose follower and partisan Byng was. He asked for a flag, which he considered due to him after having been so long first-captain to the admiral of the fleet; it was refused him. He applied to be put on the half-pay of his rank; this also was refused him; and he was told plainly that he must either go to sea as a private captain or resign his commission. As his means did not permit him to quit his profession, he, under this constraint, accepted the command of the *Nassau*, a 70-gun ship

(29 June 1702), and in the course of July joined the fleet under Sir Clowdisley Shovell, which, after cruising off Brest for two months, looking out for the French under Chateau-Renaud, went south towards Cape Finisterre. On 10 Oct. Byng, having been separated from the fleet, fell in with Sir George Rooke, but was at once despatched in search of Sir Clowdisley, with orders to him to join the admiral at once. Knowing that the attack on Vigo was imminent, Byng tried to excuse himself from this duty, but without success; and though he made all haste to send the orders to Shovell, he rejoined the fleet only on the evening of the 12th, after the attack had been successfully made, and nothing remained but to complete the work of destruction.

On 1 March 1702-3 Byng was promoted to be rear-admiral of the red, and was sent out to the Mediterranean in the *Ranelagh* as second in command under Shovell. While there he was detached with a small squadron to Algiers, where he succeeded in renewing the treaty for the protection of English commerce; and towards the end of the year he returned to England, arriving in the Channel just in time to feel some of the strength of the great storm, though not in its full fury, and happily without sustaining any serious damage. In 1704, still in the *Ranelagh*, he commanded, as rear-admiral of the red squadron, in the fleet under Sir George Rooke in the Mediterranean; he had the immediate command of the detachment of the fleet actually engaged in the bombardment and capture of Gibraltar; and from his position in the centre of the line of battle, had a very important share in the battle of Malaga. On his return home he was (22 Oct.) knighted by the queen, 'as a testimony of her high approbation of his behaviour in the late action.' On 18 Jan. 1704-5 he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral, and during the summer of that year commanded a squadron in the Channel for the protection of trade. In March 1705-6 he sailed in the *Royal Anne* for Lisbon and the Mediterranean, where he took part in the operations on the Spanish coast and in the siege of Toulon, under the command of Sir John Leake and Sir Clowdisley Shovell, which last he accompanied on his homeward voyage, and narrowly escaped being lost with him on 22 Oct. 1707.

On 26 Jan. 1707-8 Sir George Byng was raised to the rank of admiral of the blue, and appointed to command the squadron in the North Sea for the protection of the coast of England or Scotland, then threatened with invasion from France in the cause of the Pretender. But jealousy and disputes

between the French officers frittered away much valuable time; and when just ready to sail the titular king of England was incapacitated by a sharp attack of measles. All these delays were in Byng's favour, and when the expedition put to sea in the midst of a gale of wind on 10 March the English fleet was collected and intercepted it off the entrance of the Firth on 13 March, captured one ship, the *Salisbury*, and scattered the rest, which eventually got back to Dunkirk some three weeks afterwards (*Mémoires du Comte de Forbin*, 1729, ii. 289 *et seq.*). In England the question was at once raised whether Byng had done all that he might. A parliamentary inquiry was demanded. It was said that he could have captured the whole French fleet as easily as he had captured the one ship, by some that his ships were foul, and by others the fault lay with the lord high admiral. Finally the discontent subsided, and the house passed a vote of thanks to Prince George for his promptitude; Edinburgh presented Byng with the freedom of the city; and the queen offered to appoint him as one of the prince's council, which, however, he declined. In October he carried the Queen of Portugal to Lisbon, and during the following year, 1709, commanded in chief in the Mediterranean. In November he was appointed one of the lords commissioners of the admiralty under his old chief Russell, now Earl of Orford. Orford's term of office at that time was short, but Byng continued at the admiralty till early in 1714, and returned to it in the following October, after the accession of George I. In 1715 he was appointed to command the fleet for the defence of the coast, and succeeded so well in stopping and preventing all supplies to the adherents of the Pretender, that the collapse of the insurrection was considered to be mainly due to his efforts, in acknowledgment of which the king created him a baronet, and gave him a diamond ring of considerable value. In 1717, on information that a new movement in support of the exiled Stuarts was meditated by Charles XII of Sweden, Sir George Byng was sent into the Baltic with a strong squadron.

On 14 March 1717-18 he was advanced to the rank of admiral of the fleet, and was, in pursuance of the objects of the pending Quadruple Alliance, sent to the Mediterranean in command of a fleet to prevent a Spanish invasion of Italy or Sicily. He sailed from Spithead 15 June 1718, and 21 July anchored before Naples. He conferred with the viceroy, and received more exact intelligence of the movements of the Spaniards, at that time besieging the citadel of Messina by sea and land, and

sailed from Naples on the 26th, and on the 29th arrived off the entrance of the Straits. From this position he wrote to the Spanish general, proposing 'a cessation of arms in Sicily for two months, in order to give time to the several courts to conclude on such resolutions as might restore a lasting peace,' adding that if he failed in this desirable work 'he should then hope to merit his excellency's esteem in the execution of the other part of his orders, which were to use all his force to prevent farther attempts to disturb the dominions his master stood engaged to defend,' to which the general replied that 'he could not agree to any suspension of arms,' and 'should follow his orders, which directed him to seize on Sicily for his master the king of Spain.' Historically, this correspondence is important, for it was afterwards asserted 'that the English fleet surprised that of Spain without any warning, and even contrary to declarations in which Spain confided with security' (CORBETT, 5).

Early on the morning of 30 July the English fleet entered the Straits; before noon their advanced ships had made out the Spaniards far to the southward; the English followed; the chase continued through the night, the Spaniards retiring in long, straggling line, the English in no order, but according to their rates of sailing. About ten o'clock the next morning (31 July 1718), being then some three leagues to the east of Cape Passaro, the leading English ships came up with the sternmost of the Spaniards. They would have passed, for Byng's orders were to push on to the van; but the Spaniards opening fire, they were compelled to engage, and the action thus took the form necessarily most disastrous to the Spaniards; for, as successive ships came up, the Spaniards were one by one overpowered by an enormous superiority of force, and almost the whole fleet was captured without a possibility of making any effective resistance. So little doubt was there of the result from beginning to end, that—in the words of Corbett, the historian of the campaign—"the English might be rather said to have made a seizure than to have gotten a victory." The English had indeed a considerable superiority of numbers, but not to an extent commensurate with the decisive nature of their success; this was solely due to the measures adopted by the Spaniards, which rendered their defeat inevitable. There was little room for any display of genius on the part of Byng, though he was deservedly commended for the advantage he had taken of the enemy's incapacity; and to the world at large the issue appeared, as broadly stated, that the English fleet of twenty-one sail had

utterly destroyed a Spanish fleet of eighteen ships of the line beside a number of smaller vessels. The king wrote his congratulations to the admiral with his own hand; so also did the emperor; and the Queen of Denmark, who claimed a personal acquaintance with him, sent friendly messages through the master of her household.

With the destruction of the Spanish fleet the purely naval work of the expedition was accomplished, but for the next two years Byng continued in Sicilian and Neapolitan waters, keeping the command of the sea and co-operating with the German forces so far as possible. In August 1720 the Spaniards evacuated Sicily and embarked for Barcelona; and Byng, having convoyed the Piedmontese troops to Cagliari, acted as the English plenipotentiary at the conferences held there for settling the surrender of Sardinia to the Duke of Savoy, who, in acknowledgment of his services, presented him with his picture set in diamonds. On his return home immediately after he was appointed rear-admiral of Great Britain and treasurer of the navy; in the following Jan. was sworn a privy councillor; and on 9 Sept. 1721 was raised to the peerage with the titles of Baron Southill and Viscount Torrington. He had been M.P. for Plymouth since 1705. In 1724 he resigned the treasurership of the navy in favour of his eldest son; in 1725 he was installed knight of the Bath; and on the accession of George II. was appointed first lord of the admiralty, 2 Aug. 1727. He held this office till his death on 17 Jan. 1732-3. He was buried at Southill in Bedfordshire.

The victory which Byng won off Cape Passaro, by its extraordinary completeness, gave him a perhaps exaggerated reputation as a naval commander; but independently of this, his uniform success in all his undertakings sufficiently bears out Corbett's eulogium of him as a man who devoted his whole time and application to any service entrusted to him; who 'left nothing to fortune that could be accomplished by foresight and application.' He describes him also as a man firm and straightforward in his dealings, impartial and punctual in the performance of whatever he engaged in. He was accused by his enemies of meanness, greediness, and avarice, and several of his letters show that he was in the habit of looking closely after his pecuniary interests; but to one brought up as he had been, the value of money may well have been unduly magnified, and lessons of parsimony must have been inculcated till it became almost a second nature.

He married on 5 March 1691 Margaret, daughter of James Master of East Langden

in Kent, who survived him by many years, dying at the age of eighty-seven in 1756. He had a numerous family, consisting of eleven sons and four daughters.

His portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich, to which it was presented by George IV. There is also another portrait by J. Davidson, a bequest of Mr. Corbett in 1751; and a picture of the action off Cape Passaro, by Richard Paton, presented by William IV, but of no historical value.

[Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 31958 (this is the manuscript Life of Lord Torrington which has been quoted or referred to by Collins, Dalrymple, and others as in the Hardwicke Collection, and being undoubtedly what it claims to be, written from Byng's own journals and papers, is of the very highest authority, though of course its views are very partial; it ends abruptly in 1705); Charnock's *Biog. Nav.* ii. 194; Collins's *Peerage* (1779), vi. 100; An Account of the Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily in the years 1718, 1719, and 1720, under the command of Sir George Byng, Bart., &c. (published anonymously, dedication signed T. C.), by Thomas Corbett, secretary of the admiralty; Letters and other documents in the Public Record Office, more especially Home Office Records (Admiralty, No. 48.) J. K. L.

BYNG, JOHN (1704-1757), admiral, was the fourth son of George Byng, viscount Torrington [q. v.]. He entered the navy in March 1718 on board the *Superb*, commanded by his maternal uncle, Streynsham Master, served in her for eighteen months in the Mediterranean, and was present at the defeat of the Spaniards off Cape Passaro, in which the *Superb* had a very prominent share [see ARNOLD, THOMAS, 1679-1737]. After serving in the *Orford*, the *Newcastle*, and the *Nassau*, he was moved into the *Torbay*. He passed his examination on 31 Dec. 1722, and continued in the *Torbay*, with the rating of able seaman, till 26 Feb., when he was removed, with the same rating, to the *Dover*, and on 20 June was promoted into the *Solebay*. On 11 April 1724 he was appointed to the *Superb* as second lieutenant; and when that ship was ordered to the West Indies, he was superseded from her at his own request on 29 March 1726. On 23 April he was appointed to the *Burford* as fourth lieutenant, continued in her on the home station as third and as second lieutenant, and at Cadiz, on 26 May 1727, was discharged to the *Torbay* for a passage to England. On 8 Aug. 1727 he was promoted to the command of the Gibraltar frigate in the Mediterranean; in the summer of 1728 he was moved into the *Princess Louisa*, also in the Mediterranean, and continued in her for

three years, when she was paid off at Woolwich. He was immediately appointed to the Falmouth, and commanded her in the Mediterranean for the next five years. The details of this service present no interest: nothing could be more uneventful; but it is noteworthy on that very account. The son of Lord Torrington, admiral of the fleet and first lord of the admiralty, could pretty well choose his own employment, and he chose to spend his time for the most part as senior or sole officer at Port Mahon. This may have been very pleasant, but it was not exercising him in the duties of his rank, or training him for high command. In June 1738 he was appointed to the *Augusta*; in April 1739 was moved into the *Portland*; and in the following October was transferred to the *Sunderland*, in which he joined Vice-admiral Haddock off Cadiz. Early in 1742 he was appointed to the *Sutherland*, and went in her for a summer cruise to Newfoundland, coming home again in the autumn. In 1743 he was appointed to the *St. George*, and commanded her in the fleet under Sir John Norris in February 1743-4. He continued in her in the spring of 1744, when Sir Charles Hardy hoisted his flag on board for the voyage to Lisbon. On 8 Aug. 1745 he was promoted to be a rear-admiral, and was immediately appointed to command in the North Sea under Admiral Vernon, then commander-in-chief in the Downs, and after his resignation under Vice-admiral Martin. During the period of this service he was, in 1746, a member of the courts-martial on Vice-admiral Lestock and on Admiral Mathews. In 1747 he went out to the Mediterranean as second in command; on 15 July he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral of the Blue; and by the death of Vice-admiral Medley, on 5 Aug., became commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, where he continued till after the conclusion of the peace. When war again broke out in 1755, Byng was appointed to command a squadron in the Channel; in the autumn he relieved Sir Edward Hawke in the Bay of Biscay; and in the following March was promoted to be admiral of the blue, and was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean with a small squadron intended for the defence of Minorca, which, by the concurrent testimony of every agent in those parts, was then threatened by a French armament from Toulon. The government was very slow to believe this, and was rather of opinion that the armament was destined for North America, or for some operations in the west, perhaps against Ireland. The squadron sent out with Byng was therefore by no means so large as it might easily have

been made; and the admiral's instructions laid most stress on the probability of the enemy passing the Straits. They were, however, perfectly explicit on the possibility of an attack on Minorca, in the event of which he was, in so many words, ordered 'to use all possible means in his power for its relief.'

At Gibraltar he received intelligence that the enemy had landed on Minorca, had overrun the island, and was laying siege to Fort St. Philip. This was exactly the contingency which his instructions specially and positively provided for. But the governor of Gibraltar refused to part with the troops which he was ordered to send, alleging that they could not be spared from the garrison; and Byng, who from the first had shown himself very ill satisfied with the condition and force of his squadron, accepted his refusal without protest, and sailed from Gibraltar on 8 May. On the 19th he was off Port Mahon, and sent in the frigates to see what was the position of affairs, and to communicate with the acting-governor, General Blakeney. But before they could get near enough, the French squadron came in sight, and Byng, afraid that the frigates might be cut off, hastily recalled them. The wind, however, fell light, and the two fleets did not get near each other that day, nor till the afternoon of the next, 20 May, when, the enemy having yielded the weather-gage, about two o'clock Byng made the signal to bear down, and some twenty minutes after the signal to engage. In point of numbers the two fleets were equal; but the French ships were larger, carried heavier guns and more men. A comparison of the two shows that the English flagship *Ramillies*, of 90 guns, threw a broadside of 842 lbs., while the French flagship *Foudroyant*, of 80 guns, threw a broadside of 1,000 lbs. The difference throughout was in favour of the French, but by no means so much as was afterwards said; and in point of fact, the difference, whatever it was, in no way affected the result; for the French stood entirely on the defensive. This was their great advantage; for while the English were running down to the attack from the position to windward, Byng insisted on stopping to dress his line, which was thus unduly exposed. The van, under Rear-admiral West, did, indeed, bear down as ordered, and engage at very close quarters; but the rear, under the commander-in-chief, backed their topsails, got thrown into disorder, and never came within effective gunshot. The ships in the van, thus unsupported, sustained great loss, and the whole French line, which had been lying by with their main topsails square, filled, and passing slowly

the disabled English ships, fired their broadsides into them, then wore in succession and reformed on the other tack. When Byng extricated his rear from the confusion into which he had himself thrown it, he found his van so shattered as to be incapable of forming line and renewing the action. The French, on their side, remained as before on the defensive, and as they were not attacked, there was no further fighting. During the night the fleets separated; and after waiting four days to refit, Byng summoned a council of war, the resolutions of which seemed to him to warrant his leaving Minorca to its fate, and he accordingly returned with the fleet to Gibraltar. When the news of the defeat reached England the wrath of the ministry and the fury of the populace were excessive. Hawke was at once sent out to supersede Byng, and send him home under arrest. He arrived at Spithead on 26 July. He was forthwith conveyed to Greenwich, and kept there, in a room in the hospital, under close and ignominious arrest. He was ordered to be tried by court-martial, and the court accordingly met at Portsmouth on 28 Dec. After continuous sitting till 27 Jan. 1757 this court pronounced that Admiral Byng had not done his utmost to relieve St. Philip's Castle, which it was his duty to relieve; had not done his utmost to take, seize, and destroy the enemy's ships which it was his duty to engage, or to assist those of his majesty's ships which it was his duty to assist. For this neglect of duty the court adjudged him to fall under part of the 12th article of war, and according to the stress of that article sentenced him to death. To this sentence they added an earnest recommendation to mercy, on the grounds that they did not believe the admiral's misconduct arose either from cowardice or disaffection, and that they had passed the sentence only because the law, in prescribing death, left no alternative to the court. The king refused to entertain this recommendation, and the sentence was carried out. Byng was shot on the quarter-deck of the *Monarque*, in Portsmouth Harbour, 14 March 1757. He was M.P. for Rochester from 1751 till death.

The strife of parties was at the time exceedingly bitter, and it suited the opponents of the ministry, past and present, to urge that Byng was being executed as a cloak to ministerial neglect. They thus made common cause with the personal friends of Byng, and a furious outcry was raised, not so much against the sentence as against the execution, which was roundly denounced as 'a judicial murder.' And this phrase, having caught the popular fancy, has been repeated over

and over again with parrot-like accuracy. Another statement, less sweeping but wholly incorrect, has also been often repeated, and has been accepted by even serious historians: it is said that Admiral Byng was shot for 'an error in judgment,' a fault which, as Lord Macaulay has properly shown, may be a very good reason for not employing a man again, but does not amount to a crime. It is right, therefore, to point out that neither in the charge against Admiral Byng, nor in the article of war under which he was found guilty, nor in the sentence pronounced on him, is there a single word about 'error in judgment.' The language of the article is perfectly clear and explicit, limiting its scope to those persons who shall commit the offences detailed 'through cowardice, negligence, or disaffection.' When, therefore, the court found Byng guilty under this article, and at the same time acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection, it did really, and with all the plainness of which the English language is capable, find him guilty of negligence—of negligence so gross as to be in the highest degree criminal. This being the decision of the court, the only question is, Should the sentence have been carried out? But the fact is that the court did not and could not give any reason for its recommendation except the severity of the law; and to this point the most rational of Byng's friends applied themselves. Admiral West, urging it on his cousin, Lord Temple, the first lord of the admiralty, wrote: 'The court have convicted him, not for cowardice nor for treachery, but for *misconduct*, an offence never till now thought capital, and now, it seems, only made so because no alternative of punishment was found in that article they bring him under.' On this it may be remarked that West, and all Byng's supporters, insisting on the novelty, the unheard-of nature of the sentence, and the severity of the law which permitted no alternative, or the absurdity of the law which took all discretionary power from the court, lost sight of the fact that it was the gross abuse of this discretionary power in a score of instances during the last war which had forced the parliament to abolish it; that absolute necessity had led to the passing of this stringent act only eight years before, and that, as these had been years of peace, it was still in effect new. It was unfortunate for Byng that he should be the first to feel its severity and its stringency: it was unfortunate for the country that it should have been goaded to an act so severe and stringent: but having passed that act, to have shrunk from the first occasion of giving it effect would have been imbecile.



When parliament refused to interfere, and the king finally rejected the recommendation to mercy, the admiral was left for execution, and in face of the inevitable walked to his death with a calm and noble bearing. His misconduct might be due to a want of resolution, to an unnerving sense of responsibility, or possibly, even probably, to a feeling of disgust at the government which had sent him out with a command so limited when it might have given him a force that would have swept the Mediterranean. But this want of temper, of confidence, of resolution, though leading to criminal misconduct, was not cowardice, certainly not that type of cowardice of which the court acquitted him, that cowardice which regards death or personal danger as the most terrible of evils. Of this, in his last moments, Admiral Byng showed himself entirely free. His demeanour on the Monarque's quarter-deck has been the theme of many a panegyrist; and though panegyric on Admiral Byng seems strangely misplaced, it may be most truly said of him

Nothing in his life  
Became him like the leaving it.

Admiral Byng was never married. His remains were buried in the family vault at Southill, with a monumental inscription in which even the usual license is somewhat exceeded.

[Official Documents in the Public Record Office; Brit. Mus. Addl. MS. 31959, a statement of the case against Byng, prepared, apparently, for Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; Minutes of the Court-martial (published by order, fol. 1757). The copy of this in the British Museum (5805, g 1 (2)) is bound up with many other papers of great interest, including a series of plans of the engagement, a picture of the execution, and a portrait; Beatson's Nav. and Mil. Memoirs, vol. i.; Walpole's Mem. of George II, vol. ii. The literature on the subject of Byng's execution is most voluminous. The list under Byng's name occupies four pages in the British Museum printed Catalogue, and this is a very small portion of the whole. The number of contemporary pamphlets on each side of the question, for the most part equally scurrilous, is very great; but they have no historical value, and the same may be said of most modern criticisms. Sir John Barrow, in his *Life of Anson*, discusses the subject at some length, but with so little care that he bases a grave objection to the court-martial on the junior rank of the president, Vice-admiral Smith, and names as the three from whom the selection ought to have been made Admiral Stewart, who was at the time on his deathbed, and died on 30 March 1757, Admiral Martin, who died 17 Sept. 1756, two months before the convening of the court, and the Hon. George

Clinton, who had retired from active service for more than sixteen years.] J. K. L.

BYNG, SIR JOHN, EARL OF STRAFFORD (1772-1860), general, was the third son of Major George Byng of Wrotham Park, Middlesex, and M.P. for that county, a grandson of Admiral Sir George Byng, first Viscount Torrington [q. v.], by Anne Connolly, daughter of Lady Anne Wentworth, who was eventually co-heiress of the last Earl of Strafford of the second creation. He was born in 1772, and entered the army as ensign in the 33rd regiment on 30 Sept. 1793, and was promoted lieutenant on 1 Dec. 1793 and captain on 24 May 1794. With the 33rd, then commanded by Colonel Wellesley, he served in the disastrous campaigns in Flanders of 1793-5 and throughout the retreat to Bremen, and was wounded at the skirmish of Geldermalsen. In 1797 he was appointed aide-de-camp to General Vyse, then commanding the southern district of Ireland, and was much engaged in the suppression of the rebellion of 1798 in Ireland, when he was again wounded. In 1799 he became major in the 60th regiment, and in 1800 lieutenant-colonel of the 29th, and in 1804 he exchanged into the 3rd guards, with which he served in Hanover in 1805, at Copenhagen in 1807, and in the Walcheren expedition in 1809. In 1810 he was promoted colonel, and in 1811 ordered to join the army under Lord Wellington in Portugal. On 7 July 1811 the Duke of York wrote to Lord Wellington recommending him warmly (*Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vii. 177), and shortly after Colonel Byng's arrival in Portugal in September 1811 he was posted to the command of a brigade in the second division under General Hill, and retained it until the end of the Peninsular war.

He was with Hill's corps in Estremadura and Andalusia, and so was not present at the battle of Salamanca. In 1813 his brigade was hotly engaged at Vittoria, and was attacked by Soult at the pass of Roncesvalles, when that marshal tried to break through Wellington's lines, and though Byng had to fall back on Sorauren, his heroic resistance enabled Wellington to concentrate enough troops to beat the French. He was engaged in the attack on the entrenched camp on the Nivelle, where he was wounded, at the passage of the Nive at Cambo, before Bayonne. For his conduct at this battle he was afterwards 'permitted to bear as an honourable augmentation to his arms the colours of the 31st regiment, which he planted in the enemy's lines, as an especial mark in appreciation of the signal intrepidity and

heroic valour displayed by him in the action fought at Mouggerre, near Bayonne, on 18 Dec. 1813.' Major-general Byng, as he had been promoted on 4 June 1813, continued to command his brigade on the right of the army throughout the advance on Toulouse, and was present at the actions at Espellette and Garris, at the battle of Orthes, the storming of the camp of Aire, and the battle of Toulouse, and on the conclusion of the war was made K.C.B. and K.T.S. Byng commanded the second brigade of the first or guards division under General Cooke at Waterloo, and after the battle his brigade headed the advance into France, took Péronne, occupied the heights of Montmartre, and formed part of the army of occupation.

Byng saw no more service. In 1819 he received the command of the northern district; he was colonel of the York Infantry Volunteers 1815-16, of the 10th West Indian regiment 1816-19, and in 1822 of the 2nd West India regiment; in 1825 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in 1828 received the colonelcy of the 29th regiment. In 1828 he became commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland and was sworn a privy councillor of that kingdom. In 1832 he was made governor of Londonderry and Culmore, but he resigned his Irish command in 1831 to enter the House of Commons as M.P. for Poole. As one of the very few distinguished generals who supported the Reform Bill, he was looked upon with especial favour by Lord Melbourne, and was created by him in 1835 Baron Strafford of Harmondsworth, county Middlesex. His elder son held office under Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, and his services were recompensed by his father, the old general, being created Earl of Strafford and Viscount Enfield in 1847. He had been made a G.C.B. in 1828, a G.C.H. in 1831, and a Knight of Maria Theresa of Austria and of St. George of Russia after the battle of Waterloo, and in 1841 he was promoted full general. In 1850 he succeeded the Duke of Cambridge as colonel of the Coldstream guards, in 1855 he was made a field-marshal, and on 3 June 1860 he died at his residence in London.

[Wellington Despatches; Royal Military Calendar; Times, June 1860.] H. M. S.

BYNG, THOMAS (d. 1599), master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, matriculated as a sizar at Peterhouse in May 1552; proceeded B.A. in 1556, was admitted fellow of his college 7 Feb. 1557-8, and commenced M.A. 1559, and LL.D. 1570. In 1564, when Elizabeth visited Cambridge, Byng made a Latin oration in her presence on the excellence of a monarchical government; the speech is

printed in Nichols's 'Progresses' (iii. 63). He was proctor in the same year, and on 2 March 1564-5 became public orator. He was incorporated M.A. of Oxford on 6 Sept. 1566, while Queen Elizabeth was on a visit to that university. Byng became prebendary of York 18 Jan. 1566-7; master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, 1571; vice-chancellor of the university 1572 and 1578; a member of the college of civilians 21 April 1572; regius professor of the civil law at Cambridge 18 March 1573-4; a special commissioner for the visitation of St. John's College, Cambridge, 13 July 1576; visitor of Ely Cathedral 6 Sept. 1593, and dean of the peculiars of Canterbury and dean of arches 24 July 1595. On 27 July 1578, with other dignitaries of the university, he visited the queen at Audley, and for a second time read a Latin oration in her presence. He died in December 1599, and was buried 23 Dec. at Hackney Church, Middlesex. By his wife, Catherine (1553-1627), he had ten sons and two daughters. Besides writing the orations mentioned above Byng edited Carr's translations from Demosthenes (1571), and contributed Latin and Greek verses to Wilson's translation of Demosthenes (1570), and to the university collections issued on the restoration of Bucoer and Fagius (1560), and on the death of Sir Philip Sidney (1587). Many of Byng's official letters and publications are preserved among the university archives at Cambridge.

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 279-80, 551; Coote's *Civilians*, 49; Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 173; Le Neve's *Fasti Angl. Eccl.*] S. L.

BYNHAM, SIMON. [See BINHAM.]

BYNNEMAN, HENRY (d. 1583), printer, was apprenticed to Richard Harrison, printer, on 24 June 1560. His master died in 1562, and he apparently served the remainder of his apprenticeship with Reginald Wolfe. He became a liveryman of the Stationers' Company 30 June 1578. He seems to have opened a shop in Paternoster Row as early as 1566. He afterwards moved to the sign of the Mermaid in Knightrider Street, and finally to Thames Street, near Baynard's Castle. Archbishop Parker encouraged him in many ways, allowed him to open a shed at the north-west door of St. Paul's, at the sign of the 'Three Wells,' and asked Burghley to allow him to print 'a few usual Latin books for the use of grammarians, as Terence, Virgil, Tully's offices, &c., a thing not done here in England before or very rarely' (STRYPE, *Parker*, i. 552). In 1580 Bynneman was called to the bar of the House of Commons for having published in behalf of Arthur Hall, M.P. for Grantham, a libel on Sir Robert Bell,

the late speaker of the house, and on other members. The book was suppressed. Bynneman gave his testimony against Hall. Hall alone was punished (D'EWEES, *Journals of Parliaments under Elizabeth*, pp. 291-309). Bynneman died in 1583.

Bynneman's publications were very numerous and of varied character. His name first appears in print on the title-page of Robert Crowley's 'Apologie or Defence,' in 1566. The 'Manuall of Epictetus' in English was his second publication, followed by the second volume of Paynter's 'Palace of Pleasure' in the same year. Bynneman was the publisher of George Turberville's 'Booke of Faulconrie' (1575) and 'Noble Arte of Venerie' (1575); of George Gascoigne's 'Poems' (1575-6), and of Gabriel Harvey's Latin works (1577-8). He printed the first edition of Holinshed's 'Chronicles' in 1574, and had licenses for printing several Latin and Greek books. In 1583 'the first foure bookes of Virgil's "Æneis,"' by Richard Stanihurst, bears his imprint.

His usual device is a mermaid in an oval cartouch, with the motto 'Omnia tempus habet;' but he often employed in his earlier publications the device of a brazen serpent, which was the property of his master, Reginald Wolfe; in his later books he often used 'a doe passant on a half wreath,' with the motto 'Cerva charissima et gratissima hinnulus prod.'

[Ames's *Typographical Antiquities* (ed. Herbert), ii. 965 et seq.; Arber's *Transcript of Stationers' Registers*, i. passim; Bullen's *Cat. of Books in Brit. Mus. before 1640*; Bigmore and Wyman's *Bibliography of Printing*, 96.]

S. L.

**BYRD, WILLIAM** (1540-1623), musical composer, is generally supposed to have been the son of Thomas Byrd, a gentleman in the Chapel Royal under Edward VI and Mary. This statement is pure conjecture; there were several families who bore the same name at this period. The only evidence corroborative of it is that William Byrd's second son was named Thomas, possibly after his grandfather. Similarly it has been said that 'in the year 1554 he was senior chorister of St. Paul's, and consequently about fifteen or sixteen years old; and his name occurs at the head of the school in a petition for the restoration of certain obits and benefactions which had been seized under the Act for the Suppression of Colleges and Hospitals in the preceding reign' (RIMBAULT, *Some Account of William Byrd and his Works*, prefixed to the reprint of Byrd's Mass, published by the Musical An-

tiquarian Society in 1841); but even this detailed statement cannot be verified, as the petition is not to be found in the Public Records, and the proceedings referring to the pensions in the exchequer (*Queen's Remembrancer*, Memoranda Rolls, 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, 232, 238, 262 b) do not contain the name of William Byrd, though two other choristers named John and Simon Byrd are mentioned. It is more probable that he was a native of Lincoln and a descendant of Henry Byrd or Birde, mayor of Newcastle, who died at Lincoln 13 July 1512, and was buried in the cathedral. All that is known for certain of Byrd's early life is that he was 'bred up to musick under Thomas Tallis' (Woon, *Bodleian MS.* 19 D. (4), No. 106), and was appointed organist of Lincoln probably as early as 1563. On 25 Jan. 1569 Robert Parsons, gentleman of the Chapel Royal, was drowned at Newark-upon-Trent, and on 22 Feb. following Byrd was sworn in his place. The entry in the Chapel Royal Cheque Book records that he was from Lincoln. On 14 Sept. 1568 he was married at St. Margaret's-in-the-Close, Lincoln, to Julian (or, as her name otherwise appears, Ellen), daughter of one 'M. Birley of Lincolnshire' (*Visitation of Essex*, 1634, Harl. Soc. Publications, vol. xiii.) It is possible that immediately on his appointment at the Chapel Royal Byrd did not leave Lincoln. At all events he must have kept up some sort of connection with the place, for on 7 Dec. 1572 the Chapter Records chronicle the appointment of Thomas Butler as master of the choristers and organist, 'on y<sup>e</sup> nomination and commendation of Mr. William Byrd.' In London Byrd seems rapidly to have made his way, sharing with Tallis the honorary post of organist of the Chapel Royal. On 22 Jan. 1575 Elizabeth granted the two composers and the survivors of them a license to print and sell music, English or foreign, and to rule, print, and sell music-paper for twenty-one years, all other printers being forbidden to infringe this patent under a penalty of forty shillings (ARBER, *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, ii. 15). This monopoly has generally been considered to have been very productive to the patentees, but that it was not so regarded by contemporary printers is proved by a passage in a petition relating to these vexatious restrictions, which was written in 1582: 'Bird and Tallys, her maiesties servauntes, haue musike bokes with note, which the complainantes confesse they wold not print nor be furnished to print though there were no prueilege' (*ib.* p. 775). The first work which Byrd published (if the undated masses are excepted) was a collection of motets, 'Cantiones, quæ ab argumente

sacræ vocantur, quinque et sex partium.' Part of these were written by Byrd and part by his master, Tallis. The book was dedicated to Elizabeth and printed by Thomas Vautrollier; it appeared in 1575. Prefixed are eulogistic verses by Richard Mulcaster and Ferdinando Richardson, and at the end is an epitome of the patent granted to the authors. In 1578 Byrd was living at Harlington in Middlesex, where he had a house until 1588, and possibly for longer. Like most of the members of the Chapel Royal, although outwardly he had conformed to the state religion, yet he remained throughout his life a catholic at heart. The first evidence we have of this is a quotation given by Dr. Rimbault (Grove, *Dict. of Music*, i. 287 b) from a list of places frequented by recusants near London, in which his name occurs as living at Harlington in 1581, and 'in another entry he is set down as a friend and abettor of those beyond the sea, and is said to be residing with Mr. Lister, over against St. Dunstan's, or at the Lord Padgette's house at Draughton.' It was probably on account of his religion that he lived all his life some way out of London, where he would be less likely to attract attention. About 1579 Byrd set a three-part song, 'Preces Deo fundamus,' in Thomas Legge's Latin play 'Richardus III' (*Harl. MS.* 2412). In 1585 Tallis died, and under the terms of the patent the monopoly of printing music became Byrd's sole property. Accordingly, during the next few years he seems to have been unusually active in composition. His first important work was entitled 'Psalmes, Sonets, and Songs of Sadnes and Pietie, made into Musicke of five parts: whereof, some of them going abroade among diuers, in vntrue coppies, are heere truely corrected, and th' other being Songs very rare and newly composed, are heere published, for the recreation of all such as delight in Musicke.' This work (consisting of five part-books) was published by Thomas Easte, 'the assigne of W. Byrd,' in 1588. Rimbault (*Bibliotheca Madrigaliana*, p. 1) mentions another edition without date; probably this is the one referred to in an entry in the Stationers' Company's Registers (ARBER, *Transcript*, ii. 477) as being already in print on 6 Nov. 1587. The work is dedicated to Sir Christopher Hatton; at the back of the title are eight quaint 'Reasons briefly set downe by th' auctor to perswade euery one to learne to sing.' In the same year (1588) Byrd contributed two madrigals to a collection made by one N. Yonge, entitled, 'Musica Transalpina. Madrigals translated out of foure, five, and six parts, chosen out of diuers excellent Authors, with the first

and second part of *La Verginella*, made by Maister Byrd, vpon two Stanzs of Ariosto, and brought to speake English with the rest.' By this it will be seen that he was the composer of the first English madrigal. In the following year Byrd published two important works. The first was entitled 'Songs of sundrie natures, some of grauitie, and others of mirth, fit for all companies and voyces.' This consists of six part-books, and is dedicated to Sir Henry Cary, lord Hunsdon. It was published by Thomas Easte, and a second edition appeared in 1610, published by Easte's widow, Lucretia, 'the assigne of William Barley.' The second work was the 'Liber Primus Sacrarum Canticum quinque vocum,' which was published by Easte on 25 Oct., and dedicated to the Earl of Worcester. An edition in score of this was published by the Musical Antiquarian Society in 1842. In 1590 Byrd contributed two settings of 'This sweet and merry month of May' to Thomas Watson's 'First Sett of Italian Madrigalls Englished,' and in 1591 (4 Nov.) he published the 'Liber Secundus Sacrarum Canticum,' dedicated to Lord Lumley. These printed books do not by any means represent all that Byrd produced at this period of his career. As a composer of music for the virginals—the English equivalent for the spinet—he was indefatigable, and fortunately many collections of these characteristic pieces are still in existence, though but few of them have been printed. The most important are the manuscript in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, wrongly known as 'Queen Elizabeth's Virginal Book,' which contains an immense number of Byrd's compositions, and the beautiful manuscript 'Ladye Nevell's Booke,' belonging to the Marquis of Abergavenny, which consists entirely of Byrd's virginal lessons, and was copied by John Baldwin, a singing-man of Windsor, who finished the volume on 11 Sept. 1591 (Grove, *Dict. of Music*, iii. 305 et seq.) In April 1592 Byrd was still living at Harlington, but about 1593 he became possessed of the remainder of a lease of Standon Place, Essex, an estate belonging to William Shelley, who was shortly afterwards convicted of high treason. The property was sequestrated, and on 15 July 1595 Byrd obtained a crown lease of it for the lives of his eldest son Christopher and his daughters Elizabeth and Rachel. William Shelley, the rightful owner, died about 1601, and his heir paid a large sum for the restoration of his lands in 1604, whereupon Shelley's widow attempted to oust Byrd from Standon, which formed part of her jointure. This drew from James I a letter of remonstrance (*State Papers*, Dom.

James I, Add. Ser. vol. xxxvi.), commanding her to permit Byrd quietly to enjoy the possession of the property; but in spite of this Mrs. Shelley persevered, and four years later (27 Oct. 1608) she presented a petition to the Earl of Salisbury, praying for the restoration to her of Stondon Place, and setting forth in an enclosure eight grievances against Byrd. The chief of these are that Byrd in 1608 began a suit against Mrs. Shelley to force her to ratify the lease he had from Elizabeth; but being unsuccessful, he combined with the individuals who held her other jointure lands to maintain suits against her, and when all these had submitted except 'one Petiver,' who also finally submitted, 'the said Bird did give him vile and bitter words;' that when told that he had no right to the property, he replied 'that yf he could not hould it by right, he would holde it by might;' that he had cut down much timber, and for six years had paid no rent (*ib.* vol. xxxvii.). Mrs. Shelley died in 1609, and the long dispute was settled by Byrd's buying Stondon Place in the names of John and Thomas Petre, charging part of the property with a payment to himself of 20% for his life, with remainder to his second son Thomas—an arrangement which gave rise to further litigation after his death. While Byrd was in the possession of lands belonging to a recusant, and was actively engaged in performing his duties in the Chapel Royal, where he was present at the coronation of James I, he was not only being presented with his family for popish practices before the archidiaconal court of Essex, but he had actually been excommunicated since 1598. From 1605 until 1612, and probably later, it was regularly recorded that the Byrd family were 'papistically recusants.' Mrs. Byrd in particular, if the reports of the minister and churchwardens of Stondon are to be believed, seems to have been very zealous in making converts.

In 1600 Byrd contributed instrumental music to 'Parthenia,' a collection of virginal lessons by Bull, Orlando Gibbons, and Byrd. On 15 Oct. 1603 Easte published 'Medulla Musickæ. Sucked out of the sappe of Two [of] the most famous Musitians that euer were in this land, namely Master Wylliam Byrd . . . and Master Alfonso Ferabosco . . . either of whom having made 40<sup>ue</sup> severall waies (without contention), shewing most rare and intricate skill in 2 partes. in one vpon the playne songe "Miserere." The which at the request of a friend is most plainly sett in severall distinct partes to be sunge (with moore ease and vnderstanding of the lesse skilfull), by Master

Thomas Robinson,' &c. (ARBER, *Transcript of Stationers' Registers*, iii. 247). All copies of this work seem to have disappeared, and its existence was only revealed by the publication of the entry in the Stationers' Registers. Thomas Morley (*Introduction*, ed. 1608, p. 115) mentions how Byrd ('never without reverence to be named of musicians') and Ferabosco had a friendly contention, each one judging his rival's work, and he adds that they both set a plain song forty different ways; but it was not previously known that the result of their labours had been printed. In 1607 appeared the first and second books of 'Gradualia, seu Canticum Sacrarum,' &c., of which the first book was dedicated to the Earl of Northampton in terms which seem to imply that the author had received some special protection or benefit from that nobleman: 'Te habui, atque etiam (ni fallor) habeo, in afflictis familiæ meæ rebus benignissimum patronum.' In the same dedication Byrd alludes to the increase in the salaries of the gentlemen of the chapel which was obtained by the earl's help in 1604. A second edition of this book appeared in 1610. The second book of the 'Gradualia' is dedicated to Lord Petre; a second edition was issued by the author in 1610. In 1611 appeared 'Psalmes, Songs, and Sonnets: some solemne, others joyfull, framed to the life of the Words: Fit for Voyces or Viols, &c.' This work was dedicated to Francis, earl of Cumberland, and contains a quaintly written address by the author 'to all true louers of musicke.' The last work which Byrd contributed to was Sir William Leighton's 'Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule' (1614), in which four of his sacred vocal compositions are contained. Byrd's death took place (probably at Stondon) on 4 July 1623. It is recorded in the 'Chapel Royal Cheque Book' as that of a 'father of musicke,' a title which refers as much to his age as to the veneration in which he was held by his contemporaries, a feeling which was expressed by Peacham (*Compleat Gentleman*, ed. 1622, p. 100) as follows: 'In Motets, and Musicke of pietie and deuotion, as well for the honour of our Nation, as the merit of the Man, I preferre aboue all other our *Phoenix*, M. William Byrd, whom in that kind, I know not whether any may equall. I am sure, none excell, euen by the iudgement of France and Italy. . . . His *Cantiones Sacra*, as also his *Gradualia*, are meere Angelicall and Diuine; and being of himselfe naturally disposed to Grauitie and Pietie, his veine is not so much for light Madrigals or Canzonets, yet his *Virginella*, and some others in his

first set, cannot be mended by the best *Italian* of them all.' In addition to the works already mentioned, Byrd wrote three masses, for three, four, and five voices respectively. These were all printed without title-pages, probably in 1588, and have been published in modern editions. Manuscript compositions by Byrd are to be found in the British Museum, Fitzwilliam Museum, Buckingham Palace, Lambeth Palace, Music School (Oxford), Christ Church (Oxford), and Peterhouse (Cambridge) collections. According to an old tradition (alluded to in some prefatory verses to Blow's 'Amphion Anglicus') a canon by Byrd is preserved in the Vatican, engraved on a golden plate; this has generally been supposed to be the well-known 'Non nobis, Domine,' the authorship of which is usually ascribed to Byrd.

Byrd's arms were three stags' heads caboshed, a canton ermine, and not those engraved in the Musical Antiquarian Society's edition of the mass. By his wife, Ellen Birley, he had six children: 1. Christopher, who married Catherine, daughter of Thomas Moore of Bamborough, Yorkshire, and had a son named Thomas, who was living at Stondon in 1634; 2. Thomas, who was a musician, and lived at Drury Lane; he acted as deputy to John Bull [q. v.] at Gresham College and was alive in 1651; 3. Elizabeth, who married twice (her husbands' names were John Jackson and Burdett); 4. Rachel, who married (1) — Hook, by whom she had two children, William, and Katherine, wife of Michael Walton, and (2) Edward Biggs; 5. Mary, who married (1) Henry Hawksworth, by whom she had four sons, and (2) Thomas Faulconbridge; and 6. Anne, who died young. A portrait of him—which was probably imaginary—was engraved by Vanderghucht for a projected 'History of Music' by N. Haym, a work which never appeared.

[The documents quoted above from the State Papers and Archidecanal Records were printed by the writer in the Musical Review (1883), Nos. 19, 20, 21; Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal (Camden Soc. 1872), pp. 2, 10, 183; information from the Rev. A. R. Maddison and Mr. W. H. Cummings; Registers of Harlington; authorities quoted above.] W. B. S.

**BYRHTFERTH**, less correctly written **BRIDFERTH** (*fl.* 1000), mathematician, was a monk (in priest's orders) of the abbey of Ramsey, and studied under the celebrated Abbo of Fleury, who taught there for two years. Leland mentions that Byrhtferth was described by some as a monk of Thorney, and it has been conjectured that he may have originally belonged to that monas-

tery, and migrated to Ramsey soon after the foundation of the abbey there about 970. He subsequently became the head of the Ramsey school, and his extant works have for the most part the appearance of being notes of his lectures to his pupils. From a passage in his commentary on Bæda's work, 'De Temporum Ratione,' it appears that he had travelled in France, as he mentions an observation on the length of shadows which he had made at Thionville ('in Gallia in loco qui Teotonis villa dicitur').

The only undisputed writings of Byrhtferth which have hitherto been printed are his commentaries on four treatises of Bæda ('De Temporum Ratione,' 'De Natura Rerum,' 'De Indigitatione,' and 'De Ratione Unciarum'), which may be found in the edition of Bæda published at Cologne in 1612. Considering the age in which they were written, these commentaries display a surprising degree of scientific knowledge, and the wide range of classical reading which they exhibit is perhaps still more remarkable. Some interesting extracts from them are given in Wright's 'Biographia Britannica Literaria.'

Bale ascribes to Byrhtferth two works, entitled respectively, 'De Principiis Mathematicis' and 'De Institutione Monachorum.' Of these writings no trace is known to exist; but a manuscript in the Bodleian Library (*Ashmole*, 328) contains a treatise of Byrhtferth's, bearing the title 'Computus Latinorum ac Græcorum Hebræorumque et Ægyptiorum neonon et Anglorum.' This work is written in Latin, with an Anglo-Saxon translation at the foot of each page. From the account given of this manuscript by Dr. Stubbs in the introduction to his 'Memorials of St. Dunstan,' it would appear to be well worthy of publication, as affording valuable information respecting the state of scientific knowledge among the Anglo-Saxons, and the methods of teaching adopted in their schools. It contains the following couplet, which is interesting as being probably the earliest attempt at imitating the classical hexameter in English:

Cum nu, Hálíg Gást! Bútan the ne bist thu  
gewurthod.  
Gyf thine gyfe thære tungan the thu gyfst gyfe  
on gereorde.

From the terms in which Abbo is mentioned ('Abbo dignæ memoriæ'), it may be inferred that this work was not written until after his death, which occurred in 1004; and the reference to 'Eádnóth the bishop' (of Dorchester) seems to point to a date a few years later.

Another work which is usually attributed

to Byrhtferth is a life of St. Dunstan, the writer of which calls himself 'B. presbyter.' The conjecture that this initial stands for Byrhtferth is due to Mabillon, who had seen the 'Life,' but did not consider it worth while to print it. He gives, however, some extracts from it in his preface and notes to the 'Life of Dunstan' by Osbern, and it has been published in the 'Acta Sanctorum' of the Bollandists, and in Dr. Stubbs's 'Memorials of St. Dunstan.' Mabillon's suggestion appears at first sight highly plausible, as Byrhtferth in the 'Computus' describes himself as 'presbyter,' and his master Abbo had intimate relations with Dunstan. The wretched Latinity and the bombastic style of the 'Life,' however, cannot easily be reconciled with the supposition of Byrhtferth's authorship. Dr. Stubbs has furnished some other arguments, which appear to be decisive against Mabillon's conjecture, although his attempt to show that the author of the 'Life' was a continental Saxon can scarcely be considered successful.

[Bale's Script. Ill. Maj. Brit. (Basle edition), 138; Pits, De Angliæ Scriptoribus, 178; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 125; Wright's Biog. Brit. Lit. i. 174; Memorials of St. Dunstan (ed. Stubbs), introd. p. xix; Bæda's Works (Cologne edition, 1612), ii. 103 et al.] H. B.

**BYRNE, ANNEFRANCES** (1775-1837), flower-painter, was born in 1775 in London, and was the eldest daughter of William Byrne, engraver [q. v.] She early became one of her father's pupils and assistants, etching for him and preparing his work. She also had some proficiency in fruit-painting, and exhibited a fruit-piece at the Academy in her twenty-first year, 1796, after which date pictures of hers appeared there from time to time, and at the British Institute, and Suffolk Street, down to 1832 (GRAVES's *Dict. of Artists*, p. 38). In 1805 Miss Byrne's father died. In 1806 she was elected associate-exhibitor at the Water Colour Society, which was followed by her election to full membership in 1809. Miss Byrne died 2 Jan. 1837, aged 62.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of British School, ed. 1878.] J. H.

**BYRNE, CHARLES** (1761-1783), Irish giant, was born in Ireland in 1761. His father was an Irishman, and his mother a Scotch-woman, but neither of them was of extraordinary size. In August 1780 he 'measured exactly eight feet; in 1782 he had gained two inches, and after he was dead he measured eight feet four inches' (*Gent. Mag.* liv. pt. i. 541). He travelled about the country for ex-

hibition; at Edinburgh he alarmed the watchmen on the North Bridge one morning by lighting his pipe at one of the lamps without standing even on tiptoe. In London he created such a sensation, that the pantomime at the Haymarket, produced on 18 Aug. 1782, was entitled, with reference to him, 'Harlequin Teague, or the Giant's Causeway.' He died (of, it is said, excessive drinking and vexation at losing a note for 700*l.*) at Cockspur Street, Charing Cross, on 1 June 1783, aged 22. His skeleton, which measures exactly 92½ inches, is to be seen in the museum of the College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where there is also a portrait of him. Two sketches of the giant by Kay will be found in the first volume of 'Original Etchings,' Nos. 4 and 164. Byrne has often been confused with Patrick Cotter, another Irish giant, who took the name of O'Brien, and died at Bristol in 1806.

[Kay's Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings (1877), i. 10-11, 417; Chambers's Book of Days (1864), ii. 326-7; Buckland's Curiosities of Natural History, 4th ser. pp. 19-21; Scots Mag. 1783, xlv. 335; Annual Register, 1783, app. pp. 209-10; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. xi. 369, 396, 476, xii. 59; 5th ser. iv. 132-3.]

G. F. R. B.

**BYRNE, LETITIA** (1779-1849), engraver, was born 24 Nov. 1779, presumably in London, being the third daughter of William Byrne, engraver [q. v.], and the sister of Anne Frances Byrne [q. v.] (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxv. pt. ii. p. 1071). As a pupil of her father, she exhibited landscape-views at the Academy when she was only twenty, in 1799. In 1810 she etched the illustrations for 'A Description of Tunbridge Wells,' and among other work entrusted to her were four views for Hakewill's 'History of Windsor.' She exhibited 'From Eton College Play-fields' at the Academy in 1822; and had other pictures there (twenty-one in all) down to 1848 (GRAVES's *Dict. of Artists*, p. 38). She died 2 May 1849, aged 70, and was buried at Kensal Green.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of British School, ed. 1878, p. 66; Graves's Dict. of Artists, p. 38.] J. H.

**BYRNE, MILES** (1780-1862), member of the Society of United Irishmen, and afterwards *chef de bataillon* in the service of France, was the son of a farmer, and was born at Monaseed, in the county of Wexford, Ireland, on 20 March 1780. In 1796 he agreed to join a corps of yeomanry cavalry on condition of obtaining the renewal of a lease of land for his mother; but his father, who was then ill, dying shortly afterwards, he was absolved

from serving, and thus, in his own words, 'never wore a red coat.' Having in the spring of 1797 joined the Society of United Irishmen, he entered into their plans with ardour, and took a leading part in organising the confederation in Wexford. On 3 June 1798 he united with the insurrectionists encamped at Corrigra, and, after the defeat at Vinegar Hill on the 21st, rallied a number of pikemen, with whom he took part in a variety of minor skirmishes. An attack was made on Castle-comer, but without success, and after the battle of Ballygullen on 4 July he joined Holt in the Wicklow mountains, where for some months he kept up a faint show of resistance in the vain hope of obtaining aid from France. On All Hallows eve Byrne paid a visit to his mother and sister, when, finding that he was in imminent danger of arrest, he made his escape to Dublin in the disguise of a car-driver. There for some years he was employed as clerk in a timber-yard. In the spring of 1803 he was introduced to Robert Emmet, who found him ready to devote himself with enthusiasm to his new enterprise for a rising, and who entrusted him with some of the most difficult of the arrangements connected with it. He supplied Emmet with a list of persons for the three counties of Carlow, Wicklow, and Wexford, 'who had acquired the reputation of being good patriots in 1798,' and he also made contracts with the gunmakers, arranged for the manufacture of pike-handles, and procured the necessary war material. In the scheme for the capture of Dublin Castle on 23 July he was entrusted with the command of the Wexford and Wicklow men, who were to seize on the entrance to the castle from the side of Ship Street, but as Emmet was prevented from keeping his agreement to attack the main entrance, the whole affair proved abortive. On returning from the Wicklow mountains, Byrne was commissioned by Emmet to go to Paris to communicate with Thomas Addis Emmet, the agent of the United Irishmen to the first consul, regarding help from France. Succeeding with some difficulty in reaching Bordeaux in an American vessel, he helped in composing a report on the state of Ireland, which was presented to Napoleon, who, in view of a contemplated expedition at no distant date, decreed in November 1803 the formation of the Irish legion in the service of France. In this legion Byrne obtained the commission of lieutenant of infantry, and served in the campaigns of Napoleon from 1804 to 1815. At an early period he was promoted captain, and in 1810 he was chosen to command a *bataillon d'élite* of the Irish troops. On 18 June 1813 he was made a chevalier of the Legion of

Honour. Shortly before the abdication of Napoleon he was named to be promoted *chef de bataillon*, but not soon enough to permit of the formality of signing the commission. After the revolution of 1830 he was appointed *chef de bataillon* in the 56th regiment of the line, then commanded by Bugeaud, afterwards marshal, and in 1832 he received the cross of the Legion of Honour from Louis-Philippe. In 1835 he resigned his commission, and took up his residence in Paris, where his tall and to the last straight figure, thin bronzed face, and mobile yet keen features were during the latter period of his life well known to frequenters of the avenue of the Champs-Élysées. He retained strong sympathies in behalf of freedom throughout the world, and his devoted attachment to Ireland was of course rendered only more intense by his enforced exile. He died on 24 Jan. 1862, and was interred in the cemetery at Montmartre, where there is a monument to his memory.

[The Memoirs of Miles Byrne, published at Paris in 1863 in 3 vols. edited by his widow, contain many interesting details regarding the conspiracies in Ireland, the campaigns of Napoleon, and the Irish officers in the service of France.] T. F. H.

BYRNE, OSCAR (1795?–1867), ballet-master, was the son of James Byrne, an actor and a ballet-master. His first appearance, according to one authority, was made in 1803 at Drury Lane Theatre in a ballet arranged by his father from 'Ossian,' and called 'Oscar and Elwina,' which had been first presented twelve years previously at Covent Garden. A second authority states that he played his first part at Covent Garden 16 Nov. 1803 as Cheerly in Hoare's 'Lock and Key.' Much of Byrne's early life was passed abroad or in Ireland. In 1850 Charles Kean, in his memorable series of performances at the Princess's Theatre, engaged Oscar Byrne, who arranged the ballets for the principal revivals. In 1862 Byrne went to Drury Lane, then under Falconer and Chatterton. His last engagement was at Her Majesty's Theatre, when Mr. Falconer produced his ill-starred drama of 'Oonah.' In his own line Oscar Byrne showed both invention and resource. He died rather suddenly on 4 Sept. 1867 at the reputed age of seventy-two, leaving a young wife and seven children.

[Oxberry's Dramatic Chronology; private information.] J. K.

BYRNE, WILLIAM (1743–1805), landscape engraver, was born in London in 1743. He studied for some time under his uncle, a Birmingham engraver of arms, and at the



age of twenty-two gained the Society of Arts medal for a plate of the 'Villa Madama,' after Richard Wilson. He then went to Paris and became a pupil of Aliamet and afterwards of J. G. Wille. He was a member of the Incorporated Society, and exhibited in Suffolk Street between 1760 and 1780. He died in Titchfield Street, London, on 24 Sept. 1805, and was buried at Old St. Pancras Church. His works, which are numerous, display much skill in aerial perspective and beauty in the finish of the skies. Among them are 'The Antiquities of Britain,' after Hearne; 'The View of the Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland,' after Joseph Farington; 'Apollo watching the Flocks of King Admetus,' after Lauri; 'The Flight into Egypt,' after Domenichino; 'The Death of Captain Cook,' 'The Waterfall of Niagara,' after Wilson, &c. Byrnes had a son and three daughters, who all became artists; two daughters, Anne Frances and Letitia, are noticed above. His second daughter, Mary, married James Green (1771-1834) [q. v.]

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists of the English School, 1878, 8vo; MS. notes in British Museum.] L. F.

**BYRNSTAN, BIRNSTAN, or BEORNSTAN** (d. 933), bishop of Winchester, was in early life a king's thegn or minister of Eadward the Elder, in which capacity he attests charters of the years 900-2 (*Codex Diplomaticus*, mlxxvi. and mlxxvii.; cf. *Liber de Hyda*, pp. 97, 101, 116). In 902 he became a priest, and very probably a secular canon in the new minster of Winchester, which Ælfred the Great had projected, and Eadward himself established under the headship of Grimbold. Between 902 and 910 Byrnstan frequently appears as attesting charters, including especially the series of grants made by the king to the churches of Winchester (*Cod. Dipl.* mlxxxiv-mccvi.; *Liber de Hyda*, p. 105). After this we have no trace of his activity for twenty years. Whether an increasing fervour of devotion drove him from the court to those ascetic practices for which he became celebrated, and whether, as the later monastic writers assert, he forsook the secular life of a canon for the regular obligations of a monk, cannot be determined. The fact that the most zealous champion of the monks revived his cultus makes the latter very probable. The charters of the twenty years are too few to enable us to base any inference upon them; but in 931 the resignation of the bishopric of Winchester by the saintly Frithestan was succeeded by the election of Byrnstan to rule over the diocese with which he had been so long

connected. On 29 May he was consecrated by Frithestan, but he only ruled over the church two years and a half, dying on All Saints' day 933 (*Anglo-Saxon Chron.* s. a.) Florence puts his death in 934, and his consecration in 932; but the attestation of a charter of 933 by Bishop Ælfheah, his successor (*Cod. Dipl.* mcix.), and the definite statement of the chronicle as to the length of his government of his bishopric, make the earlier date preferable. The only acts of Byrnstan as bishop that have survived are his attestation of a few charters (*ib.* mciii-viii.) Byrnstan had been bishop so short a time that his saintliness and charity were almost at once forgotten, until his memory was revived, a generation later, by Bishop Æthelwold. Henceforward he received the honours due to one of the holiest of the early bishops of Winchester. William of Malmesbury commends his sanctity, his humility, and his care for the poor, whose feet he daily washed, and whose needs he supplied with a lavish hand. He also tells how Byrnstan said every day a mass for the repose of the souls of the dead, and how by night, regardless of the terrors that haunt churchyards, he perambulated the cemetery in the midst of which the new minster was built, reciting psalms for the same pious purpose. In 1150 his relics were translated to a nobler sepulchre, along with those of Birinus, of Swithun, and the most famous of the occupants of the see.

[Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester; Annales de Winton (Annales Monastici, vol. ii. in Rolls edition); William of Malmesbury's *De Gestis Pontificum*; *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*; Rudborne's *Historia Major Wintoniensis in Anglia Sacra*; *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. v.; Dugdale's *Monasticon*, vol. ii.] T. F. T.

**BYROM, JOHN** (1692-1763), poet and stenographer, was born 29 Feb. 1691-2 at Kersall Cell, Broughton, near Manchester. He was the second son and seventh of the nine children of Edward Byrom, by his wife Sarah Allen. The Byroms of Manchester were a younger branch of the Byroms of Salford, themselves a younger branch of the Byroms of Byrom. The last representative of the parent stem was Samuel, commonly called 'Beau Byrom,' a spendthrift, who sold his estates (some of which were bought by John Byrom's father and uncle), got into the Fleet prison, and there published (in 1729) an 'Irrefragable argument fully proving that to discharge great debts is . . . more reasonable than to discharge small.' It was sold for the benefit of the author, and was, in reality, a covert appeal for charity. The 'beau' got out of prison, and John Byrom helped him to obtain support.

The Byroms of Manchester had been prosperous merchants and linendrapers. John Byrom's father, Edward, was son of another Edward (1627-1668), and had a younger brother, Joseph, whose daughter, Elizabeth, was thus John's cousin, and afterwards became his wife (see pedigrees appended to Byrom's *Remains*). John's name is in the register of Merchant Taylors' School in March 1707. He was entered at Trinity College, Cambridge, on 6 July 1708; was elected scholar in May 1709; became B.A. in 1712; M.A. in 1715, and was elected fellow of his college at Michaelmas 1714. He had many scruples as to taking the oath of abjuration. While at college he contributed two papers on dreams to the 'Spectator' (Nos. 586, 593, and perhaps 597), and a playful pastoral, called 'Colin and Phœbe' (No. 605, 6 Oct. 1714). Joan or 'Jug' Bentley, then only eleven years old, daughter of the master, and afterwards mother of Richard Cumberland, is said to have been his Phœbe (MONK'S *Bentley*, i. 200, ii. 113). The poem was very popular. In 1716 Byrom travelled abroad and studied medicine for a time at Montpellier. He was afterwards called 'doctor' by his friends, but never took the degree. He declined a proposal to practise at Manchester (*Remains*, i. 267), and his journey may possibly have had rather a political than a professional purpose. He showed strong Jacobite leanings through life.

He returned to London in 1718, and on 14 Feb. 1721 married his cousin, with the consent of her parents (*Remains*, i. 43), though the contrary has been alleged as an explanation of his subsequent poverty. His father had died in 1711, and the estates had gone to his elder brother, Edward. Byrom now resolved to increase his income by teaching shorthand. He had invented a new system at Cambridge, in concert, it is said, with Thomas Sharp, a college contemporary, son of the archbishop of York. He issued proposals for publishing his system, dated 27 May 1723. During many years he made visits to London, where he often stayed for months, and occasionally to Cambridge, in order to give lessons in his art. His pupils paid five guineas and took an oath of secrecy. Byrom was soon challenged to a trial of skill by a rival teacher named Weston, whom he treated with good-humoured ridicule. In June 1725 he acted as moderator between Weston and one Clayton at the Chapter Coffee-house. His pupils formed a kind of society; they called him grand master, and upon opening his 'sessions' he delivered addresses upon the history and utility of shorthand. His occupation brought him many distinguished acquaintances.

On 17 March 1724 he became a fellow of the Royal Society, and contributed two papers upon shorthand to the 'Philosophical Transactions' (No. 488). In June 1727 he had a sharp dispute at the society with Sir Hans Sloane. Byrom seems to have opposed an address to the king, and was accused of Jacobitism. He unsuccessfully supported Jurin against Sloane in the election of the president on 30 Nov. 1727.

Byrom's diary, with many letters, published by the Chetham Society, are full of lively accounts of meetings with distinguished contemporaries during these years. He was intimate with Bentley and his family; with Bishop Hoadly's son, whose father he occasionally met; he reports interesting conversations with Bishop Butler and Samuel Clarke; David Hartley was a pupil and a very warm friend; he saw something of Wesley; and took a great interest in all the religious speculations of the time. He meets Whiston, the Arian; the deist Collins; the heretical Elwal; and discusses Chubb and Woolston. His own leaning was towards mysticism. He is said to have become acquainted with the writings of Malebranche and Antoinette Bourignon in France. One of his liveliest poems describes his buying a portrait of Malebranche (9 March 1727), whom he calls 'the greatest divine that e'er lived upon earth.' In this he sympathised with William Law, whom he first went to see at Putney, 4 March 1729, in consequence apparently of having bought the 'Serious Call,' then just published. Law was at this time tutor to Gibbon's father, whom he accompanied to Cambridge, where Byrom met him again. Byrom became an ardent disciple of Law, whom he calls his master. When Law became a student of Behmen, Byrom followed, with a modest confession of partial comprehension. He versified several passages of Law's writings, hoping that his verse would cling to the prose 'like ivy to an oak' (*Remains*, ii. 521), and when Law settled at King's Cliffe, Byrom visited him in his retirement. He corresponded with Law's disciple, Dr. Cheyne, and defended his master against Warburton's brutality. Warburton, who tells Hurd (2 Jan. 1752) that Byrom is 'not malevolent but mad,' treated his new antagonist with unusual courtesy (see letters in *Remains*, ii. 522-89).

Byrom's uncle and father-in-law, Joseph, died in 1733, leaving his property to a son, Edward, on whose death, in 1760, it came to John Byrom's family (*Remains*, ii. 93). The death of his own elder and unmarried brother, Edward (12 May 1740), put him in possession of the family estates, and relieved him

from the necessity of teaching shorthand. He had printed new proposals for publishing his system by subscription (dated 1 Nov. 1739). Difficulties arose, and he obtained an act of parliament, passed on 5 May 1742, giving him the sole right both of publishing and teaching the system for twenty-one years. A list of persons testifying to its merits is appended to the proposals, and includes the Duke of Queensberry, Bishop Hoadly and his son, Hartley, R. Smith, the Cambridge astronomer, and other university authorities. The third Duke of Devonshire, Lord Delawarr, Horace Walpole, Gibbon (the historian's father), and, it is said, Lord Chesterfield, were also among his pupils.

At Manchester, Byrom was known as a warm supporter of the high church and Jacobite party. He acted as agent in a successful opposition to a bill for establishing a workhouse in Manchester in the early months of 1731. The objection was that the proposed board of guardians was so constituted as to give a majority to whigs and dissenters (BAINES, *Lancashire*, ii. 293, and WARE's *Collegiate Church of Manchester*, ii. 79). Byrom was in Manchester during the Pretender's entry in 1745. His daughter's journal (*Remains*, ii. 385 seq.) shows that, in spite of his strong Jacobite sympathies, he avoided committing himself, though two sons of his intimate friend Dr. Deacon, physician and non-juring clergyman, joined the regiment raised by the Pretender. A strong party feeling distracted the town for some years afterwards. Jacobites were insulted at public assemblies (*ib.* ii. 509), and Byrom, with his friend Dr. Deacon, contributed various essays and epigrams to the 'Chester Courant,' which were collected in a small volume, called 'Manchester Vindicated' (Chester, 1749), and form a curious illustration of the time.

The correspondence of later years is chiefly theological. Byrom died, after a lingering illness, on 26 Sept. 1763. A fine of 5*l.* was levied on his estate because he was not buried in woollen.

Byrom's poems were collected for the first time and published at Manchester in 1773. They were republished with a life and notes in 1814. To the last is prefixed a portrait, showing a man of great height and a strongly marked face. The poems are also (with some exceptions) given in Chalmers's 'English Poets.' Byrom had an astonishing facility in rhyming. Some of his poems are discussions on points of classical or theological criticism (e.g. against Conyers Middleton's reply to Sherlock), and scarcely better than clever doggerel. One is an argument to prove that St. George was really Gregory the

Great. Pegge, who is challenged in the poem, replied to Byrom and Pettingall in the fifth volume of the 'Archæologia.' Others are versifications of Behmen, Rusbrochius, and Law (e.g. the 'Enthusiasm' is from Law's 'Appeal,' p. 30 et seq. and the 'Pond' from the same writer's 'Serious Call,' chap. xi.), and there are a few hymns. Byrom can be forcible, but frequently adopts a comic metre oddly inappropriate to his purpose. Some occasional poems in which his good-humoured sprightliness finds a natural expression have been deservedly admired, especially 'Colin to Phoebe' (see above), the 'Three Black Crows,' 'Figg and Sutton,' printed in the sixth volume of Dodsley's collection and turned to account in Thackeray's 'Virginians,' chap. xxxvii.; the 'Centaur Fabulous' upon Warburton's 'Divine Legation,' and the epilogue to 'Hurlrothumbo,' Samuel Johnson, the author of this play, was a favourite object of Byrom's playful satire. Some epigrams are still familiar, 'Handel and Bononcini' (see *Remains*, i. 136), often erroneously given to Swift; 'Bone and Skin,' which refers to the mills belonging to the Manchester grammar school, and the well-known

God bless the king, God bless our faith's defender,  
God bless—no harm in blessing,—the Pretender;  
But who pretender is, and who is king,  
God bless us all! that's quite another thing.

Byrom's system of shorthand was not printed until four years after his death, when it was explained in a volume illustrated with thirteen copper-plates, and entitled 'The Universal English Shorthand; or the way of writing English in the most easy, concise, regular, and beautiful manner, applicable to any other language, but particularly adjusted to our own,' Manchester, 1767, second edit. 1796. The method is in appearance one of the most elegant ever devised, but it cannot be written with sufficient rapidity, and consequently it was never much used by professional stenographers. For reporting purposes it is decidedly inferior to the systems of Mason, Gurney, Taylor, Lewis, and Pitman. Still its publication marks an era in the history of shorthand, and there can be no doubt that the more widely diffused system published by Samuel Taylor in 1786 was suggested by and based upon that of Byrom. Thomas Molineux of Macclesfield issued several elegantly printed manuals of instruction in Byrom's system between 1796 and 1824, but the best exposition of the method is to be found in the 'Practical Introduction to the Science of Shorthand,' by William Gawtress, Leeds, 1819, third edit. London, 1830.

[The chief authority for Byron is *The Private Journal and Literary Remains of John Byron*, related by Richard Parkinson, D.D., for the Chetham Society, in two vols., 1854-7; some account is given of an unpublished fragment of the journal from 1731 to 1733 by Mr. J. E. Bailey in the *Palatine Notebook* for May 1882, also printed separately; Chalmers's *Life in the Collection of Poets, and Life prefixed to Works*; Baines's *County Palatine of Lancaster*, ii. 79, 293; Hibbert Ware's *Collegiate Church of Manchester*, ii. 79, 129, 142, &c.; Case in relation to an Act of Parliament, 1731; Case of Petitioners, &c., 1731, for the Manchester Workhouse question.]

L. S.

BYRON, GEORGE GORDON, sixth lord (1788-1824), poet, descended from John, first Lord Byron [q. v.], who was succeeded by his brother Richard (1605-1679). Richard's son, William (*d.* 1695), became third lord, and wrote some bad verses. By his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Viscount Chaworth, he was father of William, fourth lord (1669-1736), gentleman of the bedchamber to Prince George of Denmark. The fourth lord was father, by his wife, Frances, daughter of Lord Berkeley of Stratton, of William, fifth lord, John, afterwards Admiral Byron [q. v.], and Isabella, wife of the fourth and mother of the fifth earl of Carlisle. The fifth lord (1722-1798) quarrelled with his cousin Mr. Chaworth (great grandson of Viscount Chaworth) at a club dinner of Nottinghamshire gentlemen, 26 Jan. 1765, and killed him after a confused scuffle in a room to which they had retired by themselves after dinner. Byron was convicted of manslaughter before the House of Lords, 16 April 1765 (*State Trials*, xix. 1175), and, though exempted from punishment by his privilege as a peer, became a marked man. He lived in seclusion at Newstead Abbey, ill-treated his wife, was known as the 'wicked lord,' encumbered his estates, and made a sale of his property at Rochdale, the disputed legality of which led to a prolonged lawsuit. His children and his only grandson (son of his son by the daughter of his brother, the admiral) died before him. Admiral Byron had two sons, John and George Anson (ancestor of the present peer), and three daughters, one of whom became wife of her cousin, son of the fifth lord; another of Admiral Parker; the third of Colonel Leigh, by whom she was mother of another Colonel Leigh, who married his cousin, Augusta, daughter of John Byron, the admiral's eldest son. This John Byron (born 1756) was educated at Westminster, entered the guards, was known as 'mad Jack,' and was a handsome profligate. He seduced the Marchioness of Carmarthen, who became Baroness Conyers

on the death of her father, fourth earl of Holderness. He married her (June 1779) after her divorce, and had by her in 1782 a daughter, Augusta, married to Colonel Leigh in 1807. Lady Conyers's death in France, 26 Jan. 1784, deprived her husband of an income of 4,000*l.* a year. He soon afterwards met at Bath a Miss Catherine Gordon of Gicht, with a fortune of 23,000*l.*, doubled by rumour. The pair were married at St. Michael's Church, Bath, 18 May 1785 (parish register). John Byron took his second wife to France, squandered most of her property, and returned to England, where their only child, George Gordon, was born in Holles Street, London, 22 Jan. 1788. John Hunter saw the boy when he was born, and prescribed for the infant's feet (Mrs. Byron's letters in *Add. MS.* 31037). A malformation was caused, as Byron afterwards said, by his mother's 'false delicacy.' Trelawny (*Records*, ii. 132) says that the tendo Achillis of each foot was so contracted that he could only walk on the balls of the toes, the right foot being most distorted and bent inwards. Injudicious treatment increased the mischief, and through life the poet could only hobble a few paces on foot, though he could at times succeed in concealing his infirmity.

John Byron's creditors became pressing. The daughter, Augusta, was sent to her grandmother, the Dowager Countess Holderness. Mrs. Byron retired to Aberdeen, and lived upon 150*l.* a year, the interest of 3,000*l.* in the hands of trustees, the sole remnant of her fortune. She took lodgings in Queen Street, Aberdeen, and was followed by her husband, who occupied separate lodgings and sometimes petted the child, who professed in later years to remember him perfectly (MEYWIN, p. 58). With money got from his wife or his sister, Mrs. Leigh, he escaped to France in January 1791, and died at Valenciennes, 2 Aug. 1791, possibly by his own hand (JEAFFRESON, i. 48; HARNESS, p. 33; Letter No. 460 in MOORE'S *Life of Byron* implicitly denies suicide). Mrs. Byron's income, reduced to 135*l.* by debts for furniture and by helping her husband, was raised to 190*l.* on the death of her grandmother, and she lived within her means. Capricious and passionate by nature, she treated her child with alternate excesses of violence and tenderness. Scott (MOORE, ch. xxiv.) says that in 1784 she was seized with an hysterical fit during Mrs. Siddons's performance in Southern's 'Fatal Marriage,' and carried out screaming, 'Oh, my Biron, my Biron' (the name of a character in the play). She was short and fat, and would chase her mocking child round the room in impotent fury. To the frank remark of a

schoolfellow, 'Your mother is a fool,' he replied, 'I know it.' Another phrase is said to have been the germ of the 'Deformed Transformed.' His mother reviling him as a 'lame beast,' he replied, 'I was born so, mother.' The child was passionately fond of his nurse, May Gray, to whom at the final parting he gave a watch and his miniature—afterwards in the possession of Dr. Ewing of Aberdeen—and by whose teaching he acquired a familiarity with the Bible, preserved through life by a very retentive memory. At first he went to school to one 'Bodsy Bowers,' and afterwards to a clergyman named Ross. The son of his shoemaker, Paterson, taught him some Latin, and he was at the grammar school from 1794 to 1798 (BAIN, *Life of Arnott*, in the papers of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, gives his places in the school). He was regarded as warm-hearted, pugnacious, and idle.

Visits to his mother's relations and an excursion to Ballater for change of air in 1796 varied his schooldays. In a note to the 'Island' (1813) he dates his love of mountainous scenery from this period; and in a note to 'Don Juan' (canto x. stanza 18) he recalls the delicious horror with which he leaned over the bridge of Balgownie, destined in an old rhyme to fall with 'a wife's æ son and a mare's æ foal.' An infantile passion for a cousin, Mary Duff, in his eighth year was so intense that he was nearly thrown into convulsions by hearing, when he was sixteen, of her marriage to Mr. Robert Cockburn (a well-known wine merchant, brother of Lord Cockburn). She died 10 March 1858 (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd series, iii. 231; she is described in Mr. Ruskin's 'Præterita').

In 1794, by the death of the fifth Lord Byron's grandson at the siege of Calvi in Corsica, Byron became heir to the peerage. A Mr. Ferguson suggested to Mrs. Byron that an application to the civil list for a pension might be successful if sanctioned by the actual peer (Letters in *Morrison MSS.*) The grand-uncle would not help the appeal, but after his death (19 May 1798) a pension of 300*l.* was given to the new peer's mother (warrant dated 2 Oct. 1799). In the autumn Mrs. Byron with her boy and May Gray left Aberdeen for Newstead. The house was ruinous. The Rochdale property was only recoverable by a lawsuit. The actual income of the Newstead estate was estimated at 1,100*l.* a year, which might be doubled when the leases fell in. Byron told Medwin (p. 40) that it was about 1,500*l.* a year. Byron was made a ward in chancery, and Lord Carlisle, son of the old lord's sister, was appointed his guardian.

Mrs. Byron settled at Nottingham, and

sent the boy to be prepared for a public school by Mr. Rogers. He was tortured by the remedies applied to his feet by a quack named Lavender. His talent for satire was already shown in a lampoon on an old lady and in an exposure of Lavender's illiteracy. In 1799 he was taken to London by his mother, examined for his lameness by Dr. Baillie, and sent to Dr. Glennie's school at Dulwich, where the treatment prescribed by Baillie could be carried out. Glennie found him playful, amiable, and intelligent, ill-grounded in scholarship, but familiar with scripture, and a devourer of poetry. At Glennie's he read a pamphlet on the shipwreck of the *Juno* in 1795, which was afterwards worked up in 'Don Juan'; and here, about 1800, he wrote his first love poem, addressed to his cousin Margaret Parker. Byron speaks of her transparent and evanescent beauty, and says that his passion had its 'usual effects' of preventing sleep and appetite. She died of consumption a year or two later. Meanwhile Mrs. Byron's tempers had become insupportable to Glennie, whose discipline was spoiled by her meddling, and to Lord Carlisle, who ceased to see her. Her importunity prevailed upon the guardian to send the boy to Harrow, where (in the summer of 1801) he became a pupil of the Rev. Joseph Drury.

Drury obtained the respect and affection of his pupil. A note to 'Childe Harold' (canto iv.), upon a passage in which he describes his repugnance to the 'daily drug' of classical lessons, expresses his enthusiastic regard for Drury, and proves that he had not profited by Drury's teaching. His notes in the books which he gave to the school library show that he never became a tolerable scholar. He was always 'idle, in mischief, or at play,' though reading voraciously by fits. He shone in declamation, and Drury tells how he quite unconsciously interpolated a vigorous passage into a prepared composition. Unpopular and unhappy at first, he hated Harrow (MOORE, ch. iv.) till his last year and a half; but he became attached to it on rising to be a leader. Glennie had noticed that his deformity had increased his desire for athletic glory. His strength of arm made him formidable in spite of his lameness. He fought Lord Calthorpe for writing 'd—d atheist' under his name (MEDWIN, p. 68). He was a cricketer (*Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. viii. 45), and the late Lord Stratford de Redcliffe remembered seeing him playing in the match against Eton with another boy to run for him. Byron was one of the ringleaders in a childish revolt against the appointment of Dr. Butler (March 1805) as Drury's successor, and in favour of Mark Drury. Byron said that he saved the hall from

burning by showing to the boys the names of their ancestors on the walls (MEDWIN, p. 68). He afterwards satirised Butler as 'Pomposus' in 'Hours of Idleness,' but had the sense to apologise before his first foreign tour.

'My school friendships,' says Byron, 'were with me passions.' Byron remonstrates with a boyish correspondent for calling him 'my dear' instead of 'my dearest Byron.' His most famous contemporary at Harrow was Sir Robert Peel, for whom he offered to take half the thrashing inflicted by a bully. He protected Harness, his junior by two years, who survived till 1869. His closest intimates were apparently Lords Clare and Dorset and John Wingfield. When he met Clare long afterwards in Italy, he was agitated to a painful degree, and says that he could never hear the name without a beating of the heart. He had been called at Glennie's 'the old English baron,' and some aristocratic vanity perhaps appears in his choice of intimates and dependents.

His mother was at Bath in 1802 (where he appeared in Turkish costume at a masquerade); at Nottingham in 1803; and at Southwell, in a house called Burgage Manor, in 1804. Byron visited Newstead in 1803, then occupied by Lord Grey de Ruthin, who set apart a room for his use. He was often at Annesley Hall, the seat of his distant cousins the Chaworths. Mary Anne Chaworth was fifth in descent from Viscount Chaworth, and her grandfather was brother to the William Chaworth killed by the fifth Lord Byron. A superstitious fancy (duly turned to account in the 'Siege of Corinth,' xxi.), that the family portraits would descend from their frames to haunt the duellist's heir, made him refuse to sleep there; till a 'bogle' seen on the road to Newstead—or some less fanciful motive—induced him to stay for the night. He had fallen desperately in love with Mary Anne Chaworth, two years his senior, who naturally declined to take him seriously. A year later Miss Pigot describes him as a 'fat bashful boy.' In 1804 he found Miss Chaworth engaged to John Musters. The marriage took place in 1805. Moore gives a report, probably inaccurate (see JEAFFERSON, i. 123), of Byron's agitation on hearing of the wedding. He dined with her and her husband in 1808, and was much affected by seeing her infant daughter. Poems addressed to her appeared in 'Hours of Idleness' and Hobhouse's 'Miscellany.' He told Medwin (p. 65) that he had found in her 'all that his youthful fancy could paint of beautiful.' Mrs. Musters's marriage was unhappy; she was separated from her husband; her mind became affected, and she died in 1832 from a shock caused by riots at

Nottingham. This passion seems to have left the most permanent traces on Byron's life; though it was a year later (if his account is accurate) that the news of Mary Duff's marriage nearly caused convulsions.

In October 1805 Byron entered Trinity College, Cambridge, as a nobleman. A youth of 'tumultuous passions' (in the phrase of his college tutor), he was exposed to the temptations of his rank, yet hardly within the sphere of its legitimate ambition. He rode, shot with a pistol, and boxed. He made a friend of the famous pugilist, Jackson, paid for postchaises to bring 'dear Jack' to visit him at Brighton, invited him to Newstead, and gave him commissions about dogs and horses. He was greatest at swimming. The pool below the sluice at Grantchester is still called by his name. Leigh Hunt first saw him (HUNT, *Byron*, &c. p. 1) swimming a match in the Thames under Jackson's supervision, and in August 1807 he boasts to Miss Pigot of a three miles swim through Blackfriars and Westminster bridges. He travelled to various resorts with a carriage, a pair of horses, a groom and valet, besides a bulldog and a Newfoundland. In 1806 his mother ended a quarrel by throwing the poker and tongs at his head. She followed him to his lodgings in London, whither he retreated, and there another engagement resulted in the defeat of the enemy—his mother. On a visit to Harrogate in the same summer with his friend Pigot he was shy, quiet, avoided drinking, and was polite to Professor Hailstone, of Trinity. On some of his rambles he was accompanied by a girl in boy's clothes, whom he introduced as his younger brother. He tells Miss Pigot that he has played hazard for two nights till four in the morning; and in a later diary (MOORE, chap. viii.) says that he loved gambling, but left off in time, and played little after he was of age. It is not surprising to find him confessing in 1808 (Letter 25) that he is 'cursedly dipped,' and will owe 9,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* on coming of age. The college authorities naturally looked askance at him; and Byron symbolised his opinion of dons by bringing up a bear to college, and declaring that the animal should sit for a fellowship.

Byron formed friendships and had pursuits of a more intellectual kind. He seems to have resided at Cambridge for the Michaelmas term 1805, and the Lent and Easter terms 1806; he was then absent for nearly a year, and returned to keep (probably) the Easter term of 1807, the following October and Lent terms, and perhaps the Easter term of 1808, taking his M.A. degree on 4 July 1808 (information kindly given by Cambridge autho-

rities). In the first period of residence, though sulky and solitary, he became the admiring friend of W. J. Bankes, was intimate with Edward Noel Long, and protected a chorister named Eddlestone. His friendship with this youth, he tells Miss Pigot (July 1807), is to eclipse all the classical precedents, and Byron means to get a partnership for his friend, or to take him as a permanent companion. Eddlestone died of consumption in 1811, and Byron then reclaimed from Miss Pigot a cornelian, which he had originally received from Eddlestone, and handed on to her. References to this friendship are in the 'Hours of Idleness,' and probably in the 'Cornelian Heart' (dated March 1812). Long entered the army, and was drowned in a transport in 1809, to Byron's profound affliction. He became intimate with two fellows of King's—Henry Drury and Francis Hodgson, afterwards provost of Eton. Byron showed his friendship for Hodgson by a present of 1,000*l.* in 1813, when Hodgson was in embarrassment and Byron not over rich (HODGSON, *Memoirs*, i. 268). In his later residence a closer 'coterie' was formed by Byron, Hobhouse, Davies, and C. S. Matthews (Letter 66). John Cam Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, was his friend through life. Scrope Berdmore Davies, a man of wit and taste, delighted Byron by his 'dashing vivacity,' and lent him 4,800*l.*, the repayment of which was celebrated by a drinking bout at the Cocoa on 27 March 1814. Hodgson reports (i. 104) that when Byron exclaimed melodramatically 'I shall go mad,' Davies used to suggest 'silly' as a probable emendation. Matthews was regarded as the most promising of the friends. Byron described his audacity, his swimming and boxing, and conversational powers in a letter to Murray (20 Nov. 1820), and tells Dallas (Letter 61) that he was a 'most decided' and outspoken 'atheist.'

Among these friends Byron varied the pursuit of pleasure by literary efforts. He boasts in a juvenile letter (No. 20) that he has often been compared to 'the wicked' Lord Lyttelton, and has already been held up as 'the votary of licentiousness and the disciple of infidelity.' A list (dated 30 Nov. 1807) shows that he had read or looked through many historical books and novels 'by the thousand.' His memory was remarkable (see e.g. GAMBA, p. 148; LADY BLESSINGTON, p. 134). Scott, however, found in 1815 that his reading did 'not appear to have been extensive, either in history or poetry;' and the list does not imply that he had strayed beyond the highways of literature.

At Southwell, in September 1806, he took the principal part (Penruddock, an 'amiable

misanthrope') in an amateur performance of Cumberland's 'Wheel of Fortune,' and 'spun a prologue' in a postchaise. About the same time he confessed to Miss Pigot, who had been reading Burns to him, that he too was a poet, and wrote down the lines 'In thee I fondly hoped to clasp.' In November 1806 Ridge, a Newark bookseller, had privately printed for him a small volume of poems, entitled 'Fugitive Pieces.' His friend Mr. Becher, a Southwell clergyman [see BECHER, JOHN THOMAS], remonstrated against the license of one poem. Byron immediately destroyed the whole impression (except one copy in Becher's hands and one sent to young Pigot, then studying medicine at Edinburgh). A hundred copies, omitting the offensive verses, and with some additions, under the title 'Poems on Various Occasions,' were distributed in January 1807. Favourable notices came to the author from Bankes, Henry Mackenzie ('The Man of Feeling'), and Lord Woodhouselee. In the summer of 1807 Byron published a collection called 'Hours of Idleness, a series of Poems, original and translated, by George Gordon, Lord Byron, a minor,' from which twenty of the privately printed poems were omitted and others added. It was praised in the 'Critical Review' of September 1807, and abused in the first number of the 'Satirist.' A new edition, with some additions and without the prefaces, appeared in March 1808 (see account of these editions in appendix to English translation of ELZE's *Byron* (1872), p. 446). In January 1808 the famous criticism came out in the 'Edinburgh' (Byron speaks of this as about to appear in a letter (No. 24) dated 26 Feb. 1808). The critique has been attributed both to Brougham and Jeffrey. Jeffrey seems to have denied the authorship (see MEDWIN, p. 174), and the ponderous legal facetiousness is certainly not unlike Brougham, whom Byron came to regard as the author (see *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. vi. 368, 480). The severity was natural enough. Scott, indeed, says that he remonstrated with Jeffrey, thinking that the poems contained 'some passages of noble promise.' But the want of critical acumen is less obvious than the needless cruelty of the wound inflicted upon a boy's harmless vanity. Byron was deeply stung. He often boasted afterwards (e.g. Letter 420) that he instantly drank three bottles of claret and began a reply. He had already in his desk (Letter 18), on 26 Oct. 1807, 380 lines of his satire, besides 214 pages of a novel, 560 lines in blank verse of a poem on Bosworth Field, and other pieces. He now carefully polished his satire, and had it put in type by Ridge.

On leaving Cambridge he had settled at Newstead, given up in ruinous condition by Lord Grey in the previous April, where he had a few rooms made habitable, and celebrated his coming of age by some meagre approach to the usual festivities. A favourable decision in the courts had given him hopes of Rochdale, and made him, he says, 60,000*l.* richer. The suit, however, dragged on through his life. Meanwhile he had to raise money to make repairs and maintain his establishment at Newstead, with which he declares his resolution never to part (Letter of 6 March 1809). The same letter announces the death of his friend Lord Falkland in a duel. In spite of his own difficulties Byron tried to help the widow, stood godfather to her infant, and left a 500*l.* note for his god-child in a breakfast cup. In a letter from Mrs. Byron (*Athenæum*, 6 Sept. 1884) this is apparently mentioned as a loan to Lady Falkland. On 13 March he took his seat in the House of Lords. Lord Carlisle had acknowledged the receipt of 'Hours of Idleness,' the second edition of which had been dedicated to him, in a 'tolerably handsome letter,' but would take no trouble about introducing his ward. Byron was accompanied to the house by no one but Dallas, a small author, whose sister was the wife of Byron's uncle, George Anson, and who had recently sought his acquaintance. Byron felt his isolation, and sulkily put aside a greeting from the chancellor (Eldon). He erased a compliment to Carlisle and substituted a bitter attack in his satire which was now going through the press under Dallas's superintendence. 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' appeared in the middle of March, and at once made its mark. He prepared a second edition at the end of April with additions and a swaggering prose postscript, announcing his departure from England and declaring that his motive was not fear of his victims' antipathies. The satire is vigorously written and more carefully polished than Byron's later efforts; but has not the bitterness, the keenness, or the fine workmanship of Pope. The retort upon his reviewers is only part of a long tirade upon the other poets of the day. In 1816 Byron made some annotations on the poem at Geneva, admitting the injustice of many lines. A third and fourth edition appeared in 1810 and 1811; in the last year he prepared a fifth for the press. He suppressed it, as many of his adversaries were now on friendly terms with him, and destroyed all but one copy, from which later editions have been printed. He told Murray (23 Oct. 1817) that he would never consent to its republication.

Byron had for some time contemplated making his 'grand tour.' In the autumn of 1808 he got up a play at Newstead; he buried his Newfoundland, Boatswain, who died of madness 18 Nov. 1808, under a monument with a misanthropical inscription; and in the following spring entertained his college friends. C. S. Matthews describes their amusements in a letter published by Moore. They dressed themselves in theatrical costumes of monks (with a recollection, perhaps, of Medmenham), and drank burgundy out of a human skull found near the abbey, which Byron had fashioned into a cup with an appropriate inscription. Such revelries suggested extravagant rumours of reckless orgies and 'harems' in the abbey. Moore assures us that the life there was in reality 'simple and inexpensive,' and the scandal of limited application.

Byron took leave of England by some verses to Mrs. Musters about his blighted affections, and sailed from Falmouth in the Lisbon packet on 2 July 1809. Hobhouse accompanied him, and he took three servants, Fletcher (who followed him to the last), Rush-ton, and Joe Murray. From Lisbon he rode across Spain to Seville and Cadiz, and thence sailed to Gibraltar in the *Hyperion* frigate in the beginning of August. He sent home Murray and Rushton with instructions for the proper education of the latter at his own expense. He sailed in the packet for Malta on 19 Aug. 1809, in company with Galt, who afterwards wrote his life, and who was rather amused by the affectations of the youthful peer. At Malta he fell in with a Mrs. Spencer Smith with a romantic history (see *Memoirs of the Duchesse d'Abrantes* (1834), xv. 1-74), to whom he addressed the verses 'To Florence,' stanzas composed during a thunderstorm, and a passage in 'Childe Harold' (ii. st. 30-3), explaining that his heart was now past the power of loving. From Malta he reached Prevesa in the *Spider*, brig of war, on 19 Sept. 1809. He thence visited Ali Pasha at Tepelen, and was nearly lost in a Turkish man-of-war on his return. In November he travelled to Missolonghi (21 Nov.) through Acarnania with a guard of Albanians. He stayed a fortnight at Patras, and thence left for Athens. He reached Athens on Christmas eve and lodged with Theodora Macri, widow of the English vice-consul, who had three lovely daughters. The eldest, Theresa, celebrated by Byron as the Maid of Athens, became Mrs. Black. She fell into poverty, and an appeal for her support was made in the 'Times' on 23 March 1872. She died in October 1875 (*Times*, 21, 25, 27 Oct. 1875). He sailed from Athens for



Smyrna in the *Pylades*, sloop of war, on 5 March 1810; visited Ephesus; and on 11 April sailed in the *Salsette* frigate for Constantinople, and visited the Troad. On 3 May he repeated Leander's feat of swimming from Sestos to Abydos. In February 1821 he wrote a long letter to Murray, defending his statements against some criticisms in W. Turner's 'Tour in the Levant' (see Appendix to MOORE). Byron reached Constantinople on 14 May, and sailed in the *Salsette* on 14 July. Hobhouse returned to England, while Byron landed at Zea, with Fletcher, two Albanians, and a Tartar, and returned to Athens. Here he professed to have met with the adventure returned to account in the 'Giaour' about saving a girl from being drowned in a sack. A letter from Lord Sligo, who was then at Athens, to Byron (31 Aug. 1813), proves that some such report was current at Athens a day or two later, and may possibly have had some foundation. Hobhouse (*Westminster Review*, January 1825) says that Byron's Turkish servant was the lover of the girl. He made a tour in the Morea, had a dangerous fever at Patras (which left a liability to malaria), and returned to Athens, where he passed the winter of 1810-11 in the Capuchin convent. Here he met Lady Hester Stanhope, and formed one of his strong attachments to a youth called Nicolo Giraud. To this lad he gave a sum of money on parting, and left him 7,000*l.* in a will of August 1811. From Athens Byron went to Malta, and sailed thence for England in the *Volage* frigate on 3 June 1811. He reached Portsmouth at the beginning of July, and was met by Dallas at Reddish's Hotel, St. James's Street, on 15 July 1811.

Byron returned to isolation and vexation. He had told his mother that, if compelled to part with Newstead, he should retire to the East. To Hodgson he wrote while at sea (Letter 51) that he was returning embarrassed, unsocial, 'without a hope and almost without a desire.' His financial difficulties are shown by a series of letters published in the 'Athenæum' (30 Aug. and 6 Sept. 1884). The court of chancery had allowed him 500*l.* a year at Cambridge, to which his mother had added as much, besides incurring a debt of 1,000*l.* on his behalf. He is reduced to his last guinea in December 1807, has obtained loans from Jews, and expects to end by suicide or the marriage of a 'golden dolly.' His mother was put to the greatest difficulties during his travels, and he seems to have been careless in providing for her wants. The bailiffs were at Newstead in February 1810; a sale was threatened in June. Byron writes from Athens in November refusing to sell

Newstead. While returning to England he proposed to join the army, and had to borrow money to pay for his journey to London. News of his mother's illness came to him in London, and before he could reach her she died (1 Aug. 1811) of 'a fit of rage caused by reading the upholsterer's bills.' The loss affected him deeply, and he was found sobbing by her remains over the loss of his one friend in the world. The deaths of his school-friend Wingfield (14 May 1811), of C. S. Matthews, and of Eddlestone, were nearly simultaneous blows, and he tells Miss Pigot that the last death 'made the sixth, within four months, of friends and relatives lost between May and the end of August.' In February 1812 he mentions Eddlestone to Hodgson (*Memoirs*, i. 221) as the 'only human being that ever loved him in truth and entirely.' He adds that where death has set his seal the impression can never be broken. The phrase recurs in the most impressive of the poems to Thyrza, dated in the same month. The coincidence seems to confirm Moore's statement that Thyrza was no more than an impersonation of Byron's melancholy caused by many losses. An apostrophe to a 'loved and lovely one' at the end of the second canto of 'Childe Harold' (st. 95, 96) belongs to the same series. Attempts to identify Thyrza have failed. Byron spoke to Trelawny of a passion for a cousin who was in a decline when he left England, and whom Trelawny identifies with Thyrza. No one seems to answer to the description. It may be added that he speaks (see MOORE, chap. iv.) of a 'violent, though pure love and passion' which absorbed him while at Cambridge, and writes to Dallas (11 Oct. 1811) of a loss about this time which would have profoundly moved him but that he 'has supped full of horrors,' and that Dallas understands him as referring to some one who might have made him happy as a wife. Byron had sufficient elasticity of spirit for a defiance of the world, and a vanity keen enough to make a boastful exhibition of premature cynicism and a blighted heart.

At the end of October 1811 he took lodgings in St. James's Street. He had shown to Dallas upon his return to England the first two cantos of 'Childe Harold' and 'Hints from Horace,' a tame paraphrase of the 'Ars Poetica.' According to Dallas, he preferred the last, and was unwilling to publish the 'Childe.' Cawthorn, who had published the 'English Bards,' &c., accepted the 'Hints' (which did not appear till after Byron's death), but the publication was delayed, apparently for want of a good classical reviser (*To Hodgson*, 13 Oct. 1811). The Longmans had refused the 'English Bards,' which attacked

their friends, and Byron told Dallas to offer 'Childe Harold' elsewhere. Miller objected to the attack upon Lord Elgin (as the despoiler of the Parthenon), for whom he published; and it was ultimately accepted by Murray, who thus began a permanent connection with Byron. 'Childe Harold' appeared in March 1812. Byron had meanwhile spoken for the first time in the House of Lords, 27 Feb. 1812, against a bill for suppressing riots of Nottingham frameworkers, and with considerable success. A second and less successful speech against catholic disabilities followed on 21 April 1812. He made one other short speech in presenting a petition from Major Cartwright on 1 June 1813. Lord Holland helped him in providing materials for the first, and the speeches indicate a leaning towards something more than whiggism. The first two are of rather elaborate rhetoric, and his delivery was criticised as too theatrical and sing-song. Any political ambition was extinguished by the startling success of 'Childe Harold,' of which a first edition was immediately sold. Byron 'woke one morning and found himself famous.' Murray gave 600*l.* for the copyright, which Byron handed over to Dallas, declaring that he would never take money for his poems.

The two cantos now published are admittedly inferior to the continuation of the poem; and the affectation of which it set the fashion is obsolete. Byron tells Murray (3 Nov. 1821) that he is like a tiger. If he misses his first spring, he goes 'grumbling back to the jungle again.' His poems are all substantially impromptus; but the vigour and descriptive power, in spite of all blemishes, are enough to explain the success of a poem original in conception and setting forth a type of character which embodied a prevailing sentiment.

Byron became the idol of the sentimental part of society. Friends and lovers of notoriety gathered round this fascinating rebel. Among the first was Moore, who had sent him a challenge for a passage in 'English Bards' ridiculing the bloodless duel with Jeffrey. Hodgson had suppressed the letter during Byron's absence. Moore now wrote a letter ostensibly demanding explanations, but more like a request for acquaintance. The two met at a dinner given by Rogers, where Campbell made a fourth. Byron surprised his new friends by the distinction of his appearance and the eccentricity of his diet, consisting of potatoes and vinegar alone. Moore was surprised at Byron's isolation. Dallas, his solicitor, Hanson, and three or four college friends were at this time (November 1811) his only associates. Moore

rapidly became intimate. Byron liked him as a thorough man of the world and as an expert in the arts which compensate for inferiority of birth, and which enabled Moore to act as an obsequious monitor and to smother gentle admonition in abundant flattery. In his diary (10 Dec. 1813) Byron says that Moore was the best-hearted man he knew and with talents equal to his feelings. Byron was now at the height of his proverbial beauty. Coleridge in 1816 speaks enthusiastically of the astonishing beauty and expressiveness of his face (GILLMAN, p. 267). Dark brown locks, curling over a lofty forehead, grey eyes with long dark lashes, a mouth and chin of exquisite symmetry are shown in his portraits, and were animated by an astonishing mobility of expression, varying from apathy to intense passion. His head was very small; his nose, though well formed, rather too thick; looking, says Hunt (i. 150), in a front view as if 'grafted on the face;' his complexion was colourless; he had little beard. His height, he says (*Diary*, 17 March 1814), 5ft. 8½in. or a little less (MEDWIN, p. 5). He had a broad chest, long muscular arms, with white delicate hands, and beautiful teeth. A tendency to excessive fatness, inherited from his mother, was not only disfiguring but productive of great discomfort, and increased the unwieldiness arising from his lameness. To remedy the evil he resorted to the injurious system of diet often set down to mere affectation. Trelawny (ii. 74) observes more justly that Byron was the only human being he knew with self-restraint enough not to get fat. In April 1807 he tells Pigot that he has reduced himself by exercise, physic, and hot baths from 14st. 7lbs. to 12st. 7lbs.; in January 1808 he tells Drury that he has got down to 10st. 7lbs. When last weighed at Genoa he was 10st. 9lbs. (TRELAWNY). He carried on this system at intervals through life; at Athens he drank vinegar and water, and seldom ate more than a little rice; on his return he gave up wine and meat. He sparred with Jackson for exercise, and took hot baths. In 1813 he lived on six biscuits a day and tea; in December he fasts for forty-eight hours; in 1816 he lived on a thin slice of bread for breakfast and a vegetable dinner, drinking green tea and seltzer-water. He kept down hunger by chewing mastic and tobacco (HUNT, i. 65). He sometimes took laudanum (*Diary*, 14 Jan. 1821; and Lady Byron's Letter, 18 Jan. 1816). He tells Moore (Letter 461) in 1821 that a dose of salts gave him most exhilaration. Occasional indulgences varied this course. Moore describes a supper (19 May 1814) when he

finished two or three lobsters, washed down by half a dozen glasses of strong brandy, with tumblers of hot water. He wrote 'Don Juan' on gin and water, and Medwin (p. 336) speaks of his drinking too much wine and nearly a pint of hollands every night (in 1822). Trelawny (i. 73), however, declares that the spirits was mere 'water bewitched.' When Hunt reached Pisa in 1822, he found Byron so fat as to be scarcely recognisable. Medwin, two or three months later, found him starved into 'unnatural thinness.' Such a diet was no doubt injurious in the long run; but the starvation seems to have stimulated his brain, and Trelawny says that no man had brighter eyes or a clearer voice.

In the spring of 1813 Byron published anonymously the 'Waltz,' and disowned it on its deserved failure. Various avatars of 'Childe Harold,' however, repeated his previous success. The 'Giaour' appeared in May 1813; the 'Bride of Abydos' in December 1813; the 'Corsair' in January 1814. They were all struck off at a white heat. The 'Giaour' was increased from 400 lines in the first edition to 1,400 in the fifth, which appeared in the autumn of 1813. The first sketch of the 'Bride' was written in four nights (*Diary*, 16 Nov. 1813) 'to distract his dreams from . . .,' and afterwards increased by 200 lines. The 'Corsair,' written in ten days, or between 18 and 31 Dec., was hardly touched afterwards. He boasted afterwards that 14,000 copies of the last were sold in a day. With its first edition appeared the impromptu lines, 'Weep, daughter of a royal line;' the Princess Charlotte having wept, it was said, on the inability of the whigs to form a cabinet on Perceval's death. The lines were the cause of vehement attacks upon the author by the government papers. A satire called 'Anti-Byron,' shown to him by Murray in March 1814, indicated the rise of a hostile feeling. Byron was annoyed by the shift of favour. He had said in the dedication of the 'Corsair' to Moore that he should be silent for some years, and on 9 April 1814 tells Moore that he has given up rhyming. The same letter announces the abdication of Napoleon, and next day he composed and sent to Murray his ode upon that event. On 29 April he tells Murray that he has resolved to buy back his copyrights and suppress his poetry, but he instantly withdrew the resolution on Murray's assurance that it would be inconvenient. By the middle of June he had finished 'Lara,' which was published in the same volume with Rogers's 'Jacqueline' in August. The 'Hebrew Melodies,' written at the request of Kinnaird, appeared with

music in January 1815. The 'Siege of Corinth,' begun July 1815 and copied by Lady Byron, and 'Parisina,' written the same autumn, appeared in January and February 1816. Murray gave 700*l.* for 'Lara' and 500 guineas for each of the others. Dallas wrote to the papers in February 1814, defending his noble relative from the charge of accepting payment; and stated that the money for 'Childe Harold' and 'The Corsair' had been given to himself. The sums due for the other two poems then published were still, it seems, in the publisher's hands. In the beginning of 1816 Byron declined to take the 1,000 guineas for 'Parisina' and the 'Siege of Corinth,' and it was proposed to hand over the money to Godwin, Coleridge, and Maturin. The plan was dropped at Murray's objection, and the poet soon became less scrupulous. These poems were written in the thick of many distractions. Byron was familiar at Holland, Melbourne, and Devonshire Houses. He knew Brummell and was one of the dandies; he was a member of Watier's, then a 'superb club,' and appeared as a caloyer in a masquerade given by his fellow-members in 1813; of the more literary and sober Alfred; of the Union, the Pugilistics, and the Owls, or 'Fly-by-nights.' He indulged in the pleasures of his class, with intervals of self-contempt and foreboding. Scott and Mme. de Staël (like Lady Byron) thought that a profound melancholy was in reality his dominant mood. He had reasons enough in his money embarrassments and in dangerous entanglements. Fashionable women adored the beautiful young poet and tried to soothe his blighted affections. Lady Morgan (ii. 2) describes him as 'cold, silent, and reserved,' but doubtless not the less fascinating. Dallas (iii. 41) observed that his coyness speedily vanished, and found him in a brown study writing to some fine lady whose page was waiting in scarlet and a hussar jacket. This may have been Lady Caroline Lamb, a woman of some talent, but flighty and excitable to the verge of insanity. She was born 23 Nov. 1785, the daughter of the Earl of Bessborough, and in June 1805 married William Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne. The women, as she says, 'suffocated him' when she first saw him. On her own introduction by Lady Westmorland, she turned on her heel and wrote in her diary that he was 'mad, bad, and dangerous to know.' The acquaintance was renewed at Lady Holland's, and for nine months he almost lived at Melbourne House, where he contrived to 'sweep away' the dancing, in which he could take no part. Lady Caroline did her best to make her passion notorious. She 'absolutely besieged

him,' says Rogers (*Table Talk*, p. 235); told him in her first letter that all her jewels were at his service; waited at night for Rogers in his garden to ask him to reconcile her to Byron; and would return from parties in Byron's carriage or wait for him in the street if not invited. At last, in July 1813 (see JACKSON, *Bath Archives*, ii. 146), it was rumoured in London that after a quarrel with Byron at a party Lady Caroline had tried to stab herself with a knife and then with the fragments of a glass (the party was on 5 July; HAYWARD, *Eminent Statesmen*, i. 350-3). Her mother now insisted upon her retirement to Ireland. After a farewell interview, Byron wrote her a letter (printed from the original manuscript in JEAFFRESON, i. 261), which reads like an attempt to use the warmest phrases consistent with an acceptance of their separation, though ending with a statement of his readiness to fly with her. She corresponded with Byron from Ireland till on the eve of her return she received a brutal letter from him (printed in 'Glenarvon,' and apparently acknowledged by Byron, MEDWIN, p. 274), saying roundly that he was attached to another, and telling her to correct her vanity and leave him in peace. The letter, marked with Lady Oxford's coronet and initials, threw Lady Caroline into a fit, which involved leeching, bleeding, and bed for a week.

Lady Caroline's mother-in-law, Lady Melbourne, was sister of Sir R. Milbanke, who, by his wife, Judith Noel, daughter of Lord Wentworth, was father of an only daughter, Anne Isabella Milbanke, born 17 May 1792. Miss Milbanke was a woman of intellectual tastes; fond of theology and mathematics, and a writer of poems, one or two of which are published in Byron's works (two are given in Madame Belloc's 'Byron,' i. 68). Byron described her to Medwin (p. 36) as having small and feminine, though not regular, features; the fairest skin imaginable; perfect figure and temper and modest manners. She was on friendly terms with Mrs. Siddons, Miss Baillie, Miss Edgeworth, and other literary persons who frequented her mother's house (see HARNESSE, p. 23). A strong sense of duty, shown in a rather puritanical precision, led unsympathetic observers to regard her as prudish, pedantic, and frigid. Her only certain fortune was 10,000*l*. Her father had injured a considerable estate by electioneering. Her mother's brother, Lord Wentworth, was approaching seventy. His estate of some 7,000*l*. a year was at his own disposal, and she was held to be his favourite; but he had illegitimate children, and his sister, Lady Scarsdale, had sons and a daughter. Miss

Milbanke was therefore an heiress with rather uncertain prospects. Byron, from whatever motives, made her an offer in 1812, which was refused, and afterwards opened a correspondence with her (CAMPBELL, *New Monthly*, xxviii. 374, contradicts, on Lady Byron's authority, Medwin's statement (p. 37), that she began the correspondence), which continued at intervals for two years. On 30 Nov. 1813 he notices the oddness of a situation in which there is 'not a spark of love on either side.' On 15 March 1813 he receives a letter from her and says that he will be in love again if he does not take care. Meanwhile he and his friends naturally held that a marriage might be his salvation. Lady Melbourne, whom on her death in 1818 he calls (Letter 316) the 'best, kindest, and ablest female' he ever knew, promoted a match with her niece, possibly because it would effectually bar the intrigue with her daughter-in-law. In September 1814 he made an offer to Miss Milbanke in a letter, which, according to a story told by Moore, was the result of a momentary impulse. Byron may be acquitted of simply mercenary motives. He never acted upon calculation, and had he wished, he might probably have turned his attractions to better account. The sense that he was drifting into dangerous embarrassments, which (see *Diary*, 10 Dec. 1813) suggests hints of suicide, would no doubt recommend a match with unimpeachable propriety, as the lady's vanity was equally flattered by the thought of effecting such a conversion. Byron was pre-eminently a man who combined strange infirmity of will with overpowering gusts of passion. He drifted indolently as long as drifting was possible, and then acted impetuously in obedience to the uppermost influence.

Byron's marriage took place 2 Jan. 1815 at Seaham, Durham, the seat of Sir R. Milbanke. The honeymoon was passed at Hainaby, another of his houses in the same county. The pair returned to Seaham 21 Jan.; in March they visited Colonel and Mrs. Leigh at Six Mile Bottom, Newmarket, on their way to London, where they settled, 18 March 1815, at 13 Piccadilly Terrace for the rest of their married life. Byron, in 'The Dream,' chose to declare that on his wedding day his thoughts had been with Miss Chaworth. He also told Medwin (p. 39) that on leaving the house he found the lady's-maid placed between himself and his bride in the carriage. 'Hobhouse, who had been his 'best man,' authoritatively contradicted this (*Westminster Review*, No. 5), and the statement of Mrs. Minns (first published in 'Newcastle Chronicle,' 23 Sept. 1869), who had been Lady Byron's maid at

Halnaby and previously, is that Lady Byron arrived there in a state 'buoyant and cheerful;' but that Byron's 'irregularities' began there and caused her misery, which she tried to conceal from her mother. Lady Byron also wrote to Hodgson (15 Feb. 1816) that Byron had married her 'with the deepest determination of revenge, avowed on the day of my marriage and executed ever since with systematic and increasing cruelty' (Byron contradicts some report to this effect to Medwin, p. 39). The letters written at the time, however, hardly support these statements. Byron speaks of his happiness to Moore, though he is terribly bored by his 'pious father-in-law' (see a reference to this in *TRELLAWNY*, i. 72). Lady Milbanke speaks of their happiness at Seaham (*Bland-Burgess Papers*, p. 339). Mrs. Leigh tells Hodgson that Lady Byron's parents were pleased with their son-in-law, and reports favourably of the pair on their visit to Six Mile Bottom. In April Lord Wentworth died. The bulk of his property was settled upon Lady Milbanke (who, with her husband, now took the name of Noel) and Lady Byron. On 29 July 1815 Byron executed the will proved after his death. He left all the property of which he could dispose in trust for Mrs. Leigh and her children, his wife and any children he might have by her being now amply provided for. Lady Byron fully approved of this provision, and communicates it in an affectionate letter to Mrs. Leigh.

Harness says that when the Byrons first came to London no couple could be apparently more devoted (*HARNESSE*, p. 14); but troubles approached. Byron's expenses were increased. He had agreed to sell Newstead for 140,000*l.* in September 1812; but two years later the purchaser withdrew, forfeiting 25,000*l.*, which seems to have speedily vanished. In November 1815 Byron had to sell his library, though he still declined Murray's offers for his copyrights. Creditors (at whose expense this questionable delicacy must have been exercised) dunned the husband of an heiress, and there were nine executions in his house within the year. He found distractions abroad. He was a zealous playgoer; Kean's performance of Sir Giles Overreach gave him a kind of convulsive fit—a story which recalls his mother's at the Edinburgh theatre, and of the similar effect afterwards produced upon himself by Alfieri's *Mirra* (*MOORE*, chap. xxii.) He became member of the committee of management of Drury Lane, and was brought into connections of which Moore says that they gave no real cause of offence, though the circumstances were dangerous to the 'steadiness of married life.' We hear, too, of parties where all ended in

'hiccup and happiness;' and it seems that Byron's dislike of seeing women eat led to a separation at the domestic board. The only harsh action to which he confessed was that Lady Byron once came upon him when he was musing over his embarrassments and asked 'Am I in your way?' to which he replied 'Damnably' (*MEDWIN*, p. 43).

On 10 Dec. 1815 Lady Byron gave birth to her only child, Augusta Ada. On 6 Jan. 1816 Byron gave directions to his wife 'in writing' to leave London as soon as she was well enough. It was agreed, he told Medwin (p. 40), that she should stay with her father till some arrangement had been made with the creditors. On 8 Jan. Lady Byron consulted Dr. Baillie, 'with the concurrence of his family,' that is, apparently, Mrs. Leigh and his cousin, George Byron, with whom she constantly communicated in the following period. Dr. Baillie, on her expressing doubts of Byron's sanity, advised her absence as an 'experiment.' He told her to correspond with him on 'light and soothing' topics. She even believed that a sudden excitement might bring on a 'fatal crisis.' She left London on 15 Jan. 1816, reaching her parents at Kirkby Mallory on the 16th. She wrote affectionately to her husband on starting and arriving. The last letter, she says, was circulated to support the charge of desertion. It began, as Byron told Medwin, 'Dear Duck,' and was signed by her pet name 'Pippin' (*HUNT, Autobiogr.* 1860, pp. 247, 254). She writes to Mrs. Leigh on the same day that she has made 'the most explicit statement' to her parents. They are anxious to do everything in their power for the 'poor sufferer.' He was to be invited at once to Kirkby Mallory, and her mother wrote accordingly on the 17th. He would probably drop a plan, already formed, for going abroad with Hobhouse on her parents' remonstrance. On 18 Jan. she tells Mrs. Leigh that she hopes that Byron will join her for a time and not leave her till there is a prospect of an heir. Lady Noel has suggested that Mrs. Leigh might dilute a laudanum bottle with water without Byron's knowledge. She still writes as an affectionate wife, hoping that her husband may be cured of insanity. An apothecary, Le Mann, is to see the patient, and Lady Noel will go to London, consult Mrs. Leigh, and procure advice.

The medical advisers could find no proof of insanity, though a list of sixteen symptoms had been submitted to them. The strongest, according to Moore, was the dashing to pieces of a 'favourite old watch' in an excess of fury. A similar anecdote (*HOBSON*, ii. 6) was told of his throwing a jar of

ink out of window, and his excitement at the theatre is also suggested. Lady Byron upon hearing the medical opinion immediately decided upon separation. Dr. Baillie and a lawyer, by Lady Noel's desire, 'almost forced themselves upon Byron' (MEDWIN, p. 46), and confirmed Le Mann's report. On 25 Jan. 1816 Lady Byron tells Mrs. Leigh that she must resign the right to be her sister, but hopes that no difference will be made in their feelings. From this time she consistently adhered to the view finally set forth in her statement in 1830. Her letters to Mrs. Leigh, to Hodgson, who had ventured to intervene, and her last letter to Byron (13 Feb. 1816), take the same ground. Byron had been guilty of conduct inexcusable if he were an accountable agent, and therefore making separation a duty when his moral responsibility was proved. She tells Mrs. Leigh and Hodgson that he married her out of revenge; she tells Hodgson (15 Feb.) that her security depended on the 'total abandonment of every moral and religious principle,' and tells Byron himself that to her affectionate remonstrances and forewarnings of consequences he had replied by a 'determination to be wicked though it should break my heart.'

On 2 Feb. 1816 Sir R. Noel proposed an amicable separation to Byron, which he at first rejected. Lady Byron went to London and saw Dr. Lushington, who, with Sir S. Romilly, had been consulted by Lady Noel, and had then spoken of possible reconciliation. Lady Byron now informed him of facts 'utterly unknown,' he says, 'I have no doubt, to Sir R. and Lady Noel.' His opinion was 'entirely changed.' He thought reconciliation impossible, and should it be proposed he could take no part, 'professionally or otherwise, towards effecting it.' Mrs. Leigh requested an interview soon after, which Lady Byron declined 'with the greatest pain.' Lushington had forbidden any such interview, as they 'might be called upon to answer for the most private conversation.' In a following letter (neither dated) Lady Byron begs for the interview which she had refused. She cannot bear the thought of not meeting, and the 'grounds of the case are in some degree changed' (*Addit. MS.* 31037, ff. 33, 34). According to Lady Byron's statement (in 1830) Byron consented to the separation upon being told that the matter must otherwise come into court. We may easily believe that, as Mrs. Leigh tells Mr. Horton, Byron would be happy to 'escape the exposure,' whatever its precise nature. He afterwards threw the responsibility for reticence on the other side. He gave a paper to Mr. Lewis, dated at La Mira in 1817, saying that

Hobhouse had challenged the other side to come into court; that he only yielded because Lady Byron had claimed a promise that he would consent to a separation if she really desired it. He declares his ignorance of the charges against him, and his desire to meet them openly. This paper was apparently shown only to a few friends. It was first made public in the 'Academy' of 9 Oct. 1869. Hobhouse (see *Quarterly Review* for October 1869, January 1870, and July 1883) also said that Byron was quite ready to go into court, and that Wilmot Horton on Lady Byron's part disclaimed all the current scandals. It would seem, however, Byron could have forced an open statement had he really chosen to do so. This paper shows his consciousness that he ought to have done it if his case had been producible. Lady Byron tells Hodgson at the time (15 Feb. 1816) he 'does know, too well, what he affects to inquire.'

The question remains, what were the specific charges which decided Lady Byron and Lushington? A happy marriage between persons so little congenial would have surprised his best friends. So far we might well accept the statement which Moore assigns to him: 'My dear sir, the causes were too simple to be easily found out.' But this will not explain Lady Byron's statements at the time, nor the impression made upon Lushington by her private avowal. Lady Byron only exchanged the hypothesis of insanity for that of diabolical pride. Byron's lifelong habit of 'inverse hypocrisy' may account for something. Harness reports (p. 32) that he used to send paragraphs to foreign papers injurious to his own character in order to amuse himself by mystifying the English public. Some of Lady Byron's statements may strengthen the belief that she had taken some such foolish brags too seriously.

Other explanations have been offered. In 1856 Lady Byron told a story to Mrs. Beecher Stowe. She thought that by blasting his memory she might weaken the evil influence of his writings, and shorten his expiation in another world. Lady Byron died in 1860. After the publication of the Guiccioli memoirs in 1868, Mrs. Stowe thought it her duty to publish the story in 'Macmillan's Magazine' for September 1869 and the 'Atlantic Monthly.' Her case is fully set forth, with documents and some explanations, in 'Lady Byron Vindicated; a History of the Byron Controversy,' 1870. According to Mrs. Stowe, Lady Byron accused her husband to Lushington of an incestuous intrigue with Mrs. Leigh. An examination of all that is known of Mrs. Leigh (see *Quarterly Review*,

July 1869), of the previous relations between brother and sister, and especially of Lady Byron's affectionate relations to Mrs. Leigh at the time, as revealed in letters since published, proves this hideous story to be absolutely incredible. Till 1830 Mrs. Leigh continued to be on good terms with Lady Byron, and had conveyed messages between Byron and his wife during his life. The appointment of a trustee under Byron's marriage settlements in 1830 led to a disagreement. Lady Byron refused with considerable irritation a request made by Mrs. Leigh. All acquaintance dropped, till in 1851 Lady Byron consented to an interview. Mrs. Leigh was anxious to declare that she had not (as she supposed Lady Byron to believe that she had) encouraged Byron's bitterness of feeling towards his wife. Lady Byron replied simply, 'Is that all?' No further communication followed, and Mrs. Leigh died 18 Oct. 1851. It can only be surmised that Lady Byron had become jealous of Byron's public and pointed expressions of love for his sister, contrasted so forcibly with his utterances about his wife, and in brooding over her wrongs had developed the hateful suspicion communicated to Mrs. Stowe, and, as it seems, to others. It appears too, from a passage in the Guiccioli memoirs, that at a time when Byron was accused of 'every monstrous vice,' his phrases about his pure fraternal affection suggested some such addition to the mass of calumny ('Reminiscences of an Attaché,' by Hubert Jerningham (1886), contains a curious statement by Mme. Guiccioli as to Byron's strong affection for his sister).

Another suggestion made by Mr. Jeaffreson, that the cause was a connection formed by Byron about the time of the first separation with Jane Clairmont, daughter, by a previous marriage, of William Godwin's second wife, seems quite inadmissible. It entirely fails to explain Lady Byron's uniform assertions at the time and in 1830 (see *ante*, and letter to Lady Anne Barnard, published by Lord Lindsay in the 'Times' in September 1869) that Byron had been guilty of conduct excusable only on the ground of insanity, and continued during their whole cohabitation. Byron's extreme wrath against a Mrs. Clermont (a former governess of Lady Byron's), whom he accused (MEDWIN, p. 43) of breaking open a desk, seems to suggest that some discovery was made subsequently to Lady Byron's departure from London, but affords no confirmation of this hypothesis.

The problem must remain unsolved. The scandal excited a general explosion of public indignation. In some 'Observations upon an article in "Blackwood's Magazine"' (dated

15 March 1820, but not published till after Byron's death) Byron describes the state of feeling; he was accused of 'every monstrous vice,' advised not to go to the theatre or to parliament for fear of public insults, and his friends feared violence from the mob when he started in his travelling carriage. This indignation, perhaps exaggerated (see HOBHOUSE in *Westminster Review*), has been ridiculed; and doubtless included mean and hateful elements—love of scandal and delight in trampling on a great name. Yet it was not unnatural. Byron's very guarded sceptical utterances in 'Childe Harold' frightened Dallas into a formal and elaborate protest, and shocked a sensitive public extravagantly. He had been posing as a rebel against all the domestic proprieties. So long as his avowed license could pass for a literary affectation, or be condoned in the spirit of the general leniency shown to wild young men in the era of the prince regent, the protest was confined to the stricter classes. But when a Lara passed from the regions of fancy to 13 Piccadilly Terrace, matters became more serious. Byron was outraging a woman of the highest character and with the strongest claims on his tenderness; and a feeling arose such as that which, soon afterwards, showed itself when the prince regent passed from simple immorality to the persecution of a wife with infinitely less claims to respect than Lady Byron's. Lady Caroline Lamb claimed her part in the outcry by her wild novel of 'Glenarvon,' published at this time.

The separation was signed, and Byron left his country for ever. Some friends still stood by him. Lady Jersey earned his lasting gratitude by giving an assembly in his honour; and Miss Mercer (afterwards Lady Keith) met him there with marked cordiality. Leigh Hunt in the 'Examiner' and Perry in the 'Morning Chronicle' defended him. Mrs. Leigh's affection was his chief comfort, when even his cousin George took his wife's part (MEDWIN, p. 49). Two poems appeared in the papers, through the 'injudicious zeal of a friend,' says Moore, in the middle of April. 'A Sketch' (dated 29 March) is a savage onslaught upon Mrs. Clermont. 'Fare thee well' (dated 17 March), written with tears, it is said, the marks of which still blot the manuscript, expostulates pathetically with his wife for inflicting a 'cureless wound.' On 8 March Byron told Moore that there was 'never a brighter, kinder, or more amiable and agreeable being' than Lady Byron, and that no blame attached to her. He appeals to Rogers (25 March) to confirm his statement that he had never attacked her. In 1823 he repeated this statement to Lady

Blessington (p. 117). In fact, however, he oscillated between attempts to preserve the air of an injured yet forgiving husband and outbursts of bitterness. At the instance of Mme. de Staël he made some kind of overture for reconciliation in 1816, and (apparently) upon its failure wrote the 'Dream,' intended to show that his love had always been reserved for Mary Chaworth; and a novel upon the 'Marriage of Belphegor,' representing his own story. He destroyed it, says Moore, on hearing of her illness; but a fragment is given in the notes to 'Don Juan.' In a poem written at the same time, 'On hearing that Lady Byron was ill,' he attacks her implacability, and calls her a 'moral Clytemnestra.' He never met Lady Blessington without talking of his domestic troubles. He showed an (unsent) conciliatory letter, and apologised for public allusions in his works. Some angry communications were suppressed by his friends, but the allusions in the last cantos of 'Childe Harold' and in 'Don Juan' were unpardonable. While Byron was bemoaning his griefs to even casual acquaintance with a strange incontinence of language, and circulating letters and lampoons, his occasional conciliatory moods were of little importance. Lady Blessington remarks on his curious forgetfulness of the way in which he had consoled himself when he complained of his wife's implacability. Her dignified reticence irritated and puzzled him, and his prevailing tone only illustrates the radical incompatibility of their characters.

Byron sailed for Ostend (24 April 1816) with a young Italian doctor, Polidori, a Swiss and two English servants, Rushton and Fletcher, who had both started with him in 1809. Byron's good nature to his servants was an amiable point in his character. Harness describes the 'hideous old woman' who had nursed him in his lodgings and followed him through all his English establishments, and speaks of his kindness to an old butler, Murray, at Newstead. Byron travelled in a large coach, imitated from Napoleon's, carrying bed, library, and kitchen, besides a calèche bought at Brussels. His expenses were considerable, and his scruples about copyright soon vanished. In 1817 he was bargaining sharply with Murray. He demanded 600*l.* for the 'Lament of Tasso' and the last act of 'Manfred' (9 May 1817). On 4 Sept. 1817 he asks 2,500*l.* instead of 1,500*l.* for the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold,' accepting ultimately 2,000 guineas. The sums paid by Murray for copyrights to the end of 1821 amounted to 15,455*l.*, including the amounts made over to Dallas. He must have received at least

12,500*l.* at this period, and the 1,100*l.* for 'Parisina' and the 'Siege of Corinth' was in Murray's hands. In November 1817 he at last sold Newstead for 90,000 guineas. Payment of debts and mortgages left the 60,000*l.* settled upon Lady Byron, the income of which was payable to Byron during his life. He was aggrieved by the refusal of his trustees in 1820 to invest this in a mortgage on Lord Blessington's estates (*Diary*, 24 Jan. 1821; Letter 374). Hanson, Byron's solicitor, went to Venice to obtain his signature to the necessary deeds in November 1818 (Hobgson, ii. 53). Byron declared that he would receive no advantage from Lady Byron's property. On the death of Lady Noel in 1822, however, her fortune of 7,000*l.* or 8,000*l.* a year was divided equally between her daughter and Byron by arbitrators (Sir F. Burdett and Lord Dacre); and such a division had, it seems, been provided for in the deed of separation (HOBHOUSE in *Westminster Review*, January 1825). Byron then became a rich man for his Italian position, and grew careful of money. He spent much time in settling his weekly bills (TRELAUNY, ii. 75), and affected avarice as a 'good old gentlemanly vice.' But this must be taken as partly humorous, and he was still capable of munificence.

From Brussels Byron visited Waterloo, and thence went to Geneva by the Rhine, where (June 1816) he took the Villa Diodati, on the Belle Rive, a promontory on the south side of the lake (see *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser. viii. 1, 24, 115). Here Byron met the Shelleys and Miss Clairmont. Miss Clairmont came expressly to meet him, but it is authoritatively stated that the Shelleys were not in her confidence. The whole party became the objects of curiosity and scandal. Tourists gazed at Byron through telescopes (see letter from Shelley, GUICCIOLI, i. 97). When he visited Mme. de Staël at Coppet, a Mrs. Herve thought proper to faint. Southey was in Switzerland this year, and Byron believed that he had spread stories in England imputing gross immorality to the whole party. They amused themselves one rainy week by writing ghost stories; Mrs. Shelley began 'Frankenstein,' and Byron a fragment called 'The Vampire,' from which Polidori 'vamped up' a novel of the same name. It passed as Byron's in France and had some success. Polidori, a fretful and flighty youth, quarrelled with his employer, proposed to challenge Shelley, and left Byron for Italy. He was sent out of Milan for a quarrel with an Austrian officer, but afterwards got some patients. Byron tried to help him, and recommended him to Murray (Letters 275, 285). He com-



mitted suicide in 1821. Byron and Shelley made a tour of the lake in June (described in Shelley's 'Six Weeks' Tour'), and were nearly lost in a storm. Two rainy days at Ouchy produced Byron's 'Prisoner of Chillon,' and about the same time he finished the third canto of 'Childe Harold.' Shelley, as Byron told Medwin (p. 237), had dosed him with Wordsworth 'even to nausea,' and the influence is apparent in some of his 'Childe Harold' stanzas (see Wordsworth's remarks in Moore's *Diary* (1853), iii. 161). In September Byron made a tour in the Bernese Oberland with Hobhouse, and, as his diary shows, worked up his impressions of the scenery. At the Villa Diodati he wrote the stanzas 'To Augusta' and the verses addressed to 'My sweet sister,' which by her desire were suppressed till after his death. Here, too, he wrote the monody on the death of Sheridan, and the striking fragment called 'Darkness.'

On 29 Aug. the Shelley party left for England. In January 1817 Miss Clairmont gave birth to Allegra, Byron's daughter. The infant was sent to him at Venice with a Swiss nurse, and placed under the care of the Hoppners. Byron declined an offer from a Mrs. Vavasour to adopt the girl, refusing to abdicate his paternal authority as the lady desired. He afterwards sent for the child to Bologna in August 1819, and kept her with him at Venice and Ravenna till April 1821, when he placed her in a convent at Bagna-Cavallo (twelve miles from Ravenna), paying double fees to insure good treatment. He wished her, he said, to be a Roman catholic, and left her 5,000*l.* for a marriage portion. The mother vehemently protested against this (*Eg. MS.* 2332), but the Shelleys approved (*To Hoppner*, 11 May 1821; *To Shelley*, 26 April 1821). The child improved in the convent, and is described by Shelley as petted and happy (GARNETT, *Select Letters of Shelley*, p. 171, 1882). She died of a fever 20 April 1822. Byron was profoundly agitated by the news, and, as the Countess Guiccioli says, would never afterwards pronounce her name. He directed her to be buried at Harrow, and a tablet to be erected in the church, at a spot precisely indicated by his school recollections (Letter 494). Of the mother he spoke with indifference or aversion (BLESSINGTON, p. 164). Byron and Hobhouse crossed the Simplon, and reached Milan by October. At Milan Beyle (Stendhal) saw him at the theatre, and has described his impressions (see his Letter first published in Mme. BELLOC's *Byron*, i. 353, Paris, 1824). He went by Verona to Venice, intending to spend the winter in this 'the greenest island,' as he says, 'of my imagination.' He stayed for three years, taking as a

summer residence a house at La Mira on the Brenta. April and May 1817 were spent in a visit to Rome, whence, 5 May, he sent to Murray a new third act of 'Manfred,' having heard that the original was thought unsatisfactory.

On arriving at Venice he found that his 'mind wanted something craggy to break upon' (Letter 252), and he set to work learning Armenian at the monastery. He saw something of the literary salon of the Countess Albrizzi. Mme. Albrizzi wrote a book of portraits, one of which is a sketch of Byron, published by Moore, and not without interest. He became bored with the Venetian 'blues,' and took to the less pretentious salon of the Countess Benzoni. He soon plunged into worse dissipations. He settled in the Palazzo Mocenigo on the Grand Canal. And here, in ostentatious defiance of the world, which tried to take the form of contempt, he abandoned himself to degrading excesses which injured his constitution, and afterwards produced bitter self-reproach. 'I detest every recollection of the place, the people, and my pursuits,' he said to Medwin (p. 78). Shelley, whose impressions of a visit to Byron are given in the famous 'Julian and Maddalo,' says afterwards that Byron had almost destroyed himself. He could digest no food, and was consumed by hectic fever. Daily rides on the Lido kept him from prostration. Moore says that Byron would often leave his house in a fit of disgust to pass the night in his gondola. In the midst of this debasing life his intellectual activity continued. He began the fourth canto of 'Childe Harold' by 1 July 1817, and sent 126 stanzas (afterwards increased to 186) to Murray on 20 July. On 23 Oct. he states that 'Beppo,' in imitation, as he says, of 'Whistlecraft' (J. H. Frere), is nearly finished. It was sent to Murray 19 Jan. 1819, and published in May. This experiment led to his greatest performance. On 19 Sept. 1818 he has finished the first canto of 'Don Juan.' On 25 Jan. 1819 he tells Murray to print fifty copies for private distribution. On 6 April he sends the second canto. The two were published without author's or publisher's name in July 1819. The third canto was begun in October 1819. The outcry against its predecessors had disconcerted him, and he was so put out by hearing that a Mr. Saunders had called it 'all Grub Street,' as to lay it aside for a time. The third canto was split into the third and fourth in February 1820, and appeared with the fifth, still anonymously and without the publisher's name, in August 1821.

A new passion had altered his life. In April 1819 he met at the Countess Benzoni's Teresa,

daughter of Count Gamba of Ravenna, recently married at the age of sixteen to a rich widower of sixty, Count Guiccioli, also of Ravenna. Her beauty is described by Moore, an American painter West, who took her portrait, Medwin, and Hunt. She had regular features, a fine figure, rather too short and stout, and was remarkable among Italians for her fair complexion, golden hair (see JEAFFRESON, ii. 80), and blue eyes. She at once conceived a passion for Byron, and they met daily at Venice. Her husband took her back to Ravenna in the same month, and she wrote passionate letters to Byron. She had fainted three times on her first day's journey; her mother's death had deeply affected her; she was ill, and threatened by consumption; and she told him in May that her relations would receive him at Ravenna. In spite of heat and irresolution, Byron left La Mira on 2 June 1819, and moved slowly, and after some hesitation, to Ravenna, writing on the way 'River that rollst by the ancient walls' (first published by Medwin). Here he found the countess really ill. He studied medical books, she says, for her benefit, and sent for Aglietti, the best physician in Venice. As she recovered, Byron felt rather awkward under the polite attentions of her husband, though her own relations were unfavourable. His letters to her, says Moore, show genuine passion. His letters to Hoppner show a more ambiguous interest. He desired at times to escape from an embarrassing connection; yet, out of 'wilfulness,' as Moore thinks, when she was to go with her husband to Bologna, he asked her to fly with him, a step altogether desperate according to the code of the time. Though shocked by the proposal, she suggested a sham death, after the Juliet precedent. Byron followed the Guicciolis to Bologna, and stayed there while they made a tour of their estates. Hence (23 Aug.) he sent off to Murray his cutting 'Letter to my Grandmother's Review.' Two days later he wrote a curious declaration of love to the countess in a volume of 'Corinna' left in her house. A vehement quarrel with a papal captain of dragoons for selling him an unsound horse nearly led to an impromptu duel like his granduncle's. On the return of the Guicciolis the count left for Ravenna, leaving his wife with Byron at Bologna 'on account of her health.' Her health also made it expedient to travel with Byron to Venice by way of the Euganean Hills; and at Venice the same cause made country air desirable, whereupon Byron politely 'gave up to her his house at La Mira,' and 'came to reside there' himself. The whole proceeding was so like an elopement, that Venetian society naturally failed to make a dis-

tingtion. Moore paid a visit to Byron at this time, was cordially received at La Mira, and lodged in the palace at Venice. Hanson had described Byron in the previous year as 'enormously large' (HODGSON, ii. 2), and Moore was struck by the deterioration of his looks. He found that his friend had given up, or been given up by, Venetian society. English tourists stared at him like a wild beast, and annoyed him by their occasional rudeness. It was at this time that Byron gave his memoirs to Moore, stipulating only that they should not appear during his lifetime. Moore observed that they would make a nice legacy for his little Tom. Moore was alarmed at Byron's position. The Venetians were shocked by the presence of his mistress under his roof, especially as he had before 'conducted himself so admirably.' A proposed trip to Rome, to which Byron had almost consented, was abandoned by Moore's advice, as it would look like a desertion of the countess. The count now wrote to his wife proposing that Byron should lend him 1,000*l.*, for which he would pay 5 per cent.; the loan would otherwise be an *avvilimento*. Moore exhorted Byron to take advantage of this by placing the lady again under her husband's protection, a result which would be well worth the money. Byron laughingly declared that he would 'save both the lady and the money.' The count himself came to Venice at the end of October. After a discussion, in which Byron declined to interfere, the lady agreed to return to her husband and break with her lover. Byron, set free, almost resolved to return to England. Dreams of settling in Venezuela under Bolivar's new republic occasionally amused him, and he made serious inquiries about the country. The return to England, made desirable by some business affairs (Letters 346, 359, 367), was apparently contemplated as a step towards some of these plans, though he also thought a year later (Letter 403) of settling in London to bring out a paper with Moore. In truth, he was restless, dissatisfied, and undecided. He shrank from any decided action, from tearing himself from Italy, and, on the other hand, from such a connection with the countess as would cause misery to both unless his passion were more durable than any one, he least of all, could expect. The journey to England was nearly settled, however, when he was delayed by an illness of Allegra, and a touch of malaria in himself. The countess again wrote to him that she was seriously ill, and that her friends would receive him. While actually ready for a start homewards, he suddenly declared that if the clock struck one before some final preparation was ready, he

would stay. It struck, and he gave up the journey. He wrote to the countess that he would obey her, though his departure would have been best for them all. At Christmas 1819 he was back in Ravenna.

He now subsided into an indolent routine, to which he adhered with curious pertinacity. Trelawny describes the day at Pisa soon afterwards, and agrees with Moore, Hunt, Medwin, and Gamba. He rose very late, took a cup of green tea, had a biscuit and soda-water at two, rode out and practised shooting, dined most abstemiously, visited the Gambas in the evening, and returned to read or write till two or three in the morning. At Ravenna previously and afterwards in Greece he kept nearly to the same hours. His rate of composition at this period was surprising. Medwin says that after sitting with Byron till two or three the poet would next day produce fresh work. He discontinued 'Don Juan' after the fifth canto in disgust at its reception, and in compliance with the request of the Countess Guiccioli, who was shocked at its cynicism. In February 1820 he translated the 'Morgante Maggiore'; in March the 'Francesca da Rimini' episode. On 4 April he began his first drama, the 'Marino Faliero'; finished it 16 July, and copied it out by 17 Aug. It was produced at Drury Lane the next spring, in spite of his remonstrance, and failed, to his great annoyance. 'Sardanapalus,' begun 13 Jan. 1821, was finished 13 May (the last three acts in a fortnight). The 'Two Foscari' was written between 11 June and 10 July; 'Cain,' begun on 16 July, was finished 9 Sept. The 'Deformed Transformed' was written at the end of the same year. 'Werner,' a mere dramatisation of Harriet Lee's 'Kruitznar' in the 'Canterbury Tales,' was written between 18 Dec. 1821 and 20 Jan. 1822. The vigorous, though perverse, letters to Bowles on the Pope controversy are also dated 7 Feb. and 25 March 1821. No literary hack could have written more rapidly, and some would have written as well. The dramas thus poured forth at full speed by a thoroughly undramatic writer, hampered by the wish to preserve the 'unities,' mark (with the exception of 'Cain') his lowest level, and are often mere prose broken into apparent verse.

Count Guiccioli began to give trouble. Byron was warned not to ride in the forest alone for fear of probable assassination. Guiccioli's long acquiescence had turned public opinion against him, and a demand for separation on account of his 'extraordinary usage' of his wife came from her friends. On 12 July a papal decree pronounced a separation accordingly. The countess was to receive 200*l.* a

year from her husband, to live under the paternal roof, and only to see Byron under restrictions. She retired to a villa of the Gambas fifteen miles off, where Byron rode out to see her 'once or twice a month,' passing the intervals in 'perfect solitude.' By January 1821, however (*Diary*, 4 Jan. 1821), she seems to have been back in Ravenna. Byron did all he could (*Diary*, 24 Jan. 1821, and Letter 374) to prevent her from leaving her husband.

Political complications were arising. Italy was seething with the Carbonaro conspiracies. The Gambas were noted liberals. Byron's aristocratic vanity was quite consistent with a conviction of the corruption and political blindness of the class to which he boasted of belonging. The cant, the imbecility, and immorality of the ruling classes at home and abroad were the theme of much of his talk, and inspired his most powerful writing. His genuine hatred of war and pity for human suffering are shown, amidst much affectation, in his loftiest verse. Though no democrat after the fashion of Shelley, he was a hearty detester of the system supported by the Holy alliance. He was ready to be a leader in the revolutionary movements of the time. The walls of Ravenna were placarded with 'Up with the republic!' and 'Death to the pope!' Young Count Gamba (Teresa's brother) soon afterwards returned to Ravenna, became intimate with Byron, and introduced him to the secret societies. On 8 Dec. 1820 the commandant of the troops in Ravenna was mortally wounded in the street. Byron had the man carried into his house at the point of death, and described the event in 'Don Juan' (v. 34). It was due in some way to the action of the societies. A rising in the Romagna was now expected. Byron had offered a subscription of one thousand louis to the constitutional government in Naples, to which the societies looked for support. He had become head of the Americani, a section of the Carbonari (Letter 450), and bought some arms for them, which during the following crisis were suddenly returned to him, and had to be concealed in his house (*Diary*, 16 and 18 Feb. 1821). An advance of Austrian troops caused a collapse of the whole scheme. A thousand members of the best families in the Roman states were banished (Letter 489), and among them the Gambas. Mme. Guiccioli says that the government hoped by exiling them to get rid of Byron, whose position as an English nobleman made it difficult to reach him directly for his suspected relations with the Carbonari. The countess helped, perhaps was intentionally worked upon, to dislodge him. Her husband requested that she should be forced to return to him or placed

in a convent. Frightened by the threat, she escaped to her father and brother in Florence.

A quarrel in which a servant of Byron's proposed to stiletto an officer made his relations with the authorities very unpleasant. The poor of Ravenna petitioned that the charitable Englishman might be asked to remain, and only increased the suspicions of the government. Byron fell into one of his usual states of indecision. Shelley, at his request, came from Pisa to consult, and reports him greatly improved in health and morals. He found Byron occupying splendid apartments in the palace of Count Guiccioli. Byron had now, he says, an income of 4,000*l.* a year, and devoted 1,000*l.* to charity (the context seems to disprove the variant reading 100*l.*), an expenditure sufficient to explain the feeling at Ravenna mentioned by Mme. Guiccioli. Shelley, by Byron's desire, wrote to the countess, advising her against Switzerland. In reply she begged Shelley not to leave Ravenna without Byron, and Byron begged him to stay and protect him from a relapse into his old habits. Byron lingered at Ravenna till 29 Oct., still hoping, it seems, for a recall of the Gambas. At last he got in motion, with many sad forebodings, and preceded by his family of monkeys, dogs, cats, and peahens. He met Lord Clare on the way to Bologna, and accompanied Rogers from Bologna. Rogers duly celebrated the meeting in his poem on Italy; but Trelawny (i. 50) tells how Byron grinned sardonically when he saw Rogers seated upon a cushion under which was concealed a bitter satire written by Byron upon Rogers himself (it was afterwards published in 'Fraser,' January 1833). Byron settled in the Casa Lanfranchi at Pisa, an old ghost-haunted palace, which Trelawny contrasted with the cheerful and hospitable abode of the Shelleys (i. 85). The Gambas occupied part of the same palace (HUNT, *Byron*, i. 23). Byron again saw some English society. A silly Irishman named Taaffe, author of a translation of Dante, for which Byron tried to find a publisher, with Medwin, Trelawny, Shelley, and Williams, were his chief associates. Medwin, of the 24th light dragoons, was at Pisa from 30 Nov. 1821 till 15 March 1822, and again for a few days in August. Trelawny, who reached Pisa early in 1822, and was afterwards in constant intercourse with Byron, was the keenest observer who has described him. Trelawny insists upon his own superiority in swimming, and regards Byron as an effeminate pretender to masculine qualities. Byron turned his worst side to such a man; yet Trelawny admits his genuine

courage and can do justice to his better qualities.

Mme. Guiccioli had withdrawn her prohibition of 'Don Juan' on promise of better behaviour (Letter 500). On 8 Aug. 1822 he has finished three more cantos and is beginning another. Meanwhile 'Cain' (published December 1821) had produced hostile reviews and attacks. Scott had cordially accepted the dedication. Moore's timid remonstrances showed the set of public opinion. When Murray applied for an injunction to protect his property against threatened piracy, Eldon refused; holding (9 Feb. 1822) that the presumption was not in favour of the innocent character of the book. Murray had several manuscripts of Byron in hand, including the famous 'Vision of Judgment;' and this experience increased his caution. Byron began to think of a plan, already suggested to Moore in 1820, of starting a weekly newspaper with a revolutionary title, such as 'I Carbonari.' In Shelley's society this plan took a new shape. It was proposed to get Leigh Hunt for an editor. In 1813 Byron had visited Hunt when imprisoned for a libel on the prince regent. Hunt had taken Byron's part in the 'Examiner' in 1816, and had dedicated to him the 'Story of Rimini.' Shelley and Byron now agreed (in spite of Moore's remonstrances against association with ill-bred cockneys) to bring Leigh Hunt to Italy. They assumed that Hunt would retain his connection with the 'Examiner,' of which his brother John was proprietor (see TRELAWNY, ii. 53). Hunt threw up this position without their knowledge, and started for Italy with his wife and six children. Shelley explained to Hunt (26 Aug. 1821) that he was 'himself to be 'only a sort of link,' neither partner nor sharer in the profits. He sent 150*l.*, to which Byron, taking Shelley's security, added 200*l.* to pay Hunt's expenses. Hunt reproaches Byron as being moved solely by an expectation of large profits (not in itself an immoral motive). The desire to have an organ under his own command, with all consequent advantages, is easily intelligible. When Hunt landed at Leghorn at the end of June 1822, Byron and Shelley found themselves saddled with the whole Hunt family, to be supported by the hypothetical profits of the new journal, while Hunt asserted and acted upon the doctrine that he was under no disgrace in accepting money obligations. Hunt took up his abode on the ground-floor of the palace. His children, says Trelawny, were untamed, while Hunt considers that they behaved admirably and were in danger of corruption from Byron. Trelawny describes Byron as

disgusted at the very start and declaring that the journal would be an 'abortion.' His reception of Mrs. Hunt, according to Williams, was 'shameful.' Mrs. Hunt naturally retorted the dislike, and Hunt reported one of her sharp sayings to Byron, in order, as he says, to mortify him. No men could be less congenial. Byron's aristocratic loftiness encountered a temper forward to take offence at any presumption of inequality. Byron had provided Hunt with lodgings, furnished them decently, and doled out to him about 100*l.* through his steward, a proceeding which irritated Hunt, who loved a cheerful giver. Shelley's death (8 July) left the two men face to face in this uncomfortable relation.

The 'Liberal,' so named by Byron, survived through four numbers. It made a moderate profit, which Byron abandoned to Hunt (HUNT, i. 87, ii. 412), but he was disgusted from the outset, and put no heart into the experiment. He told his friends, and probably persuaded himself, that he had engaged in the journal out of kindness to the Hunts, and to help a friend of Shelley's; and takes credit for feeling that he could not turn the Hunts into the street. His chief contributions, the 'Vision of Judgment' and the letter 'To my Grandmother's Review,' appeared in the first number, to the general scandal. 'Heaven and Earth' appeared in the second number, the 'Blues' in the third, the 'Morgante Maggiore' in the fourth, and a few epigrams were added. Hunt and Hazlitt, who wrote five papers (*Memoirs of Hazlitt*, ii. 73), did most of the remainder, which, however, had clearly not the seeds of life in it. The 'Vision of Judgment' was the hardest blow struck in a prolonged and bitter warfare. Byron had met Southey, indeed, at Holland House in 1813, and speaks favourably of him, calls his prose perfect, and professes to envy his personal beauty (*Diary*, 22 Nov. 1813). His belief that Southey had spread scandalous stories about the Swiss party in 1816 gave special edge to his revived antipathy. In 1818 he dedicated 'Don Juan' to Southey in 'good simple savage verse' (Letter 322), bitterly taunting the poet as a venal renegade. In 1821 Southey published his 'Vision of Judgment,' an apotheosis of George III, of grotesque (though most unintentional) profanity. In the preface he alludes to Byron as leader of the 'Satanic school.' Byron in return denounced Southey's 'calumnies' and 'cowardly ferocity.' Southey retorted in the 'Courier' (11 Jan. 1822), boasting that he had fastened Byron's name 'upon the gibbet for reproach and ignominy, so long as it shall endure.' Medwin (p. 179) describes Byron's fury on

reading these courtesies. He instantly sent off a challenge in a letter (6 Feb. 1822) to Douglas Kinnaird, who had the sense to suppress it. His own 'Vision of Judgment,' written by 1 Oct. 1821, was already in the hands of Murray, now troubled by 'Cain.' Byron now swore that it should be published, and it was finally transferred by Murray to Hunt.

Byron meanwhile had been uprooted from Pisa. A silly squabble took place in the street (21 March 1822), in which Byron's servant stabbed an hussar (see depositions in MEDWIN). Byron spent some weeks in the summer at Monte Nero, near Leghorn (where he and Mme. Guiccioli sat to the American painter West), and returned to Pisa in July. About the same time the Gambas were ordered to leave Tuscan territory. Byron's stay at Pisa had been marked by the death of Allegra (20 April) and of Shelley (8 July). Details of the ghastly ceremony of burning the bodies of Williams and Shelley (15 and 16 Aug.) are given by Trelawny, with characteristic details of Byron's emotion and hysterical affectation of levity. Shelley, who exaggerated Byron's poetical merits (see his enthusiastic eulogy of the fifth canto of 'Don Juan' on his visit to Pisa), was kept at a certain distance by his perception of Byron's baser qualities. Byron had always respected Shelley as a man of simple, lofty, and unworldly character, and as undeniably a gentleman by birth and breeding. Shelley, according to Trelawny (i. 80), was the only man to whom Byron talked seriously and confidentially. He told Moore that Shelley was 'the least selfish and the mildest of men,' and added to Murray that he was 'as perfect a gentleman as ever crossed a drawing-room' (Letters 482 and 506). He was, however, capable of believing and communicating to Hoppner scandalous stories about the Shelleys and Claire, and of meanly suppressing Mrs. Shelley's confutation of the story (see Mr. Froude in *Nineteenth Century*, August 1883; and Mr. Jeaffreson's reply in the *Athenæum*, 1 and 22 Sept. 1883).

Trelawny had stimulated the nautical tastes of Byron and Shelley. Captain Roberts, a naval friend of his at Genoa, built an open boat for Shelley, and a schooner, called the Bolivar, for Byron. Trelawny manned her with five sailors and brought her round to Leghorn. Byron was annoyed by the cost; knew nothing, says Trelawny, of the sea, and could never be induced to take a cruise in her. When Byron left Pisa, after a terrible hubbub of moving his household and his baggage, Trelawny sailed in the Bolivar, Byron's servants following in one

felucca, the Hunts in another, Byron travelling by land. They met at Lerici. Byron with Trelawny swam out to the Bolivar, three miles, and back. The effort cost him four days' illness. On his recovery he went to Genoa and settled in the Casa Salucci at Albaro; the Gambas occupying part of the same house. Trelawny laid up the Bolivar, afterwards sold to Lord Blessington for four hundred guineas (TRELAWNY, i. 62), and early next year went off on a ramble to Rome. Lord and Lady Blessington, with Count d'Orsay, soon afterwards arrived at Genoa; and Lady Blessington has recorded her conversations with Byron. His talk with her was chiefly sentimental monologue about himself. Trelawny says that he was a spoilt child; the nickname 'Baby Byron' (given to him, says HUNT, i. 139, by Mrs. Leigh) 'fitted him to a T' (TRELAWNY, i. 56). His waywardness, his strange incontinence of speech, his outbursts of passion, his sensitiveness to all that was said of him come out vividly in these reports.

His health was clearly enfeebled. Residence in the swampy regions of Venice and Ravenna had increased his liability to malaria (see Letter 311). His restlessness and indecision grew upon him. His passion for Madame Guiccioli had never blinded him to its probable dangers for both. This experience had made him sceptical as to the durability of his passions; especially for a girl not yet of age, and of no marked force of intellect or character. Hunt speaks of a growing coldness, which affected her spirits and which she injudiciously resented. Byron's language to Lady Blessington (BLESSINGTON, pp. 68 and 117) shows that the bonds were acknowledged but no longer cherished. He talked of returning to England, of settling in America, of buying a Greek island, of imitating Lady Hester Stanhope. He desired to restore his self-esteem, wounded by the failure of the 'Liberal.' He had long before (28 Feb. 1817) told Moore that if he lived ten years longer he would yet do something, and declared that he did not think literature his vocation. He still hoped to show himself a man of action instead of a mere dreamer and dawdler. The Greek committee was formed in London in the spring of 1823, and Trelawny wrote to one of the members, Blaquière, suggesting Byron's name. Blaquière was soon visiting Greece for information, and called upon Byron in his way. The committee had unanimously elected him a member. Byron was flattered and accepted. His old interest in Greece increased his satisfaction at a proposal which fell in with his mood. He at once told the committee (12 May) that his first wish was

to go to the Levant. Though the scheme gave Byron an aim and excited his imagination, he still hesitated, and with reason. Weak health and military inexperience were bad qualifications for the leader of a revolt. Captain Roberts conveyed messages and counter messages from Byron to Trelawny for a time. At last (22 June 1823) Trelawny heard from Byron, who had engaged a 'collier-built tub' of 120 tons, called the *Hercules*, for his expedition and summoned Trelawny's help. Byron had taken leave of the Blessingtons with farewell presents, forebodings, and a burst of tears. He took 10,000 crowns in specie, 40,000 in bills, and a large supply of medicine; Trelawny, young Gamba, Bruno, an 'unfledged medical student,' and several servants, including Fletcher. He had prepared three helmets with his crest, 'Crede Byron,' for Trelawny, Gamba, and himself; and afterwards begged from Trelawny a negro servant and a smart military jacket. They sailed from Genoa on Tuesday, 15 July; a gale forced them to return and repair damages. They stayed two days at Leghorn, and were joined by Mr. Hamilton Browne. Here, too, Byron received a copy of verses from Goethe, who had inserted a complimentary notice of Byron in the 'Kunst und Alterthum,' and to whom Byron had dedicated 'Werner.' By Browne's advice they sailed for Cephalonia, where Sir C. J. Napier was in command and known to sympathise with the Greeks. Trelawny says that he was never 'on shipboard with a better companion.' Byron's spirits revived at sea; he was full of fun and practical jokes; read Scott, Swift, Grimm, Rochefoucauld; chatted pleasantly, and talked of describing Stromboli in a fifth canto of 'Childe Harold.' On 2 Aug. they sighted Cephalonia. They found that Napier was away, and that Blaquière had left for England. Byron began to fancy that he had been used as a decoy, and declared that he must see his way plainly before moving. Napier soon returned, and the party was warmly received by the residents. Information from Greece was scarce and doubtful. Trelawny resolved to start with Browne, knowing, he says, that Byron, once on shore, would again become dawdling and shilly-shallying. Byron settled at a village called Metaxata, near Argostoli, and remained there till 27 Dec.

Byron's nerve was evidently shaken. He showed a strange irritability and nervousness (TRELAWNY, ii. 116). He wished to hear of some agreement among the divided and factious Greek chiefs before trusting himself among them. The Cephalonian Greeks, according to Trelawny, favoured the election

of a foreign king, and Trelawny thought that Byron was really impressed by the possibility of receiving a crown. Byron hinted to Parry afterwards of great offers which had been made to him. Fancies of this kind may have passed through his mind. Yet his general judgment of the situation was remarkable for its strong sense. His cynical tendencies at least kept him free from the enthusiasts' illusions, and did not damp his zeal.

In Cephalonia Byron had some conversations upon religious topics with Dr. Kennedy, physician of the garrison. Kennedy reported them in a book, in which he unfortunately thought more of expounding his argument than of reporting Byron. Byron had, in fact, no settled views. His heterodoxy did not rest upon reasoning, but upon sentiment. He was curiously superstitious through life, and seems to have preferred catholicism to other religions. Lady Byron told Crabb Robinson (5 March 1855) that Byron had been made miserable by the gloomy Calvinism from which, she said, he had never freed himself. Some passages in his letters, and the early 'Prayer to Nature'—an imitation of Pope's 'Universal Prayer'—seem to imply a revolt from the doctrines to which Lady Byron referred. 'Cain,' his most serious utterance, clearly favours the view that the orthodox theology gave a repulsive or a nugatory answer to the great problems. But, in truth, Byron's scepticism was part of his quarrel with cant. He hated the religious dogma as he hated the political creed and the social system of the respectable world. He disavowed sympathy with Shelley's opinions, and probably never gave a thought to the philosophy in which Shelley was interested.

Trelawny was now with Odysseus and the chiefs of Eastern Greece. Prince Mavrocordato, the most prominent of the Western Greeks, had at last occupied Missolonghi. Byron sent Colonel Stanhope (afterwards Lord Harrington), a representative of the Greek committee, with a letter to Mavrocordato and another to the general government (2 Dec. and 30 Nov. 1823), insisting upon the necessity of union; and on 28 Dec. sailed himself, on the entreaty of Mavrocordato and Stanhope. The voyage was hazardous. Gamba's ship was actually seized by a Turkish man-of-war, and he owed his release to the lucky accident that his captain had once saved the Turkish captain's life. Byron, in a 'mistico,' took shelter under some rocks called the Scrophes. Thence, with some gunboats sent to their aid, they reached Missolonghi, in spite of a gale, in which Byron showed great coolness. Byron was heartily welcomed.

Mavrocordato was elected governor-general. Attempts were made to organise troops. Byron took into his pay a body of five hundred disorderly Suliotes. He met thickening difficulties with unexpected temper, firmness, and judgment. Demands for money came from all sides; Byron told Parry that he had been asked for fifty thousand dollars in a day. He raised sums on his own credit, and urged the Greek committee to provide a loan. His indignation when Gamba spent too much upon some red cloth was a comic exhibition of his usual economy—hardly unreasonable under the circumstances. His first object was an expedition against Lepanto, held, it was said, by a weak garrison ready to come over. At the end of January he was named commander-in-chief. His wild troops were utterly unprovided with the stores required for an assault. The Greek committee had sent two mountain guns, with ammunition, and some English artisans under William Parry, a 'rough burly fellow' (TRELAWNY, ii. 149), who had been a clerk at Woolwich. Parry after a long voyage reached Missolonghi on 5 Feb. 1824. In the book to which he gave his name, and for which he supplied materials, he professes to have received Byron's confidence. Byron called him 'old boy,' laughed at his sea slang, his ridiculous accounts of Bentham (one of the Greek committee), and played practical jokes upon him. Parry landed his stores, set his artisans to work, and gave himself military airs. The Suliotes became mutinous. They demanded commissions, says Gamba, for 150 out of three or four hundred men. Byron, disgusted, threatened to discharge them all, and next day, 15 Feb., they submitted. The same day Byron was seized with an alarming fit—the doctors disputed whether epileptic or apoplectic; but in any case so severe that Byron said he should have died in another minute. Half an hour later a false report was brought that the Suliotes were rising to seize the magazine. Next day, while Byron was still suffering from the disease and the leeches applied by the doctors, who could hardly stop the bleeding, a tumultuous mob of Suliotes broke into his room. Stanhope says that the courage with which he awed the mutineers was 'truly sublime.' On the 17th a Turkish brig came ashore, and was burned by the Turks after Byron had prepared an attack. On the 19th a quarrel arose between the Suliotes and the guards of the arsenal, and a Swedish officer, Sasse, was killed. The English artificers, alarmed at discovering that shooting was, as Byron says, a 'part of housekeeping' in these parts, insisted on leaving for peaceable regions. The Suliotes became intolerable, and

were induced to leave the town on receiving a month's wages from Byron, and part of their arrears from government. All hopes of an expedition to Lepanto vanished.

Parry had brought a printing-press, though he had not brought some greatly desired rockets. Stanhope, an ardent disciple of Bentham's, started a newspaper, and talked of Lancasterian schools, and other civilising apparatus, including a converted blacksmith with a cargo of tracts. Byron had many discussions with him. Stanhope produced Bentham's 'Springs of Action' as a new publication, when Byron 'stamped with his lame foot,' and said that he did not require lessons upon that subject. Though Trelawny says that Stanhope's free press was of eminent service, Byron may be pardoned for thinking that the Greeks should be freed from the Turks first, and converted to Benthamism afterwards. He was annoyed by articles in the paper, which advocated revolutionary principles and a rising in Hungary, thinking that an alienation of the European powers would destroy the best chance of the Greeks (*To Barff*, 10 March 1824). He hoped, he said, that the writers' brigade would be ready before the soldiers' press. The discussions, however, were mutually respectful, and Byron ended a talk by saying to Stanhope, 'Give me that honest right hand,' and begging to be judged by his actions, not by his words.

Other plans were now discussed. Stanhope left for Athens at the end of February. Odysseus, with whom was Trelawny, proposed a conference with Mavrocordato and Byron at Salona. Byron wrote agreeing to this proposal 19 March. He had declined to answer an offer of the general government to appoint him 'governor-general of Greece' until the meeting should be over. The prospects of the loan were now favourable. Byron was trying, with Parry's help, to fortify Missolonghi and get together some kind of force. His friends were beginning to be anxious about the effects of the place on his health. Barff offered him a country-house in Cephalonia. Byron replied that he felt bound to stay while he could. 'There is a stake worth millions such as I am.' Missolonghi, with its swamps, meanwhile, was a mere fever-trap. The mud, says Gamba, was so deep in the gateway that an unopposed enemy would have found entrance difficult. Byron's departure was hindered by excessive rains. He starved himself as usual. Moore says that he measured himself round the wrist and waist almost daily, and took a strong dose if he thought his size increasing. He rode out when he could with his body-guard of fifty or sixty Suliotes, but complained of frequent weak-

ness and dizziness. Parry in vain commended his panacea, brandy. Trelawny had started in April with a letter from Stanhope, entreating him to leave Missolonghi and not sacrifice his health, and perhaps his life, in that bog.

Byron produced his last poem on the morning of his birthday, in which the hero is struggling to cast off the dandy with partial success. He had tried to set an example of generous treatment of an enemy by freeing some Turkish prisoners at Missolonghi. A lively little girl called Hato or Hatagée, who was amongst them, wished to stay with him, and he resolved to adopt her. A letter from Mrs. Leigh, found by Trelawny among his papers, contained a transcript from a letter of Lady Byron's to her with an account of Ada's health. An unfinished reply from Byron (23 Feb. 1824) asked whether Lady Byron would permit Hatagée to become a companion to Ada. Lady Byron, he adds, should be warned of Ada's resemblance to himself in his infancy, and he suggests that the epilepsy may be hereditary. He afterwards decided to send Hatagée for the time to Dr. Kennedy. On 9 April he received news of Mrs. Leigh's recovery from an illness and good accounts of Ada. On the same day he rode out with Gamba, was caught in the rain, insisted upon returning in an open boat, and was seized with a shivering fit. His predisposition to malaria, aided by his strange system of diet, had produced the result anticipated by Stanhope. He rode out next day, but the fever continued. The doctors had no idea beyond bleeding, to which he submitted with great reluctance, and Parry could only suggest brandy. The attendants were ignorant of each other's language, and seem to have lost their heads. On the 18th he was delirious. At intervals he was conscious and tried to say something to Fletcher about his sister, his wife, and daughter. A strong 'antispasmodic potion' was given to him in the evening. About six he said, 'Now I shall go to sleep,' and fell into a slumber which, after twenty-four hours, ended in death on the evening of 19 April. Trelawny arrived on the 24th or 25th, having heard of the death on his journey. He entered the room where the corpse was lying, and, sending Fletcher for a glass of water, uncovered the feet. On Fletcher's return he wrote upon paper, spread on the coffin, the servant's account of his master's last illness.

Byron's body was sent home to England, and after lying in state for two days was buried at Hucknall Torkard (see *Edinburgh Review* for April 1871 for Hobhouse's account of the funeral). The funeral procession was



accidentally met by Lady Caroline Lamb and her husband. She fainted on being made aware that it was Byron's. Her mind became more affected; she was separated from her husband; and died 26 Jan. 1828, generously cared for by him to the last. (For Lady Caroline Lamb see LADY MORGAN, *Memoirs*, i. 200-14; *Annual Obituary* for 1828; Mr. TOWNSHEND MAYER in *Temple Bar* for June 1868; Lord LYTTON, *Memoirs*, vol. i.; PAUL, *Life of Godwin*, vol. ii.)

Lady Byron afterwards led a retired life. Her daughter Ada was married to the Earl of Lovelace 8 July 1835, and died 29 Nov. 1852. She is said to have been a good mathematician. A portrait of her is in Bentley's 'Miscellany' for 1853. Lady Byron settled ultimately at Brighton, where she became a warm admirer and friend of F. W. Robertson. She took an interest in the religious questions of the day, and spent a large part of her income in charity. Miss Martineau (*Biographical Sketches*, 1868) speaks of her with warm respect, and some of her letters will be found in Crabb Robinson's diary. Others (see HOWITT's letter in *Daily News*, 4 Sept. 1869) thought her pedantic and over strict. She died 16 May 1860. Mme. Guiccioli returned to her husband; she married the Marquis de Boissy in 1851 and died at Florence in March 1873.

The following appears to be a full list of original portraits of Byron (for fuller details see article by Mr. R. EDGECUMBE and Mr. A. GRAVES in *Notes and Queries*, 6th series, vi. 422, 472, vii. 269). Names of proprietors added: 1. Miniature by Kaye at the age of seven. 2. Full-length in oils by Sanders; engraved in standard edition of Moore's life (Lady Dorchester). 3. Miniature by same from the preceding (engraving destroyed at Byron's request). 4. Half-length by Westall, 1814 (Lady Burdett-Coutts). 5. Half-length by T. Phillips, 1814 (Mr. Murray); engraved by Agar, R. Graves, Lupton, Mote, Warren, Edwards, and C. Armstrong. 6. Miniature by Holmes, 1815 (Mr. A. Morrison); engraved by R. Graves, Ryall, and H. Meyer. 7. Bust in marble by Thorwaldsen, 1816 (Lady Dorchester); replicas at Milan and elsewhere. 8. Half-length by Harlowe, 1817; engraved by H. Meyer, Holl, and Scriven. 9. Miniature by Prepiani, 1817, and another by the same; given to Mrs. Leigh. 10. Miniature in water-colours of Byron in college robes by Gilchrist about 1807-8; at Newstead. 11. Half-length in Albanian dress by T. Phillips, R.A. (Lord Lovelace); replica in National Portrait Gallery; engraved by Finden. 12. Pencil Sketch by G. Cattermole from memory (Mr. Toone). 13. Medallion by A. Stothard. 14. Bust by Bartolini, 1822

(Lord Malmesbury); lithographed by Fromentin. 15. Half-length by West (Mr. Horace Kent); engraved by C. Turner, Engleheart, and Robinson. 16. Three sketches by Count d'Orsay, 1823; one at South Kensington. 17. Statue by Thorwaldsen, finished 1834. This statue was ordered from Thorwaldsen in 1829 by Hobhouse in the name of a committee. Thorwaldsen produced it for 1,000*l.* It was refused by Dean Ireland for Westminster Abbey, and lay in the custom-house vaults till 1842, when it was again refused by Dean Turton. In 1843 Whewell, having just become master of Trinity, accepted it for the college, and it was placed in the library (Correspondence in *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. iv. 421). 18. A silhouette cut in paper by Mrs. Leigh Hunt is prefixed to 'Byron and some of his Contemporaries.'

Byron's works appeared as follows:

1. 'Hours of Idleness' (see above for a notice of first editions).
2. 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers' (Cawthorne) (for full details of editions see *Notes and Queries*, 5th ser. vii. 145, 204, 296, 355).
3. 'Imitations and Translations, together with original poems never before published, collected by J. C. Hobhouse, Trinity College, Cambridge' (1809) (contains nine poems by Byron, reprinted in works, among 'occasional pieces,' 1807-8 and 1808-10).
4. 'Childe Harold, a Romaunt,' 4to, 1812 (an appendix of twenty poems, including those during his travels and those addressed to Thyrza).
5. 'The Curse of Minerva' (anonymous; privately printed in a thin quarto in 1812 (Lowndes); at Philadelphia in 1815, 8vo; Paris (Galignani), 12mo, 1818; and imperfect copies in Hone's 'Domestic Poems' and in later collections).
6. 'The Waltz' (anonymous), 1813 (again in Works, 1824).
7. 'The Giaour, a Fragment of a Turkish Tale,' 1813, 8vo.
8. 'The Bride of Abydos, a Turkish Tale,' 1813, 8vo.
9. 'The Corsair, a Tale,' 1814, 8vo (to this were added the lines, 'Weep, daughter of a royal line,' omitted in some copies (see Letters of 22 Jan. and 10 Feb. 1814)).
10. 'Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte' (anonymous), 8vo, 1814.
11. 'Lara, a Tale,' 1814, 8vo (originally published with Rogers's 'Jacqueline').
12. 'Hebrew Melodies,' 1815 (lines on Sir Peter Parker appended); also with music by Braham and Nathan in folio.
13. 'Siege of Corinth,' 1816, 8vo.
14. 'Parisina,' 1816, 8vo (this and the last together in second edition, 1816).
15. 'Poems by Lord Byron' (Murray), 1816, 8vo ('When all around,' 'Bright be the place of thy soul,' 'When we two parted,' 'There's not a joy,' 'There be none of beauty's daughters,' 'Fare thee well,' poems from the French and lines to Rogers). The original

of 'Bright be the place of thy soul,' by Lady Byron, corrected by Lord Byron, is in the Morrison MSS. 16. 'Poems on his Domestic Circumstances by Lord Byron,' Hone, 1816 (includes a 'Sketch,' and in later editions a 'Farewell to Malta' and 'Course of Minerva' (mutilated); a twenty-third edition in 1817. It also includes 'O Shame to thee, Land of the Gaul,' and 'Mme. Lavalette,' which, with an 'Ode to St. Helena,' 'Farewell to England,' 'On his Daughter's Birthday,' and 'The Lily of France,' are disowned by Byron in letter to Murray 22 July 1816, but are reprinted in some later unauthorised editions. 17. 'Prisoner of Chillon, and other Poems,' 1816, 8vo (sonnet to Lake Leman, 'Though the day of my destiny's over,' 'Darkness,' 'Churchill's Grave,' the 'Dream,' the 'Incantation' (from Manfred), 'Prometheus'). 18. 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,' canto iii., 1816, 8vo. 19. 'Monody on the Death of Sheridan' (anonymous), 1816, 8vo. 20. 'Manfred, a Dramatic Poem,' 1817, 8vo. 21. 'The Lament of Tasso,' 8vo, 1817. 22. 'Childe Harold's Pilgrimage,' canto iv., 1818 (the Alhama ballad and sonnet from Vittorelli appended). 23. 'Beppo, a Venetian Story' (anonymous in early editions), 1818, 8vo. 24. 'Suppressed Poems' (Galignani), 1818, 8vo ('English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' 'Land of the Gaul,' 'Windsor Poetics, a Sketch'). 25. Three Poems not included in the works of Lord Byron (Effingham Wilson), 1818, 8vo ('Lines to Lady Jersey'; 'Enigma on H.,' often erroneously attributed to Byron, really by Miss Fanshawe; 'Curse of Minerva,' fragmentary). 26. 'Mazeppa,' 1819 (fragment of the 'Vampire' novel appended). 27. 'Marino Faliero,' 1820. 28. 'The Prophecy of Dante,' 1821 (with 'Marino Faliero'), 8vo. 29. 'Sardanapalus, a Tragedy,' 'The Two Foscari, a Tragedy,' 'Cain, a Mystery' (in one volume, 8vo), 1821. 30. 'Letter . . . on the Rev. W. L. Bowles's Strictures on Pope,' 1821. 31. 'Werner, a Tragedy' (J. Hunt), 1822, 8vo. 32. 'The Liberal' (J. Hunt), 1823, 8vo (No. I. 'Vision of Judgment,' 'Letter to the Editor of my Grandmother's Review,' 'Epigrams on Castlereagh.' No. II. 'Heaven and Earth.' No. III. 'The Blues.' No. IV. 'Morgante Maggiore'). 33. 'The Age of Bronze' (anonymous) (J. Hunt), 1823, 8vo. 34. 'The Island' (J. Hunt), 1823, 8vo. 35. 'The Deformed Transformed' (J. & H. L. Hunt), 1824, 8vo. 36. 'Don Juan' (cantos i. and ii. 'printed by Thomas Davison,' 4to, 1819; cantos iii., iv., and v. (Davison), 8vo, 1821; cantos vi., vii., and viii. (for Hunt & Clarke), 8vo, 1823; cantos ix., x., and xi. (for John Hunt), 8vo, 1823; cantos xii.,

xiii., and xiv. (John Hunt), 8vo, 1823; cantos xv. and xvi. (John & H. L. Hunt), 8vo, 1824), all anonymous. A 17th canto (1829) is not by Byron; and 'twenty suppressed stanzas' (1838) are also spurious.

Murray published from 1815 to 1817 a collective edition of works up to those dates in eight volumes 12mo; other collective editions in five volumes 16mo, 1817; and an edition in eight volumes 16mo, 1818-20. In 1824 was published an 8vo volume by Knight & Lacy, called vol. v. of Lord Byron's works, including 'Hours of Idleness,' 'English Bards and Scotch Reviewers,' the 'Waltz,' and various minor poems, several of the spurious poems mentioned under Hone's domestic pieces, and 'To Jessy,' a copy of which is in Egerton MS. 2332, as sent to 'Literary Recreations.' In 1824 and 1825 the Hunts also published two volumes uniform with the above and called vols. vi. and vii. of Lord Byron's works, including the poems (except 'Don Juan') published by them separately as above, and in 'The Liberal.' In 1828 Murray published an edition of the works in four volumes 12mo. Uniform with this were published two volumes by J. F. Dove, including 'Don Juan' (the whole) and the various pieces in Knight & Lacy's volume, with 'Lines to Lady Caroline Lamb,' 'On my Thirty-sixth Birthday,' and the lines 'And wilt thou weep?'

There are various French collections: in 1825 Baudry & Amyot published an 8vo edition in seven volumes at Paris, with a life by J. W. Lake, including all the recognised poems, the letter to Bowles, and the parliamentary speeches (separately printed in London in 1824). Galignani published one-volume 8vo editions in 1828 (with life by Lake), in 1831 (same life abridged), and 1835 (with life by Henry Lytton Bulwer, M.P.) To the edition of 1828 were appended twenty-one 'attributed poems,' including 'Remember thee, remember thee,' the 'Triumph of the Whale' (by Charles Lamb, CRABB ROBINSON, *Diary* (1872), i. 175), and 'Remind me not, remind me not.' Most of these were omitted in the edition of 1831, which included (now first printed) the 'Hints from Horace,' of which fragments are given in Moore's 'Life' (1830).

The collected 'Life and Works' published by Murray (1832-5), 8vo, includes all the recognised poems, and adds to the foregoing works a few 'published for the first time' (including the second letter to Bowles, and the 'Observations on Observations'), and several poems which had appeared in other works: 'River that rollest,' &c., from Medwin (1824); 'Verses on his Thirty-sixth Birthday,'

from Gamba (1824); 'And thou wert sad' and 'Could love for ever,' from Lady Blessington; three pieces from Nathan's 'Fugitive Pieces' (1829); 'To my son,' 'My sister, my sweet sister,' and other verses from Moore's 'Life' (1830). This edition has been reprinted in the same form and also in one volume royal 8vo. In a new and fuller edition by John Murray, the 'Poetry' was edited by E. H. Coleridge (7 vols. 1898-1904) and the 'Letters and Journals' by R. E. Prothero (6 vols. 1898-1903).

[Moore had sold the Memoirs given to him by Byron to Murray (in November 1821) for 2,000*l.* (or guineas), with the agreement that they were to be edited by Moore if Byron died before him. Byron (1 Jan. 1820) offered to allow his wife to see the Memoirs, in order that she might point out any unfair statements. She declined to see them, and protested against such a publication. Byron afterwards became doubtful as to publishing, and a deed was executed in May 1822, by which Murray undertook to restore the manuscript on the repayment of the 2,000*l.* during Byron's life. On Byron's death, the power of redemption not having been acted upon, the right of publication belonged to Murray. Byron's friends, however—Hobhouse and Mrs. Leigh—were anxious for the destruction. Lady Byron carefully avoided any direct action in the matter which would imply a desire to suppress her husband's statement of his case. Moore hesitated; but at a meeting held in Murray's house (17 May 1824) he repaid the money to Murray, having obtained an advance from the Longmans (Moore's Diary, iv. 189), and the manuscript was returned to him and immediately destroyed. It was proposed at the time that Lady Byron and Mrs. Leigh should repay the 2,000*l.*; but the arrangement failed for some unexplained reason, and Murray ultimately paid off Moore's debt in 1828, amounting with interest to 3,020*l.*, besides paying him 1,600*l.* for the Life. Many charges arose out of this precipitate destruction of the Memoirs; but there is no reason to regret their loss. Moore showed them to so many people that he had them copied out (Diary, 7 May 1820), for fear that the original might be worn out. Lady Burghersh destroyed, in Moore's presence, some extracts which she had made (Diary, v. 111). Giffard, Lord and Lady Holland, and Lord John (afterwards Earl) Russell read them. Lord John gives his impressions in his edition of Moore's Diary (iv. 192), and seems to express the general opinion. There were some indelicate passages. There were also some interesting descriptions of early impressions; but for the most part they were disappointing, and contained the story of the marriage, which Moore (who was familiar with them) gives substantially in the Memoir (see Jeaffreson's *Real Lord Byron*, ii. 292-380, Moore's Diary, Quarterly Review (on Moore) for June 1853 and for July 1883, Jeaffreson in *Athenæum* for 18 Aug. 1883). The

first authoritative life was that by Moore, first published in 2 vols. quarto, London, 1830. It forms six volumes of the edition of the Life and Works, 17 vols. 12mo, 1837, and in one volume, 8vo. Other authorities are: Lady Blessington's Journals of the Conversations of Lord B. with Lady Blessington (1834 and 1850); Correspondence of Lord Byron with a Friend, and Recollections by the late R. C. Dallas, by Rev. A. R. C. Dallas, Paris, 1825, Galignani; Life of Byron, by John Galt, 2nd edit. 1830; Life, Writings, Opinions, &c., by an English Gentleman in the Greek Service, 1825, published by Illey; Narrative of a Second Visit to Greece, by Edward Blaquière, London, 1825; Narrative of Lord Byron's Last Journey to Greece, by Count Peter Gamba, 1825; Conversations on Religion with Lord Byron at Cephalonia, by the late Jas. Kennedy, M.D., 1830; Lady Morgan's Memoirs, 1862 (for Lady C. Lamb); Conversations of Lord Byron at Pisa, by Thomas Medwin, 1824; Guiccioli, Comtesse de, Lord Byron jugé par les témoins de sa vie, 1868, and in English as Guiccioli's My Recollections of Lord Byron, 2 vols. 1869; Records of Shelley, Byron, and the Author, by E. J. Trelawny, 1858, 2nd edit. 1878; Life of Rev. W. Harness, by A. G. L'Estrange, 1871; Memoirs of Rev. Francis Hodgson, by Rev. James T. Hodgson, 2 vols. 1878; Parry, William, Last Days of Lord Byron, 1825; Hobhouse's Travels in Albania (1855, 3rd edit.), and 'Byron's Statue'; Greece in 1823 and 1824, by Colonel Leicester Stanhope (1825), with reminiscences by George Finlay and Stanhope, reprinted in the English translation of Elze; Karl Elze, Lord Byron (English translation), 1872 (first German edition 1870); The Real Lord Byron, by John Cordy Jeaffreson, 2 vols. 1883; Athenæum, 4 and 18 Aug. 1883; Lady Byron Vindicated, by Harriet Beecher Stowe, London, 1870; Lord Byron and his Contemporaries, by Leigh Hunt, 2 vols. 1826, and Leigh Hunt's Autobiography, 1850 and 1860; Lord Lovelace's Astarte, a fragment of truth concerning Lord Byron, 1905; John Murray's Lord Byron and his Detractors, 1906 (both these privately printed). See also London Mag. for 24 Oct.; Blackwood's Mag., June 1824; Westminster, July 1824 and January 1825 (Hobhouse); Quarterly, October 1869, January 1870, July 1883 (Hayward); New Monthly, January 1830 (T. Campbell); New Monthly for 1835, pt. iii. 193-203, 291-302, Conversations with an American; MSS. in British Museum and the collection of Alfred Morrison. Two small collections called 'Byroniana' are worthless. The Byroniana mentioned in the one-volume edition of Moore was projected by John Wright, but not carried out.] L. S.

**BYRON, HENRY JAMES** (1834-1884), dramatist and actor, was born in Manchester in January 1834. His father, Henry Byron, was for many years British consul at Port-au-Prince. Placed first with Mr. Miles Morley, a surgeon in Cork Street, W., and afterwards with his maternal grandfather,

Dr. Bradley of Buxton, Byron conceived a dislike for the medical profession, and joined a 'provincial' company of actors. A monologue of his entitled 'A Bottle of Champagne uncorked by Horace Plastic,' produced at the Marionette Theatre, London, into which the old Adelaide Gallery had been turned, was his earliest literary venture. He entered on 14 Jan. 1858 the Middle Temple. His taste for the stage interfered with his pursuit of law. He had produced unsuccessfully at the Strand Theatre in 1857 a burlesque entitled 'Richard Cœur de Lion.' Better fortune attended his next burlesque, 'Fra Diavolo,' given the next year at the same theatre, which had then passed from the hands of Payne into those of Miss Swanborough. A series of pieces, chiefly of the same class, followed at the Strand, Adelphi, Olympic, and other west-end theatres. Byron wrote for 'Temple Bar' a novel entitled 'Paid in Full,' afterwards reprinted in 3 vols. London, 1865, into which he introduced some of his experiences as a medical student. He was the first editor of 'Fun,' and originated a short-lived paper, the 'Comic Times.' On 15 April 1865 he joined Miss Marie Wilton in the management of the Prince of Wales's Theatre, formerly the Queen's, in Tottenham Street, contributing to the opening programme a burlesque on the subject of *La Sonnambula*. 'War to the Knife,' a comic drama in three acts, was given at the same house, 10 June 1865, and 'A Hundred Thousand Pounds,' also in three acts, 5 May 1866. His terms of partnership included an engagement to write for no other house. In 1867 he resigned his connection with this theatre, and began the management of the Alexandra Theatre, Liverpool, to which soon afterwards he added also the management of the Theatre Royal and the Amphitheatre. At one or other of these houses he produced some of his best works. The result was, however, disaster. These painful experiences did not prevent him from undertaking seven years later the management of the Criterion Theatre, which opened on 21 May 1874 with his three-act comedy, 'An American Lady.' On 16 Jan. 1875 he gave to the Vaudeville Theatre 'Our Boys,' a three-act domestic drama, which is noticeable as having had the longest run on record, not having been withdrawn till 18 April 1879.

Byron's first appearance in London as an actor took place at the Globe, 23 Oct. 1869, as Sir Simon Simple in his own comedy, 'Not such a Fool as he looks,' a part originally designed for Mr. Sothern. He had previously played in the country as Isaac of York in his own burlesque of 'Ivanhoe.' Subsequently in his own comedies he appeared as FitzAl-

tamont in 'The Prompter's Box,' Adelphi, 1870; Captain Craven in 'Daisy Farm,' Olympic, 1871; Lionel Levert in 'Old Soldiers,' Strand, 1873; Harold Trivass in 'An American Lady,' Criterion, 1874; Gibson Greene in 'Married in Haste,' Haymarket, 1875; and Dick Simpson in 'Conscience Money,' Haymarket, 1878. In 1881 he played, at the Court Theatre, Cheviot Hill in Mr. Gilbert's comedy of 'Engaged.' This was his last engagement, and, so far as is known, the only one in which he played in a piece by another author. Shortly after this period, in consequence of ill-health, he retired from the stage. The same cause drove him into comparative seclusion. He died at his house in Clapham Park on 11 April 1884, and was buried at Brompton.

Byron's serious dramatic work is original in the sense that the plot is rarely taken from a foreign source. It displays ingenuity rather than invention, and abounds in the kind of artifice to be expected under arrangements by which no more than one scene is allowed to an act. The distinguishing characteristics of Byron's plays are homeliness and healthiness. He revelled in pun and verbal pleasantry, and in a certain cockney smartness of repartee. Character and probability were continually sacrificed to the strain after a laugh. In his dramatic works he met with many rebuffs, but few failures. 'Cyril's Success' is generally, and correctly, held to be his best play. As an actor Byron attempted little. A quiet unconsciousness in the delivery of jokes was his chief recommendation to the public. Byron had, before his retirement, an enviable social reputation. Many spoken witticisms, more indeed than he is entitled to claim, are associated with his name.

A complete list of Byron's plays can scarcely be attempted. The following list, in which *e* stands, perhaps too comprehensively, for extravaganza, burlesque, or pantomime, *f* for farce, *c* for comedy, and *d* for drama, omits little of importance: 'Bride of Abydos,' *e*, no date; 'Latest Edition of Lady of Lyons,' *e*, 1858; 'Fra Diavolo,' *e*, 1858; 'Maid and Magpie,' *e*, 1858; 'Mazzeppa,' *e*, 1858; 'Very Latest Edition of Lady of Lyons,' *e*, 1859; 'Babes in the Wood,' *e*, 1859; 'Nymph of Lurleyburg,' *e*, 1859; 'Jack the Giant-Killer,' *e*, 1860; 'The Miller and his Men,' *e* (written with F. Talfourd), 1860; 'Pilgrim of Love,' *e*, 1860; 'Robinson Crusoe,' *e*, 1860; 'Blue Beard,' *e*, 1860; 'Garibaldi's Excursionists,' *f*, 1860; 'Cinderella,' *e*, 1861; 'Aladdin,' *e*, 1861; 'Esmeralda,' *e*, 1861; 'Miss Eily O'Connor,' *e*, 1861; 'Old Story,' *e*, 1861; 'Puss in a New

Pair of Boots,' *e*, 1862; 'Rosebud of Sting-nettle Farm,' *e*, 1862; 'George de Barnwell,' *e*, 1862; 'Ivanhoe,' *e*, 1862; 'Beautiful Haidée,' *e*, 1863; 'Ali Baba,' *e*, 1863; 'Ill-treated Il Trovatore,' *e*, 1863; 'The Motto,' *e*, 1863; 'Lady Belle-belle,' *e*, 1863; 'Orpheus and Eurydice,' *e*, 1863; 'Mazourka,' *e*, 1864; 'Princess Springtime,' *e*, 1864; 'Grin Bushes,' *e*, 1864; 'Timothy to the Rescue,' *f*, 1864; 'Pan,' *e*, 1865; 'La Sonnambula,' *e*, 1865; 'Lucia di Lammermoor,' *e*, 1865; 'Little Don Giovanni,' *e*, 1865; 'War to the Knife,' *c*, 1865; 'Der Freischütz,' *e*, 1866; 'Pandora's Box,' *e*, 1866; 'A Hundred Thousand Pounds,' *c*, 1866; 'William Tell,' *e*, 1867; 'Dearer than Life,' *d*, 1867; 'Blow for Blow,' *d*, 1868; 'Lucrezia Borgia, M.D.,' *e*, 1868; 'Cyril's Success,' *c*, 1868; 'Not such a Fool as he looks,' *d*, 1868; 'Robinson Crusoe,' *e*, 1868; 'Minnie, or Leonard's Love,' *d*, 1869; 'Corsican Brothers,' *e*, 1869; 'Lost at Sea' (with Dion Boucicault), *d*, 1869; 'Uncle Dick's Darling,' *d*, 1869; 'Yellow Dwarf,' *e*, 1869; 'Lord Bateman,' *e*, 1869; 'Whittington,' *e*, 1869; 'Prompter's Box,' *d*, 1870; 'Robert Macaire,' *e*, 1870; 'Enchanted Wood,' *e*, 1870; 'English Gentleman,' *d*, 1870; 'Wait and Hope,' *d*, 1871; 'Daisy Farm,' *d*, 1871; 'Orange Tree and the Humble Bee,' *e*, 1871; 'Not if I know it,' *e*, 1871; 'Giselle,' *e*, 1871; 'Partners for Life,' *c*, 1871; 'Camaralzaman,' *e*, 1871; 'Blue Beard,' *e*, 1871; 'Haunted Houses,' *d*, 1872; 'Two Stars,' *d* (altered from the 'Prompter's Box'), 1872; 'Spur of the Moment,' *f*, 1872; 'Good News,' *d*, 1872; 'Lady of the Lake,' *e*, 1872; 'Mabel's Life,' *d*, 1872; 'Time's Triumph,' *d*, 1872; 'Fine Feathers,' *d*, 1873; 'Sour Grapes,' *c*, 1873; 'Fille de Madame Angot,' *op. bouffe*, 1873; 'Old Soldiers,' *c*, 1873; 'Chained to the Oar,' *d*, 1873; 'Don Juan,' *e*, 1873; 'Pretty Perfumeress,' *op. bouffe*, 1874; 'Demon's Bride,' *op. bouffe*, 1874; 'American Lady,' *c*, 1874; 'Normandy Pippins,' *e*, 1874; 'Robinson Crusoe,' *e*, 1874; 'Oil and Vinegar,' *c*, 1874; 'Thumb-screw,' *d*, 1874; 'Old Sailors,' *c*, 1874; 'Our Boys,' *c*, 1875; 'Married in Haste,' *c*, 1875; 'Weak Woman,' *c*, 1875; 'Twenty Pounds a Year,' *f*, 1876; 'Tottles,' *c*, 1876; 'Bull by the Horns,' *c d*, 1876; 'Little Don Caesar de Bazan,' *e*, 1876; 'Wrinkles,' *d*, 1876; 'Widow and Wife,' *d*, 1876; 'Pampered Menials,' *f*, 1876; 'Little Doctor Faust,' *e*, 1877; 'Old Chums,' *c*, 1877; 'Bohemian Gyrul' (second version), *e*, 1877; 'Guinea Gold,' *d*, 1877; 'Forty Thieves,' *e* (written in conjunction with F. C. Burnand, W. S. Gilbert, and R. Reece), 1878; 'La Sonnambula' (second version), *e*, 1878; 'Young Fra Diavolo,' *e*,

1878; 'A Fool and his Money,' *c*, 1878; 'Crushed Tragedian,' *c*, 1878; 'Hornet's Nest,' *c*, 1878; 'Conscience Money,' *d*, 1878; 'Uncle,' 1878; 'Courtship,' *c*, 1879; 'Jack the Giant-Killer,' *e*, 1879; 'Pretty Esmeralda,' *e*, 1879; 'Handsome Hernani,' *e*, 1879; 'The Girls,' *c*, 1879; 'Upper Crust,' *c*, 1880; 'Light Fantastic,' *f*, 1880; 'Gulliver's Travels,' *e*, 1880; 'Trovatore,' *e*, 1880; 'Bow Bells,' *d*, 1880; 'Without a Home,' *c*, 1880; 'Michael Strogoff,' *d* (translated from the French), 1881; 'Punch,' *c*, 1881; 'New Broom,' *c*, 1881; 'Fourteen Days,' *c* (translated from the French), 1882; 'Pluto,' *e*, 1882; 'Frolique,' *c* (with H. B. Farnie), 1882; 'Auntie,' *c*, 1882; 'Villainous Squire,' *e*, 1882. The following pieces may be added: 'Dundreary,' 'Married and Done for,' 'Sensation Fork,' 'Our Seaside Lodging,' 'Rival Othellos,' and 'My Wife and I,' farces, the exact date of production of which it is difficult to fix. Under the head *c* are ranked various slight productions put forth as farcical comedies, farcical dramas, &c.

[Private information; Era Almanack; Era Newspaper, 19 April 1884; Athenæum; Dutton Cook's Nights at the Play; Men of the Time, 10th ed.; Pascoe's Dramatic List.] J. K.

BYRON, JOHN, first LORD BYRON (*d.* 1652), was descended from Sir John Byron of Clayton, Lancashire, who obtained the abbey of Newstead, Nottinghamshire, at the dissolution of the monasteries. He was the eldest son of Sir John Byron, K.B., by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Molineux of Sefton, Lancashire. He sat in the last parliament of James I and in the first of Charles I for the borough, and in the parliament of 1627-8 for the county of Nottingham. He had been knighted in the interval. He was high sheriff of Nottinghamshire in 1634. His name is not in the list of either the Short or the Long parliament of 1640. In that year he brought his military experience and reputation, acquired in the Low Country wars, to the expedition against the Scots. On its failure, he looked eagerly to the projected great council of the peers at York (August 1640). Writing on the very day of meeting, he expresses his confident hope that 'the vipers we have been too ready to entertain will be driven out,' and that the Scotch general Leslie's exaction of 350*l.* a day from Durham 'will prove a fruitful precedent for the king's service, that hereafter ship-money may be thought a toy' (*State Papers*, Dom., 24 Sept. 1640).

Byron was appointed to the lieutenancy of the Tower after Lunsford's dismissal (26 Dec. 1641). He was sent for as a delinquent by the lords (12 Jan. 1641-2),

and examined as to the stores lately conveyed into the fortress. 'He gave so full answers to all the questions asked of him, that they could not but dismiss him' (*Clarendon Rebellion*, 154 a), but he refused to leave the Tower without the king's order. The peers refused to concur in the address for his removal, and it was therefore presented by the commons alone (27 Jan.) The king at first declined to comply, but Byron himself begged to be set free 'from the vexation and agony of that place.' On 11 Feb. 1641-2 Charles sent a message to the House of Lords consenting to the appointment of Sir John Conyers in Byron's place.

When the war broke out, Byron was among the first to join the king at York, and marched with him to summon Coventry (20 Aug. 1642, *DUGDALE, Diary*, p. 17). Thence he was despatched by Charles to protect Oxford. At Brackley (28 Aug.), while refreshing his troop after a long march, he was surprised, and forced to make a speedy retreat to the heath. In the confusion a box containing money, apparel, and other things of value was left in a field of standing corn. He wrote to a Mr. Clarke of Croughton for its restitution, which he said he would represent to the king as an acceptable service; if not, he continued, 'assure yourself I will find a time to repay myself with advantage out of your estate.' The houses took notice of this letter, in a joint declaration, retorting on Byron 'the odious crime and title of traitor' (Declaration of the Lords and Commons, 11 Sept. 1642). In a contemporary tract (*Brit. M. E.* 117, 11) the value of the spoil taken is estimated at not less than 6,000*l.* or 8,000*l.*, and the prisoners taken by the parliamentarians are said to have been searched, despoiled, and thrown into the Tower, where they might have starved but for charity (cf. *BAILEY, Nottinghamshire*, ii. 669, 672).

Byron reached Oxford 28 Aug., and remained there till 10 Sept. After leaving Oxford he arrived at Worcester about 17 Sept. He had been pursued by Lord Say, and had to fight on the road. He gained a victory over the parliamentarians at Powick Bridge (22 Sept.), but found it necessary to evacuate Worcester, which he had not fortified, on the following day.

At Edgehill (23 Oct. 1642), when Rupert's charge had scattered the enemy, Byron joined in the chase with the reserve of the right wing—his own regiment of horse. When Rupert returned he 'found a great alteration in the field, and the hope of so glorious a day quite vanished' (*Clarendon*, 309 a). For

Byron had left the foot, whom he had been posted to protect, to be taken in rear by the enemy.

After Edgehill, Byron's regiment quartered a while at Fawley Court. His orders against plunder were disregarded, and the owner, Bulstrode Whitelocke, laments the wanton destruction of property, the writings of his estates, and many excellent manuscripts (*Memorials*, p. 65). Byron's regiment of horse was quartered at Reading in December 1642 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 9th Rep. pt. ii. 433 b), and he probably commanded the horse of the garrison there. Reading not long after (26 April 1643) capitulated to Essex, but Byron was in Oxfordshire during the spring of this year. On 6 May he defeated a party of roundheads at Bicester, and on 12 July was sent west with Prince Maurice to relieve Devizes. The great victory of Roundway Down, near Devizes, on 13 July, was chiefly the work of Byron, whose charge turned to flight the 'impenetrable regiment' of Haslerig's cuirassiers. But his men were always ready to desert or to mutiny for plunder's sake, and on the day of the surrender of Bristol to Rupert, Byron writes in haste to beg the prince to give them assurance that they shall have their share—'some benefit from your highness's great victory.' On 20 Sept. Byron commanded the horse of the right wing at the first battle of Newbury, and Lord Falkland fell fighting in the front rank of Byron's regiment. Byron wrote a full account of this battle for Lord Clarendon's use, and long extracts from his original manuscript are given by Mr. Money in his 'Battles of Newbury' (pp. 44, 51, 56). He himself received what reward the king had to bestow, being created Baron Byron of Rochdale (24 Oct. 1643), with limitation of the title, after his own issue, to his six loyal brothers, Richard, William, Thomas, Robert, Gilbert, and Philip. He willingly accepted Rupert's offer of the sole command in Lancashire, if the county would agree thereto (7 Nov.), but wished first to make sure of the appointment of governor to the Prince of Wales, 'an employment likely to continue to my advantage when this war is ended' (*Add. MS.* 18980, f. 147; *WARBURTON, Prince Rupert*, ii. 329).

By the cessation of arms granted by Ormonde, the troops raised for the king's service against the Irish rebels were set free for other employment, and detachments came over at intervals to join the force under the command of Byron, whose whole army is described as 'rolling like a flood' up to the walls of Nantwich, the only parliament garrison left in Cheshire. Byron defeated Brereton at Middlewich, and captured Crewe House.

But the tide soon turned. Byron failed in an assault on Nantwich 18 Jan. 1643-4; the besiegers confidently awaited the approach of Fairfax with his Yorkshire horse and Manchester foot, soon to be joined by the Staffordshire and Derbyshire levies of Sir William Brereton. A sudden thaw, swelling a little river that ran between the divisions of the royal army, gave the signal of disaster. The part under Byron's command had to march four or five miles before it could join the other, which had meanwhile been broken by Fairfax (28 Jan.) The chief officers, 1,500 soldiers, and all their artillery were taken, and Byron sadly retired to Chester. Prince Rupert now took separate command of the royal forces in Cheshire and the adjacent counties, with Byron as his lieutenant. Sir Abraham Shipman was made governor of Chester. Lands belonging to roundhead 'delinquents' were to be sold, and the administration of this fund was vested in Byron, who not long after was made governor by special commission from Rupert (*Harl. MS.* 2135, f. 30). It was a slippery and thankless post. There had been talk of appointing one Alderman Gamul, and Byron had successfully fought off the proposal on the ground that 'if he be admitted the like will be attempted by all the corporations in England' (*Add. MS.* 18981, f. 51). In October 1644 he complains that he has not as heretofore the sole command in Rupert's absence, 'but there are independent commissions granted without any relation to me' (*ib.* 287). He disclaims any envy at the power Rupert had given William Legge, who appears to have superseded him for a while as governor of the city, but demurs to command being also given him over the counties of Cheshire, Flint, and Denbigh. Though Legge has 'ever been his good friend,' Byron feels the slight so keenly that he begs to be recalled 'if I be not worthy of the command I formerly had.'

Chester was in a sad condition. The merchants had been impoverished. To improve the fortifications the suburbs had been burnt, and their inhabitants were forced into the already crowded city. The soldiers lived at free quarters, and their hosts often fled from their houses, for the men (against orders) wore their weapons at all times. They plundered the houses of citizens when the owners were at church, and pawned the goods. They robbed in the highway, killed cattle in the fields, and wantonly ripped open the corn sacks on their way to market (*Harl. MS.* 2135). The troops sent by Ormonde had an evil reputation. Impressment was another grievance. Notwithstanding the claim (allowed by Rupert) of exemption from

all service outside the city by special privilege granted by Henry VIII, 'the garrison was divers times drawn forth, and threatened to be hanged if they did not go, though most of them were sworn citizens.'

In July 1644 Byron repeated his error of Edgehill at Marston Moor. He was in the front rank of Prince Rupert's division on the right wing. Stationed by a ditch, he charged across it, instead of waiting for the enemy to reach his own position (SANFORD, *Studies*, 599; MARKHAM, *Fairfax*, 163-7). 'By the improper charge of Lord Byron much harm was done' is the comment in Prince Rupert's diary.

In August Byron had his share in the defeat of Sir Marmaduke Langdale's northern horse, near Ormskirk, on their march southward. He had come from Liverpool 'on a pacing nag, and thinking of nothing less than fighting that day.' He had narrowly escaped capture as he tried to rally the flying rout. He lays the blame on the brigade of Lord Molyneux, which fled at the first charge, and fell foul with such fury on his regiment that they utterly routed it. Legge, however, writes (22 Aug. 1644) that 'my Lord Byron engaged the enemy when he needed not, and gives Langdale credit for saving Byron, bringing off his own men, and retreating without the least disturbance' (WARBURTON, *Prince Rupert*, iii. 21). Both agree that the fatal selfishness of the Lancashire men in resolutely diverting the war from themselves had lost the north. After the surrender (in September 1644) of Montgomery Castle by Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Byron tried to help Sir Michael Ernley to regain it. But Sir William Brereton came to its relief, and the governor of Chester returned thither. Byron was defeated by Brereton at Montgomery 18 Sept. 1644 (RUSHWORTH, v. 747). Byron now found that many who heretofore were thought loyal upon this success of the rebels had either turned neuter or had wholly revolted to them. Liverpool was threatened. The officers were ready to endure all extremities rather than yield, but the soldiers, for want of pay, 'are grown extreme mutinous, and run away daily'—the old story.

In May 1645 the king marched to the relief of Chester; Byron met him at Stone, Staffordshire, with the news that the rebels had retired, and Charles turned back and took Leicester, his last success. That summer came Naseby, and the autumn brought Rupert's loss of Bristol (10 Sept.) and Montrose's defeat at Philiphaugh (23 Sept.) The king again made his way into Chester with some provision and ammunition, but from the Phoenix tower of the city wall he beheld

the rout of his forces by Poyntz (24 Sept. 1645). He wandered back to Oxford, bidding Byron keep Chester for eight days longer (WALKER, *Hist. Discourses*, p. 140). It was actually kept for some twenty weeks. The enemy was closing round. Byron's appeal to Rupert for help (6 Oct.) was published with virulent comments on the writer's supposed leanings to popery and the Irish rebels. Booth, fresh from the capture of Lathom, had joined the besiegers. Byron's brother was taken while marching to his rescue. A relief party from Oxford had been forced to return. The citizens urged surrender. Byron invited the chief malcontents to dine with him, and gave them his own fare of boiled wheat and spring water. Brereton repeatedly urged Byron to surrender, but the cavalier insisted on terms 'granted by greater commanders than yourself—no disparagement to you.'

Chester at last surrendered (6 Feb. 1646). The citizens were not to be plundered, the sick and wounded were cared for, and Byron, with his whole army, were to march under safe-conduct to Conway (PHILLIPS, *Civil War in Wales*, p. 354). He fared better in Cheshire than in London, where the commons resolved to exclude him from pardon—a vote in which the lords refused to concur.

He had meanwhile taken the command of Carnarvon Castle, which he held till May 1646, when the king ordered all his fortresses to be given up. It was surrendered upon articles dated 4 June (WHITELOCKE, p. 208).

Byron joined the queen's court at Paris, and was appointed superintendent-general of the house and family of the Duke of York (30 April 1651). In 1648 he lent his assistance to the royalist invasion of England by Hamilton and the Scotch (cf. two letters from Byron to the Earl of Lanerick in the *Hamilton Papers*, Camd. Soc.; Byron's own relation of his actions in the summer of 1648 appears in *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, ii. 418). His main task was to seize Anglesea and to raise North Wales for the king. [For his failure and its causes see BULKELEY, RICHARD.] In January 1648–9 Ormonde sent Byron to Charles II with a copy of the treaty he had made with the Irish confederates in behalf of the royalists, and a pressing invitation to the prince to come to Ireland (CARTE, *Ormonde*, bk. v. § 98; CARTE, *Orig. Letters*, i. passim). He was now included by the houses among the seven persons who were to expect no pardon.

Byron's after life was passed in exile. He returned to Paris to find himself supplanted in the confidence of his pupil, who arranged a visit to Brussels without his knowledge or

the permission of the queen. At her request, nevertheless, Byron attended on the duke during that journey, and another to the Hague to see the Princess of Orange, as well as in James's first campaign under Turenne.

Byron differed from Hyde, the king's oldest adviser, on such critical matters as the acceptance by Charles of the invitation of the Scotch (1650). Byron wished the prince to accept it (CARTE, *Orig. Letters*, i. 338). Hyde wrote, 'If Lord Byron has become a presbyterian, he will be sorry for it.' But Hyde did full justice to his opponent's fidelity, writing to Nicholas of Byron's death as 'an irreparable loss' (23 Aug. 1652).

Byron died childless, though twice married: (1) to Cecilia, daughter of the Earl of Delaware, and widow of Sir Francis Bindloss, knt.; and (2) to Eleanor, daughter of Robert Needham, viscount Kilmurrey, Ireland, and widow of Peter Warburton of Arley, Cheshire. Byron's second wife was, according to Pepys (*Diary*, 26 April 1676), 'the king's seventeenth mistress abroad.' A portrait of Byron by Cornelius Jansen was in the National Portrait Exhibition of 1866 (No. 688).

Byron's title was inherited by his brother Richard (1605–1679), whose exploits as governor of Newark are recorded in Hutchinson's 'Memoirs.' He held the office from the spring of 1643 till about January 1645. In September 1643 he surprised the town of Nottingham and held it for five days; and on 27 Nov. 1643 surprised the committee of Leicestershire at Melton Mowbray (*Mercurius Aulicus*, p. 690). He resided in England during the protectorate, and in 1659 rose to support Sir George Booth. He died on 4 Oct. 1679, aged 74, having married (1) Elizabeth, daughter of George Rossel; and (2) Elizabeth, daughter of Sir George Booth. Four other brothers served in the civil wars on the royalist side. William was drowned at sea. Robert commanded a regiment at Naseby, served in Ireland, and was for a time imprisoned for sharing in a royalist plot in Dublin (GILBERT, *Contemporary History*, ii. 158–60); he was alive in 1664 (HUTCHINSON, *Memoirs*, ii. 310). Gilbert was commander of Rhuddlan Castle, North Wales, in 1645 (SYMONDS, *Diary*, p. 247); he was taken prisoner at Willoughby Field on 5 July 1648, and died on 16 March 1656. Philip was killed in defending York on 16 June 1644; a curious character of him is in Lloyd's 'Memoirs of Excellent Personages' (p. 439).

Much of Byron's correspondence remains. It has no literary charm; but it exhibits persistent cheerfulness in the face of gathering disaster, unwearied effort to conquer un-



toward circumstance with patience and contrivance, and dogged pathetic loyalty.

[Information kindly supplied by Mr. C. H. Firth of Oxford; authorities as above; Warburton's Prince Rupert; Clarendon State Papers; Carte's Collection of Original Letters and Papers.]  
R. C. B.

BYRON, JOHN (1723-1786), vice-admiral, second son of William, fourth lord Byron, was born on 8 Nov. 1723. The date of his entry into the navy has not been traced. In 1740 he was appointed as a midshipman to the *Wager* storeship, one of the squadron under Commodore Anson, and sailed from England in her. After rounding Cape Horn the *Wager* was lost, 14 May 1741, on the southern coast of Chili, a desolate and inclement country. The survivors from the wreck separated, Byron and some few others remaining with the captain. After undergoing the most dreadful hardships, they succeeded in reaching Valparaiso, whence, in December 1744, they were permitted to return to Europe by a French ship, which carried them to Brest. They arrived in England in February 1745-6. Many years after, in 1768, Byron published a 'Narrative, containing an account of the great distresses suffered by himself and his companions on the coast of Patagonia.' It has often been republished, and supplied some hints for the shipwreck scene in 'Don Juan,' whose author compares the sufferings of his hero 'to those related in my grand-dad's "Narrative,"' though, indeed, the fictitious sufferings of Juan were trifling in comparison with those actually recorded by John Byron.

During his absence he had been promoted to be lieutenant; immediately on his arrival he was made commander, and on 30 Dec. of the same year was made captain and appointed to the *Syren* frigate. After the peace he commanded the *St. Albans*, one of the squadron on the coast of Guinea; in 1753 he commanded the *Augusta*, guardship at Plymouth; and in 1755 the *Vanguard*. In 1757 he commanded the *America* of 60 guns in the futile expedition against Rochefort; he afterwards cruised with some success on the coast of France, and in the following year, still in the *America*, served in the fleet off Brest under Anson. In 1760 he was sent in command of the *Fame* and a small squadron to superintend the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg, and while the work was in progress had the opportunity of destroying a quantity of French shipping and stores in the bay of Chaleur, including three small men-of-war. He returned to England in November, but continued in command of the

*Fame* until the peace, being for the most part attached to the squadron before Brest.

Early in 1764 he was appointed to the *Dolphin*, a small frigate which, with the *Tamar*, was ordered to be fitted for a voyage to the East Indies. The *Dolphin* was sheathed with copper, and her rudder had copper braces and pintles; she was the first vessel in the English navy so fitted. Byron did not go on board her till 17 June. The *Dolphin*, with the *Tamar* in company, sailed from Plymouth on 2 July, when Byron hoisted a broad pennant, being appointed commander-in-chief of all his majesty's ships in the East Indies. At Rio they met Lord Clive, on his way out in the *Kent*, East Indiaman. Clive was anxious to take a passage in the *Dolphin*, as likely to get to India long before the Indiaman, but Byron managed to refuse him, possibly by secretly telling him the true state of the case; for in fact his commission for the East Indies and the orders which had been publicly sent were all a blind, and the real destination of the two ships was for a voyage of discovery in the South seas. The jealousy of the Spaniards seemed to render this elaborate secrecy a necessary condition of success. No one on board the ships had a suspicion of what was before them till after they had stood much further to the south than a passage to the Cape seemed to require. The true object of the voyage was then divulged; it was at the same time announced that the men were to have double pay, with such good effect that when shortly afterwards an opportunity occurred by a returning storeship, only one man accepted the commodore's permission for any one that liked to go home. In passing through the Straits of Magellan they had frequent intercourse with the natives of Patagonia, and they have recorded, as simple matter of fact, that these people were of very remarkable size and stature. Modern travellers, having been unable to find these giants, have assumed that the former accounts were false, either by intention or by misconception, and have spoken, on the one hand, of Munchausen-like stories, and, on the other, of the deceptive appearance of long robes and of the mistakes that may arise from seeing men at a distance on horseback. In the case of the officers of the *Dolphin*—with which alone we are now concerned—this last explanation is impossible; the statements are so explicit that they must be either true or wilfully false. The commodore, himself six feet high, either stood alongside of men who towered so far above him that he judged they could not be much less than seven feet, or he deliberately wrote a falsehood in his official journal, and his

officers with one consent lied to the same effect (Byron's 'Journal' in HAWKESWORTH'S *Voyages*, i. 28; *A Voyage round the World in His Majesty's Ship the Dolphin* . . . by an Officer on board the said ship, pp. 45, 51 n).

From the Straits of Magellan the Dolphin and Tamar proceeded westward across the Pacific, skirting the northern side of the Low Archipelago and discovering some few of the northernmost islands. It now seems almost wonderful how these ships could have sailed through this part of the ocean without making grander discoveries; but they appear to have held a straight course westward, intent only on getting the voyage over. Not only the Low Archipelago but the Society Islands must have been discovered had the ships, on making the Islands of Disappointment, zig-zagged, or quartered over the ground, as exploring ships ought to have done. And the necessary inference is that Byron was wanting in the instinct and the hound-like perseverance which go to make up the great discoverer. Having passed these islands, the ships fell in with nothing new; they seem indeed to have gone out of the way to avoid the possibility of doing so, and to have crossed the line solely to get into the track which Anson had described. Many of the seamen were down with scurvy, and Byron knew that the Centurion's men had found refreshment at Tinian; so to Tinian he went, and, after staying there for a couple of months, pursued his way to Batavia, the Cape of Good Hope, and so home. The Tamar was sent to Antigua, her rudder having given way; but the Dolphin arrived in the Downs on 9 May 1766, after a voyage of little more than twenty-two months. 'No navigator ever before encompassed the world in so short a time,' is Beatson's questionable commendation of what was primarily meant as a voyage of exploration (*Nav. and Mil. Mem.* vi. 453).

In January 1769 Byron was appointed governor of Newfoundland, an office he held for the next three years. On 31 March 1775 he was advanced to be rear-admiral, and on 29 Jan. 1778 to be vice-admiral. A few months later he was appointed to the command of a squadron fitting out at Plymouth for the North American station, or nominally to intercept the Count d'Estaing, who, with twelve ships of the line, had sailed from Toulon on 13 April. The delays consequent on maladministration prevented Byron sailing till 9 June, and even then his ships were wretchedly equipped and badly manned. The rigging was of second-hand or even twice-laid rope, and the ships' companies were largely made up of draughts

from the gaols. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the first bad weather should have scattered the ships and dismayed several, that gaol fever and scurvy should have raged among the crews, and that the components of the squadron should have singly reached the American coast in such a state that they must have fallen an easy prey to any enterprising enemy. Fortunately D'Estaing retired from before Sandy Hook just in time to leave the passage open to the first of Byron's ships, on 30 July. Others arrived later. Byron himself, in the Princess Royal, made Halifax with difficulty, so did two others; one got to Newfoundland, one was driven back to England, all were more or less shattered, and all more or less disabled by the sickness of their men. It was 26 Sept. before the squadron was collected at Sandy Hook, and it was not till 18 Oct. that it could put to sea to look for the enemy. It was immediately overtaken by a tremendous storm, which reduced the ships to their former condition of helplessness. One was wrecked, one was driven off the coast and had to make for England, the others got to Rhode Island and there refitted; but it was 13 Dec. before they were again ready for sea. The delay had permitted D'Estaing to appear in the West Indies with a strong force, and with the first news of Byron's approach he sheltered himself and his squadron under the guns of Fort Royal of Martinique. For several months the English, being in superior strength, kept the French shut up in Martinique. In June Byron went to St. Christopher's to see the trade safely off for England, and D'Estaing, taking advantage of his absence, and having been reinforced by ten ships of the line, went south, and without difficulty, almost without opposition, made himself master of Grenada, brutally handing over the town to be pillaged (BARROW, *Life of Lord Macartney*, i. 62). Byron had meanwhile returned to St. Lucia, and having learned that D'Estaing had gone to Grenada, at once followed to protect the town, which he had believed able to hold out for some time. He had no intelligence of D'Estaing having received a considerable reinforcement, and took for granted that in point of numbers his fleet was the stronger. At daybreak on 6 July 1779 he was off Grenada with twenty-one sail of the line and a large number of transports carrying the soldiers designed to co-operate with Lord Macartney. As he advanced the French got under way and stood out, and Byron, under the idea that there were not more than sixteen of them, made the signal for a general chase, and to engage as they came up with the enemy; nor did he make any alteration

in his orders when the French, having extended in line of battle, could be seen to number twenty-five sail of the line instead of sixteen. The attack was thus made in a scrambling, disorderly manner, in which several of the leading ships, being comparatively unsupported, were very roughly handled. The English afterwards succeeded in forming their line of battle parallel to the French, and for a short time the action became general; but D'Estaing had no wish to fight it out. He had got Grenada, and the result of the first shock of the battle, by disabling several of the English ships, seemed sufficient to prevent any serious attempt at its recapture. So the French wore and stood back into the bay. That they had had the best of the fighting, so far as it went, was certain; but their neglecting to push their advantage and their hasty withdrawal left them with no claim to victory. The solid gain, however, remained with them, for Byron found himself too weak to attempt to regain the island, and with the greater part of his shattered fleet went back to St. Christopher's. He was lying there, in Basseterre Roads, on 22 July, when D'Estaing made his appearance. The French fleet was more numerous by one-fourth than the English; but D'Estaing having stood in within random gunshot, wore, stood out again, and disappeared. After this there seemed no immediate prospect of any further operations, and Byron, being in a weakly state of health, and suffering from 'a nervous fever,' availed himself of a provisional permission to return home, turning the command over to Rear-admiral Parker. He arrived in England on 10 Oct. 1779.

Byron was beyond question a brave man, a good seaman, and an esteemed officer; but nature had not given him the qualifications necessary for a great discoverer, and the peculiar service in which so much of his time was passed gave him no experience in the conduct of fleets. It is very doubtful whether he ever saw a fleet extended in line of battle before he saw the French fleet on the morning of 6 July 1779. Any knowledge which he may have had of naval tactics was purely theoretical, and when wanted in practice lost itself, giving place to the untrained combative instinct. That he was not thoroughly beaten at Grenada was due to the incapacity of his antagonist, and not to any skill on his part. It is said that, after the peace, he was offered the command in the Mediterranean, but declined it. He had thus no further employment, and died vice-admiral of the white on 10 April 1786. A fine portrait by Reynolds, painted in 1759, the property of William Byron, was exhibited at the

Grosvenor Gallery in the loan collection of Reynolds's works, 1883-4.

He married in August 1748 Sophia, daughter of John Trevannion of Carhays in Cornwall, by whom he had two sons and seven daughters, three of whom died in infancy. Of the sons, the eldest, John, was father of Lord Byron the poet; the second, George Anson, captain in the navy, while in command of the *Andromache* frigate, had the honour of bringing to Sir George Rodney intelligence of the sailing of the French fleet from Martinique on 8 April 1782, and of thus contributing to the decisive victory off Dominica four days later.

[Charnock's *Biog. Nav.* v. 423; Ralfe's *Nav. Biog.* i. 60; Beaton's *Nav. and Mil. Memoirs*; Chevalier's *Hist. de la Marine Française pendant la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine*.]

J. K. L.

BYRON, SIR THOMAS (*d.* 1644), commander of the Prince of Wales's regiment during the civil war, was fifth son of Sir John Byron of Newstead, Nottinghamshire, by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Molineux of Sefton, Lancashire, and brother of John, first Lord Byron [q. v.] Clarendon, who characterises him as a 'very valuable and experienced officer,' states that the Prince of Wales's regiment, 'the titular command whereof was under the Earl of Cumberland,' was 'conducted and governed' by him (*History* (1849), App. 2, n. 5). Wood mentions that a degree was conferred on him at Oxford in 1642, but 'of what faculty' he 'knows not.' While in command of his regiment at the battle of Hopton Heath, near Stafford, 19 March 1642-3, he was so severely wounded by a shot in the thigh as to be compelled to leave the field (CLARENDON, *History*, vi. 281). 'Sir Thomas Byron, at the head of the prince's regiment, charging their foot, broke in among them, but they having some troops of horse near their foot fell upon him, and then he received his hurt, bleeding so that he was not able to stay on the field' ('The Battaille on Hopton Heath'). On 7 Dec. 1643 he was attacked in the street at Oxford by Captain Hurst of his own regiment, owing to a dispute about pay (DUGDALE, *Diary*; CARTE, *Letters*, i. 27, Trevor tells the story to Ormonde). Hurst was shot on 14 Dec. Byron died of the wound on 5 Feb. 1643-4 (DUGDALE, *Diary*). He was buried on 9 Feb. 1643-4 in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, 'on the left side of the grave of Wm. Lord Grandison in a little isle joyning on the south side of the choir' (WOOD, *Fasti*, ii. 42). By his wife Catherine, daughter of Henry Braine, he had two sons, who predeceased him. His wife was buried in Westminster Abbey on 11 Feb. 1675-6.

[Thoroton's Nottinghamshire (1797), ii. 284; Collins's Peerage, ed. 1779, vii. 128-9; Wood's Fasti (Bliss), ii. 42; Foster's Peerage of the British Empire (1882), p. 106; information kindly supplied by Mr. C. H. Firth.] T. F. H.

**BYRTH, THOMAS, D.D.** (1793-1849), scholar and divine, was the son of John Byrth, of Irish descent, who married Mary Hobling, a member of an old Cornish family. He was born at Plymouth Dock (now called Devonport) on 11 Sept. 1793, and received his early education in that town and at Launceston, under Richard Cope, LL.D. For five years (1809-14) he served his apprenticeship to the Cookworthys, well-known chemists and druggists in the west of England, and during that period started, with other young men, the 'Plymouth Magazine,' which expired with its sixth number on 19 Nov. 1814. After this he passed some years as a schoolmaster, but in 1818 he matriculated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford. Hitherto he had been in sympathy with the Society of Friends, but on 21 Oct. 1819 he was baptised into the church of England at St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth. He took his degrees of B.A. and M.A. in the spring of 1826, and was ordained to the curacy of Diptford, near Totnes, in April 1823, remaining there until 1825. After that he was at Oxford as a tutor, but this occupation ceased in 1827, when he became the incumbent of St. James, Latchford, near Warrington. In 1834 he was appointed to the more important and more lucrative rectory of Wallasey in Cheshire, where he died on Sunday night, 28 Oct. 1849, having preached two sermons that day. Dr. Byrth—he became B.D. on 17 Oct. 1839 and took his degree of D.D. two days later—was an evangelical in religion and a whig in politics. His scholarship was thorough, and he was possessed of poetic taste and antiquarian enthusiasm. He published many sermons and addresses, and was engaged in controversy with the Rev. J. H. Thom on the unitarian interpretation of the New Testament. In 1848 he edited the sermons of the Rev. Thomas Tattershall, D.D., incumbent of St. Augustine's Church, Liverpool, and prefixed to them a memoir of the author. His own 'Remains,' with a memoir by the Rev. G. R. Moncreiff, were published in 1851, and a sermon on his death, preached by the Rev. John Tobin in St. John's Church, Liscard, on 4 Nov. 1849, was published in the same year. He married on 19 June 1827 Mary Kingdom, eldest daughter of Dr. Stewart, and after Byrth's death a sum of 4,000*l.* was collected for the widow and their seven children. She died 20 Feb. 1879, aged 80. The west window

in the present Wallasey Church is filled with stained glass in memory of Byrth.

[Memoir by Rev. G. R. Moncreiff; Gent. Mag. (March 1850), p. 324; Ormerod's Cheshire (new ed.), ii. 478.] W. P. C.

**BYSSHE, SIR EDWARD** (1615?-1679), Garter king of arms, the eldest son of Edward Bysshe of Burstow, Surrey, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, by Mary, daughter of John Turnor of Ham, in the parish of Bletchingley in the same county, was born at Smallfield, in the parish of Burstow, in or about 1615. His ancestors were lords of the manors of Burstow and Horne, and some of them owners also of the manor of Bysshe, or Bysshe Court, in Surrey. In 1633 he became a commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, but before he took a degree he entered Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar. He was elected M.P. for Bletchingley to the parliament which met at Westminster on 3 Nov. 1640, and afterwards taking the covenant, he was about 1643 made Garter king of arms in the place of Sir John Borough, who had followed the king to Oxford. On 20 Oct. 1646 votes were passed in the House of Commons that Bysshe should be Garter king of arms, and likewise Clarenceux king of arms, that William Ryley should be Norroy king of arms, and that a committee should be appointed to regulate their fees (WHITELOCKE, *Memorials*, 229). In 1654 he was chosen Burgess for Reigate, Surrey, to serve in 'the little parliament' which met at Westminster on 3 Sept. 1654, and he was returned as member for Gatton in the same county to the parliament which assembled on 27 Jan. 1658-9.

After the Restoration he was obliged to quit the office of Garter in favour of Sir Edward Walker, but with difficulty he obtained a patent dated 10 March 1660-1 for the office of Clarenceux king of arms. The latter office was void by the lunacy of Sir William Le Neve, and was given to Bysshe in consideration of his having during the usurpation preserved the library of the College of Arms. The appointment was made in spite of the remonstrances of Sir Edward Walker, who alleged that Bysshe had not only usurped, but maladministered the office of Garter, and that if he were created Clarenceux it would be in his power to confirm the grants of arms previously made by him (*Addit. MS.* 22883).

He received the honour of knighthood on 20 April 1661 (P. LE NEVE, *Pedigrees of the Knights*, 135), and he was elected M.P. for Bletchingley to the parliament which met at Westminster on the 8th of the fol-

lowing month. During that parliament, which lasted seventeen years, he is said to have become a pensioner, and to have received 100*l.* every session. Wood, who speaks very harshly of Bysshe, says that after obtaining his knighthood 'he did nothing but deturpate, and so continued worse and worse till his death,' which occurred in the parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, on 15 Dec. 1679. He was obscurely buried late at night in the church of St. Olave, Jewry. He married Margaret, daughter of John Green of Boyshall, Essex, serjeant-at-law. She survived him. He edited: 1. 'Nicolai Vptoni de Studio Militari Libri Quatuor. Iohan. de Bado Aureo Tractatus de Armis. Henrici Spelmanni Aspilogia. Edoardus Bissæus e Codicibus MSS. primus publici juris fecit, notisque illustravit,' Lond. 1654, fol. Dedicated to John Selden. The notes, originally written in English by Bysshe, were translated into Latin by David Whitford, an ejected student of Christ Church, Oxford. 2. 'Palladius, de Gentibus Indiæ et Bragmanibus. S. Ambrosius, de Moribus Brachmanorum. Anonymus, de Bragmanibus,' Lond. 1665, 4to. In Greek and Latin. Dedicated to Lord-chancellor Clarendon. At one time he contemplated writing the 'Survey or Antiquities of the County of Surrey,' but the work never appeared. Even Wood is constrained to admit that Bysshe was during the Commonwealth period a 'great encourager of learning and learned men,' and that he understood arms and armoury very well, though he 'could never endure to take pains in genealogies.' A modern and less prejudiced writer remarks that the praise of being a profound critic in the science of heraldry cannot justly be denied him. He is more learned and more perspicuous than his predecessors, and was the first who treated the subject as an antiquary and historian, endeavouring to divest it of extraneous matter (DALLAWAY, *Science of Heraldry in England*, 342).

[Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*, 199; Brayley's *Surrey*, iv. 295, 296; Publications of the Harleian Soc. viii. 135; Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, i. 292, ii. 285, 318, 319; Harl. MS. 813, art. 40; Addit. MSS. 22883, 26669, 26758, f. 13 b; Lansd. MS. 255, ff. 55, 58; Moule's *Bibl. Heraldica*; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* iii. 612; Noble's *College of Arms*, 236, 239, 248, 260, 261, 264, 280; Lists of Members of Parliament (official return), i. 502, 510, 529; *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, iii. 381; Willis's *Notitia Parliamentaria*, iii. 236, 250, 266, 293; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 1218.] T. C.

BYSSHE, EDWARD (fl. 1712), miscellaneous writer, describes himself as 'gent.

on the title-pages of his books. He probably belonged to the Surrey family of the name [see BYSSHE, SIR EDWARD], but all that is positively known about him is that he sought a livelihood as a literary hack in London. In 1702 appeared the book by which he is remembered. Its title runs: 'The Art of English Poetry: containing I. Rules for Making Verses. II. A Dictionary of Rhymes. III. A collection of the most Natural, Agreeable, and Noble Thoughts, viz. Allusions, Similes, Descriptions, and Characters of Persons and Things: that are to be found in the best English Poets.' Bysshe addresses his dedication to 'Edmund Dunch, Esq., of Little Wittenham in Berkshire.' The first part of the volume is a business-like treatise on the laws of English prosody, with illustrations which prove Bysshe to have been an enthusiastic admirer of Dryden. The work was extraordinarily popular; a fifth edition was issued in 1714; a seventh, 'corrected and enlarged,' in 1724; an eighth is dated 1737. In 1714 the second and third parts were published separately under the title of 'The British Parnassus; or a complete Common Place-book of English Poetry' (2 vols.), and this was reissued in 1718 with a new title-page ('The Art of English Poetry, vols. the iii<sup>d</sup> and iv<sup>th</sup>'). Thomas Hood the younger reprinted Bysshe's 'Rules' as an appendix to his 'Practical Guide to English Versification' in 1877. Bysshe also edited in 1712 Sir Richard Bulstrode's 'Letters,' with a biographical introduction and a dedication addressed to George, lord Cardigan. In the same year there appeared a translation by Bysshe of Xenophon's 'Memorabilia,' which was dedicated to Lord Ashburnham from 'London, 24 Nov. 1711,' and was reissued in 1758.

[Bysshe's Works.]

S. L.

BYTHNER, VICTORINUS (1605?-1670?), Hebrew grammarian, was a native of Poland. He became a member of the university of Oxford about 1635, and lectured on the Hebrew language in the great refectory at Christ Church until the outbreak of the civil war. When Charles I fixed the headquarters of his army at Oxford in 1643, Bythner removed to Cambridge. He afterwards lived in London, but in 1651 we find him again lecturer on Hebrew at Oxford. About 1664 he retired into Cornwall, and there practised medicine. The date of his death is unknown. Bythner's grammatical works, though written in curiously faulty Latin, are models of lucid and compact arrangement, and continued long in use. His Hebrew grammar, published in

1638 under the title 'Lingua Eruditorum,' was several times reprinted. An edition of this work was published by Dr. Hessey in 1853, accompanied by the author's 'Institutio Chaldaica' (first printed in 1650). Of Bythner's other writings, the most important is his 'Lyra Prophetica Davidis Regis' (Lon-

don, 1650), which is a grammatical analysis of every word in the Hebrew psalter. An English translation of this book, by T. Dee, was published in 1836, and a second edition of this translation appeared in 1847.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, iii. 675; MS. Egerton 1324, f. 106.] H. B.

## C

**CABANEL, RUDOLPH** (1762-1839), architect, was born at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1762. He came to England early in life, and settled in London, where he was employed in the construction of several theatres. He designed the arrangements of the stage of old Drury Lane Theatre, the Royal Circus, afterwards called the Surrey Theatre, 1805 (burnt down 30-1 Jan. 1865), and the Cobourg Theatre, 1818. He was the inventor of the roof known by his name, besides a number of machines, &c. He died in Mount Gardens, Lambeth, on 5 Feb. 1839.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists; Gent. Mag.* (1839), i. 329.] C. M.

**CABELL, BENJAMIN BOND** (1781-1874), patron of art, fourth son of George Cabell, apothecary, of 17 Wigmore Street, London, by Mary, daughter of Thomas Bliss, astronomer royal, was born in Vere Street, London, in 1781, educated at Westminster School, and matriculated from Oriel College, Oxford, 19 June 1800, 'aged 17;' thence he migrated to Exeter College on 25 Feb. 1801, but left the university in 1803 without a degree. He was called to the bar, at the Middle Temple, 9 Feb. 1816, when he went the Western and Somerset circuits. In 1850 he became a bencher of his inn. On 11 Aug. 1846 he entered parliament, in the conservative interest, as member for St. Albans, and in the following year, on 11 July, was returned for Boston, which he represented till 21 March 1857. He was a staunch supporter of protestant principles, and was in favour of very great alterations in the then existing poor laws; he opposed the grant to Maynooth, and, according to Dod's 'Parliamentary Companion,' 'was anxious to promote the improvement of the social, moral, and mental condition of the industrious classes.'

Cabell was elected a fellow of the Royal Society 19 Jan. 1837, was a magistrate for Norfolk, Middlesex, and Westminster, and served as high sheriff for the first-named county in 1854. He was president of the City of London General Pension Society, a vice-president

of the Royal Literary Fund, treasurer to the Lock Hospital, and sub-treasurer to the Infant Orphan Asylum. He was also a zealous and influential mason, being a trustee of the Royal Masonic Institution, and provincial grand master of the freemasons of Norfolk. His country residence was at Cromer Hall, Norfolk, and to Cromer and its neighbourhood he was a munificent benefactor, having defrayed the cost of building a lifeboat for the town, besides presenting a considerable piece of land for the purposes of a cemetery.

He was widely known as an art patron. He became a member of the Artists' Benevolent Fund, 1824, aided in obtaining a charter of incorporation for the society in 1827, and contributed 20*l.* towards the preliminary expenses. He died at 39 Chapel Street, Marylebone Road, London, 9 Dec. 1874, in his 94th year.

[*Solicitor's Journal*, 19 Dec. 1874, p. 128; *Law Times*, 19 Dec. 1874, p. 124; *Pye's Patronage of British Art*, 1845, pp. 358, 365, with portrait; *Times*, 11 Dec. 1874, p. 10.] G. C. B.

**CABOT, SEBASTIAN** (1474-1557), cosmographer and cartographer, was the second son of John Cabot, a Venetian pilot, who afterwards settled in Bristol as a merchant, probably as early as 1472, and who, after having made discoveries on the east coast of North America, assisted by his sons Sebastian, Lewes, and Sancto, is supposed to have died in Bristol about 1498.

Sebastian Cabot has recently been described as the 'Sphinx of North American history for over three hundred years' (WINSOR, iii. 32). A confusion between himself and his father on the part of many of his recent biographers has been the main cause of their perplexity. This error can be avoided by a cautious use of the materials found in the pages of Peter Martyr (Anglerius), Ramusio, Eden, and Hakluyt, checked by comparisons with the letters patent granted by Henry VII to the elder Cabot and his sons, 1496-8.

Recent writers have injudiciously rejected the old tradition that referred Sebastian Cabot's birthplace to Bristol in favour of a

comparatively new but suspicious story which removes it to Venice. One of the dreams of Sebastian's life, inherited from his father, was the finding of 'a new passage' to Cathay or Tanais, perhaps Tainsu, by the north or north-east (WEISE, p. 193). At the age of forty-eight years or thereabout, having received no encouragement in Spain, Sebastian endeavoured to secure the attention of Gaspar Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, whom he met at Valladolid in 1522, in order that the scheme should be brought before the council of ten in Venice. If we are to believe the ambassador, Cabot at a secret interview by night endeavoured to gain his ear by saying, 'Signor ambassador, per dirve il tuto io naqui a Venetia, ma sum nutrito in Inghilterra' (HARRISSE, p. 348). Assuming Contarini's report to be correct, Cabot's motive for ingratiating himself is so obvious that the interview must be regarded as a mere display of diplomatic finesse. Although negotiations were reopened as late as 12 Sept. 1551, Cabot never ventured to Venice in the interval of twenty-nine years to substantiate his claims as a citizen or his statements. In short, it is now shown and admitted by his latest biographer 'that all the alleged facts were used as a pretext and a blind was on both sides avowed' (WINSOR, iii. 31). The old tradition is in favour of Bristol, which Cabot had no motive for claiming falsely. Eden, the old friend of Cabot, while translating fol. 404 of vol. i. of G. B. Ramusio's 'II Navigations' of 1550 for his own 'Decades' in 1555, two years before Cabot's death, went out of his way to refute a similar story to Contarini's which he found in his text. In a marginal note Eden writes: 'Sebastian Cabot told me that he was borne in Brystowe, and that at iiij. yeare owld he was carried with his father to Venice, and so returned agayne into England with his father after certayne yeares, wherby he was thought to have bin born in Venice' (fol. 255).

There are two interesting accounts of Sebastian Cabot's early years which read as follows: 1. 'Sebastian Cabote, a Venetian borne, whom being yet but in maner an infante, his parentes caryed with them into England, havying occasion to resort thither for trade of marchandies, as is the maner of the Venetians too leave no parte of the worlde vnsearched to obteyne riches' (PETER MARTYR (ANGLERIUS), 3 Dec. bk. vi. Eden's trans. fol. 118). 2. 'When my father departed from Venice many yeares since to dwell in Englande to follow the trade of marchaundies, he took me with him to the citie of London whyle I was very yong, yet having nevertheless sum knowledge of letters of humanitie and of the

sphere' (RAMUSIO, Eden's trans. fol. 255). A glance at the movements of John Cabot in Spain and Italy after 1476 serves to show that these two accounts refer to the last journey of his parents (about 1493) from Venice to Bristol via London while Sebastian was a minor in his eighteenth year (cf. FOX BOURNE, i. 28).

Early in 1496 we find the name of Sebastian Cabot associated with those of his father and two brothers in the following petition to Henry VII: 'Please it your highness of your moste noble and haboundant Grace to grant unto John Cabotto, citezen of Venes, Lewes, Sebastyan, and Sancto, his sonneys, your gracious letteres patentees . . . according to the tenour hereafter ensuyng,' which was to commission them to sail for the discovery of islands, countries, &c., which were then unknown to all christians. These letters patent were granted on 5 March 1496. With this commission John Cabot and his sons set sail from Bristol in the spring of the following year with two ships, one of which was named the Matthew, which resulted in the discovery of the new-found lands of Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia on St. John's day 1497. On 3 Feb. 1498 letters patent were granted, in the name of John Cabot only, for a second expedition to the field of his first discoveries; the fleet of five ships set sail early in the summer and was expected to return towards September. According to Raimondo di Sincino, who wrote on 18 Dec. 1497, these discoveries were recorded by John Cabot on a map, and also on a globe, which are now lost (WEISE, p. 192). Nothing is known of the termination of this second voyage, and from this period the history of John Cabot ceases.

It is much to be feared, from the ambiguous and often contradictory accounts of the voyages of 1497 to 1499 in contemporary chronicles, that nearly if not all the discoveries that are usually assigned to Sebastian Cabot are really those of his father. According to Stow (p. 862) Sebastian (?) Cabot 'made a voyage with two ships in the 14th yeare of Henry VII,' or 1499. If this is the voyage referred to by Peter Martyr (EDEN, p. 119), Lopez de Gomara (*ib.* 318), and Galvano, he, or more probably his father, must have sailed along the coast of Labrador almost up to latitude 60° north and have returned along the coast of Baccalos, or Newfoundland, thence almost out of sight of land down to latitude 30°, whence he steered for England. The descriptions of the regions explored apply to no portion of the United States, but only to the coasts of Cape Breton Island and Nova Scotia, as laid down upon

the famous map of 1544 noticed below (cf. WEISE, p. 202). Of the nature of these discoveries nothing is known. There were other expeditions to Newfoundland set forth by the Bristol merchants Nicholas Thorn the elder and Eliot, assisted by Portuguese, from 1501 to 1505, but there is no evidence that Sebastian Cabot was in any way connected with them; on the contrary, according to a contemporary manuscript hitherto unnoticed by Cabot's biographers, 'Sebastyan . . . was never in that land [i.e. Newfoundland] himself, and made report of many things only as he heard his father and other men speke in times past' (HERBERT, i. 411). We hear nothing more of him for the next dozen years, during which period he was doubtless well employed in the study of the accounts of the discoveries of Columbus and his followers. His fame as a cartographer had already attracted the notice of Henry VIII, for we read in the king's exchequer accounts in May 1512: 'Paid Sebastian Tabot (*sic* Cabot), making of a carde of Gascoigne and Guyon (Guienne), 20s.' (*Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 21481). Feeling, however, dissatisfied at the want of encouragement from the king, at the instance of Lord Willoughby he went to Spain in the following autumn, and entered the service of King Ferdinand the Catholic as cartographer, and a member of the council of the New Indies, with the rank of captain, at a yearly salary of 50,000 maravedis. He was ordered to remain in Seville in readiness for any work that might be assigned to him. Before the close of the year he married Catalina Medrano, evidently a Spaniard (NAVARRETE, ii. 698). On 18 Nov. 1515 Cabot figures as one of the cosmographers who met to define the rights of the Spanish crown to the Moluccas (*ib.* iii. 319). About this period he was directed to prepare for a voyage of discovery towards the north-west. According to Peter Martyr, 'this voyage' was 'appointed to bee begunne in March in the yeare next followyng, being the yeare of Chryst, 1516' (EDEN, p. 119). But this and other projects were frustrated by the death of Ferdinand on 23 Jan. previous, and by the jealous conduct of Cardinal Ximenes as regent, which led to Cabot's return to England towards the end of the year (FOX BOURNE, i. 42).

This brings us to the well-known story of the disputed voyage of Cabot with Sir Thomas Perte about the year 1517. The sole authority for this voyage is Eden, in his 'Treatyse of Newe India.' In the dedication he writes: 'Kynge Henry the VIII about the same yere of his raygne, furnished and sent forth certen shippes under the gouernance

of Sebastian Cabot, yet living (1553), and one Syr Thomas Perte, whose faynt heart was the cause that that viage took none effect.' Hakluyt in 1589, in his eagerness to confirm Eden's story, had the misfortune, through a printer's error in 'Ramusio' (iii. 204), to associate it with an incident in a voyage now known to be that of John Rut (Rotz?), correctly recorded in Oviedo's earlier work of 1535 (cap. xiii. fol. 161) under its true date of 1527. Hence the confusion, which has led not only to the rejection of Eden's story, but also of Cabot's own statement that he was in England in 1517 or thereabouts. In Contarini's despatch quoted above, Cabot, on the Christmas eve of 1522, is reported to have said, 'Now it so happened that when in England some three years ago, unless I err, Cardinal Wolsey offered me high terms if I would sail with an armada of his on a voyage of discovery; the vessels were almost ready, and they had got together 30,000 ducats for their outfit.' Observing that he could not do so without the emperor's leave, he adds: 'I wrote to the emperor by no means to give me leave to serve the King of England. . . and that on the contrary he should recall me forthwith' (*Miscell. Philobiblon Soc.* ii. 15). Although Cabot may have exaggerated the purport of a chance conversation with Wolsey, there can be no reasonable doubt that he was in England probably till the close of 1519. That he knew Perte is also probable, as the latter was of an old Bristol family (cf. *Brit. Mus. Add. MS.* 29866). A careful review of all the known facts relating to this much-disputed voyage serves to show that it is highly probable that Henry VIII, through Wolsey, took advantage of Cabot's temporary stay in England at this period to request him to organise a small expedition, which 'tooke none effect,' or perhaps did not even leave our shores, either through the timidity or jealousy of Perte, who at this period was a yeoman of the crown and overseer of ballasting ships in the Thames (BREWER, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 110, and NORDEN, p. 39). A second visit by Cabot, and a second failure of a voyage in 1519, as suggested by Harris (p. 116), evidently refer to the same story. On 6 May 1519 Cabot was appointed pilot-major to Charles V when he returned to Spain. From this period up to the time of his interview with Contarini in 1522 he appears to have been employed in making researches in reference to the variation of the needle first observed by Columbus. In the spring of 1524 he attended the conference of Badajoz as an expert on behalf of the emperor, which terminated in assigning the Moluccas to Spain,



and Brazil to Portugal. In April 1526 he was appointed to the command of an expedition to Brazil. He visited the river and adjoining district of La Plata, and founded a fort at San Salvador, spending nearly four years in attempting to lay the foundations of the Spanish conquest of South America. The attempt was such a failure, that on his return to Spain in August 1530 he was imprisoned for nearly a year, and afterwards condemned by the council of the Indies to two years' banishment to Oran in Africa for mismanagement and excesses committed during the course of the expedition. He, however, returned to Seville in June 1533, and was soon reinstated in his former position. As remarked by Oviedo, Cabot was 'a good person, and skilful in his office of cosmography, and making a map of the whole world in plane or in a spherical form, but it is not the same thing to command and govern people as to point a quadrant or an astrolabe' (ii. 169). For the next eleven years his duties as examiner of pilots in the Contractation House at Seville were varied by several voyages too unimportant to dwell upon (EDEN, p. 256), and in compiling materials for his famous mappemonde. The original of this famous map was drawn on parchment, and illuminated with gold and colours. The last that was heard of the manuscript was the sale of it at the decease of Juan de Ovando, president of the Council of the Indies, in September 1575. Another draft of it was afterwards engraved, apparently in three different states; the first in 1544; the second edition, dated 1549, and seen by Nicholas Chytraeus (Kochhoff) in 1566; a third one, 'cut by Clement Adams [q. v.], which in his day was to be seen in the privie gallery at Westminster, and in many other ancient merchants' houses.' Of these the only one preserved to us is the unique example which was discovered in Germany in 1844, and which is now so distinguished an exhibit in the Galerie de Géographie of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. It is projected in plano on an ellipse with a longitudinal axis of 39 inches, and a parallel axis of 44 inches, engraved and coloured. It bears the following inscription: 'Sebastian Caboto capitán, y piloto mayor de la S.c.c.m. del Imperador don Carlos quinto . . . hizo esta figura extensa en plano, anno de . . . J.C. 1544.' There are legends on the map both in Latin and Spanish, the latter being corrupted at the hands of a Fleming. It was probably printed at Antwerp, the great centre of the production of geographical works at this period. It embodies not only Cabot's discoveries in South America,

and those of his father in North America, but also those of the Portuguese and Spaniards down to his day. It served as the model for all the general maps of the world afterwards published in Italy, and also for the well-known 'Typus orbis terrarum' by Abraham Ortelius of Antwerp, so often reproduced by Hakluyt and others down to the end of the sixteenth century. Cabot's last official act as pilot-major to Charles V was the exercise of his censorship upon Pedro Medina's 'Arte de Nauegar,' Valladolid, 1544, fol.

Shortly after the death of Henry VIII (28 Jan. 1547), Cabot received tempting offers from friends in England to transfer his services to the country of his birth. That no time was lost in accepting them is proved by the following minute of the privy council of Edward VI under date of 9 Oct. 1547: 'Mr. Peckham had warrant for 100 li for the transporting of one Shabot (*sic*), a pilot, to come out of Hispain to serve and inhabit in England.' According to Strype (ii. i. 296), he once more settled in his native town, Bristol. In the following January he was awarded a pension of 166*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by the year during his life (RYMER, xv. 181). No sooner had this news reached the ears of the Emperor Charles at Brussels, than he somewhat imperiously, through the English ambassador there, conveyed to the privy council in England his desire that 'Sebastian, grand pilot of the emperor's Indies, then in England, be sent over to Spain as a very necessary man for the emperor, whose servant he was, and had a pension of him' (STRYPE, *loc. cit.*) On 21 April 1550 the privy council in England replied, 'that as for Sebastian Cabot, he of himself refused to go either into Spain or to the emperor, and that he being of that mind, and the King of England's subject, no reason or equity would that he should be forced or compelled to go against his will' (*Harl. MS.* 523, fol. 6). This application was renewed in the reign of Queen Mary on 9 Sept. 1553, but without result. Hakluyt records (iii. pref.) that King Edward, in addition to his pension, advanced him to be grand pilot of England. This, however, is an error, as no mention is made of it in either of the three patents relating to his pension. This honorary office was first created for Stephen Borough [q. v.] in 1563. Important work was soon found for Cabot, in addition to a general supervision of the maritime affairs of the country. He was called upon to settle the long growing disputes that had almost reached their height between the merchants of the steelyard, a colony of German traders of the Hanseatic League, and the mer-

chants of London, who for a long period had suffered from the monopolies exercised by the former. For his good offices on this occasion Cabot was awarded by the crown in March 1551 a further gratuity of 200*l*. (STRYPE, II. ii. 76).

This brings us to the crowning work of Cabot's career. He was not the discoverer of North America—an honour never claimed for him by his contemporaries or the chronicles of the sixteenth century—but he was the first governor of the Merchant Adventurers, and founder of a new era in the history of commerce and British merchant shipping. Having brought to so successful an issue the steelyard grievances, Cabot's further advice was sought by 'certain grave citizens of London' for the removal of the great stagnation in trade resulting from the disturbed and warlike state of the continent. 'After much speech and conference together,' the merchants were induced by him to make an effort 'for the searche and discoverie of the northern part of the world by sea to open a way and passage to Cathay by the North-East.' Cabot's advice was adopted, and the Company of Merchant Adventurers was formed and incorporated on 18 Dec. 1551, with Cabot as governor for life. In May 1553 a fleet of three vessels was prepared, and set forth under the supervision of Cabot, with Sir H. Willoughby for admiral, and R. Chancellor for chief pilot. The first results of this expedition were the accidental discovery of Russia by the latter in the following August, and the opening up five years later by Ant. Jenkinson of the first English trade across the Caspian Sea to Central Asia. Although Cabot's pension had been renewed to him by Queen Mary on 27 Nov. 1555, the tide in Cabot's affairs appears to have reached its height in the latest sketch of him afforded us in the account of the setting forth of the Searchthrift in the adventurers' third voyage to Russia in May 1556. Stephen Borough writes: 'The good old gentleman, Master Cabot, accompanied with divers gentlemen and gentlewomen,' went to Gravesend to inspect the ship previous to its departure. 'Master Cabot,' adds Borough, 'gave to the poor most liberal alms, wishing them to pray for the good fortune and prosperous success of the Searchthrift; and then, at the sign of the Christopher, he and his friends banqueted, and made me and them that were in the company great cheer; and, for very joy that he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himself among the rest of the young and lusty company; which being ended, he and his friends departed, most gently commending us to the governance of Almighty God'

(HAKLUYT, i. 274). Within a week of King Philip's entry into London on 27 May 1557, Cabot was called upon to resign his pension, only to be allowed to share it two days later with William Worthington, perhaps out of royal spite for withdrawing himself from the service of Spain. Concerning the date and place of Cabot's death we have no information, but there is evidence of a negative character from which it may safely be inferred that he was already dead soon after the middle of 1557. The only account of Cabot's death on record is by his friend Eden, who writes: 'Sebastian Cabot, on his deathbed, told me that he had the knowledge [of the art of finding longitude] by divine revelation, yet so that he myght not teach any man. But I think that the goode olde man, in that extreme age, somewhat doted, and had not yet, even in the article of death, vtterly shaken of (*sic*) all worldly vayne glorie' (J. TAINIERUS, *Book concerning Navigation*. Translated by R. Eden, London, n. d.—*circa* 1574).

With the exception of the engraved map of 1544 and its facsimile, natural size, executed by M. Jomard, no literary relics of Cabot are extant. All that Bristol has to show as a relic is what is known as the Dun Cow, the rib of a cow whale preserved in the western entrance of St. Mary Redcliffe Church, supposed to have been placed there in 1497 as a trophy of Cabot's discovery of Newfoundland (ARROWSMITH, pp. 100, 255). A street near the church is still known as Cathay. There was formerly a portrait of Cabot in the time of James I in the king's private gallery at Whitehall. This, or another copy of it, was discovered in Scotland in 1792 by Mr. C. J. Harford of Bristol, who purchased it some years later. It was afterwards purchased by Mr. R. Biddle, the author of the memoir of Cabot, but was destroyed by fire with his mansion at Pittsburg in 1845. It bore the following inscription: 'Effigies Sebastiani Caboti filii Johannis Caboti Veneti, militis aurati primi invetoris Terræ Novæ sub Henrico VII, Angliæ Rege.' An engraving of it was made for Seyers's 'Memoirs' (ii. 208). Cabot is here represented with a pair of compasses and a globe, dressed in his fur robe and gold chain, believed to be his official dress as governor of the Merchant Adventurers. To this day, in the Saba della Scudo in the ducal palace (Venice), there is a full-length portrait of Sebastian Cabot, copied (in the year 1763) apparently from a picture attributed to Holbein. It bears an additional inscription as follows: 'Henricus VII Angliæ Rex Joannem Cabotam et Sebastianum Filium . . . Hac spe amissa eo tamen navigatore Terra nova

detecta et Florida promontorium' (*Philobiblon Soc. Miscell.* ii. 25).

[Arber's First Three English Books on America, 1886; Arrowsmith and Spear's Dictionary of Bristol, 1884; Biddle's Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, 1831; Bourne's English Seamen under the Tudors, 1868; Brewer's Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, 1870; Eden's Treatise of Newe India, 1553; Eden's Decades of the Newe Worlde, 1555 (see also Taisnier infra); Hakluyt's Voyages and Navigations, 1599-1600; Harris's Jean et Sébastien Cabot, Paris, 1882; Herbert's Twelve Livery Companies of London, 1837; Jomard's Les Monuments de la Géographie, Paris, 1842, No. xx.; Navarrete's Biblioteca Marítima Española, Madrid, 1851; Nicholls's Remarkable Life of Sebastian Cabot, 1869; Norden's Speculum Britanniae, Middlesex, 1693; Oviedo's Historia General de Indias, Seville, 1535; Ramusio's Navigationi, vol. i. Venice, 1550; Rymer's Foedera, 1741, vol. xv.; Seyers's Memoires of Bristol, 1821-3; Stevens's Sebastian Cabot—John Cabot = O! Boston, 1870; Strype's Eccles. Mem. Oxford, 1822; Taisnier's Book concerning Navigation, trans. by Eden, n.d. (circa 1574); Weise's Discoveries of America to 1525, New York, 1884; Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of America, vols. ii. iii. iv. Boston, 1885; Major, in *Archæologia*, vol. xliii. 1870; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. v. 1, 154, 193, 263, 285, 3rd ser. i. 48, 125, 366, 5th ser. iii. 468, iv. 54, v. 405; Penny Cyclopædia; Twiss, in *Nautical Mag.* vol. xlv. 1876; Cheney, in *Philobiblon Soc. Miscellanies*, vol. ii. 1856; *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 21481, 29866, Harl. 525. For a few additional French and Italian authorities cf. Harris's pp. 369, 375.] C. H. C.

**CADDICK, RICHARD, D.D.** (1740-1819), Hebraist, was educated at Christ Church College, Oxford, and took the degree of B.A. on 5 June 1776, and that of M.A. on 20 June 1799. In the latter year he published a small Hebrew grammar, which is very inaccurate and inconveniently arranged. From an advertisement prefixed to this volume, it appears that he had previously issued an edition of the gospels in Hebrew. In 1799-1800 he published an edition of the Hebrew New Testament, in 3 vols. This was a corrected reprint of the translation published by G. Robertson in 1641, which is substantially identical with Hutter's version of 1599. Caddick's edition was issued simultaneously in two forms, viz. separately, and interleaved with the authorised English translation. In 1805 it was reprinted, interleaved with the Greek and the Latin Vulgate texts as well as the English. In 1802 Caddick published three sermons, the titles of which are 'True Christianity,' 'Peace the Christian's Happiness,' and 'Counsel for Christians.' In 1805 he issued proposals for

printing by subscription a Hebrew and English edition of the Book of Common Prayer, an annotated edition of the Old and New Testaments in Hebrew and English, and 'A Volume of Sermons preached in the Parish Churches in and about the Cities of London and Westminster from 1780 to 1804.' It does not appear, however, that any of these works were actually published. During the last forty years of his life he resided in or near London—in Whitehall, at Islington, and at Fulham, where he died on 30 May 1819. The obituary in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' gives him the title of D.D., but he did not obtain this degree either from his own university or from that of Cambridge.

[*Gent. Mag.* lxxxix. pt. i. 587, 655; List of Graduates of Oxford University.] H. B.

**CADE, JOHN** (d. 1450), rebel, commonly called Jack Cade, was an Irishman by birth, and is spoken of as a young man at the time of his rebellion; but nothing is known of his personal history till a year before that date. He was then living in the household of Sir Thomas Dacre in Sussex, but was obliged suddenly to leave it and abjure the realm for the murder of a woman who was with child. He fled to France and served for a short time in the war against England, but within a few months ventured to return, and apparently settled in Kent, taking the name of Aylmer to conceal his identity, and giving himself out as a physician. In this character he gained so much credit as to marry a squire's daughter, 'of Taundede,' which may perhaps be Tandridge, in Surrey; and the next thing we know of him is that in 1450, 'gaily beseen in scarlet,' he became leader of the commons in Kent when they rose in rebellion against the extortions practised by the king's officers.

Recent researches have shown that this rebellion was a much more formidable thing than older historians lead us to suppose. It was by no means an outbreak of 'the filth and scum of Kent.' No nobleman, indeed, appears openly to have taken part in it, and only one knight; but apparently the greater part of the gentry, with the mayors of towns and the constables of the different hundreds, rose along with the rebels. The men were summoned as if by lawful authority, and in many districts it is clear that all who were capable of bearing arms joined in the movement. It was not a democratic rising. According to Fabyan the people chose a captain to whom they gave the name of Mortimer, and professed to consider him as the cousin of the Duke of York; 'but of most,' says the chronicler, 'he was named Jack Cade.'

Gascoigne, another writer of that age, says he was descended from Roger Mortimer, a bastard (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, p. 190). It is, however, by no means certain that Cade was the captain originally chosen; for one contemporary authority recently brought to light distinctly says that he was not (GREGORY, *Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 191, Camden Soc.) In any case it is clear that the ringleaders desired to give the movement the appearance of being supported by men of distinguished birth, and to suggest that their captain was connected with the family of the Duke of York. It is, moreover, admitted by the chroniclers that the captain chosen performed his part so far well that he established good discipline, and, as it is said, 'kept the people wondrously together.' This we should scarcely expect of an audacious adventurer such as we have described, and as a matter of fact Cade certainly did not do so after he entered London. So that we are the more inclined to believe that the original leader disappeared before the insurgents reached the capital, and that the cool audacity of Cade served the purpose of the other leaders well in concealing his defection or loss.

The rebellion first broke out about Whitsuntide in the latter part of May. The rebels encamped upon Blackheath on 1 June, where they 'made a field diked and staked well about, as it had been in the land of war.' The king (Henry VI) suddenly dissolved parliament, which had been holding its sittings before him at Leicester, and came to London on the 6th. He sent a deputation of lords, spiritual and temporal, to know the demands of the rebels, who replied by their captain that they desired the removal of certain traitors who had too much influence in his council. On this orders were sent that every loyal man should avoid the field, and the king prepared to march against them in person. The host obeyed the proclamation so far that they retreated to Sevenoaks in the night. Next morning the king and his lords rode through London in their best array, and set out against the retreating host with a following of 10,000 men. They encamped on the ground vacated by the insurgents, against whom they sent on a detachment under Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother William. But the result was disastrous; for after a severe conflict these forces were defeated, and both the Staffords slain. The news spread consternation in the royal camp at Blackheath. Many of the king's council had previously urged that a favourable answer should be given to the insurgents, and they now protested that they would openly take

part with them unless Lord Say were placed in custody. The king was obliged to yield. Lord Say was committed to the Tower, and the royal army returned to London. A few days later the king thought it prudent to remove to Kenilworth, and all resistance to the rebels was abandoned. They accordingly prepared to enter the city. And this was the time, according to Gregory, that another captain took the place of the first, pretending to be the same. If so, the first may have been slain at Sevenoaks, and the fact of his death concealed. Indeed, the first action recorded of the leader which seems really characteristic of an adventurer occurred on the field of Sevenoaks itself; where, as we learn from Fabian, the captain arrayed himself in the apparel of the vanquished knight, Sir Humphrey Stafford, 'and did on him his bryganders set with gilt nails, and his salet and gilt spurs.' Under him the host again occupied Blackheath from St. Peter's day, 29 June, to 1 July, when they entered Southwark. At Blackheath he kept up the reputation for discipline which the captain had already established by beheading a petty captain named Parys for disregard of his orders. Meanwhile a party within the common council had opened negotiations with him, and he had given a passport under his sign-manual to Thomas Cooke, draper, to come and go between them. He also made use of Cooke as his agent in the city, and gave him written instructions to compel the Lombards and other foreign merchants to furnish him with armour and weapons, six horses fully equipped, and 1,000 marks of ready money. 'And if this our demand be not observed and done,' so ran the instructions, 'we shall have the heads of as many as we can get of them.'

Cade was doubtless encouraged by the knowledge that the citizens were mostly in his favour. The common council had just ventured to depose an alderman by name Philip Malpas, whom they had been compelled to elect two years before at the recommendation of the court. On 2 July they were convoked by the mayor to take measures for resisting the rebels; but a large majority voted that they should be received into the city, and an alderman named Robert Horne, fishmonger, who strongly opposed the proposal, was committed to prison. Cade had taken up his quarters at the White Hart in Southwark; but that same afternoon he and his followers entered the city. After they had passed the drawbridge on London Bridge he hewed the ropes asunder. He rode in procession through the streets and struck his sword on London stone, saying, 'Now is Mortimer lord of this city;' but still keep-

ing up his character for good discipline he issued proclamations in the king's name against robbery and extortion, 'showed his mind to the mayor for the ordering of his people,' and returned to Southwark for the night. Next day (Friday, 3 July) he again entered the city, caused Lord Say to be sent for from the Tower, and had him arraigned before the mayor and other justices at the Guildhall. The unfortunate nobleman claimed to be tried by his peers; but a body of men sent by the captain took him from the officers and hurried him to the standard in Cheap, where they beheaded him before he was fully shriven. About the same time William Crowmer, sheriff of Kent, Say's son-in-law, who was execrated as the instrument of extortionate taxation, was seized and brought to Mile End, where he was beheaded in Cade's presence. The heads of Say and Crowmer were then carried through the streets upon poles and made to kiss each other. Another victim, named Bailey, who was also beheaded that day on a charge of necromancy, was believed to have been put to death by Cade's orders simply because he was an old acquaintance, who might have proclaimed his imposture.

It was but a trifling addition to these excesses that Cade also robbed the house of the unpopular Philip Malpas. That night he returned again to Southwark, and next morning came back as before, dined in a house in the parish of St. Margaret Pattens, and robbed his host. The better class of citizens were now seriously alarmed for the security of property; and the mayor and aldermen took counsel with Lord Scales and Matthew Gough, to whom the king, when he retired to Kenilworth, had entrusted the keeping of the Tower. As Cade withdrew once more into Southwark for the night, it was determined not to let him enter the city again. Next day, 5 July, was a Sunday, and he apparently made no effort to do so, though there was no open show of opposition. He seems to have had some difficulties with his own men, and caused one, William Hawarden, a common thief, who had been his chief councillor, to be beheaded in Southwark (William Worcester says in Smithfield, but evidently by mistake. Compare *FABIAN*). In the evening the mayor and citizens, with a force under Matthew Gough, occupied London Bridge to prevent the Kentish men re-entering the city. Cade at once called his men to arms, and set upon the citizens so furiously that he drove them from the Southwark end of the bridge to the drawbridge in the centre. After midnight the drawbridge was set on fire by the insurgents, and many of the

citizens were slain or drowned. The veteran Matthew Gough himself perished in the conflict. Before this Cade had broken open the King's Bench and Marsbalsea prisons, and the released prisoners came gladly to his aid. All night the battle raged between the drawbridge and the bulwark at the bridge foot in Southwark, till about nine in the morning the Kentish men gave way, and both sides being exhausted a truce was agreed on for some hours.

The opportunity was seized by the leading members of the council to terminate disorders by an amnesty. Cardinal Kemp, archbishop of York, the chancellor, with Archbishop Stafford of Canterbury, who had only recently resigned the chancellorship, and Waynfleet, bishop of Winchester, held a conference with Cade in St. Margaret's Church, Southwark, at which terms were arranged, and two general pardons were afterwards sent by the chancellor, one for Cade himself and the other for his followers. The men eagerly availed themselves of the general pardon; but unfortunately the other, being made out in the name of Mortimer, was invalid. It was not, however, till about a week later that the captain's real name appears to have been discovered; and meanwhile, trusting to the security of his pardon, he seems to have remained in Southwark till the 8th. He had, however, taken care to secure a quantity of booty in a barge, and have it conveyed by water to Rochester, whither he himself repaired on the 9th, passing on his way through Dartford, and raising new commotions as he went. He continued at Rochester for two days, and went on to Queenborough, where he and his followers attempted to capture the castle, but were resisted by Sir Roger Chamberlain. On the 12th a proclamation was issued against him, in which he was for the first time named John Cade, and a reward of 1,000 marks was offered to any one who would bring him to the king alive or dead. He now perceived that the game was desperate, and escaped in disguise towards the woody country about Lewes. But one Alexander Iden, 'a squire of Kent,' who had either already been, or more probably was soon after, appointed sheriff of Kent in the place of the murdered Crowmer, pursued him to the neighbourhood of Heathfield in Sussex, where he found him on 12 July in a garden, and took him prisoner, but not without a struggle, in which Cade received a mortal wound. He was put into a cart by his captor and conveyed up to London, but died by the way. On the following morning, Monday the 13th, his naked body was identified by the hostess of the White Hart in Southwark.

It was taken to the King's Bench prison, where it lay from that day till the evening of Thursday the 16th. Then it was beheaded and quartered, and the remains were conveyed upon a hurdle through the streets, the head resting between the breasts. First from the king's bench they made the round of Southwark, then passed over London Bridge to Newgate. Finally the head was taken and set up on London Bridge, and of the four quarters one was delivered to the constable of the hundred of Blackheath. The other three were sent to the cities of Norwich, Salisbury, and Gloucester for public exhibition.

Many questions have arisen in connection with Cade's rebellion, and especially with regard to his personality, which it is not easy to answer with confidence. One recent writer questions the fact of his supposed low birth, on the ground that an act of attainder was passed against him after the rebellion. But his marriage with the daughter of an English squire might have given him some landed property, or at least some reversionary interest, which would fully account for the passing of such an act. It is remarked also that the name of Cade was not uncommon in Sussex, in the neighbourhood of Heathfield, where he was taken. There is no certainty, however, that the name of Cade descended to him from his father any more than that of Mortimer. In official records as well as chronicles he is declared to have been an Irishman, and his real origin was probably obscure. A point of more importance as regards the political significance of the rising is whether there was any understanding, as commonly supposed, between Cade and the Duke of York. If there was, it must be owned that Cade was a most unfaithful ally, for among the booty which he seized during the rebellion were jewels belonging to the duke, for which the king afterwards ordered the latter to be recompensed to the value of 114*l*. (DEVON, *Issue Rolls*, 467-8).

[Fabyan's Chronicle; Wyrcester's Annales, 470-2 (at end of Hearne's *Liber Niger*); English Chronicle, ed. J. S. Davies (Camd. Soc.), 64-7; Collections of a London Citizen (Camd. Soc.), 190-194; Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles (Camd. Soc.), 66-8, 94; Paston Letters (Gairdner's ed.), i. 132-5; Rolls of Parliament, v. 224; Devon's Issue Rolls, 466-72, 476; Hall's Chronicle (ed. 1809), 220-2; Holinshed (ed. 1587), iii. 632; Ellis's Letters, 2nd series, i. 113; Orridge's Illustrations of Jack Cade's Rebellion.] J. G.

CADE, JOHN (1734-1806), antiquary, was born in January 1734, at Darlington, where he was educated at the free grammar school. Entering the house of a wholesale

linendraper in London, he in a few years was promoted to the first position in the counting-house, and subsequently became a partner in a branch of the concern at Dublin. Having obtained a sufficient competency, he retired from business, and occupied himself with antiquarian studies. He collected illustrations for a copy of Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's 'Britannia,' and also supplied Gough with many corrections for his edition. He sent to Nichols 'Some Conjectures on the Formation of Peat-mosses in the mountainous parts of the Counties of Durham, Northumberland, &c.,' printed in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' lix. 967. Though not a member of the Society of Antiquaries, he contributed several papers to their 'Archæologia,' including 'Conjectures concerning some undescribed Roman Roads and other Antiquities in the County of Durham,' vii. 74; 'A Letter from Rev. Dr. Sharp, Archdeacon of Northumberland, to Mr. Cade,' *ib.* 82; 'Conjectures on the name of the Roman Station Vinovium or Birchester,' *ib.* ix. 276; and 'Some Observations on the Roman Station of Cataractonium, with an account of the Antiquities in the neighbourhood of Piersbridge and Gainford; in a letter to Richard Gough, Esq.,' *ib.* x. 54. He died at Gainford 10 Dec. 1806, and was buried at Darlington.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. viii. 313-28; Gent. Mag. vol. lxxvi. pt. ii. p. 1252.] T. F. H.

CADE or CADDY, LAURENCE (*Jl.* 1583), a catholic seminarist, was a gentleman of a good family, and received his education at Trinity College, Cambridge, but does not appear to have graduated. On becoming a Roman catholic he went abroad, and was admitted into the English College of Douay on 11 June 1578. Soon after his return to England he was apprehended, and being unwilling to answer such questions as were put to him, he was committed to the Tower. His relatives and friends brought him back to the church of England, and in 1581 he recanted at St. Paul's Cross and regained his liberty, but before long he returned to the catholic religion, and in April 1583 he was preparing himself for admission among the Carmelites at Paris. The 'Palinodia' which he published at this period is printed in Bridgewater's 'Concertatio Ecclesiæ Catholicæ in Anglia.' Dodd states that he 'was very instrumental in moderating the fury of John Nicols, who, having also been a student at Rome, had prevaricated, and not only published several scandalous libels against the catholics abroad, but was contriving to do that party all the mischief he could by turning priest-catcher.'

[Bridgewater's Concertatio (1589-94), iii. 223, 234-8; Dodd's Church Hist. ii. 157; Report of the Apprehension and Imprisonment of John Nicols, 18, 24; Addit. MS. 5865, f. 104; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 451; Diaries of the English College, Douay, pp. 142, 323-5, 358; Memorials of Card. Allen.] T. C.

CADE, SALUSBURY, M.D. (1660?-1720), physician, born in Kent about 1660, was educated as a foundation scholar at Lewisham grammar school. He was of Trinity College, Oxford, and graduated M.D. in 1691, having been admitted a licentiate of the College of Physicians three years previously. He was elected a fellow in 1694, and was twice censor. He was appointed physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital on 14 Oct. 1708, and held the office till his death, on 22 Dec. 1720. He lived at Greenwich till he obtained this appointment, and thenceforward in the Old Bailey. A Latin letter of Cade's, dated 8 Sept. 1716, on the treatment of small-pox, is printed in Robert Freind's folio edition of Dr. John Freind's 'Works' (London, 1733). It shows him to have had a large experience of the disease. He makes the interesting observation that he had never known a case of hæmaturia in small-pox survive the sixteenth day from the eruption, and his remarks on treatment are enlightened. His name is met with as giving official sanction to books published during his censorship, and in the 'Pharmacopœia Pauperum' of 1718 a prescription of his for a powder to be taken internally for skin diseases is preserved. It was called Pulvis Æthiopicus, and consisted of one part of æthiopic mineral to two of crude antimony.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. i. 510; Manuscript Journals St. Bartholomew's Hospital; original printed lists of fellows at College of Physicians; St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports, xx. 287.]

N. M.

CADELL (*d.* 909), king of Ceredigion and afterwards of Powys, was one of the six warlike sons of Rhodri Mawr, the most powerful of the early Welsh kings. If we can trust a late authority, he was Rhodri's eldest son, and received as his patrimony Ceredigion, with the palace at Dinevwr, and an overlordship over his other brothers. In 877 Rhodri was slain by the Saxons, and Cadell entered upon his turbulent reign. In conjunction with his brothers he ravaged and devastated the neighbouring states of Dyved and Brecheiniog to such purpose that the latter gladly accepted the help of King Alfred against a nearer and more terrible foe (ASSER, *M. H. B.* 488 B.C.) Not long after the sons of Rhodri were compelled themselves to become Alfred's men (*?* 885. Mr. J. R. Green's 'Conquest of

England,' p. 183, dates the submission of the house of Rhodri in 897). The harmony between the brothers did not long survive their defeat. In 894 Anarawd, the king of Gwynedd, joined the English in a devastating inroad into Cadell's territory, and burnt remorselessly all the houses and corn in Dyved and Ystrad Towy (*Annales Cambriæ, Gwentian Brut*). Soon after Rhodri's death Cadell is said to have driven his brother Mervyn out of Powys and added it to his possessions (*Gwentian Brut*, 876); but as Mervyn continued alive until 903 (*An. Camb. MS. B.*), and was still styled king of Powys (*Gwentian Brut*, which puts his death in 892), it is very improbable that a lasting conquest was effected. Anyhow, as Anarawd continued to reign in Gwynedd, Cadell certainly was not, as the 'Gwentian Brut' asserts, thus made king over all Wales. Indeed, it is quite probable that Anarawd was the elder of the sons of Rhodri. Besides civil feuds and Saxon invasions the period of Cadell's reign was signalled by repeated invasions of the 'black pagans,' as the Welsh called the Irish Danes, which culminated in 906 in the destruction of St. David's. Three years afterwards Cadell died (909 *A. C. MS. A.* 907 *B. y T.*, 900 *Gwentian B.*). Three of his sons are mentioned by the chronicles, Howel, Clydog, and Meurug. Of these the eldest became Cadell's successor, and was celebrated as Howel Dha, the wisest and best of the Welsh kings.

[*Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion; Asser's Vita Ælfredi*; and the later and less trustworthy *Gwentian Brut* (Cambrian Archaeological Association).] T. F. T.

CADELL (*d.* 943), a Welsh prince, was the son of Arthrael, the son of Hywel. He appears to have been lord of some portion of Morganwg, and perhaps, like Arthrael, of seven cantreds of Gwent as well. He died of poison in 943, according to the 'Annales Cambriæ,' in 941 according to the 'Brut y Tywysogion.' The less trustworthy 'Gwentian Brut,' which speaks with some authority for the part of Wales governed by Cadell, gives several other particulars about him. It also asserts that two of his immediate predecessors attained the patriarchal age of 120. In 933 King Æthelstan subdued all the Welsh princes, and on his death in 940 Cadell joined Idwal Voel and his brother in their effort to throw off the English yoke. On this account Cadell was slain by the Saxons 'through treachery and ambush.' It is quite clear that South-east Wales was during this period closely subject to the West Saxon kings, and there is nothing improbable in the story. Cadell, son of Arthrael, king

of Gwent, is mentioned in the 'Liber Landavensis' (p. 481) as approving and consenting to the pardon of a certain Llywarch, son of Cadwgan, by Bishop Gulfrid of Llandaff.

[Authorities cited in the text.] T. F. T.

CADELL (d. 1175), a South Welsh prince, the son of Gruffudd, the son of Rhys, the son of Tewdwr, succeeded, though perhaps jointly with his younger brothers, Anarawd, Maredudd, and Rhys, to the limited and precarious rule of those parts of Ceredigion and the vale of Towy which his father had managed to save from the Norman marchers (1137). Favoured by the anarchy of Stephen's reign, which prevented the possibility of direct English intervention, and involved Robert of Gloucester, the lord of Glamorgan, in weightier business than the extension of his Welsh dominions, Cadell's rule commenced under fortunate auspices. The return of Gruffudd to the old palace of the kings of Deheubarth at Dinevwr prepared the way for this, and his own assumption of the title of king after it had become unusual among the South Welsh reguli illustrates his importance. The silence of the chroniclers suggests that the first years of Cadell's government were peaceful. They were marked by an alliance with Owain Gwynedd. This alliance led in 1138 to a joint expedition of Cadell and his brother Anarawd, and of Owain and his brother Cadwaladr, with a fleet of Irish Danes against Aberteiv (Cardigan), a town in the possession of the Normans. Even the murder of Anarawd by Cadwaladr could not break the alliance, as Owain expelled his brother from Ceredigion to punish the crime (1143). In 1145 (*Annales Cambriae*; 1147 *Brut y Tywysogion*) Cadell and his brothers ventured on a general attack on the French castles which dominated the vale of Towy. The capture of Dinweleir, Earl Gilbert of Clare's stronghold (Dinevwr itself, according to the 'Gwentian Brut'), was followed by the conquest, after a severe struggle, of the important fortress of Carmarthen. While the young Maredudd repulsed an attempt of the colonists of South Pembroke-shire to regain that castle, the capture of Llanstephan, commanding the mouth of the Towy, and the seizure of Gwyddgrug by a night surprise, completed the conquest of the valley. Next year (1148 *A. C.*; 1146 *B. y T.*) the brothers marched against the castle of Gwys; but the intervention of Howel, son of Owain Gwynedd, in favour of the Normans, sufficiently accounted, as the native chronicler thought, for the failure of the assailants (*B. y T.*, MS. D.). But the continued possession of Carmarthen, 'the ornament and strength of Cadell's kingdom,' in 1152 (1153 *A. C.*;

1149 *B. y T.*) shows that the 'French' were permanently checked by the Welsh king's exploits. In the same year Cadell's devastation of Kidwelly threatened the English settlements in Gower; but soon afterwards his arms were diverted to the reconquest of Ceredigion, the old patrimony of the lords of Dinevwr, from Owain Gwynedd and his house. The first attack resulted in the capture of the country south of the Aeron, and next year the three brothers completed its entire conquest, save one castle. Llanrhystyd, Cadwaladr's lately built stronghold, was taken after a severe struggle, but soon after regained by Howel, son of Owain (1153), though the neighbouring castle of Ystradmeurig was repaired and held for the sons of Gruffudd ap Rhys. This was the last of Cadell's exploits. Not long after he fell, when out hunting, into an ambush prepared by the French or Flemings of Tenby, and was left by them 'half dead and cruelly bruised' (the 'Gwentian Brut' says the English of Gower laid the snare). This disaster apparently incapacitated him for the wild life of a Welsh chieftain. Henceforth Maredudd and Rhys alone carried on the war with French and North Welshmen. A few years later Cadell left his dominions to his brothers and went on pilgrimage to Rome (1152 *B. y T.*; 1157 *A. C.*) He returned in safety and continued a life remarkably long for his age and country until 1175 (*B. y T.*; 1177 *Gwentian B.*), when he died in the abbey of Strata Florida, where he had already assumed the monastic habit.

[*Annales Cambriae* (Rolls Ser.); *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls Ser.); *Gwentian Brut* (Camb. Arch. Soc.)] T. F. T.

CADELL, FRANCIS (1822-1879), Australian explorer, son of H. F. Cadell, was born at Cockenzie, near Prestonpans, February 1822, and, after a somewhat brief education in Edinburgh and Germany, became in his fourteenth year a midshipman in the service of the East India Company. The vessel in which he sailed being afterwards chartered by government as a transport, the lad took an active part in the first Chinese war, 1840-1841, being present at the siege of Canton, the capture of Amoy, Ningpo, &c., and winning honours as well as prize-money. When only twenty-two he obtained the command of a ship. He devoted the intervals between his voyages to obtaining a practical knowledge of shipbuilding and of the construction of the marine steam-engine in the shipbuilding yards of the Tyne and the workshops of the Clyde. On paying a visit to Australia in 1848, his attention being directed to the



navigation of the Murray, a subject then uppermost in the colonial mind, he carefully examined the mouth of that river and satisfied himself of the practicability of the scheme. Sir Henry Young, then governor of South Australia, offered a bonus of 4,000*l.* for the first two iron steamers, of not less than 40 horse-power and of not more than 2 ft. draught of water when loaded, that should successfully navigate the Murray from the town of Goolwa to the junction of the Darling river. Cadell, returning to Australia in 1850, and being encouraged by Sir Henry Young, set about determining the question of the opening up of the Murray. He started from Melbourne with a canvas boat carried on a packhorse, and, arriving at Swan Hill station, on the Upper Murray, launched his bark upon the waters of the great stream, and, with four gold-diggers as his companions, commenced a voyage of many hundred miles. His examination of the river convinced him that there would be little difficulty in navigating it with steamers, and his representations on this subject on his arrival in Adelaide led to the formation of the Murray Steam Navigation Company, chiefly promoted by himself and Mr. William Younghusband, for some years chief secretary of South Australia. The first steamship of the company's fleet was called the *Lady Augusta*, after the wife of the governor. On her voyage up the Murray, 25 Aug. 1853, accompanied by the *Eureka* barge, she was commanded by Cadell, and had as visitors Sir Henry and Lady Young. The *Lady Augusta* reached Swan Hill on 17 Sept., a distance of 1,300 miles from her starting-point, and returned thence with the first cargo of wool that had been floated on the Murray. At a banquet given to Sir Henry Young in Adelaide, a gold candelabrum of the value of 900 guineas, with a commemorative inscription, was handed to Cadell. At the same time three gold medals were struck by order of the legislature of South Australia, and one of them given to Cadell (*Illustrated London News*, 24 Feb. 1855, p. 173, and 11 Aug. 1855, p. 176). He continued for some time to run his vessel on the Murray, a higher point on the river being attained at each successive trip. His company then purchased two other steamers, the *Albury* and the *Gundagai*. In one of these, in October 1855, he reached the town of Albury, on the Upper Murray, a point 1,740 miles from the Goolwa. In 1856 he explored the Edward river, which, branching out of the Murray, rejoins it lower down after a course of 600 miles. During 1858 he succeeded, after a month's voyage, in reaching the town of

*Gundagai*, on the Murrumbidgee river, a spot distant 2,000 miles from the sea and in the very heart of New South Wales. In the following year he proceeded up the Darling river as far as Mount Murchison. Largely as Cadell's labours contributed to the development of the resources of the colony of Australia, he himself derived very little substantial reward from them. The sums granted in aid of his explorations were utterly inadequate to cover the expenses incurred, and in his eagerness to serve the public his attention was distracted from commercial pursuits. The Murray Steam Navigation Company, never a commercial success, was dissolved, and its founder, having lost all his money, retired into the bush and began life again as a settler on a small station near Mount Murchison, on the Darling.

In November 1867, when exploring in South Australia, he discovered the mouth of the river Roper and a tract of fine pastoral country, in latitude 14° S. The concurrence of bad seasons and misfortunes induced him at last to undertake a trading voyage to the Spice Islands. In his schooner, the *Gem*, fitted with auxiliary steam-power, he was on a passage from Amboyna to the Kei Islands, when he was murdered by his crew, who afterwards sank the vessel. This tragic event, which put an end to the career of one of the most enterprising and honourable of men, took place in the month of June 1879.

[Anthony Forster's *South Australia* (1866), pp. 68-74; Heaton's *Australian Dictionary of Dates*, p. 30, and part ii. p. 96; *Once a Week* (1863), viii. 667-70; *Times*, 7 Nov. 1879, p. 5.]  
G. C. B.

**CADELL, JESSIE** (1844-1884), novelist and orientalist, was born in Scotland 23 Aug. 1844, and at an early age accompanied her husband, an officer in the army, to India. She resided chiefly at Peshawur, and embodied her observations of frontier life in a pleasing novel, '*Ida Craven*' (1876). One of the principal characters in this work, a loyal Mahomedan officer, is drawn from personal observation, and is an instructive as well as an interesting study. To while away the tedium of cantonment life, Mrs. Cadell made herself mistress of Persian, and upon her return to England after the death of her husband devoted herself especially to the study of Omar Khayyam, the astronomer-poet of Persia. Without seeking to compete with Mr. Fitzgerald's splendid paraphrase in its own line, Mrs. Cadell contemplated a complete edition and a more accurate translation. She visited numerous public libraries in quest of manuscripts, and embodied a portion

of her researches in an article in 'Fraser's Magazine' for May 1879, on which Bodenstedt, when publishing his own German translation, bestowed the highest praise, without any idea that he was criticising the production of a female writer. It is to be hoped that her collections may yet be made serviceable. She was prevented from carrying out her intention by the decline of her health, and she died at Florence on 17 June 1884. 'She was,' the 'Athenæum' truly said, 'a brave, frank, true woman, bright and animated in the midst of sickness and trouble, disinterestedly attached to whatever was good and excellent, a devoted mother, a staunch and sympathising friend.'

[Athenæum, 28 June 1884; private information.] R. G.

CADELL, ROBERT (1788-1849), publisher, was a cadet of the family of Cadell of Cockenzie, East Lothian, and born there on 16 Dec. 1788. About the age of nineteen he entered the publishing house of Archibald Constable & Co., of Edinburgh [see CONSTABLE, ARCHIBALD], becoming in 1811 a partner, and in 1812 the sole partner of Constable, whose daughter he married in 1817. She died a year afterwards (he married a second time in 1821), and with her death began frequent disagreements between the two partners, Cadell being cautious and frugal, Constable lavish and enterprising to rashness. They agreed, however, as to the value of the firm's connection with Walter Scott, to whom Cadell, in the absence of his partner, once offered 1,000*l.* for an unwritten drama—'Halidon Hill.' During the commercial crisis of 1825-6, which brought the house of Constable to the ground, each partner desired to separate from the other, and to retain for himself the connection with Scott, in whose 'Diary' for 24 Jan. 1825 occurs the remark, 'Constable without Cadell is like getting the clock without the pendulum, the one having the ingenuity, the other the caution of the business.' Cadell's advice led Scott to reject a proposal of Constable's for the relief of the firm from its difficulties, which would have involved him in heavy pecuniary liabilities without averting either the ruin of the firm or Scott's consequent bankruptcy. In his 'Diary,' 18 Dec. 1825, Scott speaks gratefully of Cadell, who had brought good news and shown deep feeling. After the failure of the firm, Constable and Cadell dissolved partnership. Scott adhered to Cadell, who was the sole publisher of his subsequent novels, and their relationship became one of confidential intimacy. They resolved to unite in purchasing the property in the novels, from

'Waverley' to 'Quentin Durward,' with a majority of the shares in the poetical works, and determined to issue a uniform edition of the 'Waverley Novels,' with new prefaces and notes by the author. The copyrights were purchased for 8,500*l.* The publication of the 'author's edition' began in 1827, and was most successful. Cadell persuaded Scott not to issue a fourth 'Malachi Malagrowther' letter against parliamentary reform, partly on the ground that it might endanger the success of that edition of the novels. Scott made his will in Cadell's house in Edinburgh, and entrusted it to Cadell's keeping. Lockhart speaks of Cadell's 'delicate and watchful attention' to Scott during his later years. He accompanied Scott in his final journey from London to Edinburgh and Abbotsford in July 1832.

After Scott's death, the balance of his debts, through his partnership with the Balcantynes, was 30,000*l.* In 1833 Cadell made ('very handsomely,' Lockhart says) the offer, which was accepted, to settle at once with Scott's creditors on receiving as his sole security the right to the profits accruing from Scott's copyrights and literary remains until this new liability to himself should be discharged. Restricting his operations almost exclusively to the publication of Scott's works, he issued, with great success, an edition of the 'Waverley Novels,' 48 vols. 1830-1834, and in 1842-7 (12 vols.) the Abbotsford edition, which was elaborately illustrated, and on the production of which he is said to have expended 40,000*l.* Of a cheap 'people's' edition 70,000 copies, it is said, were sold. In 1847 there remained due to Cadell a considerable sum, and to other creditors on Scott's estate the greater part of an old debt for money raised on the house and lands of Abbotsford. Cadell offered to relieve the guardians of Sir Walter Scott's granddaughter from all their liabilities to himself and to the mortgagees of Abbotsford, on the transfer to him of the family's remaining rights in Scott's works, together seemingly with the future profits of Lockhart's 'Life of Scott.' Another stipulation was that Lockhart should execute for him an abridgment of that biography, and only gratitude to Cadell for his conduct in the whole business induced Lockhart to perform the task. The possessor of a handsome estate in land, and of considerable personal property, Cadell died on 20 Jan. 1849 at Ratho House, Midlothian, from which he was driven to his place of business in St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, every morning at nine, with such punctuality, that the inhabitants of the district traversed knew the time by the appearance of 'the

Ratho coach.' Lockhart characterises him as 'a cool, inflexible specimen of the national character,' and (*Ballantyne Humbug handled*, 1837) as 'one of the most acute men of business in creation.'

[Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, ed. 1860, and the 1871 reprint of his abridgment of it, 1848; Thomas Constable's *Archibald Constable and his Literary Correspondence*, 1873; R. Chambers's *Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen*, 1868, art. 'Archibald Constable'; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*, 1863; *Athenæum*, 27 Jan. 1849.] F. E.

CADELL, THOMAS, the elder (1742-1802), bookseller and publisher, was born of poor parents in Wine Street, Bristol, in 1742. In 1758 he was apprenticed to the great London bookseller and publisher, Andrew Millar, of the Strand. Cadell soon proved his capacity; in 1765 he became Millar's partner, and in 1767 took over the business altogether. He followed Millar's example of treating authors liberally, fully maintained the reputation of the publishing house, and brought out the best books of the day. Robertson, Gibbon, and Blackstone were among the writers whose works he published, and Cadell was intimate with Dr. Johnson, to whom he offered a large sum of money for a volume of 'Devotional Exercises,' which was declined 'from motives of the sincerest modesty' (NICHOLS, *Lit. Anecdotes*, ii. 552). Cadell was one of the original members of the famous dining club of booksellers which met monthly at the Shakespeare Tavern in Wyche Street, Strand, and he was popular among his rivals in trade, whom he treated with unvarying fairness. For some years William Strahan (M.P. for Wootton Bassett, Wiltshire, from 1780 to 1784) was Cadell's partner in his business, and subsequently Strahan's son Andrew took his father's place. Cadell retired from business in 1793 with a fortune, and was succeeded by his only son, Thomas Cadell the younger [see below]. His generous temperament is attested by his kindness to his own and Millar's chief assistant, Robin Lawless. On his retirement Cadell had Lawless's portrait painted by Sir William Beechey, and 'always showed it to his friends as the chief ornament of his drawing-room.' On the death, in 1788, of Millar's widow, who had married Sir Archibald Grant, Cadell acted as one of her executors. Subsequently Cadell was elected (30 March 1798) alderman of Walbrook ward in the city of London, and served the office of sheriff, 1800-1. During his shrievalty he was master of the Stationers' Company, and presented a stained glass window to the Stationers' Hall. He died on 27 Dec. 1802 at his house in Bloomsbury

Place. He was treasurer of the Foundling Hospital and governor of many public charities. His portrait, by Sir William Beechey, still hangs in the court room of the Stationers' Company. His wife died in January 1786, but his son and a daughter survived him. The latter married Dr. Charles Lucas Edridge, rector of Shipdam, Norfolk, and chaplain to George III, and died on 20 Sept. 1829 (NICHOLS, *Lit. Illustrations*, viii. 552).

THOMAS CADELL the younger (1773-1836), one of the court of assistants of the Stationers' Company, conducted the publishing business with all his father's success from 1793 till his death on 23 Nov. 1836. His father chose William Davies as his son's partner, and the firm was styled Cadell & Davies until the latter's death in 1819. In the 'Percy Correspondence,' printed in Nichols's 'Illustrations,' vols. vii. and viii., are many references to the dealings of this firm with Bishop Percy and his friends. Cadell married in 1802 a daughter of Robert Smith and sister of the authors of the 'Rejected Addresses.' By her he had a large family, but the business was not continued after his death. Mrs. Cadell died on 11 May 1848 (*Gent. Mag.* 1837, pt. i. p. 110; NICHOLS, *Lit. Illustrations*, viii. 110).

[Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes* is crowded with references to Cadell. A memoir is printed (vi. 441-3) from *Gent. Mag.* (1802), pt. ii. pp. 1173, 1222. A few additional facts are given in the last volume (viii.) of Nichols's *Lit. Illustrations*.]  
S. L.

CADELL, WILLIAM ARCHIBALD (1775-1855), traveller and mathematician, was the eldest son of William Cadell, the original managing partner and one of the founders of the Carron ironworks, by his wife Katherine, daughter of Archibald Inglis of Auchendinny in Midlothian. He was born at his father's residence, Carron Park, near Falkirk, on 27 June 1775, and, after receiving his education at Edinburgh University, became, about 1798, a member of the Scottish bar. He did not practise, being possessed of private means and of the estate of Banton in Stirlingshire, but spent his time in scientific and antiquarian research at home and abroad. His acquirements won him the friendship of Sir Joseph Banks, at whose instance Cadell was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 28 June 1810. He was also a fellow of the Geological Society, a member of the now defunct Wernerian Natural History Society of Edinburgh, and a fellow of the Royal Society of the same city. To the 'Transactions' of the latter he contributed a paper 'On the Lines that divide each Semidiurnal Arc into Six Equal

Parts' (viii. i. 61-81); in the 'Annals of Philosophy' (iii. 351-3) he wrote an 'Account of an Arithmetical Machine lately discovered in the College Library of Edinburgh.' While travelling on the continent during the war with France he was taken prisoner, and only escaped after a detention of several years by feigning to be a Frenchman, a feat which his very perfect knowledge of the language enabled him to accomplish successfully. On his return he gave some account of his wanderings in 'A Journey in Carniola, Italy, and France in the years 1817, 1818,' 2 vols. 8vo, Edinburgh, 1820, which, although somewhat dry in treatment, is to be commended for its scrupulous accuracy. Cadell died unmarried at Edinburgh on 19 Feb. 1855.

[Information from Mr. H. Cadell.] G. G.

**CADEMAN, SIR THOMAS** (1590?-1651), physician, born in Norfolk about 1590, was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and proceeded B.A. 1605-6, M.A. 1609. He then studied abroad, and took the degree of M.D. at Padua March 1620. In May and June 1623 he passed his examination before the censors of the Royal College of Physicians of London, and 'at the *comitia majora* of 25 June was ordered to get incorporated at one of our own universities' (MUNK, i. 200). This he does not appear to have done. In 1626 he is returned to the parliamentary commission by the college as a papist. He was then residing in Fetter Lane. Two years afterwards he is noted as a 'recusant' residing in Westminster. He afterwards is mentioned as living at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields. It is supposed that his religion delayed his admission to the college. It was not till 3 Dec. 1630 that he became licentiate. On 22 Dec. he was admitted fellow. His religion probably helped him to another honour, for previously, it would seem, to 16 Dec. 1626 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1626, p. 24), he was appointed physician in ordinary to Queen Henrietta Maria. He signs himself *medicus regineus* after this. His name appears with some frequency in the State Papers for nearly twenty years. Thus on 24 May 1634 Thomas Reynolds, a secular priest, confined in Newgate for some years, petitions for release, and appends a certificate from Cademan and others. Cademan and Sir William Brouncker [q. v.] had a patent for stilling and brewing in a house at the back of St. James's Park, and this patent, they note in 1633, they had exercised for many years. On 4 Aug. 1638, on consideration of a petition to government presented in March previous, Sir Theodore de Mayerne [see MAYERNE, SIR THEODORE DE], Cademan, and others

'using the trade of distilling strong waters and making vinegar in London, were incorporated as distillers of London.' Cademan and Mayerne were directed to approve of a set of suitable rules 'for the right making of strong waters and vinegars according to art,' which the masters, warden, and assistants are to compose. The Company of Apothecaries, alarmed at this scheme, petitioned against it in September as infringing their monopoly. To this petition Mayerne, Brouncker, and Cademan replied, denying the statements made, and urging that the apothecaries should be admonished to confine their attention to their shops and their patients, and to speak in a more 'respective' fashion of the physicians. The undertaking was allowed to proceed, and in 1639 was published 'The Distiller of London, compiled and set forth by the speciall Licence and Command of the King's most Excellent Majesty for the sole use of the Company of Distillers of London, and by them to be duly observed and practiced.' This is explained in the preface (p. ii) 'to be a book of rules and directions concerning distillation of strong waters and making vinegars.' The name of Thomas Cademan as first master of the company is appended. Another edition of the 'Distiller,' with 'the Clavis to unlock the deepest secrets of that mysterious art,' was 'published for the publicke good' in 1652. Cademan was also physician to Francis Russell, fourth earl of Bedford, of whose death he wrote an account in a curious little pamphlet of six pages, 'The Earle of Bedford's passage to the Highest Court of Parliament, 9 May 1641, about tenne a clock in the morning' (1641). This was to prove that the earl 'died of too much of his bed, and not of the small-pox' (p. 5), as usually asserted.

In 1649 Cademan was chosen anatomy lecturer to the College of Physicians, but he performed the duties of this office in a most inefficient manner. He became an elect 25 June 1650, and died 2 May 1651. A manuscript work of his, entitled 'De signis Morborum Tractatus, cura Thomæ Clargicii,' of date 1640, dedicated to Queen Henrietta Maria, is in the library of the Royal Medico-Chirurgical Society (*Catalogue of Library*, i. 205). From the State Papers, 13 April 1641 (*Cal. Dom. Ser.*), it appears that Cademan had at that date a grown-up son. He was probably John Cademan, M.D., recommended on 22 June 1640 by the College of Physicians for appointment to the office of physician to the army (MUNK, i. 228).

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. i. 199, with quotation from Baldwin Hamoy's *Bustorum aliquot reliquæ*, 1676; Sloane MS. 2149; *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.

Ser.), Charles I; Brit. Mus. Cat. Cademan's name variously appears as Cademan, Caddiman, Cadiman, and Cadyman; identification is easy.]  
F. W-T.

**CADOC**, called the **Wise**, in Welsh **CATTWG DDOETH** (*d.* 570?), a Welsh saint, the early lives of whom are so contradictory that it must be supposed that there was more than one person of the name, is said to have been the son of Gwynllw Filwr (Latinised into Gundlaeus), lord of Gwynllwg in Glamorganshire, by Gwladys, daughter of Brychan, a chieftain of Talgarth in Brecknockshire. This Brychan, it may be said, gave his name to Brecknock, in Welsh Brycheiniog. Another Cadoc is said to have been son of this same Brychan, and according to some accounts Cadoc the Wise was his great-grandson. Cadoc the Wise was cousin to St. David of Menevia, and nephew to St. Canoc of Gallen. He voluntarily devoted himself to a religious life from his earliest years, and miracles are ascribed to him while yet in his boyhood. He was educated by an Irish anchorite, Menthî; declined to succeed his father in his principality; went to Gwent or Caerwent, Monmouthshire, and studied under the Irish saint, Tathai. He made repeated visits to Rome and Jerusalem, and also to Ireland and Scotland, in search of the best instruction of his time. Of the numerous foundations ascribed to St. Cadoc the most famous was the abbey of Llancarvan in Glamorganshire, of which he was the first abbot. This, like other monastic institutions of the age, was as much a place of secular and religious instruction as the home of a religious community. At Llancarvan St. Cadoc enjoyed the friendship of Gildas, also surnamed the Wise, who taught in his school, and he had among his pupils Talieisin, the most famous of the early Welsh poets. Among the earliest monuments of the Welsh language figures the 'Doethineb Cattwg Ddoeth,' or 'Wisdom of Cadoc the Wise,' printed in vol. iii. of the 'Myvyrian Archæology' of Owen Jones; this consists of proverbs, maxims, and triads, prose and verse; and in the 'Iolo MSS.' of Edward Williams are printed 'Dammegion Cattwg Ddoeth,' or 'Fables of Cadoc the Wise.' The second of these fables is entitled 'Dammeg y gwr a laddwys ei filgi,' 'the story of the man who killed his greyhound.' This is in fact the well-known story of Beddgelert, told without names; it ends by saying that 'as sorry as the man who killed his greyhound' has passed into a proverb. The old life, printed in Rees's 'Lives of Cambro-British Saints,' after recording the many miraculous feats of St. Cadoc, goes on

to tell how, having been previously warned in a vision, he is carried off in a cloud to Beneventum, where he is immediately chosen abbot and named Sophias, and on the bishop's death is chosen to succeed him. Being asked in a dream what form of death he preferred, he chose martyrdom, and accordingly was killed by a soldier while saying mass on the following day. Cadoc was buried at Beneventum, and over his grave was built a church which no Briton was allowed to enter for fear of the saint's body being carried off. Colgan and Lanigan assign his death to 570; the former argues that he was martyred at Beneventum, but the latter represents him as dying at Llancarvan. The following churches are said to be of St. Cadoc's foundation: Llangattock and Crickhowel in Brecknockshire; Porteinion, Gelligaer, Cadoxton-juxta-Barry and Cadoxton-juxta-Neath, Llancarvan, Pendenlwyn, Pentyrch, and Llanmaes in Glamorganshire; Llangattock-upon-Usk, Llangattock Lenig, and Llangattock Lingoed in Monmouthshire. He is commemorated on 14 Jan. The extant manuscript lives of Cadoc are described in Hardy's 'Descriptive Catalogue,' i. 146-51.

[Bollandi Acta Sanctorum, Jan. ii. 602; W. J. Rees's Lives of Cambro-British Saints; Rice Rees's Essay on Welsh Saints; Colgan's Acta Sanctorum, 158-61; Iolo MSS. (1848); Lanigan's Eccles. Hist. Irl. i. 439; Dict. of Christian Biog.]  
A. M.

**CADOGAN.** [See also **CADWGAN.**]

**CADOGAN, HENRY** (1780-1813), colonel, was one of the children of Charles Sloane, third baron Cadogan and first earl (second creation, 1800), by his second wife, and was born on 26 Feb. 1780. His granduncle was William, earl Cadogan [q.v.] He was educated at Eton, and on 9 Aug. 1797 became ensign, by purchase, in the 18th royal Irish foot, which corps he joined at Gibraltar after its return from Tuscany, and obtained his lieutenantancy therein in 1798. In 1799, having purchased a company in the 60th, he exchanged as lieutenant and captain to the Coldstream guards, and served therein until promoted to a majority in the 53rd foot in 1804. On 22 Aug. 1805 he became lieutenant-colonel in the 2nd battalion (afterwards disbanded) of his old corps, the 18th royal Irish, having purchased every step. After serving with the battalion in Scotland and the Channel Islands, he left it when it proceeded to the island of Curaçoa, and exchanged, in 1808, to the 71st Highlanders at home. During the early part of the Peninsular war, Cadogan served as aide-de-camp to Sir Arthur Wellesley, and after the passage of the

Douro was selected by him to proceed to the headquarters of the Spanish general, Cuesta, to make arrangements for the co-operation of the English and Spanish armies in the forthcoming campaign on the Tagus. He was afterwards present at the battle of Talavera. When the 71st Highlanders, then recently transformed into a light infantry corps, arrived out in Portugal in the summer of 1810, Cadogan joined it at Mafra and assumed command in succession to Colonel Peacocke. At its head he distinguished himself on various occasions during the subsequent campaigns, particularly at Fuentes de Onoro, 5 May 1811, when he succeeded to the command of a brigade consisting of the 24th, 71st, and 79th regiments (Gurwood, iv. 797-8), at Arroyo dos Molinos 28 Oct. 1811 (*ib.* v. 13, 354-6), and at Vittoria, 21 June 1813, where he fell. On the latter occasion the 71st was ordered to storm the heights above the village of Puebla, whereon rested the French left. While advancing to the charge at the head of his men Cadogan was mortally wounded. At his request he was carried to a neighbouring eminence, whence he witnessed the success of the charge before he expired. The incident is represented on the public monument by Chantry, erected to the memory of Cadogan in St. Paul's, for which the House of Commons voted the sum of 1,575*l.* Monuments were also erected to him in Chelsea parish church and in Glasgow cathedral. Cadogan, who was in his thirty-fourth year and unmarried, was much esteemed both in private life and professionally, and Lord Wellington, although an intimate personal friend, simply expressed the general feeling of the army when he wrote of his great merit and tried gallantry in his Vittoria despatch (*ib.* vi. 539, 545-6).

[Burke's Peerage; Army Lists and War Office Muster-Rolls; Hildyard's Hist. Rec. 71st High. Light Inf. (London, 1877); Gurwood's Wellington Despatches, iii. iv. v. vi.] H. M. C.

**CADOGAN, WILLIAM** (1601-1661), major of horse under the Commonwealth and governor of Trim, was eldest son of Henry Cadogan of Llanbetter, and great-grandson of Thomas Cadogan of Dunster, Somersetshire, who in his will, dated 12 June 1511, styles himself 'valectus corone,' and is credited by many genealogists with descent from the ancient princes of Wales [see CADWGAN]. William Cadogan was born at Dunster in 1601, and accompanied the Earl of Strafford to Ireland, where he was serving as a captain of horse in 1641. In 1649 he reappears as a major of horse in Cromwell's army in Ireland, and for his services in the revolted districts round

Dublin, and especially against the Irish chieftains Phelim O'Neill and Owen O'Rowe, was rewarded with the governorship of the castle and borough of Trim, co. Meath, which he held until his death, 14 March 1661. A monument to him, stated by some writers to be at Trim and by others in Christ Church, Dublin, bears or bore a lengthy Latin inscription, transcribed in Collins's 'Peerage,' vol. v., which sets forth these and other particulars of him. Cadogan had a son Henry, a barrister settled in Dublin, who married Bridget, daughter of Sir Hardress Waller, and by her had three children. The eldest of them, William, became a distinguished soldier, and was Marlborough's most trusted lieutenant [see CADOGAN, WILLIAM, first earl].

[Collins's Peerage (edit. 1812), vol. v.; Burke's Peerage; Foster's Peerage.] H. M. C.

**CADOGAN, WILLIAM**, first EARL CADOGAN (1675-1726), general, colonel 1st foot guards, was eldest son of Henry Cadogan, counsellor-at-law, of Dublin, and grandson of Major William Cadogan, governor of Trim [see CADOGAN, WILLIAM, major]. He was born in 1675 (see DOYLE, *Baronage*), and is said to have fought as a boy cornet in King William's army at the passage of the Boyne. He obtained a commission in one of the regiments of Inniskilling dragoons, afterwards known as the 5th royal Irish dragoons (revived in 1858 as the 5th royal Irish lancers), with which he served under King William in the Irish and Flanders campaigns, and attracted the notice of Marlborough, who was twenty-five years his senior. When troops were sent from Ireland to Holland in 1701, Cadogan, then a major in the royal Irish dragoons, accompanied them as quartermaster-general. He was employed on special duty at Hamburg and elsewhere later in the same year, in connection with the movement of the Danish and Wurtemberg troops into Holland (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 3rd Rep. 189-90). In April 1702, a month after King William's death, Marlborough was appointed generalissimo of the confederate armies, and fixed his headquarters at the Hague, taking as his quartermaster-general Cadogan, who became his most trusted subordinate. Cadogan's services in the ensuing campaign, ending with the fall of Liège and the retreat of the French behind the Mehaigne, were rewarded, on 2 March 1703, with the colonelcy of the regiment with which his name is chiefly identified, the 6th (later 2nd Irish) horse, (the present 5th dragoon guards), which became famous as 'Cadogan's Horse.' In the winter of 1703-4 Cadogan was in England organising reinforcements. He returned to

Holland in advance of Marlborough, and as quartermaster-general conducted the historic march into Bavaria, ending with the great victory at Blenheim, 13 Aug. 1704, and the no less admirably managed return movement of the army with its huge convoys of prisoners and wounded. During the campaign he was wounded and had his horse shot under him at the attack on Schellenburg, but was on the field at Blenheim in attendance on Marlborough. He was promoted brigadier-general on 25 Aug. 1704, and his name figures in the distribution-list of the queen's bounty for Blenheim, for the sums of 90*l.* as brigadier-general, 60*l.* as quartermaster-general, and 123*l.* as colonel of a regiment of horse and captain of a troop therein (*Treasury Papers*, xciii. 79). In the following year Cadogan's Horse won great distinction at the forcing of the enemy's lines between Helixem and Neerwinden. Big men mounted on big horses, they drove the famous Bavarian horse-grenadier guards off the field, capturing four of their standards (*CANNON, Hist. Rec. 5th Drag. Gds.* p. 28). Popular accounts relate that the charge was led by Cadogan in person. After fulfilling special missions at Vienna and in Hanover, Cadogan was present at the victory at Ramillies on 23 May 1706. A plan of the order of battle, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Maps*, <sup>81.990</sup>/<sub>324</sub>), shows that he held no separate command on that day. But immediately afterwards he was sent with a body of horse and foot to occupy Ghent and to summon Antwerp, services speedily accomplished. The garrison of the latter city, consisting of six French and six Spanish regiments, was permitted to march out, and the keys of the city were handed to Cadogan, their first surrender since they were delivered up to the Duke of Parma, after a twelve-month's leaguer, two centuries before. Cadogan was promoted to major-general on 1 June 1706. The supply of the army was then included among the multifarious duties of Cadogan's department, and on 16 Aug. following, while making a forage near Tournay, in the combined capacities of a cavalry commander and quartermaster-general, he was captured by the enemy, but released on parole three days later and soon afterwards exchanged. Later in the year he was engaged in the delicate task of quartering the confederate troops of different nationalities for the winter (see *Marlb. Desp.* iii. 175). In February 1707 he was entrusted on his return from London with the task of explaining to the Dutch deputies the English view of the next campaign (*ib.* p. 369). Later in the year he was accredited envoy

extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the States of Holland in the absence of Mr. Stepney, whom he succeeded in the post, retaining his military appointments. He arrived at Brussels in that capacity on 29 Nov. 1707 (*London Gazette*, No. 4390). On 11 May 1705 he had been returned for the borough of New Woodstock, Oxfordshire—probably on Marlborough's nomination—in the parliament which (after the union with Scotland) was proclaimed on 29 April 1707, the first parliament of Great Britain (see *Lists of Members of Parliament*). He was re-chosen for the same place in four succeeding parliaments. In February 1708 Cadogan was at Ostend, superintending the embarkation of ten regiments for home, in view of the rumoured French descent on Scotland from Dunkirk (*Marlb. Desp.* iii. 680, 689). He commanded the van of the army in the operations which led up to the great battle at Oudenarde on 11 July 1708, on which occasion he commenced the action by crossing the Scheldt and vigorously attacking the village of Hayem, which was carried and four out of seven opposing battalions made prisoners. Afterwards he was employed in conveying supplies from Ostend to the army during the siege of Lille. He was promoted to lieutenant-general on 1 Jan. 1709. Early in that year Cadogan was sent by Marlborough to see that the troops in Flanders were ready for the forthcoming campaign. In a list of general officers of the confederate armies, forwarded by Marlborough to the French headquarters in July, Cadogan's name appears at the end of the lieutenant-generals of cavalry (*ib.* iv. 538). His services during the year included the siege of Menin, where an incident occurred which has been variously told. The version given by the historian of the Grenadier guards—who says that it is commemorated by a centrepiece of plate in possession of the present Earl Cadogan—is that Marlborough, attended by Cadogan and a numerous staff, was reconnoitring the enemy's position at close quarters, and having dropped his glove requested Cadogan to dismount and pick it up, which was instantly done. Returned to camp and the staff dismissed, he asked Cadogan if he remembered the incident, adding that he wished a battery to be erected on the spot, but did not like to speak of it openly. Cadogan replied that he had already given the order, and on Marlborough expressing surprise rejoined that he knew his chief to be too much a gentleman to make such a request without good hidden reason (*HAMILTON, Hist. Gren. Gds.* ii. 48). Cadogan was present at the battle of Malplaquet on 11 Sept. 1709, and was sent after

the battle to confer with the French commanders respecting provision for the wounded. Immediately afterwards he was detached with a corps of infantry, two hundred guns, and fifty mortars to commence the siege of Mons, where he was dangerously wounded in the neck and his aide-de-camp killed by his side while the troops were breaking ground. In January 1710 he was present at a conference with the Dutch deputies at the Hague, after which he was again at Brussels. A volume of correspondence relating to affairs in 1709-10, chiefly autograph letters from Brussels in Cadogan's large, plain hand, is among the Foreign Office Records in the Public Record Office, London (*F. O. Rec. Flanders*, Nos. 132-5), in one of which he expresses his intention of 'following the fortunes, good or bad, of the great man to whom I am under such infinite obligations;' adding, 'I would be a monster if I did otherwise.' Marlborough's influence was at this time fast declining. Cadogan shared his leader's unpopularity, and by the end of the year was removed from his diplomatic post, to Marlborough's great displeasure. Swift, who appears to have known Cadogan's family, mentions in a 'Letter to Stella,' in December 1710, that there was a rumour of his being dispossessed of the lieutenancy of the Tower to make way for Jack Hill, brother of the queen's new favourite, Mrs. Masham (*SWIFT, Works*, ii. 477).

The lieutenancy of the Tower of London was conferred on Cadogan in December 1706, and he held it till January 1713. Returning to his staff duties Cadogan rendered important services at the siege of Douay. At the head of some squadrons of his cuirassiers—cuirasses, laid aside at the peace of Ryswick, had by this time been resumed by Cadogan's and other regiments of horse—he took a prominent part in manœuvring the enemy out of their lines at Arlieux, and so preparing the way for the important siege of Bouchain, the details of which were entrusted by Marlborough to Cadogan. The place capitulated in September 1711. Bouchain was Marlborough's last victory. When the Duke of Ormonde succeeded to the command of the army, Cadogan found his name omitted from the list of lieutenant-generals appointed to divisional commands; but, at his own request, he made the campaign of 1712 as quartermaster-general. When the troops reached Dunkirk on their homeward route, Cadogan retired to Holland. Marlborough followed him into exile in November 1712. For his share in the reception accorded to

his old chief on setting foot upon Dutch soil Cadogan was called upon to resign his offices and employments under the crown. He appears to have sold the colonelcy of his regiment to Major-general Kellum, a veteran who had served with the regiment since its first formation in 1685, for the sum of 3,000*l.* (*CANNON, Hist. Rec. 5th Drag. Gds.*) As the recognised medium of communication between the English whigs and the German states interested in the Hanoverian succession, Cadogan was busily engaged in the political intrigues and counter-intrigues at home and abroad which marked the next two years.

Before the death of Queen Anne, on 1 Aug. 1714, he had returned to London. With the customary issue of commissions under the new sign-manual Cadogan was reinstated in his former rank as lieutenant-general. The commission, with the date left blank, probably by design, is still extant (Home Office, *Mil. Commissions*, i.). He was appointed master of the king's robes, and colonel of the Coldstream guards, the latter appointment bearing date 11 Aug. 1714. He was re-chosen for the fifth time for the borough of Woodstock, and was accredited as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the States General of Holland.

On 31 Aug. 1715 Cadogan was appointed governor of the Isle of Wight. On 15 Nov. (new style) 1715 he signed at the Hague the (third) barrier treaty between England, Holland, and Germany, whereby the empire recognised the Hanoverian succession to the British crown. When the exceptionally severe winter of that year brought news of the rising in the north in favour of the Pretender, Cadogan obtained from the States a contingent of 6,000 Dutch troops, with which he embarked and pushed on to Scotland, to serve as second in command under the Duke of Argyll, whose forces had driven the rebels back, but whom Cadogan found unwilling to act vigorously. On the urgent representations of Marlborough Argyll was recalled, and Cadogan appointed to the chief command. The vigorous measures which followed speedily ended the rebellion, and early in May 1716 Cadogan handed over the command to Brigadier Sabine and proceeded to London, where, on 29 June, he was invested with the order of the Thistle at a chapter held at St. James's Palace. Next day, 30 June, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Cadogan of Reading. The preamble of the patent, setting forth Cadogan's many services, is given in Collins's 'Peerage' (2nd ed. v. 412). The same year he became high



steward of Reading (COATES, *Hist. of Reading*, App.) Returning to his post at the Hague, he signed, on 4 Jan. 1716-7, the treaty of the Triple Alliance between Great Britain, France, and Holland. After attending George I on a visit to Hanover, the diplomatic duties at the Hague being meanwhile performed by Mr. Leathes, secretary at Brussels, Cadogan came to England with the king, and was sworn of the privy council on 17 March 1717, and on 12 July following was promoted to general 'of all and singular the foot forces employed or to be employed in our service' (Home Office, *Mil. Entry Books*, xi. 219). About the same time a vexatious indictment was brought against him in the lower house, in the shape of charges of fraud and embezzlement in connection with the transport of the Dutch troops to the Thames and Humber during the rising in the north. These were preferred by certain Jacobite members, to whom his success in Scotland had made him particularly obnoxious. The spiteful attack was urged with grotesque vehemence by Shippen, who was supported by Walpole and Pulteney, and opposed by Stanhope, Craggs, Lechmere, the new attorney-general, and others, and evidence in vindication of Cadogan was given at the bar of the house (see BOYER, *Political State*, i. 697-794). But the motion was only lost by a majority of ten. Cadogan resumed his diplomatic duties in Holland during the year.

On his return home, 8 May 1718, he was elevated to an earldom, with the titles of Earl Cadogan, Viscount Caversham, and Baron Cadogan of Oakley, the last title with remainder, in default of male issue, to his brother Charles [see below]. After this he was again engaged at Brussels and the Hague in negotiations with the imperialist ministers and the Dutch representatives relative to the working of the (third) barrier treaty. Writing to Lord Stair, under date 10 March 1719, Lord Stanhope says: 'Good Lord Cadogan, though he has made the utmost professions of friendship and deference to other people's measures, has certainly blown the coals; he has a notion of being *premier ministre*, which I believe you will with me think a very Irish idea' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 2nd Rep. 189). In February 1720 Cadogan was despatched to Vienna with final instructions (dated 20 Feb. (old style) and superseding earlier instructions of 24 Nov. (o. s.) 1719) to treat with the Austrian court of northern affairs and of the Barrier Treaty.

Upon the death of the Duke of Marlborough in June 1722, Cadogan succeeded to the post of master-general of the ordnance.

He became colonel of 1st foot guards from 18 June 1722; and was appointed a commissioner of Chelsea Hospital. His detractors accused him of appearing at Marlborough's funeral pageant indecorously dressed and betraying his want of sympathy by his looks and gestures. This was probably a malicious invention; but it gave the point to some savagely sarcastic lines by Bishop Atterbury, which are quoted by Horace Walpole (*Lettres*, vii. 230). Atterbury having heard that at the time of his committal to the Tower Cadogan had declared that he ought to be flung to the lions, retorted in a letter to Pope with the lines describing Cadogan as 'ungrateful to th' ungrateful man he grew by, A big, bad, bold, blustering, bloody, blundering booby.' The year that witnessed the death of Marlborough saw likewise a revival of the Jacobite plots, including schemes for tampering with the Tower garrison and seizing on the Tower and Bank. Apprised of these projects, the government prevailed on the king to postpone an intended visit to Hanover, and to retire to Kensington Palace, an encampment of the whole of the guards being formed for his protection close by, in Hyde Park, under the personal command of Cadogan. In November 1722 the camp was broken up. When the king embarked for Hanover, Cadogan was appointed one of the lords justices. The military records of his rule as commander-in-chief and master-general of the ordnance present little of interest. The chief event of his remaining years was his litigation with the widowed Duchess of Marlborough respecting a sum of 50,000*l.*, which the duke at the time of his exile had entrusted to him to place in the Dutch funds. Cadogan, with the best intentions, had invested the money in Austrian securities, which at the time appeared more advantageous. These, however, had greatly depreciated, and the duchess, whose letters betray a querulous feeling towards Cadogan, having insisted on reimbursement, Cadogan, who had not applied the money to the specific purpose for which it was entrusted to him, was obliged to make good the deficiency at heavy loss.

In his early days at the Hague, Cadogan married Margaretta, daughter of William Munter, counsellor of the court of Holland, and niece of Adam Tripp of Amsterdam, by whom he had two daughters, the Lady Sarah, afterwards married to the second duke of Richmond, and the Lady Margaretta, who married Count Bentinck, second son of William, earl of Portland. The countess long survived her husband, and died at the Hague in October 1749, aged 75.

Cadogan died at his house at Kensington

Gravel Pits, then a rural village, on Sunday, 17 July 1726. In accordance with a wish expressed in his will he was buried privately at night in Henry VII's Chapel in Westminster Abbey, on Thursday, 21 July. A notice of his death appears in 'Lettres Historiques' for September 1726 (Hague), and some memoranda relating to his Dutch estates are among the Portland papers in the British Museum (*Egerton MS.* 1708, f. 43).

Personally Cadogan was a big, burly Irishman. A portrait, painted by Laguerre, representing him in a light-coloured wig and a suit of silver armour worn over his scarlet uniform, is in the National Portrait Gallery. Horatio, lord Walpole, who was associated with him in some of his diplomatic missions at the Hague, describes him as rash and impetuous as a diplomatist, lavish of promises when a present difficulty was to be removed, and prone to think that pen and sword were to be wielded with equal fierceness. He also says that Cadogan needlessly irritated the Dutch republic by his zeal in promoting the election of the Prince of Orange to the Stadtholdership of Groningen, and affronted the citizens of Antwerp by threatening in convivial moments to make them follow their neighbours' example (*Coxe, Life of Lord Walpole*, pp. 9-10). Upon occasions he seems to have displayed much magnificence. The papers of the period speak of the splendour of some of his entertainments when ambassador in Holland, and a news-letter of 1724 mentions his appearance at the drawing-room on the prince's birthday 'very rich in jewels.' As a soldier Cadogan must be ranked among the ablest staff officers the British army has produced. The confidence reposed in his judgment by Marlborough and the high opinions expressed of him by Prince Eugene and other foreign officers of note bespeak his high capacity; he brought energy and skill to bear upon the details of his great leader's plans, and showed eminent administrative ability in performing the duties of a quartermaster-general.

CHARLES CADOGAN (1691-1776), who succeeded his brother as Baron Cadogan of Oakley, entered the army in 1706, in the Coldstream guards. He served in some of Marlborough's later campaigns and in Scotland in 1715. He sat in two parliaments for Reading (1716-22), and afterwards for Newport, Isle of Wight (1722-6). He purchased the colonelcy of the 4th 'king's own' foot in 1719, in 1734 became colonel of the 6th Inniskilling dragoons, and was governor of Sheerness 1749-52 and of Gravesend and Tilbury 1751 till death. He married a daughter of Sir Hans Sloane, with which alliance commenced the connec-

tion of the Cadogan family with the borough of Chelsea. At his death, which occurred at his residence in Bruton Street, on 24 Sept. 1776, at the age of 85 (see *FOSTER, Peerage*), Charles, lord Cadogan, was a general, colonel of the 2nd troop of horse guards, governor of Gravesend and Tilbury Fort, a F.R.S., and a trustee of the British Museum. His only son, Charles Sloane, was created Viscount Chelsea and Earl Cadogan 27 Dec. 1800.

[Earl Cadogan's name has not been found in the early volumes of Irish Military Entry Books in the Dublin Record Office, odd volumes of which go back to 1697. His later commissions and appointments, subsequent to 1715, appear in the Home Office Military Entry Books and the Treasury and Ordnance Warrant Books, under date, in Public Record Office, London. Notices of his services occur incidentally in Lediard's *Life of Marlborough*; in *Coxe's Life of Marlborough*, the preface to which indicates various sources of information; in the *Marlborough Despatches*, edited by Sir George Murray; in the *London Gazette*s of the period; in *Lettres Historiques*, published at the Hague, of which there is a complete series in the British Museum; in the published records of various regiments of cavalry and infantry which served in Marlborough's campaigns and can be traced through the Army List; in *Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, 1884; and in *Lord Mahon's History of England*, vol. i., where is a very impartial account of the campaign in Scotland in 1715. The statements in the Stuart and Hanover papers, in *Original Papers*, by Macpherson, must be received with much reservation. Clode's observations on the military expenditure of the period, in *Military Forces of the Crown*, i. 118-24, deserve attention, and many of the military entries in the printed *Calendars of Treasury Papers* for the period indirectly illustrate the impecunious condition of the service at home at the time. The British Museum Cat. *Printed Books*, which has over 120 entries under the name of the first Duke of Marlborough, has but one under that of the first Earl Cadogan—a printed copy of a diplomatic note respecting a British vessel pillaged by the Dutch at Curaçoa in 1715. Among the biographical notices of Cadogan which have appeared, mention may be made of those in *Collins's Peerage*, 2nd ed., v. 450, &c.; *Grainger's Biog. Hist.* vol. iii.; *Timbs's Georgian Era*, vol. ii.; *General Sir Frederick Hamilton's Origin and Hist. 1st or Grenadier Gds.* vol. ii.; *Cannon's Hist. Rec. 5th Drag. Gds.* A memoir which appeared in *Colburn's United Service Mag.* January-April 1872, headed 'Marlborough's Lieutenants,' is chiefly noticeable for its numberless errors and misstatements. Manuscript information is more abundant. Among the materials in the Public Records are: Foreign Office Records—Flanders, Nos. 132-5, correspondence from Brussels in 1709-10; ditto, Flanders, No. 146, similar correspondence in

1714-15; ditto, Holland, Nos. 368, 372, 375, 379, 381-2, 386-8, 391-4, 400-1; correspondence of various dates relating to Cadogan's services in Holland; ditto, Germany, Nos. 214-15, 216, the first two containing Cadogan's correspondence during his embassy at Vienna with M. St. Saporita, secretary of the Venetian Republic. Home Office Papers, besides the information in the Military Entry Books, contain in the Warrant and Letter Books sundry entries relative to Cadogan's diplomatic services. In British Museum manuscripts may be noted: Add. MSS. 21494, ff. 64, 68, 72, letters dated 1703; 22196, a large volume of correspondence, chiefly diplomatic, between Cadogan and Lord Raby, British representative at Berlin, covering the period 1703-10, where in one letter Raby incidentally recalls early days in Dublin, 'when you was really a poet,' and in another bespeaks Cadogan's intercession for a prisoner at Spandau, an artillery officer known to them both at the siege of King-sale; 28829, correspondence with Lady Seaforth during the Scottish campaign in 1715 (see also Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. viii. 445); 20319, f. 39, letter on embassy to the Hague in 1718; 28155, f. 299, letter to Admiral Sir John Norris in 1719; 29315, f. 35, letter to the Duke of Grafton in 1721. Also Add. Ch. 16154, patent of barony of Oakley, and 6300, appointment as plenipotentiary at Vienna. Cadogan's correspondence and other papers preserved in private manuscript collections will be found indexed in Hist. MSS. Comm. Reps., vol. ii., under 'Cadogan,' vol. iii. under 'Cadogan' with various prefixes, and under 'the Hague,' in vols. vi. and vii. under 'Cadogan,' in vol. viii., where the Marlborough MSS., containing a mass of unpublished material, are reported upon, although Cadogan's name figures once only in the index, and in vol. ix.; correspondence and news-letters under heading 'Cadogan.'] H. M. C.

**CADOGAN, WILLIAM** (1711-1797), physician, was born in London in 1711 and graduated B.A. at Oriel College, Oxford, in 1731. He then studied at Leyden, where he took the degree of M.D. in 1737, and was soon after appointed a physician to the army. He began private practice in Bristol, and while resident there was elected in 1752 F.R.S., but a little later settled in London, was made physician to the Foundling Hospital in 1754, and soon attained success. He took the degrees of M.A., M.B., and M.D. at Oxford June 1755, became a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1758, was four times a censor, and twice delivered the Harveian oration. He lived in George Street, Hanover Square, died there 26 Feb. 1797, and was buried at Fulham, where he had a villa. Cadogan's works are his graduation thesis, 'De nutritione, incremento, et decremento corporis,' Leyden, 1737; his two Harveian orations, 1764 and 1792; 'An Essay on the Nursing

and Management of Children,' London, 1750; and 'A Dissertation on the Gout and on all Chronic Diseases,' London, 1771. His thesis is a statement of the current physiological opinions, and contains no original observation, and his Harveian orations are mere rhetorical exercises. His book on nursing is his best work, and went through nine editions in twenty years. He thinks children have, in general, too many clothes and too much food. Looser clothing and a simpler diet are recommended, with sensible directions on the management of children. Cadogan's book on the gout was widely read, and was attacked by several of his medical contemporaries, among others by Sir William Browne [q. v.] It reached a tenth edition within two years, but is not a work of any depth. Gout is, in his opinion, not hereditary, and, in common with most chronic diseases, arises from indolence, intemperance, and vexation. The writer assumes a tone of superiority towards his contemporaries, which was probably engendered by his pecuniary success, but is not justified by the knowledge displayed in the book. His treatment of gout is sound as far as it goes, for he advises spare diet and as much exercise as possible. Dr. Cadogan's portrait, by R. E. Pine, is at the College of Physicians.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, ii. 222; Cadogan's Works; Nichols's Anecd. iii. 329; Gent. Mag. 1797, p. 352.] N. M.

**CADROE, SAINT** (d. 976?), abbot of Wassor and St. Felix, near Metz, was born in Scotland about the beginning of the tenth century; and the history of his life has preserved almost the only materials we have for reconstructing the Scotch social life of this period. According to his contemporary biographer both his parents were of royal, or at least noble, descent. His father, Fochertach or Faiteach, had married a widow, Bania by name, and being without children, the aged couple set out for Hi (Iona), to obtain the intercession of St. Columba by prayers at the saint's tomb (the manuscript reads Columbanus by a natural mistake for Columba). Their petition was granted, and in due time a son was born, to whom his parents gave the name of Kaddroe, in token that he was to be 'bellator in castris domini invictus.' Immediately on the child's birth we are told that, 'in accordance with the custom of the country, a crowd of noble people of either sex and of every age came forward eager to undertake the boy's education.' In obedience to a second vision Cadroe was handed over to the care of a matron, who brought him up at her own home till he was

weaned, and perhaps later, when Fochertach, recognising his son's promise, began to train him up for a secular career. From this purpose, however, the father was dissuaded by the prayers of Beanus, the child's cousin ('patrueelis'), who demanded that the boy should be instructed in letters, and who, finding the parents unwilling to lose the child of their old age, renewed his petition with success on the birth of the future saint's brother, Mattadanus. Accordingly, Cadroe was led by his weeping mother to St. Columba's tomb, and there formally handed over to his uncle's care (for St. Columba's tomb see SKENE, ii. 326, &c., who identifies Beanus with St. Bean, patron of the church of Kirkell, on the north bank of the Earn). In his new home Cadroe appears to have studied the scriptures chiefly, but there are not wanting tokens that, as he grew older, the bent of his mind was rather to the active than the contemplative life (*Vit. Cad.* c. i. 8, 9). A sudden change seems, however, to have come upon him while yet a youth, and his ardour for knowledge grew so keen that his uncle despatched him to prosecute his secular studies at Armagh, which at this time (888-927) was governed by Maelbrigda, who was also abbot of Iona (*Ann. Ult.* 927). Here Cadroe studied poetry, oratory, and philosophy, without neglecting the exacter sciences of number, measure, weight, motion (? *tactu* = *tractu*), hearing, and astronomy.

Having thus made himself master of all the Irish learning, Cadroe returned to Scotland, and seems to have spent the next few years in imparting the knowledge he had acquired abroad to his countrymen; 'for the Scots, though they have thousands of teachers, have not many fathers.' 'From the time of Cadroe's return,' continues his biographer, 'none of the wise men [had] crossed the sea; but they still dwelt in Ireland' (*Vit. Cad.* c. xii.) This obscure, and doubtless corrupt, passage Dr. Skene connects with the first establishment of the Culdees in Scotland (cf. *Chr. Scot.* sub an. 921). It perhaps marks the gradual severance of the two great Celtic churches of the West (SKENE, ii. 325). The effect produced by the labours of Cadroe is clearly shown by the grief of all ages and all classes of men when he announced his intention of leaving Scotland in obedience to a heavenly vision. A curious penance (*Vit. Cad.* c. xv.) performed in a wintry stream (? the Earn) strengthened his resolution, and he started on his journey disregarding all the efforts of King Constantine to retain him. Entering the church of St. Bridget he bade farewell to the assembled people, and then once more set out on his way under the king's guidance, with gifts of gold, vestments, and

steeds. The scene of this incident seems to have been Abernethy, and the king must be Constantine, the son of Ædth, who reigned from c. 900 to c. 943 A.D. From Abernethy he passed on to his kinsman Dovenald or Donald, 'rex Cumbriorum.' This must be that Donald, king of Strathclyde, and brother to Constantine, who is called 'rex Britannorum' in the 'Pictish Chronicle' (*Chr. of Picts and Scots*, pp. xli, xlv, and 9). Donald conducted Cadroe to Leeds (*Loidam civitatem*), whence the saint proceeded to King Eric, his kinsman by marriage, at York. This sovereign can only have been Eric, son of Harald Harfægr, whom Æthelstan had appointed king of Northumberland c. 938 A.D. (LAING, i. 315, &c.) Thence Cadroe passed on to Lugdina (London), a city which he is credited with having saved from destruction by fire, and so on to visit King 'Egmund' at Winchester (Edmund, 940-6). With this king he had several conversations, after which he was conducted to the port 'qui dicitur hymen' or 'limen' (? Limne, the Roman Portus Lemanis; see HASTED, *Kent*, iii. 435) by the archbishop Ottho (Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, 942-959). After dismissing his nephew and others of his companions Cadroe landed at Boulogne, whence he journeyed to Peronne to pray at St. Fursey's shrine. Here his fame reached the ears of Count Eilbert and his wife Hersindis, who, learning that the thirteen strangers desired a spot on which they could devote themselves to agriculture and prayer, offered them a clearing in the 'Sylvæ Theorascensis,' where a church seems to have been already dedicated to St. Michael. Once settled here the brethren elected Cadroe to be their head, an office however which he refused in favour of Macallanus. A desire soon seized upon the little community of bringing itself into closer conformity with the monastic institutions of the continent; and accordingly Macallanus went to be instructed by Abbot Agenoald at Gorzia (*ob.* c. 968), and Cadroe to Erchembald at Fleury (abbot 942-51). Here Cadroe became a monk on the day of St. Paul's conversion (25 Jan.) Meanwhile his patrons had been building a second monastery at Walcidorus (Wassor on the Meuse, near Dinant), and now sent for the two wanderers to return home; whereupon Macallanus finding himself unable to conduct both establishments, Cadroe was persuaded by royal compulsion to undertake the charge of Wassor. In 946 A.D. Otto I confirmed the new foundation as a 'monasterium peregrinorum' to be ruled by one of the 'Scotch' strangers so long as a single member of the original community should survive (20 Sept. see Diploma ap. A. Miræus, 278-9). Somewhat

later than this, but, according to Ste. Marthe (xiii. 846, 866), before 948, Adalbero, bishop of Metz, induced Cadroe to accept the ruined abbey of St. Clement or St. Felix, near Metz, which its new abbot restored and repeopleed from Wassor (cf., however, MABILLON, *Ann.* iii. 500). The latter abbey Cadroe seems henceforward to have ruled by the aid of a prior, paying it visits from time to time. In 948 Cadroe is said to have been made abbot of St. Symphorien at Metz (STE. MARTHE, xiii. 846). Among the list of Cadroe's friends we find many of the most distinguished men of the age, e.g. Adalbero and his brother Frederic, duke of Lorraine from 959 (FRODOARD and SIGEBERT, ap. PERTZ, ii. 402, 404, viii. 511); John, abbot of Gorzia (whose life Cadroe had saved from the effects of undue abstinence), Otto's ambassador to the Saracens at Cordova; Theodoric, cousin to Otto I and bishop of Metz (964-84), who 'venerated Cadroe as a father, knowing him to have the spirit of counsel;' Ageoald, the famous abbot of Gorzia (*ob.* c. 968); Anstey, abbot of St. Arnulf, at Ghent (946-60); and Helvidis, abbess of St. Peter's, near Metz, 'whose like,' to use Cadroe's own phrase, 'he had never found among the persons of her sex.'

Shortly before Cadroe's death Adelheid, the widow of Otto I, reached Neherstein on her way to Italy, and sent to Metz to invite Cadroe to visit her. This request the saint, who already felt that death was at hand, reluctantly obeyed, and stayed with the ex-empress for some six days. As he was returning a fever seized him, and he died before he could reach his home at Metz, where he was buried in his own church of St. Felix. At this time, as his contemporary biographer tells us, he had already overpassed the seventieth year of his age, and the thirtieth of his pilgrimage. Ste. Marthe (xiii. 866) says more precisely that he died in 978, after a rule of thirty-two years, at the age of seventy-eight or seventy-nine, but without giving any authority for his statement. The 'Wassor Chronicle,' a compilation of the twelfth or thirteenth century, makes him die in the year 998 (ap. D'ACHÉRY, *Spicilegium*, vii. 543-4). A careful comparison of all the data at our disposal will make it very evident that 940-2 were the years of his pilgrimage from Abernethy to Winchester. We know that Cadroe started in the reign of Constantine, i.e. probably before 948 A.D. (SKENE, i. 360); while the mention of Donald, king of Cumberland, helps to fix his visit in this country before 945 A.D. (A.-S. C.) Again, Eric Bloody Axe seems to have been settled in Yorkshire somewhere between the years 937 and 941 (LAING, i. 315, &c.; Rog.

WEND. i. 396; A.-S. C. sub 941); for Eric's second reign in Northumberland was not till some years later (SIMEON OF DURHAM, sub 949). Again, on reaching Winchester, Egmond (Edmund, from October 940-6) was reigning, while Otto (Odo) was already archbishop of Canterbury, to which office he was appointed 942 A.D. (STUBBS, *Register*). Hence it is evident that Cadroe can hardly have reached Peronne much before 943 A.D. This date will allow three years for his stay at St. Michael's and Fleury previous to his appointment to Wassor in 946. Reckoning thirty years from this we arrive at the year 976, which may be considered as the approximate date of his death. At all events it is certain from contemporary authority that he stood by the deathbed of John, abbot of Gorzia, who died 973 A.D. ('Vita Johannis,' ap. MABILLON, *A. SS. B.* vii. 365, 366, 379, *Ann. Bened.* iii. 621). On the other hand, it is evident that he did not survive Theodoric of Metz, who died 983 or 984 A.D. (SIGEBERT, ap. PERTZ, iv. 482). These considerations at once dispose of the Bollandist theory which would identify Adelheid's visit to Italy, alluded to above, with a journey mentioned by Dithmar, and by him assigned to the year 988 (DITHMAR, ap. PERTZ, iii. 767, where, however, we read 984, and not 988 A.D.)

[The chief authority for the life of Cadroe is a biography drawn up by a certain Reimann or Ousmann, who, in the preface, claims to have been one of the saint's disciples and friends. Other phrases in the body of the work indicate that the writer was dealing with almost contemporary events (cf. cc. 29 and 34). This life was undertaken at the request of a certain Immo, in whom we may perhaps recognise Immo, abbot of Wassor from c. 982, or Immo, abbot of Gorzia, c. 984. It was first printed by Colgan in his *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ* (pp. 494-507), with copious notes, whose utility however is vitiated by the assumption that Cadroe was an Irishman. The Bollandist editors issued it, with certain omissions, in the *Acta Sanctorum* of 6 March (pp. 974-81), from which work Mabillon transcribed it for *Acta SS. Benedict.* vii. 487-501. See also Ste. Marthe's *Gallia Christiana*, vols. iii. vii. and xiii.; Mabillon's *Annales Ordinis Benedictini*, vol. iii.; D'ACHÉRY's *Spicilegium*, vii. (1666) 513-83, contains the *Chronicon Valciodorense*; *Diplomata Belgica*, by Albert Le Mire (Miræus), 1627; *Notitia Ecclesiarum Belgii* (Le Mire), ed. 1630, pp. 99, 119; Skene's *Chronicles of the Picts and Scots*; and *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii.; Forbes's *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, 293-4; Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iii. 396-402. The continental chroniclers are quoted from Pertz's *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*; Simeon of Durham from Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*; Roger of Wendover has been edited by Coxe for the English Historical Society. Much

information as to the exact date of Cadroe's pilgrimage may be obtained by reference to Robertson's *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 66, &c.; Calmet's *Histoire de Lorraine*, vol. i.; Laing's *Chronicles of the Kings of Norway*, vol. i.] T. A. A.

**CADVAN** (6th cent.), Welsh saint, was born in Brittany; his father's name is given as Eneas Lydewig. Cadvan arrived in Wales early in the sixth century, having fled before the Frankish invasion of Gaul. He was accompanied by a large number of persons, like himself of good birth, who proposed to devote themselves to a religious life on the loss of their possessions. Cadvan founded the churches of Llangadvan in Montgomeryshire and Towyn in Merionethshire, where there exists a rude pillar called St. Cadvan's stone to this day. The pillar bears an ancient Welsh inscription, almost the only one of the kind remaining, which is given in Haddan and Stubbs's 'Early Ecclesiastical Documents,' i. 165. In conjunction with Einion Vrenin, Cadvan founded a monastery on Bardsey Isle, off the promontory of Carnarvonshire, of which he was the first abbot. He is called the tutelary saint of warriors, and is commemorated on 1 Nov.

[Rees's *Essay on Welsh Saints*, 213-14; Iolo MSS.; article by Rev. Charles Hole in *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i. 364; *Archæologia Cambrensis*, new ser. i. 90, 205, ii. 58; Hübner's *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*, p. 44.]

A. M.

**CADVAN** (d. 617? or 634?), was king of Gwynedd or North Wales. His existence may be regarded as satisfactorily established, but his exploits belong rather to legend or conjecture than history. The tenth-century pedigree of Owain, son of Howel Dha, makes him the son of Iago, a descendant of Cunedda, and the father of the famous Cædwalla (d. 634) [q. v.], the ally of Penda, and the foe of the Northumbrian Bretwalda (*An. Cambriæ*, Rolls Ser., p. x; cf. *Brut y Tywys*, Rolls Ser., p. 2; and Cyvoessi Myrddin in Skene's *Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 464, ii. 221). Bæda gives us clear accounts of the warfare which went on between Æthelfrith of Northumbria and the North Welsh, culminating in the battle of Chester in 613 (BÆDA, *Hist. Eccl.* bk. ii. ch. ii.) With these wars Welsh tradition connects the name of Cadvan, and the probability of the fact may excuse the weakness of the evidence. It is impossible, however, to accept the fabulous stories in Geoffry of Monmouth (*Hist. Brit.* bk. xii. ch. i.; cf. *Mynyddian Archaeology* (1801), ii. 17, triad 81) of Cadvan's election as overlord by the princes of the Britons, his agreement to divide Britain with Æthelfrith, and his acting as foster father to

the fugitive Eadwine. In 616 the death of Ceredig (*An. Camb.* MS. A. s. a.) may have given Cadvan a more commanding position. The legend that his son Cadwallawn began to reign in 617, the same year as Eadwine became king, has suggested that Cadvan himself died in that year, but Mr. Skene has conjectured with much ingenuity that Cadvan continued to reign in Gwynedd contemporaneously with his more energetic son, the leader of the combined British host against the Angles. In 634 Oswald won a great victory at Heavenfield, and the 'wicked general' slain there (unnamed by BÆDA, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. i; called Catgublaun rex Gwenedote by Nennius, and Cathlan by Tighernac) Mr. Skene conjectures to have been Cadvan himself (Cadwallawn is called Cadwallaun by Nennius, and Chon by Tighernac; see *Ancient Books of Wales*, i. 71). But such hypotheses are hardly history. A very early inscription, apparently an epitaph, is still found on a stone like a coffin-lid above the southern door of the church of Llangadwaladr in Anglesea, called, as is conjectured, from Cadvan's grandson. 'The old letters,' says Professor Rhys, 'have quite the appearance of being of the seventh century' (*Celtic Britain*, p. 125). The words run: 'Catamanus rex sapientissimus opinatissimus omnium regum' (HÜBNER, *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*, p. 52, No. 149). Burial near Aberffraw is hardly, though possibly, compatible with death on the field of battle in Northumbria.

[Authorities cited in the text.] T. F. T.

**CADWALADER.** [See CÆDWALLA.]

**CADWALADR** (d. 1172), the son of Gruffudd, the son of Cynan, was the son and the brother of the two most famous north Welsh princes of their time. During his father's lifetime he accompanied his elder brother, Owain, on many predatory excursions against rival princes. In 1121 they ravaged Meirionydd, and apparently conquered it. In 1135 and 1136 they led three successful expeditions to Ceredigion, and managed to get possession of at least the northern portion of that district. In 1137 Owain succeeded, on Gruffudd ap Cynan's death, to the sovereignty of Gwynedd or North Wales. Cadwaladr appears to have found his portion in his former conquests of Meirionydd and northern Ceredigion. The intruder from Gwynedd soon became involved in feuds both with his south Welsh neighbours and with his family. In 1143 his men slew Anarawd, son of Gruffudd of South Wales, to whom Owain Gwynedd had promised his daughter in marriage. Repu-

diated by his brother, who sent his son Howel to ravage his share of Ceredigion and to attack his castle of Aberystwith, Cadwaladr fled to Ireland, whence he returned next year with a fleet of Irish Danes, to wreak vengeance on Owain. The fleet had already landed at the mouth of the Menai Straits when the intervention of the 'goodmen' of Gwynedd reconciled the brothers. Disgusted at what they probably regarded as treachery, the Irish pirates seized and blinded Cadwaladr, and only released him on the payment of a heavy ransom of 2,000 bondmen (some of the chroniclers say cattle). Their attempt to plunder the country was successfully resisted by Owain. In 1146, however, fresh hostilities broke out between Cadwaladr and his brother's sons Howel and Cynan. They invaded Meirionydd and captured his castle of Cynvael, despite the valiant resistance of his steward, Morvran, abbot of Whitland. This disaster lost Cadwaladr Meirionydd, and so hard was he pressed that, despite his building a castle at Llanrhystyd in Ceredigion (1148), he was compelled to surrender his possessions in that district to his son, apparently in hope of a compromise; but Howel next year captured his cousin and conquered his territory, while the brothers of the murdered Anarawd profited by the dissensions of the princes of Gwynedd to conquer Ceredigion as far north as the Aeron, and soon extended their conquests into Howel's recent acquisitions. Meanwhile Cadwaladr was expelled by Owain from his last refuge in Mona. Cadwaladr now seems to have taken refuge with the English, with whom, if we may believe a late authority, his marriage with a lady of the house of Clare had already connected him (POWELL, *History of Cambria*, p. 232, ed. 1884). The death of Stephen put an end to the long period of Welsh freedom under which Cadwaladr had grown up. In 1157 Henry II's first expedition to Wales, though by no means a brilliant success, was able to effect Cadwaladr's restoration to his old dominions. Despite his blindness, Cadwaladr had not lost his energy. In 1158 he joined the marcher lords and his nephews in an expedition against Rhys ap Gruffudd of South Wales. In 1165 Cadwaladr took part in the general resistance to Henry II's third expedition to Wales. In 1169 the death of Owain Gwynedd probably weakened his position. In March 1172 Cadwaladr himself died, and was buried in the same tomb as Owain, before the high altar of Bangor Cathedral (GIR. CAMBR. *It. Camb. in Op.* (Rolls ed.), iii. 133).

The Welsh chroniclers are very full of Cadwaladr's exploits, and celebrate him as

jointly with his brother upholding the unity of the British kingdom. Giraldus specially commends Cadwaladr's liberality (*Op.* iii. 145).

[*Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls Ser.); *Annales Cambriae* (Rolls Ser.); *Gwentian Brut*, *Cambrian Archaeological Association.*] T. F. T.

**CADWALADR CASAIL** (fl. 1590), a Welsh poet, flourished in the latter part of the sixteenth century. Some poems by him, consisting mainly of complimentary addresses and elegies, are preserved in the British Museum.

[*Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.* 14888, 14891-2, 14979, 14994, 15010.] A. M.

**CADWALADR VENDIGAID**, i.e. the BLESSED (d. 664 ?), king of the Britons, had a famous but rather shadowy figure in early Welsh history. Tenth-century sources tell us that he was the son of Cadwallawn, the ally of Penda, and that he reigned over the Britons after that monarch's death. He must have taken part in the ineffectual struggles of the North and Strathclyde Welsh against the overlordship of Oswiu, have participated in their earlier successes, and have shared, and, if the same person as the Cadavael of Nennius, largely helped to occasion the fall of Penda at Winwaed. After this we know nothing of Cadwaladr except that he died of the 'yellow plague' that devastated Britain in 664 (NENNIVS in *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 45 c. The date is fixed from Bæda and Tighernac, cf. *Annales Cambriae*, MS. A, s. a. 682).

The fame of his father and his own connection with the last efforts of the Britons against the Saxon invaders early gave Cadwaladr a high place in Welsh tradition and poetry. Allusions to him are frequent in the dark utterances of the 'Four Ancient Bards' (see SKENE, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, passim, and especially i. 238-241, and 436-46). The prophecy of Merlin became current that he would one day come again, like Barbarossa, into the world and expel the Saxons from the land. At last Geoffrey of Monmouth issued his elaborate fiction which made Cadwaladr the last British king of the whole island. After he had reigned twelve years, the story goes on, Cadwaladr was driven from Britain by a plague that raged for seven years, from which he took refuge in Armorica. Here he abdicated his rights in favour of Ivor, son of Alan, king of that land, who, on the cessation of the plague, went to Britain and performed prodigies of valour against the Saxons; but Cadwaladr, despairing of the struggle and

warned by an angel in a dream, retired to Rome, where five years afterwards he died (12 May or 12 Kal. May 687-9). Thus was the prophecy of Merlin fulfilled. 'Thenceforth the Britons lost the crown of the kingdom and the Saxons gained it.' Ivor reigned only as a prince, and the death of Cadwaladr marks the end of the 'Chronicle of the Kings' and the beginning of the 'Chronicle of the Princes' (GEORF. OF MON., *Hist. Brit.*, bk. xii. ch. xiv-xix., or the Welsh *Brut y Brenhinoedd* in *Myvyrian Archaeology*, vol. ii., there called the *Brut G. ap Arthur*; shorter versions are in the *Brut y Tywysogion* (Rolls Ser.), p. 2, and *Gwentian Brut* (Cambrian Archaeol. Soc.), p. 2).

This story is plainly unhistorical, and the account of the voyage to Rome is obviously taken from the true history of Cædwalla of Wessex, who really died in Rome in 688. This accounts for the date being pushed forward from that given by Nennius or by the MS. A of the 'Annales Cambriæ' (682). There is, however, no reason for not accepting the earlier and simpler accounts of Cadwaladr. Even the fabled transference of the kingdom to the Saxons may express in a mythical form the plain historical fact that under Cadwaladr the struggle of the Britons against the Northumbrians came to its disastrous end by their subjection to the alien power. This can be done without admitting into history the ingenious conjectures which connect with the fall of the last British kings who played a foremost part in the general history of the island the attribution of the title of Bretwalda to the Northumbrian conquerors. Cadwaladr, as is shown by his name of the Blessed, was early reputed a saint. Churches were dedicated to him in various parts of Wales. Of these most historical interest belongs to Llan-gadwaladr, near Aberffraw, in Anglesea, where his grandfather, Cadvan, king of North Wales [q. v.], was buried, and of which he was reputed the founder.

[Besides original authorities mentioned above, see modern accounts in Skene's Introduction to the Four Ancient Books of Wales, i. 68-75; Prof. Rhys's Celtic Britain, especially pp. 130-136; and for his religious position, Prof. Rice Rees's Welsh Saints, pp. 299-301.] T. F. T.

**CADWALLADOR, ROGER** (1568-1610), divine, was a native of Stretton Sugwas, Herefordshire, and studied in the English colleges at Rheims and Valladolid. After being ordained he returned to England in 1594, and laboured on the mission, chiefly in his native county, for sixteen years. At length, on Easter day, 1610, he was apprehended and taken before Dr. Robert Bennet,

bishop of the diocese, who committed him to prison, where he was very cruelly treated. He was condemned to death on account of his priestly character, and suffered at Leominster, on 27 Aug. 1610. He translated from the Greek Theodoret's 'Philotheus; or, the Lives of the Fathers of the Syrian Deserts.'

[Pits, De Angliæ Scriptoribus, 806; Chaloner's Missionary Priests (1742), ii. 27; Panzani's Memoirs, 83; Foley's Records, vi. 207; Diaries of the English College, Douay, 241, 243, 247.] T. C.

**CADWALLON.** [See CÆDWALLA.]

**CADWGAN** (d. 1112), a Welsh prince, was a son of Bleddyn, who was the son of Cynvyn, and the near kinsman of the famous Gruffudd, son of Llewelyn, on whose death Harold appointed Bleddyn and his brother Rhiwallon kings of the Welsh. This settlement did not last very long, but Bleddyn retained to his death possession of a great part of Gwynedd, and handed his territories down to his sons, of whom, besides Cadwgan, four others, Madog, Rhirid, Maredudd, and Iorwerth, are mentioned in the chronicles. Cadwgan's name first appears in history in 1087, when, in conjunction with Madog and Rhirid, he led a North Welsh army against Rhys, son of Tewdwr, king of South Wales. The victory fell to the brothers, and Rhys retreated to Ireland, whence he soon returned with a Danish fleet, and turned the tables on his foes in the battle of Llechryd. Cadwgan escaped with his life, but his two brothers were slain. Six years later Rhys was slain by the Norman conquerors of Brecheiniog (1093), and Cadwgan availed himself of the confusion caused by the catastrophe of the only strong Welsh state in South Wales to renew his attacks on Deheubarth. His inroad on Dyfed in May prepared the way for the French conquest of that region, which took place within two months, despite the unavailing struggles of Cadwgan and his family. But the Norman conquest of Ceredigion and Dyfed excited the bitterest resistance of the Welsh, who profited by William Rufus's absence in Normandy in 1094 to make a great attack on their newly built castles. Cadwgan, now in close league with Gruffudd, son of Cynan, the chief king of Gwynedd, was foremost among the revolters. Besides demolishing their castles in Gwynedd, the allied princes penetrated into Ceredigion and Dyfed, and won a great victory in the wood of Yspwys, which was followed by a devastating foray which overran the shires of Hereford, Gloucester, and Worcester (*Gwentian*



*Brut*, 1094, cf. *FLOR. WIG.* s. a.) But, as Mr. Freeman points out, Cadwgan fought in the interest of Gwynedd rather than of Wales. His capture of the castles of Ceredigion was followed by the wholesale transplantation of the inhabitants, their property, and cattle into North Wales. A little later Cadwgan's family joined in forays that penetrated to the walls of Pembroke, the only stronghold, except Rhyd y Gors, now left to the Frenchmen. Two invasions of Rufus himself were needed to repair the damage, but the great expedition of 1097 was a signal failure. Rufus 'mickle lost in men and horses,' and Cadwgan was distinguished as the worthiest of the chieftains of the victorious Cymry in the pages of the Peterborough chronicler, who in his distant fenland monastery commonly knew little of the names of Welsh kings (*A.-Sax. Chron.* s. a. 1097: 'Sum þæra waes Caduugaun gehaten, þe heora weorðast waes'). Such successes emboldened Cadwgan and his ally Gruffudd to attempt to save Anglesea when threatened in 1099 by the two earls Hugh of Chester and Shrewsbury. But the treachery of their own men—either the nobles of Mona or some of their Irish-Danish allies—drove both kings to seek safety in flight to Ireland. Next year they returned to Wales, and made peace with the border earls. Cadwgan became the man of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and received as a fief from him Ceredigion and part of Powys (*Brut y T.*, s. a. 1100; according to the *Gwentian Brut* Arwystli and Meirionydd were his possessions in Powys). In 1102 Robert of Bellême [q. v.] called upon Cadwgan and his brothers Iorwerth and Maredudd for help in his great war against Henry I. Great gifts of lands, horses, and arms persuaded Cadwgan and Maredudd to join Robert in Shropshire, but Iorwerth stayed behind, and his sudden defection is regarded by the Welsh chroniclers as a main cause of Robert's fall. Iorwerth now appears to have endeavoured to dispossess Cadwgan and Maredudd of their lands as supporters of the fallen Earl of Shrewsbury. But though he succeeded in putting Maredudd into a royal dungeon, he made peace with Cadwgan and restored him his old territories. Thus Cadwgan escaped sharing in the disgrace and imprisonment of Iorwerth by Bishop Richard of Belmeis, Henry's steward in Shropshire. It is probable that it was some other Cadwgan who became an accomplice in the murder of Howel, son of Goronwy, in 1103, and the Owain, son of Cadwgan, slain in the same year, was probably this unknown Cadwgan's son. Anyhow Cadwgan, son of Bleddyn, had a son Owain, who in 1105 began his turbulent

career by two murders, and in 1110 (*A. C., B. y T.* 1105) was the hero of a more famous adventure. Cadwgan had given a great feast in his castle of Aberteiv, the modern Cardigan, which was largely attended by chieftains from all parts of Wales, for whose entertainment bards, singers, and musicians were attracted to the rejoicings by costly prizes (*Gwentian Brut*, s. a.) Among the guests was Gerald of Windsor, who after the fall of Arnulf of Montgomery was the most powerful man among the French in Dyfed, and his famous wife Nest, whose beauty so excited Owain's lust that not long after he took advantage of his father's absence in Powys to carry her off by violence from the neighbouring castle of Cernarh Bychan. The rape of the Welsh Helen excited great commotion, and Cadwgan, hurrying back in great anxiety to Ceredigion, found himself powerless to effect her restoration to Gerald. Ithel and Madog, sons of Rhirid, and Cadwgan's nephews, were incited by Richard of Belmeis to attack Owain, and even Cadwgan, who fled to an Irish merchant ship in the harbour of Aberdovey. After running all kinds of dangers, Owain escaped to Ireland, while Cadwgan privately retired to Powys. Thence he sent messengers to Bishop Richard. King Henry's lenient treatment of him showed that the king regarded Owain's crime as no fault of his father. For a while Cadwgan was only suffered to live on a manor of his new wife, a Norman lady, daughter of Pictet Sage, but a fine of 100*l.* and a promise to abandon Owain effected his restoration to Ceredigion, which in his absence had been seized by Madog and Ithel. But the fiat of the English king could effect little in Ceredigion. Owain continued his predatory attacks on the French and Flemings, in one of which a certain William of Brabant was slain. In anger Henry sent again for the weak or impotent Cadwgan, and angrily told him that as he was unable to protect his territory, he had determined to put Ceredigion into more competent hands. A pension of twenty-four pence a day was assigned to the deposed king on the condition that he should remain in honourable restraint—he was not to be a prisoner—at the king's court, and never seek to return to his native soil. These terms Cadwgan was compelled to accept, and Gilbert, son of Richard, was invested with Ceredigion. But next year the murder of Iorwerth by his nephew Madog put Powys, which Iorwerth had lately governed, into the king's hands. He then gave it to Cadwgan, who thus once more acquired lands of his own. But Madog, already deprived of Ceredigion, was determined not to yield

Powys as well to his uncle. Meanwhile Cadwgan, 'not imagining mischief,' returned to his dominions. Surrounded by Madog's retainers at Trallong Llewelyn, he as usual conducted himself weakly. All his own attendants fled. Unable to fight, unwilling to flee, he fell an easy victim to his enemies. 'Knowing the manners of the people of that country, that they would all be killing one another,' says the 'Brut y Tywysogion,' Richard, the steward, gave Cadwgan's lands to Madog, his murderer. But Henry I reversed his act, and made Owain, the abductor of Nest, his father's successor.

[The Brut y Tywysogion (Rolls Ser.) gives most of the above facts; the *Annales Cambriae* (Rolls Ser.) is shorter, but sometimes clearer; the Gwentian Brut (Cambrian Archaeological Society) adds a few, perhaps doubtful, details; Professor Freeman's William Rufus gives the only full modern account, and adjusts the often imperfect chronology of the Brut.] T. F. T.

CADWGAN, also called MARTIN (*d.* 1241), bishop of Bangor, is styled, probably from the place of his birth, Cadwgan of Llandyvai (*Brut y Tywysogion*, Rolls Ser. s.a. 1215; MS. C calls him 'abbot of Llandevyd,' and the *Annals of Tewkesbury* 'Abbas Llandefidensis'). There seems to be little doubt that Cadwgan and Martin are the same person, though no certain explanation can be given of the double name, which suggests connection with both the Welsh and English races. Some time between 1200 and 1214 Cadwgan seems to have succeeded his brother as abbot of Whitland in the modern Carmarthenshire. On 27 Dec. 1214 he, with his monks, was taken under the royal protection (*Rot. Lit. Pat.* i. 125 b). Wales was then in an exceptionally disturbed state, as, in addition to the chronic feuds of the Welsh and the marchers, the powerful Llewelyn ap Iorwerth had actively embraced the cause of the barons confederated against King John. These troubles probably had prevented the election of a bishop of Bangor in succession to Bishop Robert, who had died in 1213 (*Ann. Wigorn.* s. a.). In 1214 Bishop Geoffry of St. David's also died, and John failed to secure the election of his nominee, through the chapter of that see exercising fully the privilege of free election conferred by his charter of 15 Jan. 1215. Early in 1215 John seems to have fixed on Cadwgan for Bangor. At the end of February Cadwgan appeared at Oxford, and professed as bishop-elect canonical obedience to Canterbury. On 13 March John sent letters patent to the chapter of Bangor, which, in answer to their request for a *congé d'élire*, granted it as a special and unprecedented

favour, but desired them to elect the abbot of Whitland (*Rot. Pat.* 16 John, m. 5, i. 130 b). Immediately and unanimously the chapter elected Cadwgan (*ib.* i. 132 b). Their promptitude suggests that John had sought both to avoid a repetition of the slight he had experienced in South Wales, and to win ecclesiastical support in North Wales against Llewelyn by the nomination of an acceptable candidate who was at least a Welshman. On 13 April the royal assent confirmed Cadwgan's election (*ib.*), and on 21 June (*Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum* from MS. *Annals of Southwark*; *Ann. Wigorn.* say 16 June), a week after the great charter had been signed at Runnymede, Archbishop Langton consecrated Cadwgan at Staines, along with Iorwerth of Talley, the Welsh nominee of the chapter of St. David's (the bishop is called 'Martinus' in the 'Annals of Worcester,' 'Cadwgan' in 'Brut y Tywysogion,' 'Ca.' in his profession of obedience in the 'Reg. Prior. Cant.,' and 'O,' a probable mistake for 'C,' in the royal assent in 'Rot. Lit. Pat.' i. 132 b).

Nothing of importance is known of Cadwgan's acts as bishop. At the end of 1215 he received an intimation through Master Henry of Cerney that Langton was under suspension, but the subjection of Wales to an interdict in 1216 for holding with the barons suggests that little attention was paid to such notices. He continued to rule over his see for more than twenty years, a fact which shows that he can hardly have been a strong partisan of the English. Probably he was a moderate man, of studious and ascetic, rather than of political tastes. In 1236 he obtained permission from Gregory IX to retire from what must always have been a very difficult position. He became a simple monk of the abbey of Dore in Herefordshire. His profession of obedience to the Abbot Stephen and his dedication of his property to the monastery are still extant (HADDAN and STUBBS, i. 464). His retirement to an English monastery may have some significance. He died on 11 April 1241 (*Ann. Theok.* s. a.; Leland's date, 1225, of his death is quite wrong), and was buried at Dore (*Brut y Tywysogion*, s. a.).

Cadwgan is said by Leland to have written some homilies, 'Speculum Christianorum,' and some other works, to have been remarkable for his piety, and to have been descended from an ancient and noble British family. Dèmpster (*Hist. Eccles. Gentis Scotorum*) erroneously claims him as a Scot.

[The contemporary materials for Cadwgan's life are collected in Haddan and Stubbs's Councils, i. 454-5, and pp. 464-5; see also Browne

Willis's Survey of Bangor, Leland, Bale, Pits, and Tanner.] T. F. T.

CADYMAN, SIR THOMAS. [See CADEMAN.]

CÆDMON (sometimes corruptly written CEDMON), SAINT (*fl.* 670), the most celebrated of the vernacular poets of Northumbria, and the reputed author of the Anglo-Saxon metrical paraphrases of the Old Testament, certainly lived in the seventh century, but the exact dates of his birth and death are unknown. The only chronological data we possess are the facts that he entered the monastery of Streaneshalch (Whitby) during the rule of the Abbess Hild, i.e. between 658 and 680, and that he was already somewhat advanced in life when he became a monk. Pits assigns his death to the year 676, and other writers to 670, but these dates appear to be quite arbitrarily fixed. It has been frequently stated, on the supposed authority of Florence of Worcester, that Cædmon died in 680. Florence, however, merely says that Hild died in that year, and it is probable that if Cædmon's death had taken place in the same year as that of his patroness Bæda would not have failed to make some remark on the coincidence.

Respecting Cædmon's personal history we have no other authoritative information than what is contained in a single chapter of Bæda's 'Ecclesiastical History' (iv. 24). Bæda describes him as an unlearned man of great piety and humility, who had received by divine grace such a gift of sacred poetry that he was enabled, after short meditation, to render into English verse whatever passages were translated to him out of the holy scriptures. Until quite late in life he was engaged in secular occupations, and was so far from showing any sign of poetical genius that whenever he happened to be in company where he perceived that he was about to be called upon in his turn to sing a song to the harp, he was accustomed to leave the table and return home. On one of these occasions, having quitted a party of friends and occupied himself with the care of the cattle to which on that night it was his duty to attend, he fell asleep and dreamed that he heard a voice saying to him, 'Cædmon, sing something to me.' He answered that he did not know how to sing, and that it was for that reason that he had come away from the supper-table. The command, however, was repeated, and Cædmon asked, 'What shall I sing?' 'Sing,' answered the voice, 'the beginning of created things.' Then Cædmon began to sing the praise of the Creator in words which he had never heard, and which,

Bæda says, were to the following effect: 'Now ought we to praise the founder of the heavenly kingdom, the power of the Creator, and His wise design, the deeds of the Father of glory; how He, eternal God, was the author of all things wonderful, who first created for the sons of men the heaven for a roof, and afterwards the earth—He, the almighty guardian of mankind.' Bæda explains that his Latin rendering gives only the general sense, not the order of the words. On awaking Cædmon remembered the verses which he had sung, and added to them others of the same character. He related his dream to the steward (*villicus*) under whom he worked—probably the farm-bailiff of the abbey of Streaneshalch—who conducted him into the presence of the abbess, Hild, and her monks. When they had heard his story they at once perceived that the untaught herdsman had received a miraculous gift. In order to prove him further they translated to him some passage of Scripture, and requested him, if he were able, to turn it into verse. On the following day he returned, having accomplished his task, and was then received into the monastery, where he continued until his death. The abbess directed that he should be instructed in the history of the Old and New Testaments, and whatever he thus learned he reproduced from time to time in beautiful and touching verse, 'so that his teachers were glad to become his hearers.' We are told that 'he sang of the creation of the world, the origin of mankind, and all the history of Genesis; of the departure of Israel from Egypt and their entrance into the land of promise, and of many other parts of Scripture history; of the Lord's incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension; of the coming of the Holy Ghost, and the teaching of the apostles. He also made many poems concerning the terror of future judgment, the horror of the pains of hell, and the sweetness of the heavenly kingdom.' Bæda says that many persons had attempted to imitate Cædmon's religious poetry, but none had succeeded in equalling him. On other than sacred themes he composed nothing. How long Cædmon lived after his entrance into the monastery we do not know. He died after an illness of fourteen days, which was apparently so slight that no one expected it to end fatally. On the night of his death he surprised his attendant by asking to be removed to the apartment reserved for those who were supposed to be near their end. His request was complied with, and he passed the night in pleasant and jesting conversation. After midnight he asked for the Eucharist. Those who were with him thought

it strange that such a wish should be expressed by one who seemed so full of cheerfulness, and who showed no indication of the approach of death; but he insisted, and his desire was granted. He then inquired of those present whether they were in peace and charity towards him. They replied that they were so, and in answer to their inquiry he said, 'My mind is in perfect peace towards all the servants of God.' Having partaken of the Eucharist, he asked how long it was till the hour at which the brethren were called to their nocturnal psalms. He was informed that the time was near. 'It is well,' he said; 'let us await that hour.' He then made the sign of the cross, and, laying back his head on the pillow, shortly afterwards passed away in sleep.

William of Malmesbury informs us in his '*Gesta Pontificum*,' which was written about 1125, that the bones of Cædmon, together with those of other holy persons buried at Whitby, had recently been discovered, and had been removed to a place of honour, probably in the abbey church of Whitby. He adds that Cædmon's claims to be recognised as a saint had been attested by many miracles which had been wrought through his intercession. Like most of the other early English saints, Cædmon seems to have obtained his place in the calendar not by any formal act of canonisation, but by the general voice of his countrymen. The Bollandists place his festival on 11 Feb., on the authority of John Wilson's '*Martyrology*,' and they remark that, owing to a misprint in the margin of Wilson's book, the date is frequently given as 10 Feb. Other writers have mentioned 12 Feb.

It is difficult to read the vivid and beautiful account given by Bæda without feeling that it bears in general the stamp of truth. The nearness of Bæda's place of residence to Streaneshalch would give him ample opportunities of obtaining information from persons to whom Cædmon had been intimately known, and the diligence which he bestowed on the collection of his materials must be evident to every student of his works. The story of the beginning of Cædmon's poetical career is no doubt more or less legendary, but the facts that he was an inmate of the abbey of Streaneshalch, and that he was of humble origin and unlearned, are too well attested to admit of any reasonable doubt. Sir Francis Palgrave, however (*Archæologia*, xxiv. 341), has attempted to show that the history of Cædmon is entirely fictitious. He refers to a Latin fragment entitled '*Prefatio in Librum antiquum Saxonice conscriptum*,' which states (to quote Palgrave's account of

its contents) that 'Ludovicus Pius, being desirous to furnish his subjects with a version of the scriptures, applied to a Saxon bard of great talent and fame. The poet, peasant, or husbandman, when entirely ignorant of his art, had been instructed in a dream to render the precepts of the divine law into the verse and measure of his native language. His translation, now unfortunately lost, to which the fragment was prefixed, comprehended the whole of the Bible. The text of the original was interspersed with mystic allusions, and the beauty of the composition was so great, that in the opinion of the writer no reader perusing the verse could doubt the source of the poetic inspiration of the bard.' It thus appears that the metrical paraphrases of Scripture current in Germany were, like those current in Northumbria, ascribed to the authorship of an unlettered peasant who had received his poetical vocation in a dream. From this fact Palgrave infers that the history of Cædmon is 'one of those tales floating upon the breath of tradition, and localised from time to time in different countries and in different ages.' This argument, however, is entirely without weight. The document quoted by Palgrave is well known to scholars. It was first printed in 1562 by Flacius Illyricus from an unknown source, and has been prefixed by modern editors to the Old-Saxon poem of the '*Heliand*,' which is a paraphrase of the gospel history written in the ninth century. There is sufficient reason for believing that the '*Heliand*' is really a part of that metrical version of the Bible with which the fragment originally stood in connection. Now when we examine the '*Prefatio*' and the older '*Versus de Poeta*' printed along with it, it is obvious that the story which they contain is simply an inaccurate version of Bæda's own account of Cædmon. The testimony of these documents, indeed, practically amounts to ascribing the authorship of the '*Heliand*' to the Northumbrian poet. Whether this testimony is entitled to belief is a question which we shall afterwards have to consider.

The incident of Cædmon's dream is on other grounds open to strong suspicion. The story is just such a legend as would be naturally suggested by the desire to account for the wonderful phenomenon of the display of great poetic genius on the part of an unlettered rustic, and closely similar traditions are found in the literature of many different nations and periods. Palgrave's argument against the authenticity of Cædmon's biography is supposed to derive support from another consideration. He points out

that the name of Cædmon has no obvious English etymology, while, on the other hand, it bears a curious resemblance to certain Hebrew and Chaldee words. *Kadmôn* in Hebrew has the two meanings of 'eastern' and 'ancient'; *Ādām Kadmôn* (the ancient or primeval Adam) is a prominent figure in the philosophic mythology of the Rabbins; and *Be-Kadmîn* (in the beginning) is the first word of the Chaldee Targum on Genesis. On these grounds Palgrave concluded that the real author of the body of sacred poetry spoken of by Bæda was a monk who had travelled in Palestine and was learned in Rabbinical literature, and that he assumed the Hebrew name of Cædmon, either in allusion to the subjects on which he wrote, or in order to describe himself as 'a visitor from the East.' He endeavours to show that there is no improbability in crediting an English monk of the seventh century with the possession of a considerable knowledge of Hebrew; but his arguments are not likely to be accepted by any one who is intimately acquainted with the state of scholarship in England at that period. It is surprising to find that Palgrave's etymological speculations are mentioned with approval by Mr. T. Arnold in the article 'Cædmon' in the ninth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' Mr. Arnold does not indeed deny the truth of Bæda's account of the monk of Streaneshalch, but he supposes that some learned pilgrim returned from the Holy Land had bestowed upon the Northumbrian poet a Hebrew nickname, in allusion to the themes of which he sang.

This fanciful hypothesis scarcely deserves serious refutation. Nevertheless, it is quite true that the name of Cædmon has no English etymology. Sandras and Bouterwek, indeed, have endeavoured to explain it as meaning 'boatman' or 'pirate,' from the word *ced*, a boat, which occurs in one of the Anglo-Saxon glossaries printed by Mone. Unfortunately this word is a mere error of transcription for the well-known *ceol*. The truth seems to be that Cædmon is an Anglicised form of the common British name *Catumanus* (in modern Welsh *Cadfan*). The first element of the compound (*catu*, battle) occurs in the name of a British king whom Bæda calls *Cædwalla*. If this view be correct, we may infer that the Northumbrian poet was probably of Celtic descent.

We have now to inquire what portion of the poetry which has been ascribed to Cædmon can claim to be regarded as his genuine work. It has been already stated that Bæda furnishes a Latin rendering of the verses which Cædmon composed in his dream, adding that he only gives the sense, and not the

order of the words. Now in King Ælfred's translation of Bæda this poem is quoted in Anglo-Saxon metre, and the translator alters Bæda's language so as to make him say that he does give the order of the words. The natural assumption would be that Ælfred was acquainted with the original English form of the poem, and had introduced it into his translation. This conclusion, however, has been impugned by many writers, who contend that the English verses are a mere retranslation from Bæda's Latin. A fact which strongly tends to prove their genuineness is that they are found, in Northumbrian orthography, in a manuscript of Bæda's 'History' now at Cambridge, the handwriting of which refers it to the middle of the eighth century. It is true that the page containing these Northumbrian verses is in a different hand from the rest of the manuscript, and may possibly have been written at a considerably later date, though Professor Zupitza, who has carefully inspected the codex, offers some strong arguments to the contrary. Some scholars, moreover, have tried to prove that the dialect and versification are not precisely those of Cædmon's time. But our knowledge of early Northumbrian is so limited that it is impossible to attach much importance to these objections. We must either admit that the Cambridge manuscript gives the actual words which Bæda had before him, or we must suppose that some one took the trouble to render Ælfred's verses into Northumbrian spelling in order to insert them in the manuscript. The latter hypothesis is so beset with difficulties that we are fairly entitled to conclude that the lines are really the original of Bæda's quotation. The words are as follows:—

Nu seylun hergan hefaenricaes uard,  
metudæs mæeti end his modgidane,  
uere uuldurfadur; sue he uundra gihwæs,  
cei dryctin, or astelidæ.  
He ærist seop ælða burnum  
heben til hrofe, haleg seopen;  
tha middungeard, moncygnæs uard,  
cei dryctin; æfter tiadæ  
firum foldu, frea allmeetic.

These verses have certainly no great poetic merit, and it has been made an argument against their genuineness that they possess no excellence sufficient to account for the high estimation in which Cædmon was held by Bæda. The objection does not appear formidable. We need not precisely assent to the whimsical remark of Ettmüller, that the 'soporiferous' character of the lines confirms the tradition that they were composed in a dream; but it should be remembered that, according to Bæda's testimony,

they are the work of a beginner in the poetic art. On the other hand, the fact that Bæda believed the poem to be Cædmon's does not absolutely prove its genuineness, as the composition may be merely part of the legend relating to the poet's divine call.

Another composition which has been ascribed to Cædmon is the really fine poem called 'The Dream of the Holy Rood.' A fragment of this poem, in the original Northumbrian dialect, is inscribed in runic letters on the sculptured stone cross set up at Ruthwell in Dumfriesshire. The ornamentation of the Ruthwell cross is so strikingly identical in character with that of the similar monument at Bewcastle as to suggest the conclusion that the two are not far apart in date, if indeed they were not wrought by the same artist, and the historical allusions contained in the Bewcastle inscription assign it to the end of the seventh century—that is to say, to a time at which Cædmon may have been still living. After the inscription on the Ruthwell cross had been deciphered by J. M. Kemble in 1840, it was discovered that a West-Saxon version of the entire poem existed in a manuscript preserved at Vercelli, which also contained four other poems in the West-Saxon dialect. The suggestion that 'The Dream of the Holy Rood' was composed by Cædmon is due in the first instance to the late Dr. Haigh, and it was adopted by Professor George Stephens, of Copenhagen, who believed that he had found decisive proof of its correctness in the words 'Cædmon mæ faucedō' (Cædmon made me), which he read on the top-stone of the Ruthwell cross. The reading of the word 'Cædmon' on the stone is perfectly certain, though that of the other two words is open to some doubt. Professor Stephens's conclusion was for a time accepted by all English and some German scholars. But the words on the top of the cross are an example of a formula which is of constant occurrence in runic texts, and which in every known instance indicates the person who carved the monument. That in this particular case it can have been employed to denote the author of the verses which form a part of the inscription is in the highest degree unlikely. We must therefore conclude that the sculptor of the Ruthwell cross was a namesake of the Northumbrian poet. This conclusion leaves untouched the question of the authorship of the 'Dream.' At first sight, indeed, it seems almost incredible that the carver of the monument should have borne the same name as the poet whose verses he inscribed upon it. But the improbability of the coincidence is diminished by the consideration that the name

is likely to have been a very common one in a district whose population must have been largely of Celtic descent; and it is worthy of note that the neighbourhood of Ruthwell is known to have been inhabited, till long after the seventh century, by a Welsh-speaking people. That the 'Dream' belongs to the age of Cædmon is certain; and when we consider that it is one of the noblest specimens of Old-English poetry we possess, there seems to be considerable plausibility in ascribing it to the man whom Bæda regarded as by far the greatest religious poet of his time. The strongest argument against this view is based upon the resemblance which the style of the poem, at least in its amplified West-Saxon form, bears to the undoubted work of Cynewulf; but it is by no means clear that the poetry of Cynewulf may not be largely an adaptation of older compositions. An engraving of the Ruthwell cross, with a transcript and a translation of the inscription, is given in Stephens's 'Old Northern Runic Monuments,' i. 405, iii. 189; and the West-Saxon version of the 'Dream' from the Vercelli manuscript will be found in Grein's 'Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie,' ii. 143.

The works to which the celebrity of Cædmon's name in modern times is chiefly due are the so-called sacred epics, or metrical versions of Scripture history, which have been preserved in a manuscript of tenth-century date now in the Bodleian Library. The first part of this manuscript is all in one handwriting, and contains paraphrases of portions of the books of Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel. The second part seems to have been written by three different scribes, and consists of fragments of three poems, of which the first relates to the fall of the angels and the temptation of man; the second to the descent of Christ into hell, His resurrection and ascension, and the last judgment; and the third to the temptation of Christ in the wilderness. With the exception of a portion of the paraphrase of Daniel, of which a copy, materially differing from the Bodleian text, occurs in the Exeter book, none of these pieces has been found in any other manuscript. It will be at once perceived that the list of subjects just given corresponds precisely, so far as it goes, with Bæda's account of the poetry of Cædmon. No author's name appears in the manuscript, but Franciscus Junius (François Dujon), who edited the poems in 1655, conjectured that they were the work of Cædmon, by whose name they have subsequently been known. The fact that these compositions, as we now have them, are in West-

Saxon orthography would not of itself constitute a reason for rejecting Junius's conclusion, as we know that in other instances Northumbrian poetry was transcribed into the southern dialect. Modern criticism, however, has shown that the various portions of the so-called Cædmon poetry exhibit diversities of style inconsistent with the supposition of common authorship, and many passages indicate on the part of their authors an amount of learning which the monk of Streaneshalch cannot have possessed. The most probable conclusion seems to be that the rude Northumbrian verses of Cædmon were regarded by the writers of the *Ælfrelian* and later ages as raw material, which they elaborated with unequal degrees of poetic skill. On the assumption that the Anglo-Saxon 'sacred epics' are more or less based upon the songs of Cædmon, there is reason for believing that, with the marked exception of the 'Exodus,' they are in general greatly inferior to their originals. Their authors seem to have been men to whom religious edification was more important than poetry, and who often substituted a mere paraphrase of the scriptural text for the free and imaginative handling of the Northumbrian poet.

There is, however, among the poetry contained in the Bodleian manuscript one long passage which seems to be essentially the product of Cædmon's daring and original genius. This is the fragment describing the temptation and fall of man, which the scribe has abruptly interpolated in the middle of the dreary metrical prose of the 'Genesis.' This fragment, which includes the lines 235-370 and 421-851 of Grein's edition (the lines 371-420 are by another hand), bears a striking resemblance in style to the Old-Saxon poem of the 'Heliand,' previously referred to. This resemblance, indeed, is so close, extending to very minute points of diction, that the two works cannot possibly be regarded as unconnected. The only question is what is the precise nature of the relation between them. Professor Sievers, who was the first to call attention to the facts, has endeavoured to prove that this portion of the 'Genesis' is a translation of an Old-Saxon poem by the author of the 'Heliand.' His principal argument is that several words and idioms characteristic of this passage are good Old-Saxon, but are found nowhere else in Anglo-Saxon. It is needless to say that the judgment of this distinguished scholar is deserving of the highest respect; but his conclusion appears to be open to grave objection. We must remember that the continental Saxons were evangelised by English missionaries; and, as Professor Stephens has

forcibly urged, it is highly improbable that an ancient and cultured church like that of England should have adopted into its literature a poem written by a barbarian convert of its own missions. Moreover, Professor Sievers's linguistic arguments are not of overwhelming force. The Old-Saxon dialect is known to us almost exclusively from the 'Heliand' itself; and the extant remains of early Northumbrian are confined to a few insignificant fragments. It is therefore quite possible that the expressions which are common to the 'Heliand' and to the fragment under discussion, and peculiar to them, may have been derived from the old poetic vocabulary of Northumbria. Some of the phrases which distinguish the 'Story of the Fall' from the rest of the 'Genesis,' occur also in Cædmon's 'Hymn to the Creator,' and the fervid and impassioned style which the former composition shares with the 'Heliand' reminds us strongly of that of 'The Dream of the Holy Rood.' It seems, therefore, a reasonable conclusion that the 'Heliand,' and its sister poem in Anglo-Saxon, are both of them translations (largely amplified, possibly, but retaining much of the original diction and spirit) from the verses of the Northumbrian poet. This result is confirmed by the testimony of the Latin preface to the 'Heliand,' which, as has been previously stated in this article, virtually ascribes the authorship of the poem to Cædmon himself.

Notwithstanding the astonishing general resemblance between the 'Heliand' and the Anglo-Saxon poem, there is one point of difference between the two works which is worthy of careful note. The 'Story of the Fall,' while following in the main the biblical narrative and the Latin poem of Avitus 'De Origine Mundi,' exhibits such deviations from these original sources as might be expected from a poet who, like Cædmon, had obtained his knowledge of them by hearsay and not by reading. It is surely the peasant Cædmon, and not any poet of literary and theological culture, who represents the transgression of Adam and Eve as an almost unavoidable error, deserving rather pity than blame, and who expresses his simple-hearted wonder that God should have permitted his children to be so terribly deceived. In the 'Heliand' touches of this kind are scarcely to be found. It would seem that the missionaries who adapted the work of Cædmon to the needs of their German converts were, as might naturally be expected, careful to bring its teaching into accord with the received standard of theological orthodoxy.

The 'Exodus,' though disfigured by a taste-

less interpolation about the history of the patriarch, is the work of a true poet; but there is nothing to show how far the writer may have been indebted to his Northumbrian predecessor. Nor can any clear traces of Cædmon's original authorship be discerned in the 'Daniel,' which is a pleasing and graceful rendering of the Bible narrative. The wide divergence between the two texts of the 'Azarias' portion of this poem is a significant illustration of the freedom with which the Anglo-Saxon poets permitted themselves to rewrite the compositions of earlier authors.

The three fragments at the end of the Bodleian manuscript, which form what is called 'The Second Book of Cædmon,' or 'Christ and Satan,' appear to be the work of a single author, but it is not likely that they originally formed part of a continuous poem. They have considerable poetic merit, and so far as their substance is concerned have a certain affinity with the 'Story of the Fall.' But their smooth and monotonous rhythm is very unlike the rugged and expressive versification of that poem; and their vocabulary and phraseology are in general those of later Anglo-Saxon poetry. It is probable that these fragments should be regarded as a free rendering of portions of Cædmon's poems in the manner of a later period.

It is right to state that the views here put forward are in conflict with those which are maintained by many scholars of high authority. Professor ten Brink, for example, considers that the less poetical portion of the 'Genesis' is substantially Cædmon's, and that no other specimen of his work has come down to us except the 'Hymn.' But, in the first place, the assumption that a tame and prosaic style is characteristic of the infancy of Old-English sacred poetry is refuted by the evidence of the Ruthwell cross. And, in the second place, a servile paraphrase of the biblical text can only have proceeded from a writer who was able to read his Latin bible; to a poet who, like Cædmon, had to depend on his recollection of extemporised oral translations, such a performance would have been absolutely impossible.

No discussion of the 'Cædmon' of the Bodleian manuscript would be complete without some reference to the interesting question of the influence which it is supposed to have exercised upon Milton in the composition of 'Paradise Lost.' The resemblances in matter and expression between some passages of Milton's poems and the Anglo-Saxon 'Genesis' are so remarkable that it is difficult to regard them as fortuitous. On the other hand, Milton became blind three years before the publication of Junius's edition of

'Cædmon' in 1655, so that he can have had no opportunity of studying the book in its printed form. The manuscript, however, was given by Archbishop Ussher to Junius in 1651, and had been for some time previous in the archbishop's library. It seems possible, although no evidence of the fact has been produced, that Milton may have been personally acquainted with Junius, or that he may have numbered among his friends some student of Anglo-Saxon who may have given him an account of the contents of the precious manuscript.

Junius's edition of 'Cædmon' was published at Amsterdam in 1655, and some copies of it were issued by James Fletcher at Oxford in 1752, with some notes from Junius's manuscripts added at the end. Fletcher also published in 1754 copies of the fifty pictures with which the Bodleian manuscript is adorned. In 1832 the Society of Antiquaries of London published Thorpe's edition of 'Cædmon,' based upon the original manuscript, with an English translation and notes; and in the following year the society issued a magnificent volume containing facsimiles of the illustrations, accompanied by an essay by Sir Henry Ellis. In 1849-54 K. W. Bouterwek published at Gutersloh an edition of 'Cædmon,' in two volumes, with introduction, notes, a prose translation, and glossary. Copious extracts from the poems were given in Ettmüller's 'Engla and Seaxna Scôpas and Bôceras,' Quedlinburg, 1850, the text being substantially that of the previous editors. The latest complete edition is that of C. W. Grein, in his 'Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie,' Göttingen, 1857. Grein also published a German translation, in alliterative metre, in his 'Dichtungen der Angelsachsen, stabreimend übersetzt,' Göttingen, 1863. A careful revision of the text may be expected in the new edition of Grein's 'Bibliothek,' by Professor Wülcker, which is now in course of publication.

[The only original authority for the life of Cædmon is Bæda, Hist. Eccl. iv. 24. For discussion respecting the credibility of Bæda's account, and the genuineness of the poems ascribed to Cædmon, see Acta Sanctorum, 11 Feb.; Palgrave in Archæologia, xxiv. 341; Sandras's De Carminibus Saxonice Cædmoni adjudicatis, Paris, 1859; Bouterwek's De Cædmone Dissertatio, Elberfeld, 1845, and the introduction to his edition of the poems; Ettmüller's Scôpas and Bôceras, pp. xii, xiii, 25, 26; Greverus's Cædmon's Schöpfung und Abfall der bösen Engel, Oldenburg, 1852; Wright's Biog. Brit. Anglo-Saxon period, pp. 23 and 193-200; Götzinger, Ueber die Dichtungen des Angelsachsen Cædmon's, Göttingen, 1860; Wülcker, Ueber den Hymnus Cædmon's, in Beiträge zur Gesch. der deutschen



Sprache und Litt. iii. 348-57; Zupitza in Zeitschr. für deutsches Alterthum, xxii. 210 ff.; Sievers's *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis*, Halle, 1875; Stephens in the *Academy*, 21 Oct. 1876; Grosschopp, *Christ and Satan*, in *Anglia*, vi. 248 ff.; Ten Brink's *Early English Literature*, trans. Kennedy, London, 1883; Earle's *Anglo-Saxon Literature*, London, 1884. For the influence of Cædmon on Milton see Masson's *Life of Milton*, vi. 557, note; Wülcker in *Anglia*, iv. 401-5.] H. B.

**CÆDWALLA** (d. 634), whose name is also spelt CADWALADER, CADWALLON, CASHALLON, CATGUBLAUN (probably equivalent to the Latin Cassibellaunus), CATGOLAUM, and with several other variations, son of Cadvan (*Angl. Sacr.* ii. 32), king of North Wales [q. v.], was the British king of Guenedotia or Vendotia, commonly called Gwynedd, which was probably coextensive, roughly speaking, with North Wales; but the king seems to have exercised some authority over the western regions north of the Mersey, possibly even as far as Carlisle (LAPPENBERG, *Ang.-Sax. Hist.* i. 121, 122; *Journal of Archaeolog. Assoc.* xi. 54).

A deadly rivalry had long existed between the British kingdom of Gwynedd and the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria. Æthelfrith, the 'Fierce' or Destroyer, had inflicted a terrible blow upon the Britons in the battle of Chester in 613 (BÆDA, ii. 2; REES, *Welsh Saints*, p. 293). It was probably to avenge this disaster that in 629 Cædwalla invaded Northumbria; but he was defeated by Eadwine, the successor of Æthelfrith, near Morpeth, driven thence into Wales, and besieged in the island of Glannauc, probably to be identified with Priestholm, near Anglesey (*Ann. Cambriae, M. H. B.* 832). He escaped to Ireland; but after a brief sojourn there returned to Britain, and, although himself a christian, entered into alliance with Penda, king of the Mercians, a merciless pagan. Their united forces invaded Northumbria, and overwhelmed Eadwine's army at Heathfield or Hatfield, probably Hatfield Chase, a few miles north-east of Doncaster, A.D. 633. Eadwine and his son Osfrid were slain. Northumbria was cruelly devastated. Cædwalla, who surpassed his pagan ally, Penda, in ferocity, vowed that he would extirpate the whole Anglian race from Britain, and spared neither age nor sex, putting women and children to death by torture (BÆDA, ii. 20). It was the temporary overthrow of the whole kingdom and church of Northumbria. Paulinus, who had converted Eadwine and founded the see of York, retired to Kent, accompanied by the queen, her daughter, son, and grandson. Osric, a cousin of Eadwine,

and Eanfrith, a son of Æthelfrith, tried to recover the kingdom of Deira and Bernicia, and to secure the favour of the Mercians by basely renouncing their christianity, but received the just reward of their apostasy by being slain by Cædwalla in the following year, 634 (*ib.* iii. 1). The British king now boasted that his forces were irresistible; but his triumph was shortlived.

Oswald, a younger brother of Eanfrith and nephew of Eadwine, resolved to make an effort to shake off the yoke of the oppressor. Near the close of the year 634 he mustered an army, and met the enemy on a hill called Hevenfelth, north of the Roman wall, near Hexham. Here he set up a cross, which he helped to fix in the ground with his own hands, and bidding his soldiers kneel before it, prayed with them 'to the living and true God, who knew how just their cause was, to save them from their fierce and haughty foe' (*ib.* iii. 2). Thus encouraged, they fell upon the British host, which far outnumbered his own, and completely routed it. Cædwalla himself fled into the valley and was slain at the Deniseburn, perhaps the brook which flows northwards into the Tyne, and enters it near Dilston, east of Hexham (*ib.* iii. 1). The place of battle was afterwards called Oswald's Cross, and a small church was in time erected there, and was served by the clergy of the church at Hexham. Thus perished Cædwalla, who had fought, it was said, in fourteen battles and sixty skirmishes (LAPPENBERG, i. 156; NENNIUS), and with him ended the last serious struggle for supremacy between the old British and Anglian races in that part of the island.

[Bæda, *Eccl. Hist.* ii. 2, 20, iii. 1, 2; *Annales Cambriae*, ap. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 832; Nennius, ap. *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 76; Rees's *Welsh Saints*, 293.]  
W. R. W. S.

**CÆDWALLA** (659?-689) (the variations in the form of whose name are as numerous as in the case of the Welsh Cædwalla), was the son of Cyneberht, and a great-grandson of the West-Saxon king Ceawlin [q. v.]; but his name indicates some British connection, and misled some Welsh writers so far as to confuse him with Cadwaladr, son of the Cædwalla who was killed at Hevenfelth (*Brut y Tywysogion, Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 841; REES, *Welsh Saints*, p. 300). The name of his brother 'Mul'—the mule or half-breed—points to the probability of their mother being Welsh. Bæda calls him a young man of great energy, and he was probably regarded as a dangerous aspirant to the West-Saxon throne. At any rate he was expelled from Wessex, and, according to William of Malmesbury,

by a faction of the leading men, which perhaps included the king himself, Centwine (*Gest. Pont.* p. 233), and he then led the wild life of an outlaw among the forests of Chiltern and Anderida. Here he was brought into contact, about 681, with Wilfrith, who was engaged in missionary labours among the South-Saxons. Cædwalla often applied to him for advice, and Wilfrith lent him also horses and money, and obtained great influence over him (*ib.*). In 685, when Cædwalla began to strive for the West-Saxon kingdom (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), he ravaged Sussex with a band of lawless followers, and, notwithstanding his friendship with Wilfrith, slew the South-Saxon king, Æthelwealh, who was an ally of Centwine. Two ealdormen, however, Berchtun and Andhun, who had been converted by Wilfrith, succeeded in driving him out, and governing the kingdom independently. On the death or resignation of Centwine, 686 (see *FLOER. WIG.*), who seems to have nominated Cædwalla as his successor (*WILL. MALM., Gest. Pont.* p. 352), the latter obtained possession of the West-Saxon throne, and, again invading Sussex, defeated and slew Berchtun, and subdued the whole kingdom. After making a raid on Kent, in which his brother Mul was burned to death, he turned his arms against the Isle of Wight, which had been conquered some years before by Wulfhere, king of Mercia, and bestowed upon his ally and godson, Æthelwealh, the South-Saxon king (BÆDA, iv. 13, 16). The inhabitants of Wight were still heathen, and Cædwalla, although not yet baptised, vowed that if he was victorious he would devote a fourth part of the island to God. This was probably due to the suggestion of Wilfrith, who had great influence over him, although the statements of Eddius and William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* p. 233) that Cædwalla made him a kind of president over his kingdom (*ut dominum et magistrum*), and did nothing without his approval, must be looked upon as exaggerations. Anyhow, having been successful in subjugating Wight, Cædwalla fulfilled his vow by bestowing a fourth part of the island, three hundred hides, on Wilfrith, who sent two priests (his nephew Bernuin, and another named Hiddila) to instruct and baptise the people in the christian faith (BÆDA, iv. 16). Cædwalla put to death two sons of Arvaldus, king of Wight, who had fled for refuge to the mainland, but, at the request of an abbot of a neighbouring monastery, permitted them first to be baptised. All this time he himself had not been baptised, and had not, so far as our records enable us to judge, exhibited much christian virtue in his

conduct. He had indeed bestowed many liberal gifts upon monastic houses, but William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* p. 352) implies that he did this to obtain favour when he was ambitious of the West-Saxon throne. Suddenly, however, in 688, the fierce warrior turned into a penitent devotee. He resigned his kingdom and took his journey to Rome, in order to be baptised by the pope. Cædwalla was baptised by Pope Sergius I, under the name of Peter, on Easter eve, 689, being then about thirty years of age. He had hoped to die, Bæda says (*E. H.* v. 7), soon after his baptism, in order to pass at once to eternal joys; and his hope was fulfilled, for death came before he had put off the chrisom, or white fillet which converts wore for eight days after their baptism. He was buried in St. Peter's on 20 April. His epitaph, consisting of some turgid Latin elegiacs, followed by a few lines in prose, has been preserved by Bæda. A copy of the metrical inscription alone, taken from the original stone in old St. Peter's, exists in John Gruter's work, '*Inscrip. Antiq. Amstel.*' 1707, ii. 1174, and also in Raffael Fabretti's '*Inscrip. Antiq.*' 1702, Rome, p. 735, No. 463.

[Bæda, *Ecl. Hist.* iv. 13, 15, 16, v. 7; William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*, *Rolls Series.*] W. R. W. S.

CAERLEON, LEWIS OF, mathematician. [See under CHARLTON, LEWIS.]

CAERNARVON. [See CARNARVON.]

CÆSAR, SIR CHARLES (1590-1642), judge, the third son of Sir Julius Cæsar [q. v.] by his first wife, born 27 Jan. 1589-90, was educated at All Souls College, Oxford, of which, on the recommendation of the king, he was elected a fellow in 1605, graduating B.A. He proceeded M.A. in 1607, resigned his fellowship in 1611, and took the degree of doctor of both laws (civil and canon) on 7 Dec. 1612. On 9 Oct. 1613 he was knighted at Theobalds. In the parliament of 1614 he sat as member for Weymouth. On 9 May 1615 he was appointed a master of chancery. Having devoted himself to the practice of the ecclesiastical law, he was created by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbott) judge of the court of audience and master of the faculties, both of which offices he was permitted to retain on the suspension of the archbishop in 1627 (CORBETT, *State Trials*, ii. 1452), and the latter of which, as probably also the former, he held until his death (WOOD, *Fæsti Oxon.*, ed. Bliss, i. 328). From the fact that we find him on 10 June 1626 associated with Baron Trevor in carrying the Duke of Buckingham's answer to his impeachment from the upper to the lower house,

it may be inferred that he then held the post of judge of the court of audience. On 17 Dec. 1633 he was made a member of the high commission, and from that time until his appointment to the mastership of the rolls he is not unfrequently mentioned in the acts of commission in a way which shows that under it he exercised a jurisdiction similar to that which in the court of chancery was then vested in a master. He sat in 1635-6 as a member of a special tribunal, composed of doctors of the civil law and judges and advocates of the court of arches, to try the question whether tobacco could rightly be considered contraband of war by the law of nations, or as falling within the purview of the fourth article of the treaty concluded between England and Spain in 1630, whereby it was made a breach of neutrality for either of the contracting parties to supply the enemies of the other with 'victual' (*commeatus*). The question arose from a man-of-war of Dunkirk having captured an English merchantman laden with leaf tobacco from Amsterdam, and bound presumably for France (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1635-6, p. 208, where the destination of the vessel is not stated), and the Dunkirk court and also the court of appeal at Brussels having adjudged her and her cargo lawful prize. The English court decided that the judgment was contrary alike to the law of nations and to the treaty. The mastership of the rolls falling vacant by the death of Sir Dudley Digges in March 1638-9, the king let it be known that it would only be parted with for a handsome consideration. Cæsar sounded Laud as to its probable price, and was told plainly 'that as things then stood, that place was not like to go without more money than he thought any wise man would give for it.' Cæsar, however, was not daunted. His competitors were Sir Edward Leech, who offered 7,000*l.* down; and 6,000*l.* to follow in May; Sir Thomas Hatton, who offered his wife's house, and money besides (how much is not known); and Lord-chief-justice Finch, and Sir Ralph Freeman, a master of requests; the amounts offered by the two last mentioned we do not know. Cæsar, however, cut them all out by bidding 15,000*l.* (10,000*l.* payable at once in hard cash), and agreeing to lend the king 2,000*l.* towards the expenses of his meditated journey into Scotland. This latter sum appears to have been trust money in his hands as executor of his uncle, Henry Cæsar [q. v.], dean of Ely, which he was bound by the terms of the dean's will to confer upon some college to be selected by himself. A warrant was issued for its repayment on 10 March of the following year.

The money, however, was never repaid, although repeated applications to the treasury were made by himself and by his wife and son after his death.

Cæsar died on 6 Dec. 1642 of the small-pox, and was buried at Bennington, Hertfordshire. His epitaph magniloquently designates him 'an equal distributor of unsuspected justice;' on the other hand, George Gerrard, the master of the Charterhouse, writing to Viscount Conway and Killultagh, under date 28 March 1639, curtly characterises him as 'a very ass,' adding that he was 'the very anvil on which the doctors of the law of his society played.' He married twice: first, Anne, daughter of Sir Peter Vanlore, merchant of London, who died on 13 June 1625; secondly, in 1626, Jane, daughter of Sir Edward Barkham, knight, lord mayor of London in 1622. She died on 16 June 1661, and was buried at Bennington. In all he had fifteen children, six by his first wife, and nine by his second; but only five survived him, three of these being sons, and of these the eldest, Julius, died a few days after his father, and of the same complaint.

[Willis's Not. Parl. iii. 173; Archives of All Souls College, pp. 307, 308, 380; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 296, 328, 348; Hardy's Catalogue of Lord Chancellors, &c., p. 89; Nichols's Progresses of James I, ii. 677; Parl. Hist. ii. 191; Commons' Journals, i. 257; Cobbett's State Trials, ii. 417; Rymer's Fœdera (Sanderson), xix. 221-2; Dugdale's Chron. Ser. iii.; Cal. State Papers (Dom. 1625-1640); Foss's Judges of England; Lodge's Life of Sir J. Cæsar, with Memoirs of his Family.] J. M. R.

**CÆSAR, HENRY** (1562?-1636), dean of Ely, fifth and youngest son of Cæsar Adelmare or Dalmarius, a well-known physician, and brother of Sir Julius Cæsar [q. v.], was born, according to his epitaph, in 1564, although other evidence gives the more probable date of 1562. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, 'where to this day,' says Wood, 'certain lodgings are called from him Cæsar's lodgings,' and afterwards became a member of St. Edmund Hall in the same university. While still very young, he spent some time at Cambridge, and, being suspected of popish leanings, fled beyond sea. On his return about 1583 he recanted his former errors, and became vicar of Lostwithiel in Cornwall; but in March 1584, Sir Walter Mildmay, whom he had personally affronted, directed proceedings to be taken against him on the ground of his renewed nonconformity. He was still subject to the same suspicion in 1589, when his brother, Sir Julius, entreated Lord Burghley to protect him from his assailants. A few years later all his enemies

were silenced. On 6 Nov. 1595 he proceeded D.D. at Oxford; on 13 Sept. 1596 was presented by the queen to the rectory of St. Christopher, in the city of London, which he resigned in July 1597; became rector of Somersham, Huntingdonshire; and was appointed prebendary of Westminster in September 1609, and dean of Ely in October 1614. He resigned his prebend at Westminster in 1625. He died, according to his epitaph, on 27 June 1636, and was buried in Ely Cathedral, where an elaborate monument was erected to his memory. He left several bequests to the officers of the cathedral, and to friends and relations. His sole executor, Sir Charles [q. v.], son of his brother Sir Julius, was directed to apply within six months 2,000*l.* to the foundation of two fellowships and four scholarships (open to pupils from Ely school) in some college of his own choosing. Sir Charles chose Jesus College, Cambridge, which received annuities from the family till 1668, but never obtained the capital.

[E. Lodge's *Life of Sir Julius Cæsar*, with Memoirs of his Family; Bentham's *Ely* (1812), p. 230; Le Neve's *Fasti*; Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 270-1.] S. L.

**CÆSAR, SIR JULIUS** (1558-1636), judge, was of Italian extraction, his grandfather being Pietro Maria Adelmare, a citizen of Treviso, near Venice, but descended from a family belonging to Fréjus, in Provence. This Pietro Maria Adelmare, who had some reputation as a civilian, married Paola, daughter of Giovanni Pietro Cesarini (probably of the same family as Giuliano Cesarini, cardinal of St. Angelo, and president of the council of Basle, 1431-8), and one of his sons, Cesare Adelmare, having graduated in arts and medicine at the university of Padua, migrated to England, apparently about 1550, and began practice in London as a physician. He was elected fellow in 1554, and in the following year censor of the College of Physicians, and was appointed medical adviser to Queen Mary, from whom he obtained letters of naturalisation with immunity from taxation in 1558, and from whom he on one occasion received the enormous fee of 100*l.* for a single attendance. Elizabeth also consulted him and requited his services by sundry leases of church lands at rents somewhat below their actual value. In 1561 he fixed his residence in Bishopsgate, having purchased a house which had formed part of the dissolved priory of St. Helen's. There he died in 1569, and was buried in the chancel of the church of St. Helen's.

The name of Cæsar, by which the doctor was usually addressed by Mary and Elizabeth, was adopted by his children as a surname. His eldest son, Julius Cæsar Adelmare, was born at Tottenham in 1557-8, and baptised in the church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East in February of that year, his sponsors being the lord treasurer, William Paulet, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Arundel, and Lady Montagu as representing the queen. Shortly after his father's death his mother married Michael Lock, a zealous protestant. He was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and graduated B.A. in 1575, and proceeded M.A. 1578. In 1579 he left Oxford for Paris, where he took the degrees of bachelor licentiate and doctor of both laws (civil and canon) in the spring of 1581 and received (10 May) the complimentary title of advocate in the parliament of Paris. In 1584 he took the degree of doctor of laws at Oxford. He had been admitted a member of the Inner Temple in 1580, and on 9 Oct. 1581 made one of the commissioners under the statute 28 Henry VIII, s. 15, by which the criminal jurisdiction of the admiral had been transferred to the courts of common law. On the 15th of the same month he was appointed chancellor to the master of the hospital of St. Catherine's, near the Tower of London. In 1583 he was appointed counsel to the corporation of London. This year also he was appointed, by his friend Bishop Aylmer, commissary and sequestrator-general within the archdeaconry of Essex and Colchester and some deaneries. On 30 April of the next year he succeeded Dr. Lewes as judge of the admiralty court. He was also sworn a master of the chancery on 21 June. As judge of the admiralty court he suffered more than most of her servants from the constitutional meanness of Elizabeth. There appears to have been no regular salary attached to this office, and Cæsar bitterly complains that whereas his predecessor 'had every three years somewhat,' he himself had not, 'after nine years' service, received in fee, pension, or recompense to the value of one penny,' but rather was some 4,000*l.* out of pocket. The suitors who had recourse to the court of admiralty were not unfrequently poor seamen or foreigners, while the number of cases in which the crown was defendant was also considerable. It seems to have been Cæsar's regular practice to aid the poor or embarrassed suitors out of his own purse, and to consider all claims substantiated against the crown as a first charge upon the fees, and the expenses of administration to have priority to his own remuneration. As early as 1587-8 we find him petitioning the queen

that he might be installed in some lucrative and honorary post, such as 'the first deanery that shall fall void either of York or of Durham, or of Bath and Wells or of Winchester,' or the first hospital that shall become void of these three, St. Katharine's, near the Tower of London, St. Crosse's, near Winton, and the hospital of Sherborne, in the bishoprick of Durham,' or else that he might be made a 'master of requests extraordinary.' This petition was read and duly noted by Cecil, and there the matter rested. In October 1588 Cæsar was admitted master of the chancery in ordinary. This year, too, he was returned to parliament as senior member for Reigate. The council assumed to itself the right of reviewing his judgments. This he resented keenly in a letter dated 1 March 1588. The idea of an annual circuit round the coasts of the kingdom for the despatch of admiralty business, which had often been mooted, met with his hearty approval; and as Elizabeth 'misliked to enter into the charge,' he offered to travel at his own expense, adding only the proviso, 'if I may be encouraged by so much, either commodity or credit, as will provide me an honest burial when I die, and keep my poor wife and children from open beggary.' In the spring of the following year he was actually threatened with legal process upon a bond which he had given by way of guarantee for the payment of a sum of 420*l.* due from Sir Walter Leveson to a Dane, probably a suitor in the admiralty court. At length, however, the queen saw fit to confer upon him the post of master of requests. He was sworn on 10 June 1591, and admitted to the office on 7 March, having in the meanwhile (24 Jan.) been elected a bencher of his inn. The court of requests offered special facilities to poor suitors who might with advantage be transferred thither from the admiralty court. The same year, through the influence of the Scottish ambassador, Archibald Douglas, which he had bought for 500*l.*, he obtained from the queen a grant of the reversion of the mastership of St. Catherine's Hospital. At this time he was one of the commissioners of sewers. In 1592 he was entrusted with the commission of the peace for Middlesex, and returned to parliament as senior member for Bletchingley, Surrey. In November of the following year he was elected treasurer of the Inner Temple, and on 6 Dec. governor of the mineral and battery works throughout the kingdom, and was re-elected treasurer of the Inner Temple next year. He was at this time a member of the high commission, and a close friend of Whitgift (SKRYPE, *Annals* (fol.), iii. 609). On 17 Aug. 1595 he was appointed master of requests in ordinary

in attendance upon the person of the queen, with a salary of 100*l.* per annum, not, however, granted by the queen until she had forced him to disclose the precise amount which he had paid to Archibald Douglas for his interest in the matter of the St. Catherine's appointment. In this or the next year he contributed 300*l.* towards the erection of chambers between the Inner Temple Hall and the church, in consideration whereof he was invested with the privilege of granting admittances to the society at his discretion during his life. The chambers were known as late as Dugdale's time as Cæsar's Buildings. In 1596 the mastership of St. Catherine's Hospital fell vacant, and on 17 June he installed himself therein. Next year he was returned to parliament as senior member for Windsor. On 12 Sept. 1598 Elizabeth, then on her way to Nonsuch, paid him a visit at his house at Mitcham, spending the night of the 12th there, and dining with him next day. He tells us that he presented her with 'a gown of cloth of silver, richly embroidered, a black network mantle, with pure gold, a taffeta hat, white, with several flowers, and a jewel of gold set therein with silver and diamonds, which entertainment of her majesty, with the charges of five former disappointments,' cost him some 700*l.* In 1599 we find him associated with John Herbert, one of the masters of requests, and Robert Beale, secretary to the council of the north, in a commission to decide without appeal claims by French subjects in respect of piratical acts committed by English seamen. Next year he became the senior master of requests, being already talked of as master or the rolls. At the parliamentary election of the following year he retained his seat for Windsor. On 20 May 1603 he was knighted by the king at Greenwich. In 1606 (7 April) he succeeded Sir George Hume as chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and the following year (5 July) was sworn of the privy council. Cæsar was prompt to use the interest which he now possessed with the king on behalf of his inn. It appears to have been through Cæsar's influence that the lease of the Temple buildings was enlarged in 1608 into a fee simple, subject to a quit rent of 10*l.* (DUGDALE, *Orig.* 145-6). His tenure of the office of chancellor of the exchequer coincided with the period of Salisbury's treasurership, the period during which James's financial difficulties and the consequent tension between him and the parliament reached their extreme point. He seems to have been really little better than a clerk to the lord treasurer. In that capacity he was employed in estimating the value of the conversion of tenure

by knight's service into free and common socage, together with the abolition of wardships and other incidents of the royal prerogative in connection with the great contract of 1610, and a dialogue is extant ascribed to him advocating the acceptance of the king's offer by the commons, and hinting that in case of its rejection means of raising money without the consent of parliament would be found (*Parl. Deb.* 1610, App. D). In 1610 the king granted him the reversion of the office of master of the rolls, expectant on the death of Sir E. Philips. In 1613 he was among the commissioners appointed by the king at the suit of the Countess of Essex to determine the question of the validity of her marriage. He seems to have formed a very decided opinion in favour of the countess's contention at an early period of the inquiry, and to have been by no means sparing in the expression of it during the argument, to Archbishop Abbott's intense disgust. At this time he occupied a house on the north side of the Strand, nearly opposite the Savoy. Here (i.e. on the north side) he laid (10 Aug. 1613) the foundation-stone of a chapel, which was consecrated by the bishop of London (John King) on 8 May 1614, and called the Cecil Chapel. In the spring of 1614 he was returned to parliament as senior member for Middlesex; in the autumn, Sir E. Philips, the master of the rolls, having died, Cæsar succeeded him, receiving the usual patent granting him the office for life on 1 Oct., and taking his seat on the 10th of the same month. On his appointment he surrendered the offices of chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer. Chamberlain informs us that four judges were appointed to assist and act with him. With his connection with the exchequer he entirely abandoned the idea that the king could raise supplies without the consent of parliament; we find him earnestly advising in council (24 Sept. 1615) the summoning of a new parliament for the final settlement of the financial difficulty. He was one of the commissioners who examined (19 Jan. 1615) the puritan clergyman Peacham 'before torture, in torture, between tortures, and after torture,' with a view to discover his supposed accomplices in the conspiracy against the king's life, in which he was suspected of being principally concerned. At the end of this year he concluded a bargain with the Earl of Essex, who was embarrassed by the necessity of repaying the countess's marriage portion for the purchase of the estate of Bennington in Hertfordshire for the sum of 14,000*l.* In 1616 he followed the lead of Lord-chancellor Ellesmere in censuring the judges of the king's bench and common pleas

for their resistance to the king in the matter of the *commendam* case. In August 1618 he was associated with Sir Edward Coke in the trial of the persons indicted for the attack on the Spanish ambassador's house. He was a member of the court of Star-chamber that tried the Earl and Countess of Suffolk for speculation in the following year, and took the milder view of their offence. In 1620 he was returned to parliament as senior member for Malden, Essex. Between 21 May and 10 July of this year he was commissioned to hear causes in chancery, the period coinciding with the interval between the disgrace of Bacon and the delivery of the great seal to Lord-keeper Williams. He was one of the three liquidators appointed by the king to arrange a composition with the late chancellor's creditors, and in 1625 Bacon nominated him one of the supervisors of his will, describing him as 'my good friend and near ally, the master of the rolls.' In 1631 we find him named, with Archbishop Abbot and others, in a commission of inquiry into the operation and administration of the poor law. His last important public act was to assist Lord-keeper Coventry in drawing up thirty-one ordinances of procedure, intended to correct abuses which had grown up in the court of chancery, and in particular to restore the ancient brevity of the pleadings and documents generally. He died on 18 April 1636, being then seventy-nine years old, and was buried in the church of Great St. Helen's, where his monument, with an inscription wrought in the device of a deed poll, with pendant seal (the attaching cord severed), is still to be seen. His reputation for legal acumen does not stand high. Chamberlain thought that he had more of 'confidence in his own sufficiency' than his abilities warranted. The same person writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, under date 4 April 1624, remarks incidentally that 'Sir Julius Cæsar is reflected on for his want of law.' He seems, however, to have had the rare merit of being superior to corruption. Fuller gives the following account of his character: 'A person of prodigious bounty to all of worth or want, so that he might seem to be almoner-general of the nation. The story is well known of a gentleman who once borrowing his coach (which was as well known to poor people as any hospital in England) was so rendezvoused about with beggars in London that it cost him all the money in his purse to satisfy their importunity, so that he might have hired twenty coaches on the same terms. Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, was judicious in his election when perceiving his dissolution to approach he made his last bed in effect in the house of Sir Julius.' Aubrey,

on the authority of Sir John Danvers, says that Bacon 'in his necessity' received 100*l.* from Cæsar. Cæsar married, first, in 1582, Dorcas, relict of Richard Lusher of the Middle Temple, and daughter of Sir Richard Martin, alderman of London, and master of the Mint; secondly, in 1595, Alice, daughter of Christopher Green of Manchester, and widow of John Dent of London; and thirdly, in 1615, Anne, widow of William Hungate of East Bradenham, Norfolk, sister of Lady Killebrew, and granddaughter of Sir Nicholas Bacon. The last-mentioned marriage was solemnised on 19 April at the Rolls Chapel, the bride being given away by her uncle, Sir Francis Bacon, then attorney-general. Through his first wife Cæsar acquired the little property at Mitcham, where Elizabeth visited him. She bore him five children, one daughter and four sons, of whom only one survived him, the youngest, Charles [q. v.], who became master of the rolls in 1639. By his second wife Cæsar had three sons, all of whom survived, and attained some slight distinction. By his third he had no children. Peck (*Desid. Cur.* lib. xiv. No. vii.) states that Cæsar 'printed a catalogue of the books, parchments, and papers belonging to the court of requests in quarto, of singular use to antiquaries, but now almost as scarce as the manuscripts themselves.' There can be little doubt that this work is identical with the compilation described in the catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum as 'The Ancient State Authorities and Proceedings of the Court of Requests,' 1597 (*Lansd. MS.* 125). The work consists of a brief treatise on the court of requests, its origin and functions, followed by a collection of records illustrative of the procedure of the court, ranging from the reign of Henry VII to that of Elizabeth. It is interleaved with manuscript annotations and additions. The dialogue on the great contract ascribed to him has already been mentioned. He also wrote in 1625 a treatise on the constitution and functions of the privy council, entitled 'Concerning the Private Council of the Most High and Mighty King of Great Britain, France, Scotland, and Ireland' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1625-6, p. 138). A multitude of miscellaneous papers in his handwriting will be found in the Lansdowne and Additional MSS. in the British Museum, his library having been dispersed on the sale of the family estate at Bennington in 1744. Two relating to Prince Henry have been printed in 'Archæologia,' xii. 82-6, xv. 15-26.

[Sloane MS. 4160 (an extract from a manuscript by Cæsar chronicling the chief events of his life); Add. MS. 11406 contains some information con-

cerning his ancestry; Add. MS. 12503; Munk's Coll. of Phys. i. 53; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), i. 198, 226; Nichols's Progresses of James I, i. 155, iii. 344; Rymer's Fœdera (Sanderson), xv. 487; Willis's Not. Parl. iii. 124, 133, 137, 146; Parl. Hist. i. 973, 1171; Stephen's Hist. Crim. Law, ii. 18; Strype's Life of Aylmer (8vo), p. 46; Spedding's Life of Bacon; Cal. State Papers (Dom. 1591-1635); Court and Times of James I, i. 261, 349; Aubrey's Letters and Lives, ii. 225; Rawley's Resuscitatio (Life of Bacon); Fuller's Worthies; Manningham's Diary, 129, 133; Dugdale's Orig. 145-6, 147, 170; Biogr. Brit.; Lodge's Life, with Memoirs of his Family; Foss's Lives of the Judges; Cox's Annals of St. Helen's. Bishopsgate, p. 286 et seq.] J. M. R.

**CÆSAR, JULIUS** (1656?-1712?), a physician and amateur musical composer who lived at Rochester, is only known as author of three convivial catches which appeared in the sixth edition of the 'Pleasant Musical Companion' (1720). Many of his prescriptions are preserved in Sloane MS. 2815, having been copied from original MSS. by Sir Hans Sloane. He was probably the same Julius Cæsar who was the son of Joseph Cæsar, a grandson of Dr. Gerard Cæsar of Canterbury, who is generally supposed to have been a grandson of Sir Thomas Cæsar [q. v.] This Julius Cæsar died at Strood, aged 55, on 29 April 1712.

[Hawkins's Hist. of Music, ed. 1853, p. 763; Lodge's Life of Sir J. Cæsar, with Memoirs of his Family, ed. 1827, pp. 41, &c.] W. B. S.

**CÆSAR, SIR THOMAS** (1561-1610), judge, second son of Dr. Cæsar Adelmare, of whom a brief account will be found in the life of Sir Julius Cæsar, was born at Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, in 1561, and was educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, which he left in 1578. He became a member of the Inner Temple in October 1580, and M.P. for Appleby in 1601. His career at the bar was undistinguished. Nevertheless, on 26 May 1610, he was created cursitor baron of the exchequer. He was knighted next month at Whitehall, and from an undated letter of his spiritual adviser, the Rev. D. Crashaw, relating the fact of his death and describing the 'godly disposition' in which he met it, endorsed by his brother Sir Julius with the date 18 July 1610, would seem to have died then or shortly before. The vacancy caused by his death was filled in the following October. He married thrice. His first wife died in 1590, leaving three children, who all died in infancy. His second wife was Anne, daughter of George Lynn of Southwick, Northamptonshire, and relict of Nicholas Beeston of Lincolnshire; she died without issue. By his third wife, Susan, daughter of Sir William Ryder, lord mayor of London in 1600, whom he married on 18 Jan. 1592-3,

he had eight children, three sons and five daughters, who all survived him.

[Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 271; Dugdale's *Orig.* 149; Chron. Ser. 102; Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* ii. 363; Lysons's *Environs*, iii. 451; Cal. State Papers (Dom. 1611-18), pp. 168, 210; Sloane MS. 4160 (extract from manuscript of Sir Julius Cæsar), ff. 8, 9; Add. MSS. 12497 f. 406, 12504 f. 123; Foss's *Judges of England*; Lodge's *Life of Sir J. Cæsar*, with *Memoirs of his Family.*]  
J. M. R.

**CAFFIN, SIR JAMES CRAWFORD** (1812-1883), admiral, was a son of Mr. William Caffin of the Royal Laboratory, Woolwich. He entered the navy in 1824, and in 1827 was midshipman of the Cambrian frigate at Navarino, and when she was wrecked off Carabusa on 31 Jan. 1828 (*MARSHALL, Nav. Biog.* vi. (supplement, part ii.) 451). In August 1831 he passed his examination, and in October 1834 was appointed to the *Excellent*, then recently organised as a school of gunnery. He afterwards served for two years as gunnery-mate of the *Asia* in the Mediterranean, and on his promotion to the rank of lieutenant, 28 June 1838, he was again appointed to the *Excellent*, in which, with but a short break, he remained for the next three years. He was made commander on 7 March 1842, and after studying for some months at the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth, was appointed, together with an artillery officer, to investigate and report on Warner's 'Long Range,' which was then much talked about; but the report was unfavourable, and it died out of notoriety. In February 1845 he was one of a commission for experimenting on the relative merits of paddle and screw; and their report paved the way for the general introduction of the screw-propeller into the navy. On 11 Oct. 1847 he was advanced to post rank; in 1854 he commanded the *Penelope* in the Baltic, and was present at the reduction of Bomarsund; and in 1855 he commanded the *Hastings* at the bombardment of Sveaborg, when, with the other captains, he was made a C.B. on 5 July. On his return from the Baltic he was appointed director-general of naval ordnance, and vice-president of the ordnance select committee at the War Office. In 1858 he was appointed director of stores in the war department, an office which he held till 1868. On his retirement he was made a civil K.C.B. He had previously, 2 Dec. 1865, attained his flag-rank, but, not having served his time at sea, was placed on the retired list, on which he duly advanced to the higher grades—vice-admiral, 2 Nov. 1871, and admiral, 1 Aug. 1877. He died on 24 May 1883 at Blackheath, where he had lived for several

years, the centre of a religious society of very pronounced views. He married in 1843 Frances, daughter of Mr. William Atfield of Cosham, Hampshire, but was left a widower in 1871. His son Crawford, a commander in the navy, received his promotion for his services in the transport department during the Zulu war in 1879.

[O'Byrne's *Nav. Biog. Dict.*; Times, 26 May 1883.] J. K. L.

**CAFFYN, MATTHEW** (1628-1714), general baptist minister, was born at Horsham, Sussex, 26 Oct. 1628. He was the seventh son of Thomas Caffin, by Elizabeth his wife. In Lower's 'Worthies of Sussex' it is erroneously said that 'his father was a German;' the family existed in the neighbourhood at an early date. Caffyn was adopted by a neighbouring gentleman as a companion to his son, and sent to a Kentish grammar school, and to the university of Oxford, whence he was expelled for the advocacy of baptist tenets. Returning to Horsham he joined a general (i.e. Arminian) baptist church there, and soon became its minister, though not ceasing to be a farmer. He preached assiduously in the Sussex villages, and by the members of his own denomination was 'cryed up to be as their battle-axe and weapon of warre.' He was five times imprisoned for unauthorised preaching. In 1655 two quakers from the north, Thomas Lawson and John Slee, were on a mission in Sussex. Lawson, a baronet's younger son, had been a benefited clergyman in Lancashire, and was a man of some attainment and an excellent botanist. But in his encounter with Caffyn he descends to coarse and dull abuse. Caffyn had expressed his views in a quakers' meeting at Crawley, and the discussion had been continued on 5 Sept. at Caffyn's 'own house neere Southwater,' a small village some three miles south of Horsham. Against Caffyn's utterances Lawson fulminated 'An Untaught Teacher witnessed against, &c.,' 1655, 4to. Caffyn retorted in 'The Deceived, and deceiving Quakers discovered, &c.,' 1656, 4to, with which was conjoined a somewhat fiercer pamphlet by William Jeffery, baptist minister of Sevenoaks. Caffyn's position is that of a liberal believer in external revelation, and he defends such points as the second coming of Christ and the bodily resurrection against the 'damnable heresies' of the quakers. Lawson made no reply, but the matter was taken up in a better spirit by James Naylor in 'The Light of Christ, &c.,' 1656, 4to (not included in his collected works), and incidentally by George Fox in his 'Great Mystery, &c.,' 1659, fol. Caffyn reiterated



his charges against the quaker theology in an appendix to his 'Faith in God's Promises the Saint's best weapon,' 1661, which was briefly answered by Humphrey Wollrich in 'One Warning more to the Baptists,' &c., 1661, 4to, and by George Whitehead in an appendix to 'The Pernicious Way, &c.,' 1662, 4to. A neighbouring baptist minister, Joseph Wright of Maidstone, took part in this dispute with the quakers, publishing 'A Testimony for the Son of Man,' &c., 1661, 8vo. Caffyn was several times prosecuted and fined under the Conventicle Act. Wright was removed from the scene by an incarceration of twenty years in Maidstone gaol; and when he came out, Caffyn's heresies seemed to him to require attention rather than those of the quakers. The first to accuse Caffyn (though not by name) of error respecting the person of Christ seems to have been Thomas Monck, in 'A Cure for the cankered Error of the New Eutychians,' 1673. As early as 1677 we hear of a separation, amicably managed, in a baptist church at Spilshill, in the parish of Staplehurst, Kent, on account of a difference of opinion regarding the Trinity. On this cardinal topic a part of the flock had embraced the teaching of Caffyn. There was room for latitude in the treatment of this article among the Arminian baptists, for in their 'Brief Confession' of March 1680 neither the Trinity nor the Godhead of Christ is explicitly stated. Caffyn did not vent his views in any publication, but in his preaching he avoided 'unrevealed sublimities,' and in conversation he owned his disagreement with material points in the Athanasian creed. His views, indeed, do not seem to have been pushed to the point of overt heresy; but his expressions were susceptible of an Arian interpretation. Accordingly, Wright denounced him to the general baptist assembly of 1691 as denying both the divinity and the humanity of Christ, and moved for his excommunication. What Toulmin calls Caffyn's 'truly protestant and ingenious defence' satisfied the assembly. Wright returned to the charge in 1693, but again the assembly refused to censure Caffyn. Wright withdrew and protested. The matter was agitated outside the assembly, and at length the Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire churches demanded and re-demanded (1699) a further trial, and the assembly agreed to go into the case at Whitsuntide of 1700. They fulfilled this promise by appointing a committee of eight, including four of the complainants, to confer with Caffyn and draw up a healing resolution. The committee were unanimous in offering a declaration (given in Toulmin, after Crosby) which rather evaded than de-

termined the points in dispute; and the assembly recorded its satisfaction with Caffyn's defence. Just before the next assembly, Christopher Cooper of Ashford published a reply to 'The Moderate Trinitarian,' &c., 1699, 4to, by Daniel Allen, whose work seems to have inspired the mediating policy of the assembly's committee. Cooper charges Caffyn with unsoundness respecting Adam's fall, Christ's satisfaction, and the soul's immortality; he quotes a description of Caffyn's opinions as 'nothing but a fardel of Mahometanism, Arianism, Socinianism, and Quakerism.' At the same time he admits that Caffyn took pains to convert Socinians. He deplores the spread of Caffyn's errors 'in Kent, Sussex, and London, but especially in West Kent.' When the assembly met (1701) the Northamptonshire churches complained that Caffyn had not been properly tried. The assembly, after debate, affirmed by a large majority that Caffyn's declaration, with his signature to 'the aforesaid expedient,' was sufficient and satisfactory. The minority seceded, and formed a new connexion under the name of the 'general association,' branding the majority as 'Caffinites.' But the two parties came together again in 1704; Wright died in 1703. This is the first deliberate and formal endorsement of latitudinarian opinions in the article of the Trinity by the collective authority of any tolerated section of English dissent. For the future of the general baptists this action was important. Antitrinitarianism, of one type or another, took possession of their congregations in the south of England; a 'new connexion' was formed, chiefly in the midlands, by Dan Taylor in 1770; the older body arrived at Socinianism (in its modified English form) and is now a small remnant, with some signs of evangelical reaction. Caffyn's own church at Horsham, though still (1886) on the assembly's roll, has long ceased to be baptist, and has been known as 'free christian' since 1879. Of Caffyn's career subsequently to 1701 we have no account. He had left Southwater for Broadbridge, some two miles north of Horsham, in an outlying part of the parish of Sullington. In 1695 Matthew William, and Richard Caffyn were joint occupants of Broadbridge farm and mill, and the house is still in the hands of one of Matthew's numerous descendants. Caffyn lived to a patriarchal age, dying in June 1714. He was buried in the churchyard at Itchingfield on 10 June. He was succeeded in the ministry by his eldest son, Matthew.

Caffyn's works are very rare. In addition to those mentioned above, he published: 1. 'Envy's Bitterness corrected,' 1674 (?).

2. 'A raging Wave foaming out its own shame,' 1675. 3. 'The Great Error and Mistake of the Quakers.' 4. 'The Baptist's Lamentation.'

[Crosby's Hist. English Baptists, 1740, iii. 116, 280, iv. 328; Ivimey's Hist. English Baptists, 1811, i. 559, 1814, ii. 505; Toulmin's Hist. View, 1814, p. 308 sq.; Monthly Repos. 1827, p. 483 sq.; Chr. Reformer, 1828, p. 65 sq.; Smith's Cat. Friends' Books, 1867, ii. 68; Smith's Biblioth. Anti-Quak. 1872, pp. 99, 252, 456; Barclay's Inner Life of Rel. Soc. of the Commonwealth, 1876, pp. 95, 505; extracts from registers of various Sussex parishes; information from a descendant.] A. G.

**CAHILL, DANIEL WILLIAM, D.D.** (1796-1864), lecturer and author, third son of Daniel Cahill, C.E., and of his wife, Catherine Brett, was born at Ashfield, in the parish of Arless, Queen's County, Ireland, on 28 Nov. 1796, and received his rudimentary education at Ferris's academy, Athy. He became a student on the lay side of Carlow College, with the intention of entering the army, but changing his views, he, on 24 Oct. 1816, took up his residence at Maynooth, where he commenced a course of severe study. Here he passed through the classes of theology and natural philosophy, under Dr. Delahogue and Dr. John MacHale (afterwards archbishop of Tuam). In Hebrew and the cognate studies he became a great proficient, under Dr. Browne (afterwards bishop of Kilmore). Under Dr. Boylan he studied German, French, and Italian, becoming an adept scholar in all these languages. He received orders and was elected to the Dunboyne establishment of Maynooth, where he spent an additional period of years in reading a more advanced course of theology and ecclesiastical history. In 1825 he was elected to the professorship of natural philosophy in Carlow College, then under the rectorship of the Right Rev. Dr. Doyle, and his talents being also recognised at Rome, the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred on him by his holiness.

In Carlow College he continued for some years teaching not only natural philosophy, but mathematics and astronomy. At Seapoint, Williamstown, he conducted a seminary from 1835 to 1841. He was afterwards induced by many distinguished persons, desirous of having their children educated in the Roman catholic faith as well as in the higher sciences, to remove to Prospect, Blackrock, near Dublin, where he remained until 1846.

At this time he added to his other labours the editing of the 'Dublin Telegraph.' Meanwhile Dr. Cahill was known as a preacher of

singular force and of great, yet simple, eloquence, and he at last gave up the seminary to have more time for this occupation. Later in life he took to religious polemics, and published many fierce attacks on the imperial government and the established church, in the shape of letters in the 'Daily Telegraph.'

Having in 1853 received an invitation to visit the United States, he delivered a farewell address in Dublin, but circumstances arose which prevented his departure for several years. Sailing from Ireland, he arrived in New York 24 Dec. 1859, where he delivered a course of astronomical lectures to crowded audiences. In December and January 1860-1 he visited Boston, and gave a course of lectures, and then addressed large assemblies in several of the towns and cities of Massachusetts. Addresses for charitable purposes now engaged his attention, and he lectured and preached in various places in the United States and Canada. It is estimated that over 100,000 dollars were thus realised from his sermons for numerous catholic charitable institutions. He died in the Carney Hospital, Boston, on 28 Oct. 1864, and the body, after being embalmed, was deposited in a vault in the Holyrood cemetery. Here it remained for twenty years, when it was sent to Ireland and buried in Glasnevin cemetery, Dublin, on 9 March 1885. Cahill was six feet five inches in height, handsome, and of a commanding presence. He was the author of the following works: 1. 'A Letter on the subject of the New Reformation,' by W. Kinsella and D. W. Cahill, Carlow, 1827. 2. 'A Letter to the Earl of Derby,' 21 Oct. 1852. 3. 'Letter to the Rev. J. Burns on the Adorable Sacrament of the Eucharist,' Melbourne, 1854. 4. 'Letters addressed to several Members of the British Cabinet,' and 'Speeches on Various Subjects,' Dublin, 1856. 5. 'Letter to Viscount Palmerston relating to the alleged Enlistment of Irishmen in the United States for the British Service,' Melbourne, 1856. 6. 'The Holy Eucharist,' a lecture, Albany, 1860.

[The Lamp, 7 June 1851, p. 361, with portrait, and 21 June, p. 392; The Universe, 19 Nov. 1864, 7 and 14 March 1885; Men of the Time, 1865, p. 144; Manchester Free Library Catalogue, 41246 to 41260; Comerford's Collections in Kildare and Leighlin (1883), pp. 198-200.]

G. C. B.

**CAILLAUD, JOHN** (d. 1810), brigadier-general, was a contemporary of Stringer Lawrence and Clive, frequently mentioned by Orme in his 'History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan.' The earliest mention of him occurs in Orme's 'History' (i. 309), where he is re-

ferred to as having arrived in India from Europe with a detachment of 247 British soldiers in 1753, and having shortly afterwards taken part in an engagement with the French in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly. From that time until 1775, when he retired from the service and returned to England, Caillaud was a prominent actor in the struggle which ended in the establishment of the British power in India. He was a man of undaunted courage and of great readiness of resource. In 1758, just before the second and unsuccessful siege of Madras by the French, Caillaud was sent to Tanjore to procure military assistance from the Rájá of Tanjore. He made his way by sea to Tranquebar in an open *masilla* boat, accompanied by only six native boatmen, and after having encountered a gale on his voyage, and been stranded during a whole night in the immediate vicinity of a fort held by the French, he succeeded in reaching Tanjore, and with difficulty obtained the troops for which he had been sent. With these he tendered effective service to the besieged garrison by disturbing the enemy's communications with Pondicherry. In 1759 Caillaud held for a time the command of the company's troops in Madras, and in the same year he was appointed, on the recommendation of Clive, to command the troops in Bengal. In the following year he was actively employed in repelling an invasion of Behar by the eldest son of the emperor of Delhi. In 1763 he obtained the rank of brigadier-general, and in 1766 he was sent to take possession of the northern Sirkárs, which had been ceded to the company by the emperor. In the performance of this duty he met with very slight opposition; but, owing to the attitude assumed by Nizam Ali, the subahdar of the Dekhan, who, considering that he had a claim upon the Sirkárs, threatened an invasion of the company's territories in the south, Caillaud was deputed by the Madras authorities to Hyderabad, where he concluded a treaty binding the company to pay an annual tribute to the subahdar for the Sirkárs. Caillaud on his retirement from the service in 1775 was granted a pension by the company. He passed the remainder of his life as a country gentleman in Oxfordshire, where he died in 1810.

[Orme's History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Hindostan from the year 1745 (4th edition, Madras, 1861); Philippart's East India Military Calendar (1824); Mill's History of British India, vol. iii. (1840).]  
A. J. A.

**CAILLIN** (*A.* 560), Irish saint, son of Niata, was descended from Rudraighe, whose

grandson, Fergus Mac Roigh, flourished at the beginning of the christian era. His mother was Deighe, granddaughter of Dubhthach, chief poet of King Laogaire in the time of St. Patrick. The authority for the history of St. Caillin is the ancient 'Book of Fenagh,' a series of poetical rhapsodies, written about 1400, a copy of which with a connecting narrative in prose was made in 1516. This was published in 1875 by Mr. D. H. Kelly, with the competent aid of Mr. W. M. Hennessy, and from an examination of it it appears that the transcriber of the sixteenth century added a good deal which he thought likely to increase the veneration for his saint. But fortunately many of these interpolations are of so extravagant a character that there is no difficulty in distinguishing them.

Disregarding the fables, which even in 1690 were complained of by readers, we may gather the following facts of St. Caillin's history from this curious repertory of ancient traditions: 'The descendants of Medbh and Fergus, viz. the children of Conmac, Ciar, and Core, grew and multiplied throughout Ireland. The children of Conmac especially were in Connaught.' Those were the Conmaicne of Dunmor, kinsmen of Caillin's. Resolved to remedy the congestion of the population by killing each other, the Conmaicne would no doubt have carried out their plan but for the interference of St. Caillin. By the advice of an angel they sent messengers to him at Rome, whither he had gone for his education. Caillin came first to the place where his own kinsmen, the Conmaicne, were, 'to prohibit their fratricide and enmity.' 'My advice to you,' said the saint, 'is that you remain on the lands on which you at present are. I will go moreover to seek possessions and land for you as it may be pleasing to God.' St. Caillin then left Dunmor, where this conversation seems to have been held, and went to Cruachanaoi in the county of Roscommon, thence to Ardcarna, near Boyle, where his friend Bishop Beoedh lived. Passing on to the east, he crossed the Shannon, and obtained land at Moynishe in the county of Leitrim, and finally reached Dunbaille in Magh Rein, afterwards and still known as Fidnach or Fenagh, so called from the wooded character of the country. In all these places, which are included in the counties of Roscommon, Mayo, Leitrim, and Longford, the Conmaicne afterwards had settlements.

When he arrived at Dunbaille, then the residence of Fergna, king of Breifne, he endeavoured to persuade the king to become a christian, but without success; the king ordered his son Aedhdubh to expel St. Caillin and his party. The prince accordingly proceeded to obey the order; but when he found

the saint and his psalmists engaged in prayer and prostrations,' he and his followers forthwith became believers. Aedhdubh was afterwards baptised, and then presented the fortress of Dunbaile to St. Caillin that he might erect his monastic buildings within it. The historical accuracy of this statement is rendered probable by the existing remains at Fenagh. The ruins of St. Caillin's Church are still to be seen, and traces of the stone fortress, which was of great extent, are still visible (PETRIE). The fortress was of great antiquity even in the sixth century, being also known as Dun-Conaing, from Conaing the Fearless, a prehistoric king to whom its origin was ascribed.

Enraged at his son's conduct in not carrying out his orders, King Fergna directed his druids to banish the christians. Aedhdubh, now a christian, commanded his men to resist the attack, but here St. Caillin interposed, and the story went that he caused the druids to be turned into stones, which are still standing. On the death of Fergna, who continued obstinate in his paganism, St. Caillin inaugurated Aedhdubh as king; but though now king the prince was dissatisfied with his dark complexion, whence his name of *dubh*, and requested St. Caillin to transform him into the likeness of St. Rioco of Innis-bo-finne. The saint by means of prayer complied with his request. Similar stories are told in the lives of St. Moedoc of Ferns and St. Finchu of Brigown, and it may perhaps be regarded as a fanciful way of describing the change for the better wrought in the demeanour of a pagan chieftain under the influence of christian teaching and example. When recognised as the teacher of the Conmaicne, Caillin bestowed on them as a *cathach*, or battle standard, a 'hazel cross with the top through the middle.' St. Columba in like manner gave a *cathach* to the Cinel Eoghain. When Caillin's church of Fenagh was built, it was a matter of importance to attach the tribe as much as possible to it, and to make it their burial-place. For this purpose the body of Conall Gulbán, the famous ancestor of Aedhdubh, was disinterred, and buried again with great pomp at Fenagh. It is thus we may venture to interpret the story that St. Caillin raised him from the dead, and then buried him again. A remarkable cromlech still to be seen at Fenagh is supposed to mark the site of his grave. Aedhdubh (now become Aedh *finn*, or the fair, from the change already mentioned) was also buried there, and it is stated that nineteen kings lie in the burial-ground. The church of Fenagh also possessed relics reported to have come from Rome. These are stated to have been 'the relics of the eleven apostles and of Saints Martin Lawrence and Stephen

the martyr,' and 'that in which they were preserved was the cloth that the Virgin Mary made, and which was around Jesus when a babe,' or, as afterwards explained, 'when he was being fed.' These objects were kept in a shrine, together with the crozier of the saint and his bell. The bell is still preserved at Foxford, and the shrine was in the possession of the late Dr. Petrie. The tribute to the church as ordained by King Aedh was as follows: The king's riding horse and his body raiment; the same from every chieftain; the same from the queen and each chieftain's wife; a cow from every biatach (farmer), and from every chief of a bally; a screpall (three *pinginn*s or pennies) from every sheep owner; a fat cow out of every prey from every son of a king and chieftain; the same from every foster-son and every sister's son of the race of Aedh. This tribute was due every third year. All the veneration attracted to Fenagh tended to secure the payment of the rental due to the institution, and the chief object of the transcript of the 'Book of Fenagh' made in the sixteenth century was to substantiate the claim of the monastery to the tribute.

When St. Caillin's end approached he was in the church of St. Mochoemog, who was a kinsman, attended by St. Manchan. After giving directions to St. Manchan as to what part of the burial-ground he was to be interred in, and appointing him his successor, he desired that in twelve years' time, 'when his bones should be bare,' they should be removed to his church at Fenagh. Accordingly they were taken up and enclosed with the other relics in the shrine.

The dates of his birth and death are not found in the native records; but as we know those of his contemporaries, St. Columba, St. Ciaran, and the two St. Brendans, and as he was the grandson of Dubhthach, St. Patrick's contemporary, we cannot be far wrong in assuming that he flourished in the second half of the sixth century. His peace-loving disposition is the chief characteristic emphasised by Caillin's early panegyrists. His day in the calendar is 13 Nov.

[Life of St. Caillin, MS. 3, 54, p. 6, Royal Irish Academy; Book of Fenagh. Dublin, 1875; Martyrology of Donegal, p. 307; Book of Leinster (facsimile), p. 349 e; Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 464, and iii. 311; Petrie's Inquiry into the Origin and Use of the Round Towers of Ireland, pp. 444-5.] T. O.

CAIMIN or CAMIN, SAINT (*d.* 653), 'was of the race of Cathaoir Mór of Leinster' (*Martyrology of Donegal*, translated by J. O'Donovan, p. 85, Dublin, 1864), his father, Dima, belonging to the princely house of

Hy-Kinselagh (or Ende-Kenselach). His mother's name was Cumman, daughter of Dallbronach (*Annals of the Four Masters*, i. 273, edited by O'Donovan, 2nd ed. 1856), who was also mother to the famous Guaire-Aidhne, son of Colman, king of Connaught. Considerable doubt hangs over the relationship, inasmuch as Cumman is expressly said to have been blessed by St. Patrick, and to have given birth, in consequence of that blessing, to forty-seven, or, according to another account, seventy-seven children. Plainly these must include her more remote posterity, unless indeed the whole difficulty has arisen from a confusion of names (see Todd, *Hymns of the Ancient Church of Ireland*, i. 90, 91, Dublin, 1855). St. Caimin himself appears, in all probability, twice in the Irish hagiology, under his own name and under that of Coman (LANTIGAN, *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, iii. 11, 2nd ed., Dublin, 1829). He is ranked in the third order of Irish saints (concerning which see *ib.* ii. 330, 331), and was distinguished even in that remarkable company for the holiness and devotion of his character. He was, says an ancient record (quoted in a note to the *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 87), 'in his manners and life like unto Paucomius the monk.' He withdrew for the more undisturbed exercise of his religion to the island of Inis-Cealtra (or Kelttra) in Loch Deirgdheire (Lough Derg), on the borders of what are now the counties of Galway and Clare. There he built a church and attracted a numerous band of disciples. His asceticism was extreme. It is told of him that he prayed for pain as his chief wish in life, and that his prayer was granted 'so that not one bone of him remained united to the other on earth, but his flesh dissolved, and his nerves, with the excess of every disease that fell upon him' (TODD, *Hymns*, &c., p. 87). He died in 653, and was buried in the monastery that had grown up about him. The date is given either as 24 or 25 March, the latter having the higher authority.

St. Caimin is stated to have written a commentary on the Psalms, some leaves of which, relating to the 119th Psalm, and reputed to be autograph, were long preserved in the Franciscan convent at Donegal, where they were seen by Sir James Ware (*De Scriptoribus Hiberniæ*, i. 3, p. 24, Dublin, 1639). Archbishop Ussher, who also examined the manuscript, describes it as 'obelis et asteriscis diligentissime distinctum: collatione cum veritate Hebraica in superiore parte cuiusque paginæ posita, et brevibus scholiis ad exteriorem marginem adiectis' (*Britanniarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, p. 503, 2nd ed., London, 1687). The manuscript in course

of time passed to the convent of St. Isidore at Rome, whence it was ultimately restored in 1871 to the archives of the Franciscans of the Irish province at Dublin (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, xlv. 344 et seq., 1885; J. T. GILBERT, *Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland*, iv. 2, Introd. p. 112, 1884). From the specimen given by Gilbert (Append. plate xxii.) it is clear that whatever the authorship of the glosses, the manuscript is decidedly later than St. Caimin's time.

[Authorities cited, and Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, pp. 746, 747.] R. L. P.

CAIN, RHYS (16th cent.), a Welsh poet of the latter part of the sixteenth century, was born at Trawsfynydd in Merionethshire, a village on the river Cain, whence he took his surname. Several poems by him are preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. They consist chiefly of *englynion* and of complimentary poems addressed to various persons; among these last is one to William Morgan, bishop of St. Asaph, 'on his translating the Bible into Welsh.' Some of these poems are dated, the dates ranging from about 1570 to 1600; that to Bishop Morgan may be assigned to 1588, the date of the appearance of the Welsh Bible in print. Rhys Cain is said also to have been a painter as well as a poet.

[Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 14874, 14965, 14973-8, 24980.] A. M.

CAINNECH or CANNICUS, SAINT (*d.* 598 ?), abbot of Achadh-bo, and the patron saint from whom Kilkenny (Cill-Cainnech) receives its name, has been generally identified with the more famous St. Kenneth or Kenny, to whom so many Scotch churches have been dedicated. Most of the early authorities state that he died between 598 and 600 A.D., at the age of eighty-four. This gives from 514 to 516 as the year of his birth (cf., however, the *Annales Ultonienses*, A.D. 497-574, and *Ann. Buelliani*, which seem to preserve a slightly different tradition, A.D. 526-98).

Cainnech belonged to the tribe of the Corca-Dalann in the northern part of Ireland (see Irish version of NENNIUS, note to p. 264). According to Ussher and the manuscript lives his father was Laydech, a famous poet of this family, and his mother Melda of another race (but cf. *Martyr. of Don.* 11 Oct.). He was born in the district of Ciannachta—now Keenaght in the county of Derry—where, centuries after his death (1458 A.D.), the superior of his principal church at Drumachose was still called the 'Comarb of St. Cannice' ('Vit. Can.' in *Act. SS.* 11 Oct.;

*Annals Four Masters*, sub annis 1056, 1090, &c.; REEVES, *Eccles. Antiq.* p. 374). Cainnech is said to have been brought up in his mother's country. From Ireland he is reported to have passed on to Wales, and there to have studied under an abbot named Docus, who is generally identified with the famous St. Cadoc of Lllancarvan, cousin of St. David and a member of the great triad of early Welsh saints (see the so-called TIRECHAN'S *Catalogue*, ap. HADDAN and STUBBS, II. pt. ii.) From Wales the legend carries him to Italy, a journey which Dr. Forbes thinks is probably founded on fact; at all events such a pilgrimage is by no means an uncommon incident in the lives of early Irish saints. We now reach an era in Cainnech's life to which it is possible to assign something like fixed dates. In the life of St. Finnian (COLGAN, *A. SS.*, 23 Feb. p. 395), we read that he studied under this saint in the newly founded monastery at Clonard in Meath, where so many of the greatest Irish saints of the century were living about the same time. Here Cainnech probably renewed or commenced his friendship with Columba, the two St. Kierans, the two Brandans, and Mobhi Clareneach. The date of this sojourn at Clonard, if strictly contemporaneous with that of Columba, may be referred to c. 543 A.D. (REEVES, *St. Columba*, xxxv); in any case it cannot have been later than 548 A.D., in which year St. Finnian died (*A. F. M.*, but see note 2). From Clonard Cainnech seems to have passed with his friends Comgall, Kieran, and Columba to the great school of Mobhi Clareneach at Glasnevin on the Finglass, near Dublin (*Vita Columbae* v. ap. COLGAN, *Tr. Thau.* p. 396); and of his residence here a story has been preserved which well illustrates his love of learning. Cainnech's stay at this place may be fixed about the year of Mobhi's death (544 A.D.). In 561 A.D. Columba crossed over to Scotland; and from this time Cainnech's name occurs not unfrequently in connection with that of his great contemporary. The traditions of Iona in Adamnan's time still spoke of Cainnech's visits to Iona (*Vita Adamn.* i. c. 4). The same authority tells us that Cainnech was one of the 'four holy founders of monasteries' that came to visit Columba in Hinba. This must have been before 576, in which year St. Brendan of Clonfert died (*A. F. M.* p. 209). The same saints were present when St. Brendan saw the miraculous globe of fire hovering over the head of St. Columba in Hinba (*Adamn.* iii. c. 17). From the life of St. Comgall we learn that Cainnech was one of Columba's three companions at the conversion of the Pictish king Brude ('Vit. Comgalli,' *A. SS.* 10 May,

p. 587). Some time during the course of these years Cainnech must have founded his great monastery 'quod Latine Campus Bovis dicitur, Scotice vero Achadh-bou' (*Adamn.* ii. c. 12), i.e. Aghaboe in Queen's County. The date of this foundation appears to have been before 577 A.D. (*Diet. of Chr. Biog.* i. 382). There do not seem to be any materials for fixing the year in which Cainnech founded his church at Kilkenny. It must have been in the latter part of his life that he formed his friendship for St. Pelcherius (Mochoemoc), more especially as, from the context, it would appear that the intimacy of the two saints was already established when Failbhe Flann (*d.* 633) was reigning at Cashel ('Vit. Pul.' *A. SS.* 13 March, pp. 280-8). Cainnech is said to have died on 11 Oct. 598 (? 600). Of all the stories connected with his name perhaps the one best worth preserving is that which tells how he persuaded St. Fintan of Clonenagh to relax the harshness of his rule towards the monks under him (COLGAN, *A. SS.* 17 Feb. p. 350).

According to Dr. Forbes, Cainnech is the favourite Irish saint in Scotland, with the single exception of St. Bridget. The 'Martyrology of Donegal' assigns him a church at Killrymont (St. Andrews), which appears to have been a very old foundation (cf. STOKES, the *Leabhar Breac* gloss on Angus the Culdee, 156). Other churches dedicated to Cainnech are to be found in the island of Tiree in the ruined chapel of Kil-Chennich, from which two neighbouring farms draw their names to this day (*Ulst. Journal of Archaeology*, 1854, pp. 234-5); Kil-Chainnech in Iona, Kilchenzie in Ayr, Inchkenneth and Cambuskeneth (for a fuller list see FORBES, *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, p. 297). Cainnech is said to have written out a copy of the four gospels in the island of Orie, near Roscrea; and this work (called 'Glass-Kynnis') was still preserved in the days of one of Cainnech's biographers quoted by Ussher (*Antiq.* p. 495). It is much to be regretted that the life of this saint contains so little on which absolute reliance can be placed, and that the few details collected above from various sources must share in the uncertainty common to nearly all the records of the early Irish saints. His name occurs in the seventh or eighth century document known as Tirechan's 'Catalogue,' immediately after that of St. Columba.

[*Vita Cannici*, privately printed by the Marquis of Ormonde from the Codex Salmaticensis at Brussels; Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, pp. 112, 190, &c.; Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, 11 Oct. pp. 642-646; Reeves's *Vita Adamnani*, pr. xxxv, &c. text and notes; Forbes's *Kalendar of Scottish Saints*, pp. 25, 106, 297, &c.; Reeves's *Culdees*, p. 33;

Annals of the Four Masters (ed. O'Donovan), i. 698; Tighernac, the Ulster Annals and Annales Buelliani, ap. O'Connor's *Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum*, vols. ii. and iv.; Ussher, *De Antiquit. Eccles. Brit.*; Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, p. 146, &c.; J. H. Todd's *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 271; *Journal of Royal Hist. and Archæol. Society of Ireland*, iv. 201-4; Hennessey's *Chronicon Scotorum* (Rolls Ser.), p. 67; Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 200; *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, 1854 (ii.); Ware's *Antiquities* (ed. 1725), p. 137; Stowe *Missal* (ninth and tenth cent.), ed. Warene; Drummond *Missal*, ed. Forbes. The references to the various contemporary Irish saints are given according to their lives in the Bollandist or Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum* (A. SS.) Two manuscript lives of Cairnech may be found in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 485, ff. 128 b-34; and Rawlinson B 505, ff. 145-9 b. Another life is preserved in the so-called *Codex Kilkenniensis* of Primate Marsh's library at Dublin.] T. A. A.

**CAIRNCROSS, ALEXANDER** (*d.* 1701), archbishop of Glasgow, was descended from the ancient family of Cairncross of Cowmull. For some time he followed the trade of a dyer in the Canongate of Edinburgh. Subsequently he became parson of Dumfries, where he remained till 1684, when by the recommendation of the Duke of Queensberry he was promoted to the see of Brechin, from which he was in a few months promoted to that of Glasgow. Having incurred the displeasure of the lord chancellor, the Earl of Perth, he was in January 1687 removed from the see, but after the revolution he obtained the notice of the new powers, and in 1693 was made bishop of Raphoe in Ireland, where he continued till his death, 14 May 1701. By will he left 20*l.* to the poor of the parish of Raphoe, and the tenth part of his personal estate to the episcopal clergy of the kingdom of Scotland. He was buried in the cathedral of Raphoe.

[*Registrum Episcopatus Brechinensis* (Bannatyne Club, 1856), p. 141 (App.) 79; Keith's *Scottish Bishops* (Russell), 168, 268-9; Ware's *Works* (Harris), i. 277.] T. F. H.

**CAIRNCROSS, ROBERT** (*d.* 1544), abbot of Holyrood, afterwards bishop of Ross, was descended from the ancient family of Balmashannar, Forfarshire, which had been seated there as early as the time of Robert II. He was provost of the collegiate church of Corstorphine, and one of the king's chaplains. On 5 Sept. 1528 he was nominated treasurer on the downfall of the Earl of Angus. Knowing that the abbot of Holyrood was on the point of death, he, according to Buchanan, wagered a large sum with James V that he would not present him to the first vacant

benefice, when the king, quite well aware of what he referred to, accepted and won the wager. On suspicion of favouring the cause of the Douglasses he lost the treasurership almost as soon as he obtained it, although he again held it from 1537 to 1539. On 23 June of the latter year he was admitted to the see of Ross, and shortly afterwards received in *commendam* the abbacy of Fern, the dilapidated state of which his wealth was expected to repair. On the death of the king he was appointed one of the lords of the council to the governor, the Earl of Arran, when he joined in opposing the treaty of peace with England. He died in April 1544. He is the subject of two epigrams by George Buchanan.

[Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, pp. 190-1; Crawford's *Officers of State*, pp. 371-2; Haig and Brunton's *Senators of the College of Justice*, pp. 45-6.] T. F. H.

**CAIRNECH, SAINT** (*d.* 539?), whose name does not appear in the 'Felire' of Angus the Culdee, was, according to the account preserved in the book of Ballimote (compiled *cir.* 1390), the son of Sarraun, so-called king of Britain, by Babona, daughter of Loarn, king of Alban. This Loarn was the son of Erc, and one of the four leaders of the first Scots colony to Argyll (*cir.* 495) (*Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, p. 18). Babona's sister Erc seems to have married Muredach, grandson of Neil of the nine hostages (*d.* 405?), and so became the mother of the great Irish king, Mucertach MacErc (504-527), who was thus cousin to St. Cairnech. This genealogy exactly corresponds with the other Irish traditions as to Mucertach's ancestry (*Annals of Four Masters*, i. 175), and, if we accept it as genuine, it gives us the materials for fixing the era of St. Cairnech, whom we may infer to have been a little younger than his cousin, who was certainly a grown man at the battle of Ocha (478 A.D.). Mucertach's grandfather and great-uncle were both alive in 464, and we shall probably not be far wrong if we place the birth of this Irish king at somewhere about 455, and that of his cousin Cairnech about 460. As, however, Loarn seems to have reigned between 495 and 505, we must suppose that the book of Ballimote calls him king of Alban proleptically.

According to the legend alluded to above, Cairnech was harassed in his monastery by his brother, King Luirig, who, however, is at last slain through the instrumentality of Mucertach. Cairnech then attends a great synod at Tours, where he is given the 'chief-tainship of the martyrs of the world.' From Gaul Cairnech passes over first to Cornwall

and then to Ireland, to which country he goes to prepare the way for Mucertach. Here we read that he became first bishop of Temhar (Tara) and the Clan O'Neil, his former designation having been 'Bishop of Tours and Cornwall' (Britain-Cornn). These events may have taken place about 504, when Mucertach MacErca became king of Ireland (*Annals of Four Masters*, i. 165, with which, however, cf. TIGHERNAC, A.D. 509, and *Ann. Ult.* 512). Lastly we read that Cairnech became 'first monk of Erin and the first Brehon of the men of Erin also.' Here, as in the former quotation, where St. Cairnech is styled bishop of Cornwall, it is impossible not at least to suspect a confusion with his namesake, the friend of St. Patrick. But, whether strictly historical or no, there can be little doubt that an extremely ancient tradition has coupled together the names Cairnech and Mucertach (see REEVES's quotation from manuscript account of Mucertach's death, ADAMNAN, xciv. &c.) Even so early as the eleventh century there was a set of Irish verses current purporting to contain Cairnech's prophecy or narrative of his cousin's fate (TIGHERNAC, 133; *Annals of Four Masters*, i. 173). In an early Irish poem we have a somewhat detailed account of St. Cairnech's friendship with his aunt Erc, who gave him Druim-Tighean (Drumleene, W. of Lough Foyle) in full possession. From this document Dr. Todd has attempted to fix the year of Cairnech's death (539).

[Chronicle of Picts and Scots, ed. Skene, 52, 56; Irish Nennius, ed. Todd, 178-92, ci-ex; *Annals of the Four Masters*, ed. O'Donovan; Tighernac's *Annals* and the *Annales Ultonienses* are quoted from O'Connor's *Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*, of which collection they form part of vol. iii.; Adamnan's *Vita Columbæ*, ed. Reeves; Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, 781-3; Dictionary of Christian Biography, i. 383; Hardy's Catalogue, i. 46-7.] T. A. A.

CAIRNES, DAVID (1645-1722), defender of Londonderry, was born in 1645. He was a lawyer in the city, and a person of considerable property and influence. On the approach of Tyrconnell's troops against Londonderry in December 1688, he advised the citizens to concert measures for its defence. On the 11th he was sent to London to ask assistance on its behalf from the Irish Society of London and William III. He was detained for several months in London before obtaining success in his mission, but at last returned on 11 April 1689 with special instructions from the king in time to thwart a design that had been entertained of delivering up the city. He was appointed lieutenant-colonel of a regiment, and

took a prominent part in its defence until it was relieved in the following August. At the conclusion of the war he was chosen member of parliament for Londonderry, which he continued to represent till the year 1703. He was also appointed recorder, and held various other offices. He died in 1722, and was buried in the cathedral church.

[Wills's *Illustrious Irishmen*; Hempton's *History of Londonderry*; Derriana.] T. F. H.

CAIRNES, JOHN ELLIOT (1823-1875), economist, was born at Castle Bellingham, co. Louth, 26 Dec. 1823. He was the sixth child and eldest surviving son of William Cairnes by his wife, Mary Anne (Wolsey). His father was partner in a brewery in Castle Bellingham, and two years after the son's birth took a brewery in Drogheda. When eight years old the boy was sent to a boarding school at Kingstown, and at fourteen or fifteen was placed with a clergyman named Hutton at Chester. Mr. Hutton thought him a dull boy, and told his father that he was unfit for college. He was therefore placed in his father's house at Drogheda, and stayed there three years, during which he learnt some chemistry, and became intimate with a young man named La Bart. La Bart's influence drew him for a time towards Calvinism, and the young men held prayer meetings together, while Cairnes also began to develop intellectual tastes. He read Gibbon and many other books, and gradually took a dislike to business. His desire to go to college now led to a coolness with his father, which lasted for some years. His father, however, made him a small allowance, upon which he lived at Trinity College, Dublin. He graduated as B.A. in 1848, and as M.A. in 1854. He led a desultory life for some time, studying chemistry occasionally, and at one time entered an engineer's office at Galway. Here he became acquainted with Professor Nesbitt of Queen's College, Galway. Nesbitt turned his attention to political economy, and advised him to compete for the Whately professorship of political economy at Dublin. He won this upon an examination in 1856, and held it for the regular term of five years. He delivered his first course of lectures in the Hilary term of 1857, and published them in the same year as 'The Character and Logical Method of Political Economy' (second edition in 1875). In 1859 he was appointed professor of political economy and jurisprudence in Queen's College, Galway. He had been called to the Irish bar in the Michaelmas term 1857, but never seriously practised. In 1860 he injured his knee by an accident in hunting, the consequences of which were ultimately fatal to



his health. He visited Aix-les-Bains the same year, and was apparently cured, but the mischief reappeared and gradually became worse. In 1860 he married Eliza Charlotte, daughter of George Henry Minto Alexander, officiating judge at Banda, India. Her sister was the wife of his great friend, Professor Nesbitt. In 1862 he established his reputation by his work on 'The Slave Power,' the most powerful defence of the cause of the Northern states ever written. It made a great impression both in England and America (a second edition, 'greatly enlarged, with a new preface,' appeared in 1863). In 1865 he settled at Mill Hill, near London, where the dampness of the situation was very prejudicial to his health. In 1866 he was appointed professor of political economy in University College, London. Renewed attacks of ill health in the shape of rheumatic gout forced him to pay several visits to foreign baths. A severe operation in 1868 gave him some relief, but he was in time completely crippled. In the spring of 1870 he settled at Lee, near Blackheath, and two years later at Kidbrooke Road, Blackheath. Here he remained for the rest of his life, becoming by degrees a more hopeless invalid, but never losing his cheerfulness or his intellectual vigour. He was a near neighbour and a warm friend of J. S. Mill, and was especially intimate with the late Henry Fawcett and Mr. L. H. Courtney, both of whom constantly visited him. Through them and other friends, as well as by his occasional writings, he exercised considerable political influence. He was deeply interested in questions of national education in Ireland, being always a strong advocate of united education. He took an energetic part in the opposition to the supplementary charter of the Queen's Colleges in 1865-6, which was ultimately pronounced invalid by the master of the rolls. He also did much to inspire the successful opposition to Mr. Gladstone's scheme of an Irish university in 1873. During this time he contemplated a book upon the economical history of Ireland, and upon finding the task too much for his strength worked up the fragments, together with various papers upon the education question, into a volume called 'Political Essays,' published in 1873. In that year appeared also a volume of 'Essays on Political Economy, Theoretical and Applied,' containing some articles upon the change in the value of gold which had originally been published in 'Fraser's Magazine.' The predictions in these articles were remarkably verified by the statistical researches of Professor Stanley Jevons made some years later in ignorance of Cairnes's speculations. A remarkable book, entitled

'Some Leading Principles of Political Economy newly explained,' appeared in 1874. In the same year the honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by the university of Dublin, though he was unable to present himself to receive it. Cairnes at the time of his death was undoubtedly at the head of living economists. Although in the main a follower of J. S. Mill, and therefore of the so-called orthodox school, he was a strikingly original thinker, and did more than any one else to develop the doctrine which he accepted. His statement of the wages fund theory is particularly worth notice. In private life he was a man of singular charm of conversation, even when quite disabled physically. He died, after long suffering, borne with heroic patience, on 8 July 1875, leaving a widow and three children.

Besides the works above mentioned the following have been published separately: 1. 'The Southern Confederacy and the Slave Trade, a correspondence between Professor C. and G. M'Henry (reprinted from the *Daily News*), with introduction by G. B. Wheeler,' 1863. 2. 'Who are the Canters?' (No. 3 of a series of tracts published by the Ladies' Emancipation Society), 1863. 3. 'England's Neutrality in the American Contest,' reprinted, with additions, from 'Macmillan's Magazine,' 1864. 4. 'University Education in Ireland, a letter to J. S. Mill,' 1866. 5. 'University Education in Ireland,' reprinted from the 'Theological Review,' 1866. 6. 'Woman Suffrage,' a reply to Goldwin Smith, reprinted from 'Macmillan's Magazine' of September 1874. He published many articles in the 'Fortnightly Review,' his last contribution being an interesting criticism of 'Mr. Herbert Spencer on Social Evolution' in the numbers for Jan. and Feb. 1875.

[Information from Mrs. Cairnes; Times, 8 July 1875 (article by L. H. Courtney); H. Fawcett in Fortnightly Review for August 1875; personal knowledge.] L. S.

CAIRNS, HUGH McCALMONT, first EARL CAIRNS (1819-1885), belonged to a family of Cairns, of Scotch origin, which migrated from Kirkcudbright to the north of Ireland in the time of James I, and was there of some distinction. A baronetcy, which soon became extinct, was conferred upon an Alexander Cairns for service under Marlborough. Hugh Cairns was the second son of William Cairns of Cultra, county Down, formerly a captain in the 47th regiment of foot, by his wife Rose Anna, daughter of Hugh Johnson. He was born in December 1819, and was educated first at Belfast Academy and afterwards at Trinity College, Dublin. His father at this time designed him for holy orders, but the

Rev. George Wheeler, afterwards rector of Ballysax, who was his tutor, strongly urged that Cairns should be bred to the law. Cairns's own bent was decidedly in the same direction. He took a first class in classics and his B.A. degree in 1838, and then came to England to prepare for the bar. He was called to the bar by the benchers of the Middle Temple in January 1844, and shortly afterwards 'migrated' to Lincoln's Inn. In chancery he read in the chambers of Mr. Richard Malins, afterwards vice-chancellor; and it was in those of Mr. Thomas Chitty, the well-known special pleader, of King's Bench Walk, that he read at common law. His original intention had been to return to Ireland, but upon the advice of Mr. Malins he determined to remain in England. He came to London without influence or connection, and yet his opportunities of success came early. His first brief was given him by Mr. Gregory of Bedford Row, who remained his firm client till he quitted the bar. His practice, once begun, grew rapidly. Yet constitutionally he was diffident and at first so nervous as a speaker that he thought himself unfit for anything but chamber practice and conveyancing. In July 1852 he entered parliament as member for Belfast, and continued to represent that town as long as he remained at the bar. In 1856 he was made a Q.C. and a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, and elected to practise in Vice-chancellor Wood's court. In February 1858, when Lord Derby took office, he was appointed solicitor-general and knighted, and from this time enjoyed an enormous practice. He was employed in many ecclesiastical cases, in which his opinions are still valued, and in Scotch and Irish appeals, and on various occasions, such as the Windham lunacy case and the case of the Alexandra, he made very successful appearances before juries at nisi prius. At this time his health, never very good, was tried to the utmost by his professional labours; it was his habit to refuse all briefs for Saturdays and to take that day as a holiday, often in the hunting-field, while in his long vacations he annually recruited his vigour on the Scotch moors.

But from 1858 he became a conspicuous figure in public life. His first great success was on 14 May 1858, in the debate upon Cardwell's motion to censure Lord Ellenborough's Oude despatch, and this speech was subsequently published (Lord Ellenborough was at the time lord president of the Board of Control). In the following session he introduced two bills, one to simplify titles to real estate and another to establish a land registry, and his speeches in bringing them in produced a very favourable impression. Of his subsequent speech on the

Reform Bill (22 March 1859) Mr. Disraeli, in his official letter of the day to the queen, says: 'Two of the greatest speeches ever delivered in parliament, by Sir Edward Lytton and the solicitor-general, Sir Hugh Cairns. Cairns devoted an hour to a reply to Lord John's resolution and to a vindication of the government bill, which charmed every one by its lucidity and controlled every one by its logic' (MARTIN, *Life of the Prince Consort*, iv. 411). He also spoke with good effect, persuasively and pointedly, in the 'Charles and Georges' debate. In 1860, upon the motion for an address to the crown upon the French commercial treaty, Cairns accepted it, with criticisms, on behalf of his party; and in 1865, on Mr. Monsell's Roman Catholic Oaths Bill, he moved an amendment to secure protestant government and worship in the United Kingdom, which was supported by Mr. Disraeli and defeated by the government by a majority of only nineteen. He also spoke on 23 Feb. 1864 on the right of the government to detain ships, with reference to the confederate privateers, and this speech was subsequently published. When the conservatives returned to power in 1866 and Sir Fitzroy Kelly was no longer available as attorney-general, that office was, without question, conferred on Cairns, and at the same time Lord Derby arranged with Lord Chelmsford that the lord-chancellorship was to be held by him only temporarily, and that he should in time make way for Cairns as his successor. Cairns's health, however, failed him under the stress of double duties, and when in October a vacancy occurred in the court of chancery, for the first time during fourteen years, by the retirement of Sir J. Knight-Bruce, he became the colleague of Lord-justice Turner as a lord-justice of appeal. A peerage was at the same time offered him, his party being desirous of retaining his great parliamentary services, but it was refused on the ground of want of means to support a title. Indeed the loss of income which he suffered by this promotion was very great. A wealthy relative, however, came to his assistance, and when the government, standing in need of an accession of strength in the House of Lords, renewed the offer in February 1867, it was accepted, and Cairns was created a privy-councillor and Baron Cairns of Garrahy, co. Antrim. He now took a very active part in the discussions upon the Reform Bill, and made no less than twenty-four speeches on it. His resistance on one occasion went the length even of opposing his own party, and on 29 July he carried by a large majority against Lord Malmesbury, who had the conduct of the bill in the lords during

Lord Derby's illness, an amendment to raise the lodger qualification from 10*l.* to 15*l.* The government accepted this, but afterwards, on Earl Russell's motion, the 10*l.* qualification was restored in committee and accepted by Lord Derby on 6 Aug. Cairns also carried, by 253 to 204, a motion in favour of the protection of minorities by means of the cumulative vote. In the same session he made an important speech, being always a champion of the protestant church in Ireland, against Earl Russell's motion for an address for a royal commission on the revenues of the Irish church. In February 1868 Lord Derby resigned office through ill-health, and Mr. Disraeli became prime minister, and in forming his ministry summarily passed over Lord Chelmsford and appointed Cairns lord-chancellor. Although this was according at any rate to the spirit of Lord Derby's agreement with him in 1866, Lord Chelmsford was exceedingly indignant, complained of being dismissed 'with less courtesy than if he had been a butler,' and appealed to Lord Derby, who, however, confirmed Mr. Disraeli's view of the matter. In 1877 Cairns, as a sort of reparation, appointed Lord Chelmsford's son, Alfred Henry Thesiger [q.v.], a lord-justice of the appeal court. On the defeat of the conservatives at the general election, Cairns resigned with Mr. Disraeli, and after Lord Derby's death (23 Oct. 1869) led the opposition in the House of Lords. His resistance to the disestablishment of the Irish church was vigorous and tenacious. His speech on Mr. Gladstone's Suspensory Bill was printed and widely circulated, and in 1868 the bill, although carried by large majorities in the House of Commons, was thrown out by the lords by 192 to 97. On 20 July 1869, when the Irish Church Bill was returned to the lords, as re-amended by the commons, Cairns moved and carried by a majority of seventy-eight that the lords do insist on their amendments to the preamble of the bill, to which the commons had disagreed. But the resulting constitutional strain was great, and when on the 22nd Cairns heard, within an hour of the debate, that the government was willing to offer then and there acceptable concessions, which must be taken or refused before the debate began and could not afterwards be renewed, he took upon himself the responsibility of ending the struggle between the houses, and agreed with Lord Granville to withdraw his opposition. This, however, had to be done without consulting his party, and they were much aggrieved at this apparent vacillation, until Cairns cleared the matter up by sending round to his followers a circular on 24 July. Not long after this he re-

signed the leadership of the conservative party in the House of Lords, but he resumed it in 1870, Lord Salisbury being then too little in harmony with his party to lead it with success, and he energetically opposed the Irish Land Bill in that year. He was at this time acting also as a law lord on House of Lords' appeals, although on resigning in December 1868 he had declined Lord Hatherley's invitation to him to resume his place as a lord-justice of appeal. He also acted as arbitrator, in conjunction with Lord Salisbury, under the London, Chatham, and Dover Railway Company's Act, and also in another most intricate arbitration upon the affairs of the Albert Life Insurance Company in 1871. Consequently about this time he found his health considerably impaired, and was obliged to spend some time at Mentone, and during his absence the leadership of the conservative peers was undertaken by the Duke of Richmond. He was in his place, however, to speak upon the triple treaty of England, France, and Prussia to secure the independence of Belgium (August 1870), and he also very energetically opposed the appointment of Sir Robert Collier to a seat on the judicial committee of the privy council as a colourable evasion of the law. Although he was in opposition when the Judicature Act was passed, he had been chairman of the committee on judicature reform, which reported in 1869, and was lord chancellor when the act came into operation, and had a large share in the passing of the act. It was on his initiative that Lord Selborne's bill of 1873, which had displaced the House of Lords as the ultimate court of appeal, was amended by allowing an appeal from the supreme court to the House of Lords. The name of the supreme court, however, remained unchanged, so that though in name supreme it is not so in fact. In this as in much other legislation Cairns and Lord Selborne, who had always been rivals in politics and at the bar, worked together with mutual trust and confidence. It was practically by their agreement that the Married Women's Property Act of 1882 was passed; and with Lord Selborne's sanction Cairns brought to a successful issue the Conveyancing Acts of 1881 and 1882 and the Settled Land Act of 1882. Though thus responsible for most important legal changes, the only act which bears Cairns's name is one, now repealed, to enable the court of chancery to give damages in lieu of specific performance or an injunction.

When the conservatives took office after the general election of 1874, Cairns was lord-chancellor in Mr. Disraeli's government. In that year he introduced the Real Property

(Vendors and Purchasers) Act as a pendant to the Real Property Limitation Act, and in 1879 the Irish University Bill, in substitution for that introduced by the O'Connor Don. He was created in September 1878 Viscount Garrahy and Earl Cairns in the peerage of the United Kingdom; but after the conservative defeat and his resignation in 1880 he played a comparatively retired part in public life. He often, however, powerfully criticised the liberal government on various points of its policy, especially the Transvaal question, and his speech on this was published. On the death of the Earl of Beaconsfield there was a considerable desire on the part of a portion of the conservative party that Cairns and not Lord Salisbury should succeed to the leadership, but neither health nor years fitted Cairns for that task. After this date he appeared rarely in debate, and still more rarely to hear appeals. His health, never strong, had long been failing. At one time he was kept alive only by breathing special inhalations for asthmatic disorders; latterly he was very deaf. He spent much time on the Riviera, and in 1873 built himself a house at Bournemouth, where he died 2 April 1885 of congestion of the lungs, and was buried 8 April. He was made LL.D. of Cambridge in 1862, D.C.L. of Oxford in 1863, and was also LL.D. of Dublin University and chancellor from 1867. He married, 9 May 1856, Mary Harriet, eldest daughter of John MacNeile of Parkmount, co. Antrim, by whom he had five sons and two daughters. The eldest son dying shortly after his birth, the second, Arthur William (1861-1890), the third, Herbert John (1863-1905), and the fourth, Wilfred Dallas (b. 1865), succeeded in turn to the peerage.

Cairns was confessedly the first lawyer of his time; his especial characteristic was lucidity. Without any great parade of case-law, he would exhaust the argument from principle and only in conclusion illustrate it by citing a few decisions. As a judge he did not explain the process by which his mind had been persuaded, but adhered to strict reasoning, his mind working like a logical machine. As a speaker he was very cold and unimpassioned, though in public addresses there were traces of repressed fire; but he invariably produced personally an impression of the chilliest austerity. He was believed to have but one human weakness, namely, for immaculate bands and tie in court and for a flower in his coat at parties. His classical and literary attainments were great, but if he had any humour—Lord Coleridge in his obituary speech to the lords, 13 April 1885, pronounced it keen—it was assiduously concealed. He was an evangelical churchman

of great piety. Like Lords Selborne and Hatherley he was a Sunday-school teacher almost all his life. He was a frequent chairman of meetings at Exeter Hall and of missionary meetings. Addresses of his on such occasions were published, one on the Irish church in 1864, another on the Young Men's Christian Association in 1881. He zealously supported Dr. Barnardo's homes for boys and his conduct of them, and laid foundation stones for new buildings at Ilford in Essex in 1875. He was also a supporter of the coffee-house movement and looked askance upon the stage.

[Earl Russell's Recollections; Memoirs of Lord Malmesbury, ii. 373, 378, 409; Law Journal, 11 April 1885; Solicitors' Journal and Law Times, 11 April 1885; Times, 3 April 1885.]

J. A. H.

CAIRNS, WILLIAM (d. 1848), philosophical writer, was a native of Glasgow. After completing his course at the university, he, in 1800, entered the Antiburgher Secession Hall for the study of divinity. In March 1808 he was ordained minister of the secession church at Johnshaven, Kincardineshire. This position he resigned in October 1815 on being chosen professor of logic and belles-lettres by the directors of the Belfast Institution. He remained there till his death, 21 April 1848. He was the author of 'Outlines of Lectures on Logic and Belles-Lettres,' 1829, and 'Treatise on Moral Freedom,' 1844. He also edited, with a memoir, 'Lectures on Intellectual Philosophy,' by Dr. John Young, 1835.

[Mackelvie's Annals of the United Presbyterian Church, pp. 80, 660; Irving's Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen; Brit. Mus. Cat.] T. F. H.

CAISTOR, RICHARD (d. 1420), theologian, is said to have been born at Caistor, near Norwich, from which place he appears to have derived his surname (Blomefield, p. 591). In October 1385, at a time when he had already received the first tonsure, a title for this diocese was given to him (TANNER, from *Reg. Merton. Priorat. Bibl. E. 54*). On 22 May 1402 he was instituted vicar of St. Stephen's, Norwich, in which city he died 29 March 1420. For his extreme piety Caistor received the cognomen of 'good,' and Blomefield adds that he was a constant preacher of God's word and a great supporter of Wycliffite doctrines in the reign of Henry V. While living, the common people regarded him as a prophet, and after his death miracles were reported to have been wrought at his tomb, which became the object of local pilgrimage, to the great annoyance of the orthodox authorities. Caistor's popularity may be gauged by the fact

that in 1458 John Falbeck, from Thorndon in Suffolk, left money to any one who should make this pilgrimage, and John Stalton Mercer gave a cloth of red tissue to be laid on the 'good veker's' grave (BLOMEFIELD). A fifteenth-century manuscript in Merton College Library (Oxford) still preserves a metrical prayer in English verse composed by 'Master Richard Castre.' This composition is followed by another English poem, entitled 'Psalterium Fraternalis Caritatis,' perhaps by the same author. Other works enumerated by Tanner are: 'A Summa Summarum of the Ten Commandments,' and homilies on the eight beatitudes, and on the relationship between master and servant, father and son, man and wife—all apparently written in Latin. To these Tanner adds certain discourses from St. Bernard.

[Tanner; Blomefield's Norfolk (ed. 1744), ii. 591; Coxe's Oxford MSS.] T. A. A.

**CAITHNESS, EARLS OF.** [See SINCLAIR, SIR WILLIAM, first EARL (1404?–1480); SINCLAIR, GEORGE, fourth EARL (d. 1582); SINCLAIR, GEORGE, fifth EARL (1566?–1643); SINCLAIR, JAMES, fourteenth EARL (1821–1881).]

**CAIUS** or **KAY, JOHN**, sometimes called the elder (*f.* 1480), poet, is the author of an English poem relating the history of the siege of Rhodes unsuccessfully undertaken by Mahommed II in 1480. It was printed in London in 1506, but has no printer's name, and although some of the type resembles that used by Caxton, it is not from his press. Warton describes the book as a translation of the 'Obsidionis Rhodiæ Urbis Descriptio,' which was written by 'Gulielmus Caorsinus or Caoursin,' vice-chamberlain for forty years of the knights of Malta, and published at Ulm in his collected works in 1496. Caius dedicates his translation to Edward IV, whose humble 'poete lawreate' he describes himself. But the expression does not imply that the writer held any official position at court. Three copies of the book are now known—two in the British Museum, and a third in the Rylands Library at Manchester. An early manuscript version is in the British Museum (MS. Cotton. Titus A. xxvi. 161).

[Tanner's Bibl. Bibl.; Blades's Caxton, ii. 251–252; Warton's English Poetry.] S. L.

**CAIUS, JOHN** (1510–1573), scholar and physician, occasionally called John Caius, junior, in order to distinguish him from John Caius [q.v.], bore a name which is generally supposed to be a Latinised form of the English name Kay or Kaye. He was born at

Norwich on 6 Oct. 1510, the son of Robert Caius and Alice (Wodanell) his wife, and may be regarded as the first of a series of eminent men who have practised and adorned the profession of medicine in that city. For a knowledge of the main facts of his literary career we are indebted chiefly to the account given by himself in his sketch entitled 'De Libris propriis Liber,' written, about three years before his death, at the request of his friend Thomas Hatcher. He appears to have received a good elementary education in his native city, and on 12 Sept. 1529 was admitted a student of Gonville Hall in the university of Cambridge, where, owing to the successive labours of Erasmus, Sir John Cheke, and Sir Thomas Smith, the new learning, and especially the study of Greek, was being cultivated with great success. It was also the time when Cheke and Smith were endeavouring to introduce a new method of pronouncing Greek, an innovation which gave rise to considerable controversy. Caius, who seems from the first to have inclined to the conservative view, took a lively interest in the contest, and subsequently wrote a treatise on the subject. The bent of his studies at that period shows that he was designing to become a theologian. He translated into English a Latin paraphrase of St. Jude by Erasmus, and epitomised the same writer's popular treatise, entitled 'Ratio veræ Theologiæ,' for the benefit of a young friend whose mind had been perplexed by the new opinions then becoming current. In November 1533 he was appointed principal of Fiswick's Hostel in the university, and on 6 Dec. in the same year was elected a fellow of Gonville Hall. In 1535 he commenced M.A., and in the course of the year made his submission, in common with the rest of the society, to the royal injunctions sent down for the purpose of remodelling the discipline of the university and introducing the new learning. It may consequently be inferred that when he left England for Padua in 1539 he had not definitely pledged himself to the acceptance of the tenets of catholicism; that he ultimately did so, is attributed to the associations which he formed while resident at the latter university. At Padua, according to his own statement (*De Libris propriis*, p. 163), he lectured on the Greek text of Aristotle 'concurrently' with Realdus Columbus, but his name does not appear in the 'Fasti' of Faccioliati, who gives lists of the teachers and professors in the university from the earliest times. While at Padua, however, there can be no doubt that his attention was mainly given to those scientific acquirements for which he afterwards

became celebrated. He studied medicine under John Baptist Montanus, an eminent physician, and anatomy under the yet more distinguished Andreas Vesalius, in whose house he resided for eight months. On 13 May 1541 he was created M.D. of the university of Padua. On quitting Padua he proceeded on a tour through Italy, and his observations, recorded in the treatise above referred to, on the libraries and the state of learning in Venice, Florence, Urbino, Ferrara, Sienna, Bologna, Pisa, and Rome, though brief, are of considerable interest. At Florence he was the guest of Cosmo de' Medici. On leaving Italy he proceeded on a similar tour through France and Germany, and in the latter country he mentions, as scholars with whom he became well acquainted, Melancthon, Joachim Camerarius, and Sebastian Munster. His main object during these months appears to have been to obtain, by the collation of the best manuscripts, an accurate text of Galen and Hippocrates. He also took especial pains to note the practice of continental scholars in the pronunciation of Greek, and finding that this was generally in conformity with the older method, he eventually gave his deliberate verdict in favour of this method (as opposed to that recently introduced at Cambridge) in his treatise '*De Pronunciatione Græcæ et Latinae Linguae*.'

He returned to England in 1544, and shortly after, at the command of Henry VIII, commenced to deliver lectures on anatomy, which were attended by many of the principal surgeons in London. According to his own statement (*De Libris propriis*, p. 171), he continued these lectures for a period of twenty years. He appears, however, to have been resident for some time at Shrewsbury, and again at Norwich. On 21 Dec. 1547 he was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians, was an elect in 1550, and a member of the council in the ensuing year. During his residence in Shrewsbury the 'sweating sickness' broke out, and at the request of his friend Robert Warmington he compiled a short tract in English, '*A Booke or Counsell against the Sweate or Sweating Sicknesse*,' which he afterwards expanded into the longer Latin treatise, '*De Ephemera Britannica*.' He was shortly after appointed one of the physicians to King Edward VI, and retained his post under Queen Mary. In the practice of his profession Caius soon acquired considerable wealth, which, being unmarried, he resolved to employ in the encouragement of science and learning. Foremost among his schemes was the refounding of Gonville Hall, the home of his early education. On 4 Sept. 1557 he obtained letters patent from Philip

and Mary empowering him to carry out his design, and the college from this time became known as Gonville and Caius College, he being declared a co-founder with Edmund Gonville and William Bateman, bishop of Norwich. In the following year, on the occasion probably of his being incorporated M.D. of the university, he revisited Cambridge, apparently for the first time subsequently to his leaving England for Padua (*Hist. Cant. Academiæ*, p. 3), and his account of his impressions shows how great had been the change in the university during the preceding twenty years. In January 1559 he 'unwillingly and with much entreaty' was prevailed upon to accept the mastership of the college, vacant by the death of Thomas Bacon, but he altogether refused to receive a stipend or emoluments in any form. To this circumstance and his known munificent intentions in relation to the society we may attribute the fact that when, in the following September, the royal commission visited the university and displaced the heads who were known to favour catholicism, he was left undisturbed in his office. His benefactions to his college were both judicious and munificent. He enlarged the original site of the buildings, and erected an additional court, together with the three gates of Humility, Virtue, and Honour—the last being executed after his death from plans which he had prepared, 'indifferently copied, in the late Professor Willis's opinion,' 'from the sepulchral monuments of the ancients,' and representing probably a reminiscence of his observations in Italy. His eminence, now almost unrivalled, in his profession led to his being retained in his office of chief royal physician on the accession of Elizabeth; and on the occasion of her visit to the university in 1564 he was assigned the initiatory part in the disquisitions in physics, as 'antient in the faculty.' As, however, the enactments against catholics increased in stringency, he could no longer be exempted from their operation, and in 1568 he was dismissed from his post of royal physician, a proceeding suggested perhaps by prudential considerations quite as much as by religious intolerance. His reputation among his own profession continued unimpaired. In 1571 he was for the ninth time elected to the office of president of the College of Physicians. The distinction thus conferred upon him was more than repaid by the eminent services which he rendered to the society. In the notable dispute between the physicians and the surgeons, when the former body challenged the right of the latter to administer internal remedies as part of their treatment of external maladies, he appeared before the commissioners

appointed to try the case, and maintained the exclusive functions of the profession over which he presided. His arguments were deemed so conclusive that the decision was unanimously given in favour of the physicians. It was through his influence that a grant was obtained from the crown of the bodies of criminals after their execution for dissection. He compiled the 'Annals' of the college from its foundation; and it was at his suggestion that the society first adopted the insignia of the presidential office—the cushion, silver verge, book, and seal.

Caius's relations with the society over which he ruled at Cambridge were less happy. Lying, as he did, under the suspicion of aiming at a restoration of catholic doctrine, he was an object of dislike to the majority of the fellows, and could with difficulty maintain his authority. He retaliated vigorously on the malcontents. He not only involved them in lawsuits which emptied their slender purses, but visited them with personal castigations, and even incarcerated them in the stocks (*State Papers*, Dom. Eliz. xxxix. 5). Expulsions were frequent, not less than twenty of the fellows, according to the statement of two of their number, having suffered this extreme penalty. In their resentment, they brought forward articles accusing him of atheism. Archbishop Parker and Sir William Cecil (afterwards Lord Burghley), who were called upon to adjudicate in these disputes, did not altogether acquit Caius, although they confirmed several of his acts of expulsion (*Parker Correspondence*, pp. 251-2).

The strong feelings of resentment evoked in England by the massacre of St. Bartholomew led to renewed feelings of animosity against all suspected of harbouring catholic sympathies; and one of the fellows, having discovered that the master had in his secret possession a collection of ornaments and vestments such as were used in the Roman ritual, gave information to the ecclesiastical authorities. An inquiry was forthwith instituted by Sandys, the intolerant bishop of London, and this having led to an examination of the master's premises, the different prohibited articles discovered in his keeping were publicly burnt in a bonfire in the college court. The indignity was keenly felt by Caius, who, in his 'Annals' of the college, animadverted upon the ingratitude thus shown for his services to the society and to learning. In the following year we find him devoting his leisure to the compilation of his 'History of the University,' not improbably as a distraction from his harassed and dejected feelings. It was his last service to letters. Blomefield indeed suggests that his life was shortened by the

growing intolerance of the times, his death, which took place in London, having occurred (29 July 1573) only seven months after the events above described. By his will, dated a few days before, he appointed Archbishop Parker his literary executor; and availing himself of powers conferred by a grant obtained from the society in the preceding September, he nominated Thomas Legge, of Jesus College, his successor in the mastership. He was interred in the college chapel, where the simple inscription on his monument, 'Fui Caius. Vivit post funera virtus,' with simply the addition of the date of his decease, affords a striking contrast to the prolixity and fulsome adulation customary in such inscriptions in those times.

A few years before his death Caius became involved in a controversy respecting the comparative antiquity of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and in his zeal for the reputation of the latter was led to maintain its priority in a treatise which must be looked upon as the least creditable of all his writings. He was answered by a writer who, singularly enough, bore the same surname, one Thomas Key, a fellow of All Souls [see CAIUS, THOMAS], Oxford; and his treatise was subsequently reprinted by Hearne with the criticisms of his antagonist appended (Oxford, 8vo, 1730). He availed himself on more than one occasion of the services of Richard Grafton the printer, and it has been surmised that heretofore that writer material assistance in the compilation of his chronicle.

Of the three portraits of Caius in the possession of the college, that in the combination room, representing him in profile, is the most striking, and is an admirable work of art. About 1719, in the course of certain repairs in the college chapel, his tomb was opened and the corpse fully exposed to view. 'After comparing the picture' (probably the portrait in the hall) 'with his visage,' says Blomefield, 'there was found a great resemblance' (IVES, *Select Papers*, p. 65).

Out of the long list of Caius's works given by himself, only the following seem to have been printed: 1. 'De Medendi Methodo libri ii. ex Cl. Galeni et Joh. Bapt. Montani sententia,' Basilee, 1544, 8vo. Dedicated to William Butts; reprinted Lovanii, 1556, 8vo (in Joh. Caii Opera), with dedication to Sir John Mason; also printed in 'Joh. Bapt. Montani Opuscula,' Basil, 1558. 2. 'Galeni libri aliquot Græci, partim hactenus non visi, partim repurgati, annotationibusque illustrati,' Basilee, 1544, 4to (dedicated to Henry VIII, containing (1) Galeni de placitis Hippocratis et Platonis liber primus jam primum inventus et in Latinum sermonem

versus.' This book was wanting in previous editions of 'Galen,' but is printed in later ones chiefly from Caius's text, the manuscript of which is still preserved in the Caius College Library. His Latin version was reprinted in the collective Latin edition of 'Galen' issued by Frellon, Lyons, 1550. (2) 'Galenus de Comate secundum Hippocratem, Græce.' (3) 'Galenus de succedaneis, Græce.' (4) 'Galenus de anatomicis administrationibus libri novem, Græce' (not new, but with amended text and notes). Some of these notes, Caius asserts, were added by Rouille, the printer of Lyons, to his Latin edition of this book published in 1551, which, however, we have not been able to trace. The remainder forms, properly speaking, a second volume dedicated to Antony Denne, and contains (5) 'Galenus de motu musculorum libri duo, Græce' (amended text, with notes); (6) Fragment of the seventh book of 'Galenus de Usu partium' (wanting in previous editions); (7) 'Hippocrates de medicamentis purgantibus, Græce' (not before printed). 3. 'Galenus de tuenda valetudine libri sex' (Greek text only and without notes; dedicated to Edward VI, 'supreme head of the church'), Basil, 1549, 8vo. 4. 'A Boke or Counseill againt the Disease commonly called the Sweate or Sweatyng Sicknesse,' dedicated to William, earl of Pembroke; printed by Grafton, London, 1552, 8vo. A very rare book, reprinted in Babington's translation of Hecker's 'Epidemics of the Middle Ages,' Lond. Syd. Society, 1844, and later; also in Grüner and Haeser, 'Scriptores de Sudore Anglico,' Jena, 1847. 5. 'Joannis Caii Opera aliquot et versiones,' Lovanii, 1556, 8vo, containing: (1) 'De Medendi Methodo' (second edition), dedicated to Sir John Mason; (2) 'De Ephemeris Britannica liber unus, jam primum excusus.' This Latin treatise on the sweating sickness appears to have been written, or at least begun, at the same time as the English tract, from which it is quite distinct, and was intended especially for the medical profession, while the former was addressed to the public. This was meant to consist of two books, according to the author's statement. It is dedicated to Antony Perenot, bishop of Arras. This work was reprinted in London, 1721, 8vo; also Berlin, 1833, 12mo, edited by Hecker; and in Grüner's 'Scriptores' above cited. (3) 'Galenus de propriis libris; de ordine librorum suorum; de ratione victus Hippocratis in morbis acutis; de decretis Hippocratis et Platonis liber primus.' All these, in Latin versions by Caius, dedicated to George Day, bishop of Chichester. A good woodcut head of Caius, in profile, is prefixed to this volume, and repeated

in the middle of it. 6. 'Galenus Pergamensis libri. De Septimestri partu, Brevis designatio dogmatum Hippocratis, De Ptissana, De Ossibus; integri et emendati,' Basil, s.a. 8vo, Greek text only. These treatises are dedicated respectively to Thomas Wende, Robert Warmyngton, and Thomas Marron (Maro), the dedications being dated February 1557. 7. 'De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiæ libri duo, Londinensi auctore. Londini per H. Byneman,' 1568, 8vo. Subjoined is 'Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiæ, incerto auctore ejusdem Gymnasii,' reprinted by Day, London, 1574, 4to, with the name of Caius as author; also the Oxford tract; and a further contribution to the controversy by Caius with title, 'Historiæ Cantabrigiensis Academiæ ab urbe condita libri duo, auct. Joh. Caio.' 8. 'De pronunciatione Græcæ et Latinae linguæ cum scriptione nova libellus,' London, J. Day, 1574, 4to, usually bound up with the last. 9. 'De Canibus Britannicis libellus; De variorum animalium et stirpium historia libellus; De libris propriis liber, jam primum excusi Londini per Gul. Seresium,' 1570, 8vo (with separate titles). The first tract was written to Conrad Gesner, the celebrated naturalist, and was intended as a contribution to his 'History of Animals,' but not published in consequence of Gesner's death. The second was to be a further contribution. These three were reprinted (Lond. 1729, 8vo) with the treatise 'De pronunciatione Græcæ,' &c. 10. 'Of Englishe Dogges . . . drawne into English by Abraham Fleming,' London, 1576, 4to; reprinted in Arber's 'English Garner,' 1886, 1903. 11. 'Epistola Bartholomæo Clerke. Prefixed to his translation of Castilion,' London, 12mo, 1577 (*Athenæ Cantab.*) The above list of Caius's printed books, drawn up from actual inspection, is believed to be complete, though it is possible there may have been later continental editions of one or two of the classical works. The following are said, on the authority of 'Athenæ Cantab.,' still to exist in manuscript: 1. 'Annales Collegii de Gouville et Caius a Collegio condito libri duo,' Caius Coll. 2. 'Annotationes in Galenum,' Univ. Lib. Camb. 3. 'Annales Collegii Medicorum Lond. ab A.D. 1520-65,' Coll. Phys. London. 4. 'Notes on Hippocrates,' Caius Coll. 5. 'De Canonibus libris Veteris Testamenti,' Caius Coll. 6. 'Notes on Alex. Aphrodisii de prudentia,' Caius Coll. 7. 'Notes on Aristotle,' Caius Coll. 8. Additions to Robert Talbot's 'Annotations on the Itinerary of Antoninus,' Caius Coll.

Caius's own list above referred to contains seventy-two titles, including sixteen origi-



nal works, seven versions from Greek into Latin, and ten commentaries, besides texts, discovered, edited, and amended, but all the rest appear to have perished. Some, he says, were lost through the dilatoriness of Oporinus, the printer of Basel.

Caius's medical writings have a high value. Living in an age when book-learning was the mark of the skilled physician, and himself a profound scholar, he was still notable for his power of observation. He saw what was important, and described it with precision. His description of the symptoms of the sweating sickness is the classical account of that remarkable epidemic, with which his name is inseparably associated. His works on that subject must be regarded as the most important medical writings produced in England before the time of Harvey, and their value is shown by the fact that both the Latin and the English treatise have been each three times reprinted in this and the last century. Comparing Caius with the continental writers on the same subject (who were chiefly Germans), Haeser says: 'Caius omnium qui de sudore Anglico scripserunt, princeps putandum est.'

Caius's Latin writing is terse and lucid. It is evidently modelled on the style of Celsus, from whom he borrows many words, and sometimes whole phrases. His English is vigorous. He was a good naturalist, as well as an excellent physician and scholar. In every department of learning he seems to have been proficient.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. i. 37-109; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 312-18; Goodall's Coll. of Phys.; Mullinger's *Hist. of Univ. of Cambridge*, vol. ii.; Bibliography and medical criticism kindly supplied by Dr. J. F. Payne.] J. B. M.

**CAIUS, THOMAS** (*d.* 1572), writer on the history of the university of Oxford, was of a Yorkshire family whose name is usually written KEY or CAY, but his immediate relatives resided in Lincolnshire. He was educated at Oxford, and Wood states doubtfully that he was a student of University College. In 1525 he was elected fellow of All Souls' College, proceeded to his degrees in arts, and became proficient in classical studies. In 1534 he was chosen registrar of the university—an office which at that date embraced the additional functions of public orator. He declined to submit readily to the changes brought about by the Reformation; fell under the suspicion of the authorities, and in 1552 was dismissed from the registrarship. In later years he conformed to the new religion, became in 1559 prebendary of Salisbury, and in 1561 was elected master of University

College. He became rector of Tredington, Worcestershire, and dying in May 1572 was buried at Oxford, in the church of St. Peter-in-the-East.

Caius is best known as the leader of a very curious controversy touching the comparative antiquity of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. His opponent was a Cambridge man of the same surname, although not lineally related, John Caius (1510-1573) [q. v.], warden of Gonville and Caius College. When Queen Elizabeth visited Cambridge, in August 1564, the public orator (William Masters) asserted, in a speech, that Cambridge was a more ancient university than Oxford. A friend of Thomas Caius reported the speech to him, and he wrote within a week a little treatise entitled '*Assertio Antiquitatis Oxoniensis Academiæ*,' to disprove the Cambridge orator's statement. Two copies were made of the manuscript, one of which found its way into the Earl of Leicester's library. There it seems that John Caius saw it, and in 1568 he printed it, without consulting the author, as an appendix to his own '*De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensi Academiæ libri duo*,'—a plea for the superior antiquity of Cambridge. John Caius describes the '*Assertio*' as the work of an unknown author of Oxford University, and attacks it severely. Thomas Caius's treatise was reprinted with John Caius's book for the second time in 1574. Both writers were then dead; but the friends of the champion of Cambridge University were alone responsible for this edition. Thomas Caius had, however, left behind him an annotated copy of John Caius's work, and another manuscript treatise of his own, entitled '*Vindiciæ Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis contra Joannem Caium Cantabrigiensem*.' Many copies of this treatise were circulated in manuscript. One copy passed into the hands of Archbishop Ussher, thence to the archbishop's nephew, James Tyrrell Ussher, and thence to an anonymous friend of the antiquary Hearne, who printed it at Oxford for the first time in 1730. Caius's account of the origin of Oxford University is wholly valueless from an historical point of view. It fully accepts the mythical stories about Alfred and earlier times. Its chief interest lies in the numerous and varied authorities cited. Bryan Twine used Caius's manuscripts in his '*Antiquitatis Academiæ Oxoniensis Apologia*,' 1608.

Caius translated into English, at the request of Queen Catherine Parr and of Dr. Owen, Henry VIII's physician, Erasmus's paraphrase of the Gospel of St. Mark, which, according to Strype, was 'set up in all churches, for the better instruction of priests.' He translated from English into Latin Bishop Longland's

sermons (London, 1527?), and into Latin from Greek Aristotle's 'De Mirabilibus Mundi,' the tragedies of Euripides, and an oration of Isocrates. His friends, John Leland and John Parkhurst, complimented him on his erudition in Latin epigrams.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 397, s. v. 'Key'; Parker's *Early History of Oxford* (Oxford Historical Society), 21-37; Hearne's edition of Caius's *Vindiciæ* (1730); Strype's *Parker*, i. 511; Strype's *Annals*, i. ii. 108.] S. L.

**CALAH, JOHN** (1758-1798), organist and composer, was born in 1758, but his birth-place and early history are alike unknown. In December 1781 he succeeded John Jackson as organist of the parish church and master of the song-school of Newark-on-Trent, where he remained until 1785, on 28 June of which year he was appointed to the offices of organist and master of the choristers in the cathedral church of Peterborough, which were vacant by the resignation of Richard Langdon. Calah remained at Peterborough until his death, which took place on 5 Aug. 1798. He was buried on the 8th of the same month. He composed some unimportant church music, songs, sonatas, &c., but his works are now nearly forgotten.

[Gent. Mag. 1798, p. 728; Appendix to Bemrose's *Choir Chant Book*; Burial Register and Chapter Audit Book of Peterborough Cathedral, communicated by the Rev. W. Farley Wilkin-son.] W. B. S.

**CALAMY, BENJAMIN, D.D.** (1642-1686), prebendary of St. Paul's, was the second son of Edmund Calamy the elder [q. v.], and eldest son by his second wife, Anne Leaver. He was born in London on or before 8 June 1642. His mother, according to Tillotson, was a strong presbyterian. His education was begun at St. Paul's School. His father sent him, before 1660, to Catharine Hall, Cambridge, where he fully sustained the family reputation. At the Restoration, which his father had been active in promoting, Benjamin Calamy, with his younger brother James, adhered to the national church as re-established. The ejection of his father and elder brother occurred while he was still an undergraduate, but his writings show that if he was alarmed into conformity, it was the sectarianism of the nonconformists, rather than their sufferings, which alarmed him. He graduated B.A. in 1664, M.A. in 1668, was elected fellow, and became 'an ornament to the college' (ECHARD). Among his pupils was James Bonnell [q. v.] On 25 April 1677 he obtained the preferment from which his father had been ejected, the perpetual

curacy of St. Mary Aldermanbury, in succession to Simon Ford, D.D. This appointment he owed to the interest of the notorious George Jeffries, then a leading man in the parish. He was soon appointed one of the king's chaplains in ordinary, and took his D.D. in 1680. In 1683 the publication of his 'Discourse about a Doubting [the second edition has 'Scrupulous'] Conscience,' dedicated to Jeffries, made a great noise. He had already preached it twice with great applause, once to his own parishioners, and again at Bow Church. His text (Luke xi. 41) gave occasion for expounding his habitual thesis, that the best church is the one which leads men to subordinate everything else to humble and practical piety. The sting of the sermon lay in Calamy's quotations from Baxter and from his own father; the former having declared that 'thousands are gone to hell,' the latter that 'all our church calamities have sprung' from forsaking the parish churches. Calamy's sermon was accepted as a challenge to nonconformists by a baptist schoolmaster, Thomas de Laune [q. v.], who brought out 'A Plea for the Nonconformists,' 1683, a pitily and trenchant performance. Its publication cost its author his liberty, and indeed his life. Although Calamy did not choose to answer the letters which De Laune wrote to him from Newgate, he made interest in his behalf, and his failure to obtain De Laune's release 'was no small trouble to him,' as his nonconformist nephew testifies. For his 'scrupulous conscience' sermon Calamy was rewarded in 1683 by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's with the vicarage of St. Lawrence Jewry, with St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, annexed. On 18 June 1685 he was installed in the prebend of Harleston in St. Paul's, vacated by the death of John Wells, D.D. His nephew thinks he now had 'a fair prospect of the utmost preferment.' But in the autumn of this year occurred the lamentable affair of Alderman Henry Cornish [q. v.], executed on 23 Oct., nominally for conspiracy, but really for the part he had taken in the discovery of the alleged 'popish plot.' Cornish was Calamy's parishioner; on his trial Calamy stood by him, and in the interval before his execution repeatedly pressed Jeffries to intercede for him. Jeffries is reported to have told Calamy at last that 'a mine of gold as deep as the monument is high, and a bunch of pearls as big as the flames at the top of it,' would not save Cornish. Up to the morning of his execution Calamy was in attendance upon the condemned man; he could not trust himself to accompany him to the scaffold. His nephew, who met him on his way from his last interview with

Cornish, thought he 'would have sunk down' as he told the sad story. There can be little doubt that this business preyed upon Calamy's spirits and caused his death. In less than two months he was seized by a pleurisy, under which he sank, 'when a little turned of forty years of age,' says his nephew, somewhat underestimating his years. He was buried on 7 Jan. 1686 at St. Lawrence Jewry, the sermon at his funeral being preached by his co-prebendary, William Sherlock. He left a widow, to whom his parishioners made a 'generous present.' Calamy was on the best of terms with his nonconformist brother and nephew, and 'exceeding kind' to the latter after his father's death. He declares that could he find any church 'that did lay greater stress upon a pure mind and a blameless life, and less upon voluntary strictnesses and indifferent rites and ceremonies than we do, I would very soon be of that church, and even entice all I could to it' (*Sermons*, 4th edition, 1704, p. 75). According to Ned Millington, the auctioneer who valued his library, none of his books were so much thumbed and marked as the works of the puritan William Perkins, particularly his 'Cases of Conscience.'

He published seven separate sermons, enumerated in 'Biographia Britannica,' the earliest being a sermon at Guildhall, from Tit. iii. 8, 9, 1673, 4to. In 1690 his brother James edited an 8vo volume, dedicated to the parishioners of St. Lawrence and St. Mary Magdalene, and containing thirteen of Calamy's sermons, all preached on special occasions; prefixed is his likeness, engraved by Vander Gucht, and appended is Sherlock's sermon at his funeral, originally published 1686, 4to. The volume went through several editions, and was to have been followed by another, which James Calamy could not be prevailed upon to bring out. One of his sermons is reprinted in 'British Pulpit Eloquence,' 1814, 8vo, vol. i. Granger mentions two other prints of Benjamin Calamy.

[*Biog. Brit.* 1784, iii. 137 (life by John Campbell, LL.D., a few additions by Kippis); *Birch's Life of Tillotson*, 2nd ed. 1753, p. 388; *Calamy's Hist. Acct. of my own Life*, 1830, i. 57 sq., 74; *Granger's Biog. Hist. of Eng.*, 1824, v. 32; extract from parish register of St. Mary Aldermanbury, per Rev. C. C. Collins.] A. G.

CALAMY, EDMUND, the elder (1600-1660), one of the authors of 'Smectymnuus,' was born in February 1600, the only son of a tradesman in Walbrook. His father came from Guernsey, and the family tradition is that he was an exiled Huguenot from the coast of Normandy. Calamy was admitted, on 4 July 1616, to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where

he graduated B.A. in 1619, B.D. in 1632. His aversion to Arminianism is said to have stood in the way of his obtaining a fellowship, but he was made 'tanquam socius' on 22 March 1626. This office (peculiar to Pembroke) was tenable for three years; but Calamy could have held it but a very short time if it be true that Nicholas Felton, bishop of Ely, who took him into his house as chaplain, presented him to the vicarage of St. Mary, Swaffham Prior. After Felton's death (5 Oct. 1626) he was chosen lecturer at Bury St. Edmunds, and resigned his vicarage in favour of one Eldred, whom the parishioners desired. The Swaffham living lapsed to the lord keeper, who would not present Eldred, but allowed him to officiate till he found him another living, and then (24 Aug. 1633) presented Jonathan Jephcott. There are somewhat conflicting accounts of Calamy's attitude at this period towards the ceremonies. He was not the uncompromising nonconformist which his colleague, Jeremiah Burroughes [q. v.], proved himself. Wood and Walker make the most of the statements of an anonymous pamphleteer, followed by Henry Burton [q. v.], from which it may appear that Calamy wore the surplice and bowed at the name of Jesus. He admits that 'in some few things' he did conform, but strenuously asserts his noncompliance on other points, and especially as regards reading 'that wicked book of sports.' And, in the impeachment of Bishop Wren, Calamy is mentioned as one of the divines whom the enforcement of Wren's articles of 1636 drove away from the district. When he left Bury he preached a retractation sermon, in which he took his farewell of all ceremonial compliance. Robert Rich, second earl of Warwick, a leader of the puritan party, is said to have presented him to the valuable rectory of Rochford, Essex, on the death ('about 1640,' Wood) of William Fenner, B.D. Probably, however, he was only lecturer at Rochford. The Essex climate had an unfortunate effect upon Calamy's constitution. He fell into a quartan ague, which left him with a nervous affliction of the head, permanently precluding him from mounting the pulpit, so that he ever afterwards preached from the reading-desk. The death of John Stoughton, D.D. (buried 9 May 1639), made an opening for Calamy in the perpetual curacy of St. Mary Aldermanbury, to which he was elected before 27 May 1639. In July of that year he was incorporated B.D. at Oxford. At this period the controversy on episcopacy became acute. The elder Edward Bagshaw [q. v.] had attacked as a lawyer the political rights of the bishops, and been silenced. At Laud's desire, and with his

assistance, Bishop Hall defended their sacred claims. His 'Episcopacie by Divine Right asserted' was published in 1640, and was followed early next year by his tract called 'An Humble Remonstrance' (anon.), addressed to the parliament. Soon appeared 'An Answer to a Booke entituled An Humble Remonstrance, . . . Written by Smectymnuus,' 1641, 4to. This *nom de plume* was framed of the initials of five contributors to the authorship of the quarto, Marshall, Calamy, Young, Newcomen, and Spurstowe. It was the first publication in which Calamy had any share. The position of 'Smectymnuus' was really one of conciliation. Denying the apostolic origin of liturgies, and the divine right of the episcopacy, its writers were ready to bear with bishops if reduced to a primitive simplicity, and with a liturgy if reformed by a consultation of divines. But they defeated their aim by galling allusions to historic displays of the prelatic spirit. These are in a postscript, which Masson, relying on internal evidence, assigns to John Milton. Hall, a controversialist of admirable skill and power, in a 'Defence' (also anon.), complained of his opponents' case as 'frivolous and false;' and when Smectymnuus issued a 'Vindication,' pronounced it 'tedious,' and contented himself with a 'Short Answer.' Milton had now put forth an 'Apology for Smectymnuus' and 'Animadversions' on Hall's 'Defence.' Meanwhile two of the Smectymnuans, Marshall and Calamy, were invited to take part in the consultations promoted by the lords' committee for innovations in March 1641 [see BURGESS, CORNELIUS]. This was in fact carrying out their own proposal. Here (according to Neal) they met Hall; and had the suggestions for accommodation agreed upon within the Jerusalem Chamber been accepted by parties outside, the approaching overthrow of episcopacy might have been averted. All the Smectymnuans were nominated in the ordinance of 12 June 1643 as members of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Calamy, as an assembly man, took the covenant with the rest. During the doctrinal debates he showed himself 'liberal and cautious' (MITCHELL) in his holding of the Augustinian or Calvinistic theology. In this respect, as well as in his original views of church government, he followed Ussher in taking a mean betwixt extremes. But in the rapid progress of events Calamy was led to find the mean in presbyterianism. He was confirmed in this view by observing, even in his own parish, the disintegrating tendency of congregationalism. Henry Burton was permitted to hold a 'catechisticall lecture' on alternate Tuesdays at St. Mary

Aldermanbury. On 23 Sept. 1645 he launched out at this lecture in favour of 'his congregational way.' A somewhat acrimonious interchange of pamphlets between Burton and Calamy ensued. On 9 June 1646 parliament required the ordinance of the previous year establishing presbyterianism to be carried out in the London province, and on 19 June the London ministers agreed, with certain cautions, to obey the ordinance. Calamy's parish was included in the sixth London classis. His name appears, as one of the assessors, at the foot of the 'Vindication of the Presbyteriall-Government,' &c. 1650, 4to, drawn up by the London provincial assembly on 2 Nov. 1649. He had a hand also in the 'Jus Divinum Ministerii Evangelici,' &c., published by the same assembly in 1654. He took part in presbyterian ordinations. During the civil war Calamy found himself more than once in a difficult position. His speech at the Guildhall, on 6 Oct. 1643, to promote the city loan for subsidising the Scots army, 'in order to the preservation of the Gospel,' has often been quoted. Echard says he acted as an army chaplain, but this is incorrect. He remained constant to the duties of his own parish, where his week-day lecture had for twenty years an unprecedented following, 'seldom were so few as sixty coaches' at the doors. His preaching, so far as it touched upon the questions of the day, held up the ideal of constitutional freedom as against arbitrary acts, whether of the king or of his opponents. Yet it is too much to say, with his grandson, that in his utterances there was 'nothing tending to inflame.' In the pulpit Calamy's frankness of heart sometimes got the better of his caution. Though he was 'a bitter enemy to all mobs,' and a resolute opponent of the rising sectaries, his expressions on public affairs were quoted as countenancing 'incendiary' measures. The trial and execution of Charles he did what he could to oppose: his name is attached to the 'Vindication' of the London ministers' conduct in this affair, drawn up by Cornelius Burgess. Under the Protectorate he 'kept himself as private as he could.' There is a remarkable story of his interview with Cromwell, in which he told him that nine in ten of the nation were opposed to his assumption of supreme power. The restoration of the monarchy he eagerly promoted (respecting the story to the contrary, quoted in 'Biographia Britannica,' 1784, iii. 134, note K, see CALAMY, *Contin.* 1727, ii. 910), preaching before the commons on the day when the vote was taken on the question, and joining the deputation to Charles at Breda. In June 1660 he was sworn chaplain-in-ordinary to

the king, but only once preached in that capacity. His grandson says he 'soon saw whither things were tending,' and mentions an anecdote that, having Monk as his auditor on a sacrament day, he emphasised the remark, 'Some men will betray three kingdoms for filthy lucre's sake,' by flinging towards the general's pew 'his handkerchief, which he usually wai'd up and down while he was preaching.' Nevertheless, he hesitated a considerable time before refusing the bishopric of Coventry and Lichfield, which was kept open for him. We have it on Tillotson's authority that Calamy was sensible of 'the great inconvenience of the presbyterian parity of ministers;' but Mrs. Calamy 'over-ruled her husband, and so the matter went off.' At the Savoy conference (April-July 1661) Calamy took a moderate part, and there were great hopes of his conforming; but his preface to the 'Reply' to the bishops' 'Answer' to the nonconformists' 'Exceptions' shows that by this time his position was such as to make his nonconformity inevitable. While the conference was sitting he had been returned with Baxter by the city ministers; on 2 May, as one of their nominees for convocation. Bishop Sheldon, however, in the exercise of his power of selection, had passed them over. There was yet one measure by which Calamy might have been induced to conform, namely, the ratification by law of the provisions of the king's declaration of 25 Oct. 1660. To gain this Calamy used all the interest at his command. He was prevented by illness from waiting upon the king with the presenters of the petition for such ratification. On the failure of this last hope, and the passing of the Uniformity Act, he suffered ejection, preaching his farewell sermon (from 2 Samuel xxiv. 14) on 17 Aug. 1662. On 27 Aug. Calamy, at the head of the London ejected ministers, presented a brief petition to the king in dignified and pathetic terms. Charles gave them hopes of an indulgence; but at the privy council next day the arguments of Sheldon prevailed. Calamy continued to attend the parish church from which he had been ejected. On 28 Dec. he was present as usual, and the appointed preacher did not appear. Prevailed upon by 'the importunity of the people,' he went into the desk and preached with some warmth. He was committed to Newgate under the lord mayor's warrant on 6 Jan. 1663, being the first of the nonconformists who got into trouble for disobeying the Uniformity Act. Newgate Street was blocked by the coaches of his visitors. 'A certain popish lady' (apparently the king's mistress), detained on her way through the city by the throng, repre-

sented to the king the disturbed state of popular feeling. Calamy was set free by the king's express order, but it was stated that the act had not provided for his longer restraint. The commons on 19 Feb. referred it to a committee to inquire into this defect, and addressed the king against toleration. With this incident, which was made the subject of verses by Robert Wilde, D.D., the presbyterian humorist and poet, Calamy's public life closes. He survived to see 'London in ashes' after the great fire. Driven through the ruins in a coach to Enfield, the sight broke his heart. He kept his room, rapidly sank, and died on 29 Oct. 1666. The register of St. Mary Aldermanbury records, under 'Burials since the dreadful fire Sep. 2. 66,' that of 'Mr. Edmond Calamy late pastor —Nov. 6.' Henry Newcome's diary says he was buried in the ruins of his church, 'as near to the place where his pulpit had stood as they could guess.' Granger mentions five prints of Calamy; a sixth, and the best, is the engraving by Mackenzie, in the second edition of Palmer; they are all from one original painting, now in private hands.

Calamy was twice married: first to Mary, daughter of Robert Snelling, portman of Ipswich, probably of the same family to which belonged Joane Snelling, the mother of William Ames, D.D. (BROWNE, p. 66); secondly to Anne Leaver, of the Lancashire Leavers. By his first wife he had Edmund [q. v.], Jeremy (b. November 1638), and a daughter (Mrs. Bayly). By his second wife he had Benjamin [q. v.], James, John (who was born 2 Aug. 1658, was educated at Cambridge, was twice married, and left a son, who died without issue, and a daughter, living in 1731), and four daughters, all well married.

Calamy published chiefly sermons: 1. 'England's Looking-glasse,' &c. 1642, 4to (fast sermon before the commons, 22 Dec. 1641). For preaching this sermon Calamy received a massive almsdish, bearing his arms and the inscription, 'This is the Gift of the House of Commons to Edmund Calamy, B.D., 1641.' It is now in the possession of Michael Pope, Thurlow Towers, Streatham. 2. 'God's Free Mercy to England,' &c. 1642, 4to (ditto, 23 Feb.). 3. 'The Nobleman's Patterne of Thankfulness,' &c. 1643, 4to (thanksgiving sermon before the lords, 15 June). 4. 'England's Antidote against the Plague of Civil Warre,' &c. 1644, 4to (fast sermon before the commons, 22 Oct.). 5. 'An Indictment against England because of her Selfe-murdering Divisions,' &c. 1645, 4to (fast sermon before the lords, 25 Dec. 1644). 6. 'The Door of Trvth opened,' &c. 1645, 4to (anon., issued 'in the name and with the consent of the whole church

of Aldermanburie,' in reply to Henry Burton's 'Truth shut out of doores'). 7. 'The Great Danger of Covenant-refusing,' &c. 1646, 4to (sermon before the lord mayor, 14 Jan.). 8. 'A just and necessary Apology,' &c. 1646, 4to (against an attack in Henry Burton's 'Truth still Truth,' &c.). 9. 'The Saints' Rest,' &c. 1651, 4to (sermon). 10. 'The Monster of sinful Self-seeking anatomised,' &c. 1655, 4to (sermon before the lord mayor, 10 Dec. 1654). 11. 'The Doctrine of the Bodies Fragility,' &c. 1655, 4to (funeral sermon for Dr. Samuel Bolton). 12. 'The Godly Man's Ark,' &c. 1657, 12mo, 8th edit. 1683, reprinted 1865, 12mo (five sermons). 13. 'A Pattern for all,' &c. 1658, 4to (funeral sermon for Robert, earl of Warwick). 14. 'A Sermon . . . at the Funeral of the Lady Anne Waller, . . . 31 Oct. 1661,' 1662, 8vo. 15. 'The Fixed Saint, a Farewell Sermon,' &c. 1662, 4to (printed also in the volume of 'Farewell Sermons' by London ministers). 16. 'A Sermon . . . at Aldermanberry-Church, Dec. 28, 1662,' &c. Oxford, 1663, 4to. Posthumous were: 17. 'The Art of Divine Meditation,' &c. 1667, 8vo (printed from a hearer's notes). 18. Sermon on the resurrection of the dead in 'Morning Exercises at St. Giles's, Cripplegate,' 1676, 4to. Wood mentions also: 19. 'A Leading Case,' &c., and says Calamy had a hand in 'Saints' Memorials,' 1674, 8vo. An epistle by Calamy is prefixed to Fenner's 'The Soul's Looking-Glasse,' &c. 1651, 4to.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* 1691-2, i. 398, ii. 377; Calamy's *Abridgement*, 1713, pp. 159, 176; Calamy's *Account*, 1713, pp. 4, 388; Calamy's *Contin.*, 1727, pp. 7, 149; Calamy's *Historical Account of my own Life*, 2nd edit. 1830, pp. 52 seq.; Palmer's *Nonconf. Memorial*, 2nd edit. 1802, i. 76; Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, 2nd edit. 1753, p. 388; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, Dublin, 1759, ii. 369, iii. 259 seq.; *Biog. Brit.* 1784, iii. 131 (article by Dr. John Campbell, a few addenda by Kippis); *Monthly Repository*, 1817, p. 592; Granger's *Biog. Hist. of Eng.*, 6th edit. 1824, ii. 363, v. 364; Masson's *Milton*, 1871, ii. 260; Marsden's *Later Puritans*, 3rd edit. 1872, p. 121; Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (Laud), 1875, xi. 311; Browne's *Hist. of Congregationalism in Norfolk and Suffolk*, 1877, p. 88; Mitchell's *Westminster Assembly*, 1883, p. 121; extracts from *Pembroke College books*, per the master of Pembroke, from the register of St. James, Bury St. Edmunds, per Rev. W. T. Harrison, and from the registers and vestry book of St. Mary Aldermanbury, per Rev. C. C. Collins.] A. G.

**CALAMY, EDMUND**, the younger (1635?-1685), ejected minister, was the eldest son of Edmund Calamy the elder [q. v.], by his first wife, Mary Snelling. He was born

at Bury St. Edmunds about 1635. His early training he got from his father, who sent him to Cambridge, where he was entered at Sidney Sussex College on 28 March 1652. On 10 Nov. 1653 he (and two others) received presbyterian ordination at Moreton, Essex, of which Hoard (not one of the five ordainers) was rector. Having graduated B.A. in 1654 he was transferred to Pembroke Hall on 13 March 1656, and graduated M.A. in 1658. His son states that he became a fellow of Pembroke, but this is not confirmed by the records. Hoard died in February 1658, and Calamy was presented by the trustees of Robert, earl of Warwick, deceased, to the rectory of Moreton, where he had preached for some time with acceptance. On 20 April 1659 the presentation was confirmed by the commissioners for approbation of public preachers. He gave four bonds to insure the payment of 18*l.* as first-fruits to Richard Cromwell, lord protector, or his successors. Notwithstanding his father's example he never took the covenant. Like his father, he welcomed the restoration of the monarchy, and in 1661 he gave generously to the voluntary contribution for the supply of the king's exchequer. But on the passing of the Uniformity Act in 1662 he suffered ejection as a nonconformist, and went to live with his father in London. In 1665 he was chaplain to Sir Samuel Barnardiston [q. v.], at Brightwell Hall, near Ipswich, but returned to his father in the following year, and was with him till his death. Three years afterwards he married (1669) and set up house in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury. Here he preached privately to a few friends. This was illegal, and exposed him to the annoyance and costs of a crown office prosecution. Though warrants were issued against him, he was never disturbed at his services, and managed to avoid arrest. On the king's declaration of indulgence, 15 March 1672, he took out a license and quietly ministered to a small congregation at Curriers' Hall, near Cripplegate. His character was essentially that of a man of peace and piety. His son tells us that he instilled moderation into him from his very cradle. With his brother Benjamin [q. v.], who became incumbent of the parish in which he lived, he was on excellent terms, and among his intimate friends was Richard Kidder, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells (originally a nonconformist).

He led a very retired life, never seeking fame or popularity, and was carried off by consumption. He died suddenly in the night, while on a visit in May 1685 to Edward Haynes, F.R.S., of Totteridge, near Barnet, a member of his flock. He was buried under

the pulpit at St. Mary Aldermanbury. In 1669 he married Mary, eldest daughter of Joshua Gearing of Tooting, a retired London trader, only brother of Thomas Gearing, vice-provost of King's College, Cambridge. His widow died at Bath in March 1715, and was buried in Aldermanbury churchyard. Their children were Edmund (1671-1732) [q. v.], followed by four daughters, of whom the second died of consumption in 1692. Calamy never published anything.

[Calamy's Account, 1713, p. 301; Contin. 1727, i. 461; Hist. Acct. of my own Life, 2nd ed. 1830, i. 64 sq., 88, 126, 310, 342, ii. 309; Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, 2nd ed. 1802, ii. 208; Biog. Brit. 1784, iii. 136 (article by Dr. John Campbell).] A. G.

**CALAMY, EDMUND, D.D.** (1671-1732), biographical historian of nonconformity, the only son of Edmund Calamy the younger [q. v.], was born on 5 April 1671 'in a little house just over against the Conduit,' in the parish of St. Mary Aldermanbury. He was baptised by his father, and makes a point of the fact that he had never been joined to the established church. Yet his baptism is entered in the parish register. As a child he was sickly and studious. His own account of his education is very interesting. As soon as she had taught him his catechism, his mother took him on Saturday afternoons to the public catechisings held at Dyers' Hall by Thomas Lye, M.A., the grammarian, ejected from Allhallows, Lombard Street, who had a wonderful gift with children, and had been Mrs. Calamy's own instructor. His first schoolmaster was Nelson, the curate of Aldermanbury; next, for the sake of country air, he was boarded at Epsom with Yewel, a harmless sort of fifth-monarchy man, and 'no great scholar.' He made better progress under Robert Tatnal, M.A., a pupil of Busby, ejected from the chapel of St. John Evangelist, who kept a very successful school in Winchester Street. As a schoolboy he was often made the bearer of gifts of money to imprisoned ministers, and was twice present when dissenting meetings for worship were broken up by the authorities. He liked the preaching of dissenters best, but went about to hear all the famous preachers in the established church. In 1682 he was boarded in the house of Thomas Doolittle, M.A., ejected from the rectory of St. Alphage, London Wall, who kept a theological academy at Islington. Calamy was too young for the special studies of the place; he had one companion in grammar learning and the advantage of the society of his elders. When Doolittle was compelled by a prosecution to remove his academy from Islington, Calamy

seems to have been transferred to Walton's school at Bethnal Green, shortly afterwards broken up. On his father's death in 1685 he was sent, by the advice of his uncle Benjamin [q. v.], to Merchant Taylors' School, under Hartcliff, afterwards canon of Windsor. Here he had as companions William Dawes, afterwards archbishop of York, and Hugh Boulter, afterwards archbishop of Armagh [q. v.]. Leaving Merchant Taylors' he read Greek for a few months with Walton, his old master, and was inclined to proceed for the study of divinity to New England under the escort of Charles Morton, ejected from Blisland, Cornwall, and afterwards vice-president of Harvard University. His mother objected, and in 1686 he entered the academy of Samuel Cradock, B.D., ejected from North Cadbury, Somersetshire, and now settled on his own estate at Wickhambrook, Suffolk. Here he took a two years' course in philosophy, keeping up his Greek by private application with a fellow-student, Thomas Goodwin, afterwards archbishop of Cashel. Returning for a few months to Doolittle, at St. John's Court, Clerkenwell, he was recommended by John Howe to pursue his studies at Utrecht. Obtaining his mother's consent he sailed for Holland in the middle of March 1688. At Utrecht he heard lectures in philosophy and civil law as well as divinity, and defended a thesis (afterwards published) against innate ideas. His pictures of university life in Holland, and of the colony of English students there, are very graphic. He had a knack of making friends, and formed many acquaintances which proved of service to him in after life. It was at Utrecht that he was a class-fellow of Charles Spencer, afterwards third earl of Sunderland, and Queen Anne's whig secretary of state. Another of his good friends was Spencer's tutor, Charles Trimnell, afterwards bishop of Winchester. William Carstares [q. v.], who was in Holland in 1691 looking out for suitable men to fill chairs in the Scottish universities, made several offers to Calamy. In May 1691 Calamy returned to London. He visited Baxter (whom he had never before seen) and heard him preach like one that had been in another world 'and was come as a sort of an express from thence to make a report concerning it.' Baxter encouraged him in his design of repairing to Oxford, which he carried out 'a little after midsummer.' Armed with introductions from Grævius of Utrecht, Calamy had no difficulty in obtaining permission to study at the Bodleian. His object was to go thoroughly into the whole range of questions at issue between conformists and nonconformists. Among modern writers

none influenced him more than Chillingworth. During his stay of some nine months at Oxford Calamy mixed freely in university society. He was still under age when Joshua Oldfield, minister to the Oxford dissenters, put him into his pulpit. He preached at several places near Oxford, particularly at Bicester, and on one occasion at Casfield 'in the public church.' He was sought as their regular minister by the Andover dissenters, of whose differences he gives an amusing account. Almost simultaneously he received invitations from Bristol to become assistant to John Weekes (ejected from Buckland Newton, Dorsetshire), with a salary of 100*l.* a year, a house, and a horse's keep, and from Blackfriars, to assist Matthew Sylvester (ejected from Gunnerby, Lincolnshire) in his new meeting-house, with a 'prospect of bare 40*l.* a year.' His mother decided for him; he must settle in London to be near her. Accepting the call to Blackfriars in 1692, he joined Thomas Reynolds (assistant to John Howe) in a quiet lodging at Hoxton Square. The two young men soon (1694) thought of being ordained, and determined if possible to have a public ordination, a thing not yet attempted among the London dissenters since the Uniformity Act. They consulted Howe, who raised no objection, but suggested that as there was (since 6 April 1691) a nominal union between the presbyterian and congregational ministers, it would look better if Matthew Mead the independent were asked to preach. Calamy did not want Mead, or any 'narrow, confining, cramping notions.' He and Reynolds 'insisted upon being ordained ministers of the catholic church,' without reference to particular flocks or denominations. Mead, however, was applied to, but declined, lest the affair should give offence. Then Howe, after consulting Lord Somers, refused to take part unless the ordination were perfectly private. Calamy next resorted in vain to William Bates, D.D. By persistence Calamy secured the services of six ejected ministers, headed by Samuel Annesley, D.D. [q. v.], in whose meeting-house, near Little St. Helen's, the ordination took place on 22 June 1694. Seven were ordained; the proceedings lasted from before ten till past six. The candidates had gone through the previous ordeal of a strict examination in philosophy and divinity. Soon after this Calamy's mother found him a wife. In 1695 he rendered a service to Daniel Williams, against whose character certain malicious charges had been laid. Williams in gratitude offered him the post of assistant (on 60*l.* a year) at Hand Alley, Bishopsgate. As the Blackfriars people were really unable

to support two ministers, at midsummer he made the move. He remained with Williams till June 1703, when he succeeded Vincent Alsop [q. v.] at Tothill Street, Westminster. John Lacy, who afterwards achieved notoriety as one of the 'French prophets,' was a member of this congregation and a very active mover in the election of Calamy. In the previous October Calamy had been chosen one of the Tuesday lecturers at Salters' Hall in the room of Nathaniel Taylor. Both these positions he held until his death. A new meeting-house for him was set on foot in 1719, and opened on 23 April 1721, in Long Ditch, afterwards called Princes Street. Calamy never legally qualified as a dissenting minister by subscribing the doctrinal articles of the church of England, according to the Toleration Act. He shrewdly calculated that no one would suspect him of neglecting this requirement, and had he not in 1713 privately recommended the same course to a young student (who bettered his instructions) his disqualification, unmentioned even in his autobiography, would never have become known (Fox's 'Memoirs' in *Monthly Repos.* 1821, p. 135). Calamy's peculiar case throws new light on his attitude towards the Salters' Hall conferences in 1719 [see BRADBURY, THOMAS], when his holding aloof disappointed both parties. It is now clear that he could not have gone with the subscribers, while the position of the nonsubscribers, as refusing on principle to give among themselves precisely the same kind of testimony to their orthodoxy which they were willing to tender to the government, must have appeared to him strangely illogical. Calamy's life, apart from his literary career, presents few incidents after his settlement at Westminster. His journey to Scotland in 1709, on the invitation of his friend Principal Carstairs, while it afforded full scope for his powers of social observation and gave him an opportunity for preaching moderation in the leading pulpits of the north, confirmed his attachment to the methods of English dissent. He relished the claret of his hosts more than their ecclesiasticism. The proceedings of the Aberdeen synod struck him as 'the inquisition revived.' He was made a burgess of Edinburgh, and received the honours of M.A. (22 April) and D.D. (2 May) from the university of Edinburgh (his name stands first on the existing roll of graduates in divinity). King's College, Aberdeen (9 May), and Glasgow (17 May) followed suit. In 1713 he made a similar progress through the west of England, and, as he tells us, never 'worked harder or fared better.' Calamy was always something of a diplomatist. He had a courtly



manner and an engaging way of taking people into his confidence, with plenty of address. He was at his ease in all companies, perfectly knew his own purpose, and pursued it with great tenacity. He understood the value of backstairs influence and the use of a silver key. But he was at his best when confronted with able men in church and state, and seldom failed to make them feel the strength of the case of dissent. Our knowledge of his weaker points is chiefly owing to the carefulness of his autobiographical revelations. His frank self-consciousness never displeases; his essential kindness always attends him. He made no personal enemies. John Fox was told that he and Williams were rivals, but he appears to have been singularly free from the jealousies which often vex the mutual relations of ecclesiastical persons. He is almost the only divine for whom Fox has not a single bitter word.

Calamy's publications, as catalogued by Rutt, are forty-one in number. The majority are sermons, but no one reads Calamy's sermons. His place in literature is as the biographer of nonconformity. He began this work by editing Baxter's 'Narrative' (to 1684) of his life and times. Sylvester was Baxter's literary executor, and his name alone appears as responsible for the 'Reliquiæ Baxterianæ,' 1696, fol. But the expurgations, to which Sylvester was very reluctantly brought to consent, were Calamy's, as he minutely describes (*Hist. Acct.* i. 377). Calamy furnished also the 'contents' and index to the volume. His next step was the popularising of Baxter's life by an 'Abridgment,' 1702, 8vo, which is much better known than the original. It condenses Baxter's 'Narrative,' continues the history to the end of Baxter's life (1691), and summarises (in chap. x.) Baxter's 'English Nonconformity . . . Stated and Argued,' 1689, 4to. The most remarkable feature of the volume is chapter ix. (nearly half the book), headed 'A Particular Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Fellows of Colleges, &c., who were Silenced and Ejected by the Act for Uniformity: With the Characters and Works of many of them.' The publication required some courage, and by many nonconformists was viewed as unseasonable, appearing as it did at the moment when the dissenters had 'lost their firm friend' (William III), and were not anxious to court the notice of 'the high party' that came in with the reign of Anne. When it appeared, 'a dignified clergyman' threatened one of the publishers with a censure of the book in convocation, who replied that he would willingly give 'a purse of guineas' for such an advertisement. It provoked at

once a storm of angry pamphlets, aiming in various ways to shake the credit of the work. The caution with which Calamy had revised his materials is curiously shown in his own story of his going to Oxford, and by bribing a Dutch printer obtaining a sight of Clarendon's 'History' while in the press, in order to soften, if necessary, any 'difference in matters of fact, between my Lord and Mr. Baxter.' He read all that was published against him, and at once began to amend and enlarge for a new edition, which was called for immediately. The second edition was, however, not issued till 1713, 2 vols. 8vo. In the new 'Abridgement' the history was brought down to 1711; Baxter's 'Reformed Liturgy' was added (separately paged). The 'Account of the Ministers, Lecturers, Masters and Fellows of Colleges and Schoolmasters who were Ejected or Silenced after the Restoration in 1660. By, or before, the Act of Uniformity' (a more cautious title) now formed a distinct volume, and is properly quoted as an independent work. Next year appeared John Walker's 'Attempt towards recovering an Account of the Numbers and Sufferings of the Clergy . . . who were Sequester'd, Harrass'd, &c. in the late Times of the Grand Rebellion: Occasion'd by the Ninth Chapter (now the Second Volume) of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment,' &c., 1714, fol. Walker's is a work of great historical value, the fruit of marvellous industry (as his collections for it, now in the Bodleian, show) disfigured by a total want of dignity, and enlivened with a vitriolic humour. To the argumentative part of his huge folio Calamy replied in an octavo pamphlet, 'The Church and the Dissenters Compar'd, as to Persecution,' 1719. In dealing with Walker's mistakes he displayed contempt rather than severity, and he had the great advantage of a disposition to correct his own slips. Attacks never injured his temper, but simply made him anxious to improve his matter. In 1718 he penned with some sharpness his 'Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Echard,' who had aspersed his grandfather; but he was ready to discuss the points with Echard over a glass of wine, and told him 'men of letters should not be shy of each other.' He completed his biographical labours by publishing 'A Continuation of the Account,' &c. 1727, 2 vols. 8vo (paged as one), reprinting in the second volume his reply to Walker, and adding 'Remarks' upon Thomas Bennet's 'Essay' on the Thirty-nine Articles. As the 'Continuation' is really a series of emendations of the 'Account,' Calamy would have saved himself and his readers much trouble if he had chosen the course of bringing out

a new edition. Among dissenters Calamy's dumpy volumes took the place of Clarke's 'Lives,' those folio treasures of the older puritan hagiology. Inferior to Clarke's collections in richness and breadth, they were well adapted for explaining the causes and justifying the spirit of the nonconformist separation. In choosing for his central figure Richard Baxter, whom some writers have strangely called a presbyterian, Calamy emphasised liberty of conscience as the keynote of nonconformity. He wrote three distinct lives of Baxter, the 'Abridgment,' a shorter life prefixed to Baxter's 'Practical Works,' 4 vols. 1707, fol., and a sketch in the 'Continuation' (p. 897), especially valuable for its dealing seriatim with the 'chief accusations' brought against Baxter. In 1775 Samuel Palmer condensed Calamy's four volumes into two, with the title of 'The Non-Conformists' Memorial.' An improved edition was issued in 3 vols. 1802-3, but an adequate edition of Calamy is still a desideratum. Palmer's arrangement is convenient, and his additions are of some service, but he is not a good compiler; he omits valuable matter, rarely reproducing the original documents which abound in Calamy, nor can his accuracy be trusted. Partly perhaps from failing eyesight, he makes some blunder or other in nearly every life. Even on the title-page of his first volume (1802) he not only commits himself to the number of 'two thousand' ejected, but gives 1666 as the date of the Uniformity Act (corrected in vols. ii. and iii.) This number of two thousand is rather a figure of rhetoric than of calculation. Calamy says it was 'mentioned from the first' (*Account*, pref. p. xx), and it probably originated as a counterpart to an assertion by Thomas Cartwright [q. v.] in one of his defences of Field and Wilcocks's 'Admonition,' 1572, to the effect that 'two thousand preachers, which preached and fed diligently, were hard to be found in the church of England' (*Contin.* pref. p. i). Calamy does not profess to give an exact enumeration, but he thinks two thousand under the mark. His own volumes mention 2,465 names, omitting duplicates, but counting those who afterwards conformed. Palmer's contain 2,480, including only 230 of the after conformists, but adding new names. Nor is this exhaustive; in Norfolk and Suffolk, to take an example, Calamy and Palmer give 182 names; Browne, the careful historian of nonconformity in these counties, while removing two (one ejected in another county), adds 14 on the evidence of ecclesiastical registers, so that Oliver Heywood may be right in estimating the gross total at 2,500.

All the lists require more careful classification than they have yet received. Baxter is probably very near the mark when he fixes at 1,800 the number of the nonconforming clergy who entered upon active work in the dissenting ministry. Calamy's 'Continuation' concluded his historical labours. In the summer of 1729 his health was broken, and he spent ten weeks at Scarborough for the waters. He lived to deprecate, though not to take part in, the discussions (1730) on the decay of the dissenting interest, and preached on 28 Oct. 1731 the first sermon to ministers at Dr. Williams's library (he was one of the original trustees of Williams's foundations). In the following February he tried the Bath waters, but returned home to prepare for death. He died on 3 June, and was buried at Aldermanbury on 9 June, 1732.

Calamy was married, first, on 19 Dec. 1695, to Mary (*d.* 1713), daughter of Michael Watts, a cloth merchant and haberdasher (*d.* 3 Feb. 1708, aged 72); secondly, on 14 Feb. 1716, to Mary Jones (niece of Adam Cardonel, secretary to the great Duke of Marlborough), who survived him. He had thirteen children, but only six survived him, four of them, including Edmund (1697?-1755) [q. v.], being by the first wife.

Of the many engravings of Calamy, the best is that by G. Vertue, prefixed to the sermons on the Trinity (see below); less refined, but more genial, is that by Worthington from Richardson's painting, prefixed to his autobiography; that by Mackenzie, 'from an original picture,' prefixed to Palmer's work, shows a shapeless face with a squinting leer.

Calamy's most important publications, in addition to those mentioned above, are: 1. 'Defence of Moderate Nonconformity,' 3 parts, 1703-5, 8vo, against Ollyffe and Hoadley. 2. 'Inspiration of the Holy Writings,' 1710, 8vo, dedicated by permission to Queen Anne. 3. 'Thirteen Sermons concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity,' 1722, 8vo, in which he vindicates the authenticity of 1 Jo. v. 7, and vouches for the orthodoxy of the generality of his dissenting brethren. George I., to whom the book was dedicated, received Calamy 'very graciously' when he came to present it, and charged him with a message to the London dissenting ministers, to use their 'utmost influence' at the coming election in favour of the Hanoverian candidates. 4. 'Memoirs of the Life of the late Revd. Mr. John Howe,' 1724, 8vo. Calamy's numerous funeral sermons are valuable for their biographical particulars. He was in the habit of furnishing similar particulars to other writers of funeral sermons, John Shower, for instance.

[Calamy's gossiping autobiography, 'An His-

torical Account of my own Life, with some Reflections on the Times I have lived in,' though quoted by Kippis, was first edited by John Towill Rutt in 2 vols. 1829, 8vo, 2nd ed. 1830, from two transcripts of Calamy's autograph, one of which, in three folio volumes, had been collated with the original by his son Edmund; Rutt, in his preface, speaks of having 'endeavoured to exercise a discretion,' which James (Hist. Litigation Presb. Chapels and Charities, 1867, p. 724) interprets as referring to omissions from the text; in point of fact there is one omission, referring to a family circumstance of no public interest; among the Calamy papers are three successive revisions of the autobiography, in Calamy's autograph, not seen by Rutt. Mayo's Funeral Sermon, 1732; Biog. Brit. 1784, iii. 140 (article by Dr. John Campbell, additions by Kippis); Hunter's Life of Oliver Heywood, 1842, p. 137, seq.; James, ut sup. p. 628; baptismal and burial registers of St. Mary Aldermanbury, per Rev. C. C. Collins; authorities quoted above.]

A. G.

**CALAMY, EDMUND** (1697?-1755), dissenting minister, the eldest son of Edmund Calamy, D.D. (1671-1732) [q. v.] by his first wife, Mary Watts, was born in London (date not ascertained), and, after passing through Westminster School, entered the Edinburgh University in 1714, and graduated M.A. on 15 June 1717. From Edinburgh he went to Leyden, where he entered 29 Sept. 1717. For some time he assisted his father at Westminster, but in 1726 he was chosen to succeed Clark Oldisworth, as assistant to Benjamin Grosvenor, afterwards D.D., at Crosby Square. He was a member of the presbyterian board (1739-48), and a trustee of Dr. Williams's foundations from 1740 till his death. In 1749 Grosvenor resigned his charge, owing to advancing years, and simultaneously Calamy retired from the ministry. He died on 13 June 1755, and was buried on 17 June in the chancel of St. Mary Aldermanbury. His son Edmund (b. 18 May 1743), who entered Warrington academy in 1761 as a divinity student, removed to Cambridge in 1763, and became a barrister of Lincoln's Inn. He was a member of the presbyterian board, and a Williams's trustee (1784-1812). Thomas Emlyn of London, barrister (grandson of Thomas Emlyn, whose unitarian views E. Calamy, D.D., had controverted), by will dated 20 July 1796 left lands at Syddan, co. Meath, to 'Edmond Calamy, Esq., senior.' In 1812 Calamy the barrister left London. He died at Alphington, near Exeter, on 12 May 1816, aged seventy-three. His son, Edmund, died 27 Aug. 1850, aged seventy. His younger son Michael, the last of the direct Calamy line, lived a very secluded life at Exeter, in a house filled with the

family books and papers. He was educated for the ministry at Wymondley, and under John Jervis at Lymptone, and was always called reverend, but it is not known that he ever was ordained or held any charge. Occasionally he preached for the unitarians, at Exeter and Topsham. He is the author of hymn 93 in the supplement (1823) to Kippis's collection. He bore a strong resemblance to the portraits of Edmund Calamy, B.D. He died unmarried, at Baring Crescent, Exeter, on 3 Jan. 1876, aged eighty-five.

[Calamy's Hist. Acct. of my own Life, 2nd ed. 1830, ii. 307, 489; Jeremy's The Presbyterian Fund and Dr. Williams's Trust, 1885, pp. 135, 171; Monthly Repos. 1814, p. 205, 1816, p. 300; James's Hist. Litig. Presb. Chapels and Charities, 1867, p. 668; Edinburgh Univ. records; burial reg. St. Mary Aldermanbury; will of T. Emlyn, in possession of H. L. Stronge; Calamy papers, manuscripts, in private hands.] A. G.

**CALCACUS** (*fl.* 84?), Caledonian chieftain. [See CALCACUS.]

**CALCOTT.** [See also CALCOTT.]

**CALCOTT, WELLINS** (*fl.* 1756-1769), author, was a native of Shropshire, the son of a member of the corporation of Shrewsbury. All that is known of his personal history is gathered from the preface to one of his books, from which it appears that he was induced to become an author by reverses of fortune. He published two books by subscription, and was enabled thereby to make advances towards a restoration of a settled life. The first edition of his 'Thoughts, Moral and Divine,' was issued in London in 1756. A second edition was brought out at Birmingham in 1758; a third at Coventry in 1759; a fourth at Manchester in 1761; and a fifth at Exeter in 1764. In 1769 he published 'A Candid Disquisition of the Principles and Practices of the most ancient and honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons,' London, 8vo. This work is said to have been the means of leading many persons to join the society. It was reprinted in 1847 by Dr. George Oliver, who considered it the 'gem of the period' in which it was written.

[Notes and Queries, 4th ser. ii. 9; Oliver's Golden Remains of the Early Masonic Writers, vol. ii. 1847; Oliver's Revelations of a Square, 1855, p. 118; Temperance Spectator, 1866, p. 181.] C. W. S.

**CALCRAFT, SIR GRANBY THOMAS** (1770-1820), colonel, was the younger son of John Calcraft [q. v.] of Rempston Hall in the isle of Purbeck, politician, and younger brother of John Calcraft (1765-1831) [q. v.], and was born in 1770. He entered the army as a cornet in the 15th light dragoons in March

1788, and was promoted lieutenant in 1793, in which year his regiment was ordered to join the force under the Duke of York in Flanders. With it he served at the battle of Famars, the siege of Valenciennes, and the affair of Villiers-en-Couche, where 160 troopers of the 15th light dragoons with 112 Austrian hussars defeated a corps of 10,000 Frenchmen and saved the life of the emperor. For this exploit all the eight officers of the 15th present were knighted, and received the order of Maria Theresa from the Emperor Leopold. In the same month, April 1794, Calcraft was promoted captain, and his regiment was frequently engaged throughout the disastrous retreat of the following winter. In 1799 he accompanied Major-general Lord Paget, who commanded the cavalry brigade in the expedition to the Helder, as aide-de-camp; he was wounded at the second battle of Alkmaar on 1 Oct., and was for his services promoted major into the 25th light dragoons in December 1799. In the following year he exchanged into the 3rd dragoon guards, of which he became lieutenant-colonel on 25 Dec. 1800, and he commanded that regiment continuously with great reputation until his promotion to the rank of major-general in 1813. In 1807 he was elected M.P. for Wareham, but resigned his seat at the close of 1808 on his regiment being ordered for service in the Peninsula. The 3rd dragoon guards were at once brigaded with the 4th dragoons under the command of Henry Fane, as the heavy brigade, which was engaged in the battle of Talavera. General Fane fell ill, and Calcraft assumed the command of the brigade, which he held until the arrival of George de Grey in May 1810. The brigade was frequently engaged during the retreat on Torres Vedras, and again in the pursuit of Masséna in March 1811. After the combat of Foz d'Aronce, the heavy brigade served on the left bank of the Tagus under Marshal Beresford, and Calcraft, who had been promoted colonel for his services on 25 July 1810, was engaged at the head of his regiment at Campo Mayor, where he earnestly begged to be allowed to succour the 13th light dragoons, at the battle of Albuera, and in Lumley's charge at Los Santos on 16 April 1811. In January 1812 the heavy brigade, which was again temporarily under the command of Calcraft, assisted in covering the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, and when Wellington formed the siege of Badajoz, it was left with General Graham's division to watch Marmont. After Salamanca the cavalry division distinguished itself in the affair of Llera on 11 June 1812, when General Lallemant's cavalry was cut to pieces, and in General Slade's report the 'conspicuous gal-

lantry' of Calcraft is specially mentioned (*Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vii. 348). The brigade was then engaged in covering Hill's retreat from Madrid, and in December 1812 Calcraft was made a knight of the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword for his services. On 4 June 1813 he was promoted major-general, and left the Peninsula after four years' continuous and distinguished service. He was comparatively neglected in later years. His political opinions were peculiarly obnoxious to the ministry, whose jobbery was repeatedly attacked by his brother, at the instigation (it was believed) of Sir Granby. In 1813 he was appointed to the command of a brigade in England, and in 1814 received only a gold medal for the battle of Talavera. In 1814 he threw up his staff appointment, and lived in retirement, a somewhat disappointed and certainly an ill-used man, until his death on 20 Aug. 1820.

[*Royal Military Calendar*; *Record of the 3rd Dragoon Guards*; *Wellington Despatches and Supplementary Despatches.*] H. M. S.

**CALCRAFT, JOHN**, the elder (1726-1772), politician, was the son of a solicitor at Grantham, who acted as town clerk of the borough, and manipulated its parliamentary contests in favour of the Duke of Rutland's nominees. Through the influence of the Marquis of Granby he obtained a small clerkship in the pay office or commissariat department, but his astounding rise into wealth and power was due to the patronage of Henry Fox, the first lord Holland, of whom Calcraft was by some writers said to be the cousin, and by others insinuated to be the natural son. When Fox became the paymaster-general he reposed implicit confidence in this young official, made him the medium in his communications with the chiefs of the army, and appointed him agent for as many regiments as he could. Through the aid of the same unscrupulous politician Calcraft was placed in the lucrative position of deputy commissary-general of musters, and in the eyes of the multitude, who were then unacquainted with his keenness and talents, he was considered to hold his position in trust for Fox. After a time Calcraft withdrew from the civil service and devoted himself entirely to his business as army agent or quasi-banker and contractor for the forces, in which position he found his official knowledge of the greatest utility, and speedily secured a 'revenue superior to any nobleman's estate in the kingdom.' He 'riots in the plunder of an army' was the expressive phrase in which Junius afterwards summed up the general estimate

of his profits. In 1763 Calcraft deserted the cause of Fox for his more illustrious rival, throwing himself with characteristic energy into the task of reconciling Pitt with the other discontented politicians. His first attempt was to reconcile Pitt to the Duke of Bedford, and for that purpose he was closeted with the great commoner for three hours on 15 Aug. 1763; but the effort proved a failure, and he was denounced by the Bedford faction for having deceived them as to Pitt's views. Early in the same year (1763) he had been talked of as a possible Irish peer; in its closing month he was ejected from his post of deputy commissary-general. In December 1765 Calcraft contested Rochester against Grey Cooper, but he had the mortification of being defeated, probably through Cooper's influence as secretary of the treasury. He was M.P. for Calne 1766-8. At the general election of 1768 he was returned to parliament for Rochester, and continued to represent it until his death. As he possessed the 'best head for intrigue in the whole party' of Pitt's followers, he was the medium in restoring in 1768 the friendly relations which had existed in previous years between Lord Chatham and Lord Temple, and he tried, though with less success, to connect Henry Conway with them. Long before this date his earliest patron, the Marquis of Granby, had been indebted to Calcraft for considerable loans, and through his agency the marquis was detached from the court. Calcraft had now acquired much borough influence, had ingratiated himself with the proprietors of the chief London newspapers, and had won over to his side many of the leading members of the London corporation. His activity was thrown into the cause of the 'liberty of the subject and parliamentary reform,' and he exerted himself with Philip Francis (the reputed author of the 'Letters of Junius'), whom he patronised as a boy and a man, in the task of forcing Lord Chatham into power. In October 1771 Calcraft fell under the lash of Junius, although Francis was then his professed friend; but it has been suggested that this was a 'blind' to divert suspicion of the authorship of the letters from Francis. Large purchases of landed property had from time to time been made by Calcraft, and he was now reported to possess estates worth 10,000*l.* per annum. He had acquired the estate of Rempton, Corfe Castle, in 1757, and had become the owner of the manor of Wareham in 1767, which he followed up by gradually purchasing the chief part of the town. An English peerage was now the object of his ambition, and the title which he coveted was that of Earl of Ormonde; but in April 1772

he was seized by a fatal illness. On 21 Aug. in that year he wrote to Lord Chatham, that he had conquered the disorder which troubled him, and that 'by gentle exercise and a warm climate' he would be quite restored; but on 23 Aug. he died at Ingress Abbey, Belvedere, Kent, aged 46, leaving four sons. He was buried at St. Mary's, Wareham, and there is a monument to his memory in the chancel. Calcraft was a free liver, and had several children by Mrs. George Anne Bellamy [q. v.] and by Miss Bride, both of them actresses. The former had presided at Calcraft's table, but her habits were too extravagant for him, and after he had repeatedly paid her debts she was dismissed with a pension. The letter to him which she advertised for publication in October 1767, but afterwards suppressed, is printed, with an address to the public, in 'The Apology for her Life' (1785), v. 87-144. The sums of money which he left to his children by these women are set out in a note to Tooke's edition of Churchill's 'Poems' (1804), i. 346-7. To Philip Francis he left 1,000*l.* in cash, and ordered that if Francis died without leaving his widow 300*l.* a year she should be provided with an annuity of 200*l.* per annum. He also expressed his desire that Francis should be returned to parliament for Wareham. Numerous letters to and from Calcraft will be found in 'The Grenville Papers,' ii. 90-2, and the 'Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham,' ii. 245, &c.

[Parkes's Sir P. Francis, i. 13-363; Correspondence of fourth Duke of Bedford, iii. 236-237; Walpole's Letters (Cunningham's ed.), iv. 69, 140, 199, v. 207; Walpole's Last Ten Years of George II, i. 400; Walpole's Memoirs of Reign of George III, i. 264, 294, 332, and iii. 208, 274; Hutchins's Dorset (1861 ed.), i. 82, 111, 113, 534; Satirical Prints at British Museum, iii. 1171, 1184, iv. 588, 593, 610.] W. P. C.

CALCRAFT, JOHN, the younger (1765-1831), politician, was the eldest son of John Calcraft, the elder [q. v.] He was born 16 Oct. 1765, and as he inherited his father's instincts soon entered upon political life. Before he was twenty-one he was returned for the family borough of Wareham in Dorsetshire (15 July 1786), and sat for it until the dissolution in 1790. For ten years after this he remained out of parliament, but on a casual vacancy was again elected for Wareham (16 June 1800), retaining his seat until 1806. At this time he was identified with the principles of the whig party, and was numbered among the personal friends of the Prince of Wales, his attachment being shown by his motion in March 1803 for a select committee to inquire into the prince's pecuniary embarrassments. In the Grenville administration of

1806 he was appointed clerk of the ordnance, and acquired considerable reputation for the efficient manner in which he discharged his duties. At the general election in that year he was returned for the city of Rochester, defeating Admiral Sir Sidney Smith both at the polling-booth and before the election committee of the House of Commons. For Rochester he sat until 1818, when he was again returned for Wareham, which he represented until 1831. Down to 1828 Calcraft had been a staunch whig, but on the formation of the Duke of Wellington's administration he consented to hold the post of paymaster-general (1828-30), and was created a privy councillor 16 June 1828. In 1831 he reverted to his old faith, voting for the Reform Bill when it was carried by one vote 22 March 1831, and at the subsequent dissolution he contested and carried the county of Dorset in the reform interest. Under the reproaches of the Tories, with whom he had co-operated from 1828 to 1830, his mind became unhinged, and he committed suicide at Whitehall Place, London, 11 Sept. 1831. On 17 Sept. he was buried in the chancel vault of St. James's Church, Piccadilly, and at a later date a monument was erected to his memory in St. Mary's, Wareham. He married, 5 March 1790, Elizabeth, third daughter and coheir of Sir Thomas Pym Hales of Bekebourne, Kent. She died at Clifford Street, London, 2 July 1815, aged 45. Calcraft was one of the earliest reformers of the liquor traffic, his proposition being to 'throw open the retail trade in malt liquor.' There is in the British Museum 'a dispassionate appeal to the legislature, magistrates, and clergy,' by a county magistrate against this suggestion. The titles of numerous broadsides on Calcraft's election for Dorset in 1831 are printed in C. H. Mayo's bibliography of that county.

[Gent. Mag. 1790, pt. i. 273, 1815, pt. ii. 92, 1831, pt. ii. 465-6; Hutchins's Dorset (1861 ed.), i. 113, 534; Wilson's House of Commons, 1808, pp. 510-11; Le Marchant's Memoir of Earl Spencer, p. 303.] W. P. C.

**CALCRAFT, WILLIAM** (1800-1879), executioner, was born at Baddow, near Chelmsford, in 1800. He was a shoemaker by trade, but at one time was watchman at Reid's brewery in Liquorpond Street (now Clerkenwell Road), London, and afterwards butler to a gentleman at Greenwich. At a later period, while obtaining a hawker's precarious living, he accidentally made the acquaintance of Foxton, the hangman, which led to his employment at Newgate to flog juvenile offenders, at ten shillings a week. On an emergency during 1828 he was sent to

Lincoln, where he put two men to death. John Foxton, who had been the executioner in the city of London for forty years, died on 14 Feb. 1829. Calcraft was appointed his successor, and sworn in on 4 April 1829. The emolument was a guinea a week and an extra guinea for every execution, besides half a crown for every man he flogged, and an allowance to provide cats or birch rods. For acting as executioner of Horsemonger Lane gaol, in Surrey, he received a retaining fee of five guineas, with the usual guinea when he had to officiate on the scaffold; he was also at liberty to engage himself in the country, where he demanded, and was paid, 10l. on each occasion. During his tenure of office the act of parliament was passed ordering criminals to be put to death privately. The last public execution in England took place in front of Newgate 26 May 1868. The first private execution under the new law was in Maidstone gaol, 3 Aug. 1868. Calcraft's last official act was the hanging of James Godwin, on 25 May 1874. Old age then obliged him to retire from office, and he was pensioned by the city of London on twenty-five shillings a week. He died at Poole Street, New North Road, Hoxton, on 13 Dec. 1879. He was of kindly disposition; was very fond of his children and his grandchildren, and took a great interest in his pigeons and other pet animals. 'The Groans of the Gallows,' or 'The Life of W. Calcraft,' 1846, which ran to numerous editions, 'The Hangman's Letter to the Queen,' 1861, 'The Heroes of the Guillotine and Gallows, Askern, Smith, and Calcraft,' three publications of little worth, and not countenanced by the executioner, contain very few facts relating to his history.

[Arthur Griffith's *Chronicles of Newgate* (1884), ii. 272-3, 411-15; *Daily Telegraph*, 17 Dec. 1879, p. 5; *Life and Recollections of Calcraft*, with portrait, London, 1880.] G. C. B.

**CALDECOTT, JOHN** (1800-1849), astronomer and meteorologist, had been acting during about four years as commercial agent to the government of Travancore at the port of Allepey, when, in 1836, he became impressed with the advantages derivable to science from the establishment of an astronomical station in southern India. His views, enforced by the British resident, Colonel Fraser, were at once acceded to by Rama Vurmah, then rajah of Travancore. An observatory (described in the *Madras Journal*, vi. 56) was built at Trevandrum, Caldecott was appointed its director, and in July 1837 observations were begun with portable instruments, the use of which had long constituted his recreation. The completion of a

permanent instrumental outfit, including two mural circles by Simms and Jones respectively, a transit, and 7½-foot equatorial by Dollond, claimed his presence in Europe in December 1838, and while there he fell in with the movement recently set on foot by Humboldt for carrying out a connected scheme of magnetic research all over the world. Authorised by the rajah, he purchased a set of instruments of the pattern devised by Dr. Lloyd for the British stations, and on his return to Trevandrum in April 1841 a magnetic and meteorological observatory was erected for their reception. A great mass of observations was quickly accumulated, copies of which were forwarded to the Royal Society, as well as to the court of directors of the East India Company. Their publication was undertaken by the rajah, after Caldecott had made a journey to England in 1846, with the futile hope of enlisting the aid of some scientific society; and in their laborious preparation for the press he was deeply engaged until his death at Trevandrum, of paralysis, on 16 Dec. 1849.

Caldecott showed great energy in overcoming the difficulties attendant on scientific work in India, and collected materials of value despite inevitable shortcomings. His experiments (1842-5) on the temperature of the ground at various depths possessed a special interest as being the first of the kind made within the tropics (*Trans. R. Soc. of Ed.* xvi. 369). They showed, contrary to the assertion of Kuppfer, that the earth is there 5° to 6° F. hotter than the air, and disproved the invariability of temperature at a depth of one foot, imagined by Boussingault, and used by Poisson to support his mathematical theory of heat. Caldecott presented to the British Association in 1840 a series of horary meteorological observations begun June 1837 in pursuance of a suggestion by Sir John Herschel (*Report*, 1840, ii. 28); and experimented, with Taylor of the Madras observatory, July to October 1837, on the direction and intensity of the magnetic force in southern India (*Madras Journal*, ix. 221). He first drew scientific attention to the bi-annual inversion of the law of variation near the magnetic equator, but attributed the change to the influence of the monsoon (see *Trans. R. Soc. of Ed.* xxiv. 670). He observed and computed elements for the great comet of 1843 (*Mem. R. A. Soc.* xv. 229); and his observations of that of 1845 proved available for Hind's calculations of its path (*Astr. Nach.* No. 540; *Month. Not.* vi. 215). The solar eclipse of 21 Dec. 1843 was observed by him at Parratt,

near the source of the Mahé river, where it just fell short of totality, but afforded a striking view of Baily's beads (*Mem. R. A. Soc.* xv. 171). He was elected a fellow both of the Royal Astronomical and of the Royal Societies in 1840.

[Bombay Times, 2 Jan. 1850; Athenæum, 9 Feb. 1850; Annual Reg. 1849, p. 299; Brown's Report on Trevandrum Observatories; R. Soc. Cat. Sc. Papers.] A. M. C.

**CALDECOTT, RANDOLPH** (1846-1886), artist, was born at Chester on 22 March 1846, his father being an accountant of good standing, and one of the founders of the Institute of Accountants in England. He was educated at King Henry VIII's School in his native town, where he and his two brothers were successively head-boys. Among his earliest amusements as a child had been the cutting out of animals in wood, and as a schoolboy he won a prize for drawing. His father, however, seems to have discouraged these artistic tendencies, and in due time he left Chester to enter a bank at Whitchurch in Shropshire. The bank life of a little country place was not very exacting, nor without its relaxations, while the agricultural character of the surrounding district stimulated his inborn love of rural sights and scenes. While at Whitchurch he lodged with a yeoman-farmer in the neighbourhood, thus gaining further facilities for making the intimate acquaintance of horses and dogs, to say nothing of occasional opportunities for hunting. From Whitchurch he was transferred to the Manchester and Salford Bank at Manchester, where his advance was rapid. It had long been his practice to sketch from nature such picturesque details or animals as struck his fancy, and about 1871 he appears to have visited London with a view to begin life as an artist. Mr. Armstrong, the art-director of the science and art department at South Kensington, was one of his earliest advisers, and he recommended him to continue to study, but not to relinquish his occupation. A year later Caldecott came to London, and shortly afterwards began drawing for 'London Society' and other periodicals. He received much kind assistance from Mr. Henry Blackburn; and he made the acquaintance, among others, of the sculptor Dalou, in whose studio he worked and modelled. He devoted himself with great assiduity to the improvement of his artistic gifts, not only copying, but frequently dissecting, birds and animals. Some time previous to 1875 arrived the opportunity which gave him his first distinction as a thoroughly original and individual artist. Mr. James D. Cooper, the well-

known wood-engraver, had long been seeking for an illustrator for Washington Irving's 'Sketch-Book,' when he fell in with one of Caldecott's sketches for 'London Society.' The result was the volume of selections from the 'Sketch-Book,' which appeared at the close of 1875 under the title of 'Old Christmas.' This book, in which artist and engraver co-operated in the most congenial manner, is an almost typical example of fortunate sympathy between author and artist. In 1876 it was succeeded by 'Bracebridge Hall,' another of Irving's books, and henceforth Mr. Caldecott's position as a popular book illustrator was secured. In 1877 he illustrated Mrs. Comyns Carr's 'North Italian Folk,' in 1879 Mr. Blackburn's 'Breton Folk,' in 1883 'Æsop's Fables with Modern Instances,' and he supplied designs to stories by Mrs. J. H. Ewing, Mrs. Frederick Locker, and others. But his chief achievement was the series of coloured children's books, which began in 1878 by 'John Gilpin' and 'The House that Jack Built,' to be succeeded in the ensuing year by Goldsmith's 'Elegy on the Death of a Mad Dog' and 'The Babes in the Wood.' He continued to produce two of these books annually until the Christmas before his death, when the list closed with the 'Elegy on Madam Blaize' and 'The Great Panjandrum Himself.' Strangely enough, he had not intended to make any further additions. Besides these, he contributed Christmas sheets and other illustrations (notably some excellent sketches of life at Monaco) to the 'Graphic' newspaper. In 1882 he became a member of the Institute of Painters in Water Colours, and he exhibited there and at the Grosvenor Gallery and Royal Academy. He modelled occasionally, one of his first efforts in this way being a bronze bas-relief representing a 'Horse Fair in Brittany.' At the time of his death, which took place on 12 Feb. 1886 at St. Augustine, Florida, whither he had gone to escape an English winter, he was engaged in making sketches of American life and manners for the 'Graphic.' His health, owing to the sequels of severe rheumatic fever, had long been in a critical state. Yet nothing could suppress his native cheeriness. 'The quality and quantity of his work done manfully for years under these painful conditions,' says one who knew him, 'was heroic, and to the anxious inquiries of friends he was always "quite well," although unable to mount two flights of stairs.' He was married in 1880, but left no family.

Caldecott's genius was thoroughly English, and he delighted in portraying English country and out-of-door life. He had a keen love, dating from his Chester and Whitchurch days,

for the quaint and old-fashioned in furniture and costume, and the scenes and accessories of the latter half of the eighteenth century especially attracted him. In grace and refinement he was fully the rival of Stothard, but while possessing an equal appreciation of feminine and childish beauty, he far excelled that artist in vivacious humour and sportive fancy. As may be seen from the posthumous paper published in the 'English Illustrated Magazine' for March 1886, he drew horses and dogs and the accidents of the hunting-field with the enthusiasm of a sportsman. To these qualities he added the pictorial memory of a Bewick, and he thoroughly understood the capabilities and limitations of colour-printing, by which his most successful books were produced. His skill in adapting his designs to the necessities of the process—a skill in which he was ably seconded by Mr. Edmund Evans, who printed them—and his unerring instinct for simple and effective composition, lent a special charm to his work. But this would have been of little effect without other characteristics. What was most winning in his drawings was their wholesome happy spirit, their frank joy of life, and their manly, kindly tone. Few English artists have left so large a legacy of pure and playful mirth.

[Communications from the Rev. Alfred Caldecott, M.A., Mr. Armstrong, Mr. J. D. Cooper, &c.] A. D.

**CALDECOTT, THOMAS (1744-1833).** bibliophile and Shakespearean student, was educated at Winchester and New College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship and proceeded B.C.L. on 24 Oct. 1770. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple; afterwards became a bencher, and was for many years a prominent member of the Oxford circuit. He published, in continuation of Sir James Burrow's 'Reports,' two volumes of 'Reports of Cases relative to the duty and office of a Justice of the Peace from 1776 to 1785' (2 vols. 1786, 1789). Caldecott died at the age of ninety, at Dartford, at the end of May 1833. He best deserves to be remembered as a book collector and Shakespearean student. He laid the foundations of his library at an early age, and at his death it was singularly rich in sixteenth-century literature. He was a regular attendant at the great booksales, and many of Farmer's, Steevens's, West's, and Pearson's books passed to him. He bequeathed to the Bodleian an invaluable collection of Shakespearean quartos, some of which cost him the merest trifle, but the bulk of his library was sold by auction by Messrs. Sotheby between 2 and 7 Dec. 1833. Dr. Dibdin, the bibliographer, described the



rarest books in three papers contributed to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1834 (pt. i. pp. 59, 195, 284). Caldecott had views of his own on Shakespearean editing. Dibdin describes him as 'the last of the old breed of Shakespearean commentators of the school of Johnson and Steevens,' and he certainly had characteristic contempt for Malone, Steevens, and the Shakespearean scholars of his own day. After many years' labour he published privately in 1832 a volume containing 'Hamlet' and 'As you like it,' with elaborate notes. This was intended to be the first instalment of a final edition of Shakespeare. But the compilation proved singularly feeble and was not continued. Caldecott was well acquainted with 'honest Tom Warton' and Bishop Percy, and entered heartily into the former's quarrel with Ritson, whom he styles in a letter to Percy 'that scurrilous miscreant.'

[Nichols's Illustrations, viii. 372-3; Martin's Privately Printed Books, 304; Gent. Mag. 1833, pt. i. p. 573, 1834, pt. i. pp. 59, 195, 284; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L.

**CALDER, JAMES TAIT** (1794?-1864), author of the 'History of Caithness,' was born at the village of Castletown, Caithness. He studied at the university of Edinburgh, and, after acting for some time as private tutor in the house of the Rev. Mr. Gunn at Caithness, became parish teacher at Canisbay. In 1842 he published at Wick 'Sketches from John o' Groat's in Prose and Verse,' which contained an interesting chapter on 'Ancient Superstitions and Customs in Caithness.' In 1846 he issued a volume of poems entitled 'The Soldier's Bride,' from the name of the largest poem in the book. His 'Sketch of the Civil and Traditional History of Caithness from the Tenth Century,' published in 1861, is a work of undoubted merit, in which he has made admirable use of the materials available, although they are less full than in the case of most other counties. He died at Elwick Bank, Shapinshay, on 15 Jan. 1864.

[Orkney Herald, 19 Jan. 1864.] T. F. H.

**CALDER, JOHN, D.D.** (1733-1815), author, was a native of Aberdeen, and educated at the university there. At an early period he obtained the patronage of the Duke of Northumberland, who employed him as private secretary both at Alnwick Castle and in London. Subsequently he for some time had charge of the library bequeathed by Dr. Williams for the special use of nonconforming clergy, and he also officiated at a meeting-house near the Tower. On resigning this charge he declined to exercise for the future

any part of the ministerial function. When a new edition of the 'Cyclopædia' of Chambers was proposed, he was engaged as tentative editor, and besides drawing out a plan wrote some articles. One of the articles was submitted to Dr. Johnson, who excised large portions, expressing the opinion at the same time that the 'redundance' was not the 'result of inability' but of 'superfluous diligence.' In the discussion which ensued with the publisher, Calder, in the opinion of Dr. Johnson, displayed an improper degree of 'turbulence and impatience,' and, declining to accede to the wishes of the publisher, was deprived of the editorship, which was conferred on Dr. Rees. In 1776 Calder drew up a plan of a periodical work called the 'Selector.' He also projected a 'Foreign Intelligencer.' While at Alnwick he made the acquaintance of Thomas Percy, afterwards bishop of Dromore, whom he assisted in preparing a new edition of the 'Tatler,' 'Spectator,' and 'Guardian,' with notes and illustrations. When Calder removed to London, the materials collected by Percy were relinquished into his hands, and afterwards used in various editions of these works published by Nichols, especially the 'Tatler' published in 6 vols. in 1786, in which Annotator means Calder. In 1789 he translated from the French Courayer's 'Declaration of his last Sentiments on the different Doctrines of Religion,' to which he prefixed a memoir of Courayer. To the new edition of the 'Biographia Britannica' he contributed an elaborate article on the Courten family. About 1789 he removed from Farnival's Inn to Croyden, where he formed an intimacy with Dr. Apthorp, of whom he contributed to Nichols several interesting particulars which were inserted in 'Literary Anecdotes.' He formed an extensive library, especially of classical and numismatic works, and also possessed a large cabinet of Greek and Roman coins. His last years were spent at Lisson Grove, London, where he died 10 June 1815.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ix. 805, &c.; Nichols's Illustr. of Lit. iv. 799-848, &c.; Gent. Mag. lxxxv. (1815), 564.] T. F. H.

**CALDER, ROBERT** (1650?-1723), clergyman of the Scottish episcopalian church, was a native of Elgin, and was born about 1650. He was educated at the university and King's College, Aberdeen. He was presented to the parish of Nenthorn in the presbytery of Kelso in 1689, but on 13 Sept. of the same year was deprived for refusing to read the proclamation of the estates declaring William and Mary king and queen

of England, and for having prayed for King James. In 1693, according to his own account, he was for some time imprisoned in the common gaol of Edinburgh for exercising his ministerial functions. On receiving his liberty he went to Aberdeen, where he officiated in his own house, using the Book of Common Prayer. On the order shortly after the union to shut up all episcopal chapels in Scotland he was compelled to leave Aberdeen, and went to Elgin, where he officiated for some time. To obstruct his celebration of the Lord's Supper on Easter day 1707, he was summoned before the privy council at Edinburgh on Good Friday. Not complying he was sentenced to be banished from Elgin under a severe penalty should he return within twelve miles of the city. He now settled at Edinburgh, where he officiated to a congregation in Toddrick's Wynd. During his incumbency in Edinburgh he engaged in a keen controversy with the Rev. John Anderson, minister of Dumbarton, regarding whom he advertised the intention of preaching a sermon, with the view to proving that he was 'one of the grossest liars that ever put pen to paper.' He died on 28 May 1723, aged 73. He was the reputed author of 'Scottish Presbyterian Eloquence displayed,' 1693, a collection of citations intended to expose the irreverent liberties indulged in by the presbyterians in their prayers and sermons. In 1713 he published 'Miscellany Numbers relating to the Controversie about the Book of Common Prayer, Episcopal Government,' &c., forty numbers appearing successively. He was also the author of 'Three Single Sermons,' 1701; 'Reasons for Toleration to the Episcopal Clergie' (anon.), 1703; 'The Divine Right of Episcopacy' (anon.), 1705; 'Letter to a Nonconformist Minister of the Kirk,' 1705; 'The Lawfulness and Expediency of Set Forms of Prayer,' 1706; 'The Lawfulness and Necessitie of observing the Anniversary Fasts and Festivals of the Church maintained,' by R. C., 1710; 'A Letter to Mr. James Hog of Carnwarth,' 1710; 'The Countryman's Idea of a Gospel Minister,' 1711; 'The Spirit of Slander exemplified in a scandalous Pamphlet called the Jacobite Cause,' 1714; 'The Priesthood of the Old and New Testament by Succession,' in seven letters, 1716; 'The Second Part . . . or a Challenge to all that want Episcopal Ordination to prove the validity of their ministerial acts,' 1717; 'The Anti Counter-querist counter-queried,' n. d.; 'Queries to the Presbyterians,' n. d.

[Lawson's History of the Scottish Episcopalian Church since 1688; Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot. i. 468; Catalogue of the Library of the

Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh; Works of Calder.] T. F. H.

CALDER, SIR ROBERT (1745-1818), admiral, directly descended from the Calders of Muirtown in Morayshire, was the fourth son of Sir James Calder, bart., who had settled in Kent, and who in 1761 was appointed by Lord Bute to be gentleman-usher of the privy chamber to the queen. His mother was Alice, daughter of Admiral Robert Hughes. In 1759 he entered the navy on board the *Chesterfield*, with Captain Sawyer, whom he followed to the *Active*, and thus participated in the capture of the Spanish register-ship *Hermione* on 21 May 1762, probably the richest prize on record, even a midshipman's share amounting to 1,800*l.* On 31 Aug. 1762 he was made lieutenant. On 27 Aug. 1780 he was advanced to the rank of post-captain, and during the next three years successively commanded the *Buffalo*, *Diana*, and *Thalia*, all on the home station. The *Thalia* was paid off at the peace, and Calder had no further employment till the outbreak of the revolutionary war, when he was appointed to the *Theusus* of 74 guns for service in the Channel. In 1796, when Sir John Jervis was appointed commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, Calder was appointed captain of the fleet, and served in that capacity at the battle of Cape St. Vincent, after which he carried home the admiral's despatches, and was knighted, 3 March 1797. It has been positively stated, by writers in a position to know the opinions of the day, that the despatches, as first written, gave very high praise to Commodore Nelson for his conduct in the action; but that, at the instance of Calder, they were modified, and the name of Nelson left out. The story is, however, mere hearsay. Calder and Nelson were never intimate, but there does not seem to have been any bad feeling between them, nor is there any evidence that Nelson expected special notice in the '*Gazette*;' and Sir John Jervis, who had the very highest opinion of Nelson, was a most unlikely man to yield to persuasion or submit to the dictation of an inferior (NICOLAS, *Nelson Despatches*, ii. 337, vii. 120 n. 121).

On 22 Aug. 1798 Calder was made a baronet, and on 14 Feb. 1799 advanced to the rank of rear-admiral. In 1800 he hoisted his flag on board the *Prince of Wales* of 98 guns, in the Channel fleet, then commanded by Lord St. Vincent; and in February 1801 was detached in pursuit of a French squadron, which slipped down the coast into the Mediterranean, while Calder, with seven ships of the line and three frigates, followed

an imaginary chase to the West Indies. It was only at Jamaica that he learned his mistake, and he did not rejoin the fleet till June. On 23 April 1804 he was advanced to the rank of vice-admiral, and shortly afterwards hoisted his flag, again in the Prince of Wales, in which he joined the fleet off Brest, under Admiral Cornwallis. In the following February he was detached off Ferrol, with five sail of the line, to keep watch over a Franco-Spanish squadron of ten ships ready for sea, and two more fitting. These, however, would not be tempted out, although Calder, notwithstanding occasional reinforcements, had never more than nine ships of the line under his command. It was not till 15 July that he was joined by the squadron from off Rochefort, bringing his numbers up to fifteen ships, with which he was ordered to stretch out to the westward of Cape Finisterre, in order to intercept the combined fleet of France and Spain on its return from the West Indies. It was understood that this consisted of sixteen ships, but when Calder fell in with it on 22 July he found it had twenty. The weather, too, was very thick, and the English fleet was to leeward; but, notwithstanding these disadvantages, Calder succeeded in bringing the enemies' fleet to action, and in cutting off and capturing two of the Spanish ships. The next day was clear; but though the combined fleet had still the advantage of the wind, Villeneuve conceived that his instructions forbade him to fight except under compulsion, while Calder was anxious to secure his prizes, to cover the Windsor Castle, which had sustained severe damage; and was, above all, nervously alive to the danger of his position if the fifteen ships in Ferrol and the five in Rochefort should come out and join the fleet with Villeneuve. On the 24th the hostile fleets lost sight of each other. On the 26th the combined fleet put into Vigo, whence Villeneuve slipped round to Ferrol, leaving behind three of the duller sailers; and thus when on 9 Aug. Calder, with a squadron again reduced to nine ships, came off Ferrol, he found the allies there in vastly superior force, and on the point of putting to sea. In presence of such unequal numbers, his orders authorised him to retire, which he accordingly did, joining Cornwallis off Brest.

As Calder had expected, Villeneuve, with twenty-nine ships of the line, did put to sea on the evening of the 9th with the intention of carrying out his instructions and making the English Channel. It seems to be well established that till the 14th he steered a north-westerly course, but that on the 14th, being deceived by false intelligence

of an English fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, his heart failed him, and he bore up for Cadiz, where he arrived on the 21st. His retreat has been generally and erroneously attributed to the result of the action of 22 July, with which, in point of fact, it had very little connection.

On 30 Aug. Calder, with the greater part of the Brest fleet, joined Vice-admiral Collingwood off Cadiz, and while cruising off that port he learned that his conduct on 23 and 24 July had been severely commented on in England. He immediately wrote to apply for a court-martial. The admiralty had, independently, given Nelson orders to send Calder home for trial. Nelson arrived off Cadiz on 28 Sept., and sent Calder back in his own ship. 'I may be thought wrong,' he wrote, 'as an officer . . . in not insisting on Sir Robert Calder's quitting the Prince of Wales for the Dreadnought, and for parting with a 90-gun ship, but I trust that I shall be considered to have done right as a man and to a brother officer in affliction; my heart could not stand it, and so the thing must rest' (*Nelson Despatches*, vii. 56).

Calder accordingly sailed a few days before the battle of Trafalgar. The court did not assemble till 23 Dec., and on the 26th found that Calder in his conduct on 23 and 24 July had been guilty of an error in judgment, and sentenced him to be severely reprimanded. This was the end of his active career; he never served again, though he rose by seniority to the rank of admiral, 31 July 1810. He was made K.C.B. January 1815. He died on 31 Aug. 1818. His portrait is in the Painted Hall at Greenwich. He married in May 1779 Amelia, daughter of John Michell of Bayfield in Norfolk, but had no issue. His wife survived him, but in a state of mental derangement, which necessitated special provision for her maintenance under her husband's will.

[*Naval Chronicle*, xvii. 89; *Gent. Mag.* (1818) lxxxviii. ii. 380, and (1819), lxxxix. i. 382; *Minutes of the Proceedings at a Court-martial*, &c. published by authority of the vice-admiral (1806, 8vo, 108 pp.); *James's Naval Hist.* (1860), iii. 356-79.] J. K. L.

**CALDERBANK, JAMES** (1769-1821). Benedictine monk, was born in the later part of 1769 in Lancashire. On attaining the canonical age he was ordained to the priesthood. He was first sent upon the mission by the vicar-apostolic of the western district, Bishop Sharrock, the congregation then entrusted to his charge being that of Weston in Somersetshire. Thence, in October 1809, he was removed to the neighbouring

mission at Bath, where, as the assistant-priest of Father Ralph Ainsworth, he took part in the religious ceremonial which transformed the old theatre on the South Parade into the catholic church of St. John the Evangelist. Upon the death of Father Ainsworth, on 5 Feb. 1814, Calderbank succeeded him as the chief pastor of the congregation. During the course of the same year he published 'A Series of Letters' (8vo, pp. 236), marked by great perspicuity and moderation, in answer to certain questions proposed by a clergyman of the church of England. He remained at Bath until July 1817, when he was succeeded by Peter Augustine Baines [q. v.] Calderbank on giving up the Bath mission withdrew to Liverpool. He died there on 9 April 1821.

[*Liverpool Mercury*, 13 April 1821, p. 343. Dr. Oliver's Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in Cornwall, &c. pp. 58, 179, 258, 508-9.] C. K.

**CALDERBANK, LEONARD** (1809-1864), catholic priest and canon of Clifton, nephew of James Calderbank [q. v.], and son of Richard and Jane Calderbank, was born on 3 June 1809 at Standish, near Wigan, in Lancashire. He was educated first at a school in his native village, and afterwards became a student at Ampleforth College in Yorkshire. In December 1829 he removed from Ampleforth to Prior Park, near Bath. A few years after this Calderbank went to complete his theological studies at Rome, where, on 11 Nov. 1832, he was ordained to the priesthood. Returning to England in 1833 he went at once upon a mission in the western district. He was placed successively at Trelawny, Tawstock, Weobley, Poole, and Cannington. In April 1839 he was appointed chaplain of the convent of the Immaculate Conception, in Sion House, at Spetisbury, near Blandford, in Dorsetshire. On 9 Nov. 1849 he was recalled to Prior Park by Bishop Hendren, then vicar apostolic of the western district. For nearly a year he held at Prior Park the double position of vice-president and professor of theology at St. Paul's College. On 9 Oct. 1850 he was again, however, sent upon the mission, being appointed to the charge of the catholic congregation of St. Peter's in the city of Gloucester. Under the then newly created hierarchy he was not long afterwards installed a canon of Clifton. As missionary rector at Gloucester he contrived by his zealous exertions to build up an entirely new church and presbytery, the former of which was solemnly opened in March 1860. Calderbank died suddenly of heart disease on 24 June 1864.

[*Gloucester Journal*, 25 June and 2 July 1864; Dr. Oliver's Collections illustrating the History of the Catholic Religion in Cornwall, &c. p. 258; Brady's Episcopal Succession, p. 317.] C. K.

**CALDERWOOD, DAVID** (1575-1650), ecclesiastic, historian, and theological writer, was born (as is believed) at Dalkeith, Midlothian, and educated at the college of Edinburgh, then in the vigour of its youth, and full of the enthusiasm of study. In 1604 he was ordained minister of Crailing in Roxburghshire. It was the time when King James was doing his utmost to introduce prelacy into the church of Scotland, and from the very first Calderwood showed himself one of the sturdiest opponents of the royal scheme. His first public appearance in the controversial arena was in 1608, when Law, bishop of Orkney, came to Jedburgh, ordered a presbytery to be held, and set aside an election of members to the general assembly already made, in order to substitute other representatives more in favour of the king's views. Calderwood openly protested against the jurisdiction of the bishop, for which offence he was deprived of his right to attend church courts, and required to confine himself to the limits of his parish. Silenced in this way and prevented from taking any part in public proceedings, he applied himself the more earnestly to the study of the questions of civil and spiritual authority. In 1617, when the king visited Scotland, an occasion occurred for a more open and important act of resistance. Some ministers were in the habit of meeting at that time in Edinburgh in an informal way, to discuss various matters; and when it was agreed by the lords of articles to pass a decree giving power to the king, with the archbishops, bishops, and such ministers as he might choose, to direct the external policy of the kirk, a number of the ministers met and signed a protest against the decree. Prominent among them was Calderwood. This led to his being summoned to the royal presence to give an account of his 'mutinous and seditious' deed. A singular colloquy took place between the king and the minister. The king had great confidence in his powers of argument and condescended to argue with Calderwood. Though on his knees, Calderwood replied to the king with great coolness and cleverness, baffling his royal opponent. The courtiers were shocked at his fearless style of reply, and some even of his own friends were tugging at him, to induce him to show more complaisance. Occasionally the king lost patience and scolded him as 'a false puritan' and 'a very knave.' The matter ended in Calderwood being deprived

of his charge, confined first in the prison of St. Andrews and then of Edinburgh, and finally ordered to leave the country.

Calderwood betook himself to Holland, where he remained till the death of James in 1625. Here he had a severe attack of illness, and a rumour of his death was published along with a pretended recantation of his views, and an invitation to all to accept the 'uniformity of the kirk.' A very substantial proof was given that Calderwood was alive and in full vigour by the publication of a work entitled '*Altare Damascenum*,' which, though appearing under the anagram of 'Edwardus Didoclavius,' was at once recognised as the production of Calderwood. 'It was,' says Mr. Thomson, in his life of Calderwood, prefixed to the Wodrow Society's edition of his history, 'the great storehouse from which the prelate arguments were subverted, and conversions to presbyterianism effected during the period of the second Scottish reformation. . . . It will only be from a correct translation of the "*Altare Damascenum*" that the public can derive a full idea of the eloquence, learning, and acute dialectic power of its author.'

After Calderwood's return in 1625 to Scotland from Holland, he remained for some time without a charge. Powerful as a controversialist, he does not seem to have been either attractive as a speaker or of winning manner. It was not till 1640 that he obtained the charge of Pencaitland in East Lothian. He was employed, along with David Dickson and Alexander Henderson, in the drawing up of the 'Directory for Public Worship,' which continued to be the recognised document for regulating the service in the church of Scotland. But the great work of Calderwood was the compilation of his '*History of the Kirk of Scotland*.' When he had reached his seventy-third year, the general assembly, for the purpose of enabling him to perfect his work, granted him an annual pension of eight hundred pounds Scots. The history which he compiled was thrown into three different forms. The first and largest extended to 3,186 pages; less than a half of this work is now among the manuscripts of the British Museum. The second was a digest of the first, 'in better order and wanting nothing of the substance;' this was published by the Wodrow Society in 8 vols. 8vo, 1842-9. The third, another abbreviation, was first published in a folio volume in 1678, twenty-eight years after his death. Though little attractive in a literary sense, Calderwood's history is the great quarry for information on the ecclesiastical history of Scotland 'beginning at Mr. Patrick Hamil-

ton, and ending with the death of James the Sixth.'

Calderwood does not appear ever to have been married. His papers were bequeathed to a brother's family, a member of which, Sir William Calderwood of Polton (a judge in the supreme courts, under the title of Lord Polton), presented the manuscripts of his history to the British Museum on 29 Jan. 1765. Other collections of papers were given to Wodrow, in whose possession they were at the time of his death; these papers were purchased by the Faculty of Advocates in 1792.

The following list of Calderwood's published writings is extracted from the life prefixed to the Wodrow Society's edition of his history, having been inserted there 'from the appendix to the Life of Henderson in the miscellaneous writings of Dr. McCrie.'

1. 'Perth Assembly,' 1619.
2. 'Parasy-nagma Perthense,' 1620.
3. 'Defence of our Arguments against kneeling in the act of receiving the sacramental elements of bread and wine, impugned by Mr. Michelsone,' 1620.
4. 'A Dialogue betwixt Cosmophilus and Theophilus anent the urging of new Ceremonies upon the Kirk of Scotland,' 1620.
5. 'The Speech of the Kirk of Scotland to her beloved children,' 1620.
6. 'The Solution of Dr. Resolutus, his Resolutions.'
7. 'The Altar of Damascus,' 1621.
8. 'The Course of Conformitie,' 1622.
9. '*Altare Damascenum: seu Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Politia*,' 1623 (the Latin work is much fuller than the English).
10. 'A Reply to Dr. Morton's general Defence of Three Nacent Ceremonies,' 1623.
11. 'A Reply to Dr. Morton's particular Defence of Three Nacent Ceremonies,' 1623.
12. 'An Exhortation of the particular Kirks of Christ in Scotland to their sister Kirk in Edinburgh,' 1624.
13. 'An Epistle of a Christian Brother,' 1624.
14. 'A Dispute upon Communicating at our confused Communion,' 1624.
15. 'The Pastor and the Prelate,' 1628.
16. 'A Re-examination of the Five Articles enacted at Perth,' 1636.
17. 'The Re-examination abridged,' 1636.
18. 'An Answer to Mr. J. Forbes of Corse, his Peaceable Warning,' 1638.

[Life of David Calderwood, by Rev. Thomas Thomson, F.S.A. Scot., in Wodrow edition of his History, 1849; Preface to vol. viii. of History, with genealogical table and notices of the family of Calderwood, by David Laing, 1849; Lettters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., edited by David Laing, 1842; Correspondence of the Rev. Robert Wodrow, 1843; Grub's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vols. ii. and iii. 1861; Walker's Scottish Theology and Theologians, 1872. Walker says of the *Altare Damascenum*:

'The Bible, the Fathers, the Canonists, are equally at his command. It does our church no credit that the Altare has never been translated. It seems to have been more in request out of Scotland than in it. . . . Among the Dutch divines he was ever Eminentissimus Calderwood.'] W. G. B.

**CALDERWOOD, MARGARET** (1715-1774), diarist, was a daughter of Sir James Steuart of Coltness, bart., and sometime solicitor-general for Scotland. She married in 1735 Thomas Calderwood of Polton, near Edinburgh. Her sister Agnes became the wife of Henry David, tenth earl of Buchan, and the mother of Henry Erskine, lord advocate, and of Thomas Erskine, the chancellor. Her brother, Sir James Steuart, was implicated to some extent in the rebellion of 1745, and was compelled to reside abroad, and it was with a view to affording him some comfort in his exile that Mrs. Calderwood joined him at Brussels in the year 1756. From the day of her departure from home she kept a careful journal and was in constant correspondence with her Scottish friends. The substance of both letters and journals was woven by herself into a continuous narrative and widely circulated among her acquaintance; but it remained in manuscript until the year 1842, when it was privately printed for the Maitland Club, and issued to its members under the title of the 'Coltness Collections.' In 1884 Colonel Fergusson re-edited the letters and journals, and they have thus become known to a larger circle. Mrs. Calderwood was a keen observer of men and things, and her remarks are shrewd and pointed, while her writings have additional value as preserving the Scottish words and idioms prevalent in her time in educated society. She herself seems to have been a poor linguist, but it would appear that she had studied mathematics under Professor Maclaurin, the friend of Newton, and she certainly exhibited much financial ability in the management of the family estates. Evidence of this skill is to be found in the fact that in eight years she largely increased their rental by judicious outlays, and the journal of her 'factorship,' presented to the farmers with a view to encouraging their enterprise, has not yet lost its value. Less successful was her attempt at novel writing, and it would appear that her reputation has not suffered by 'The Adventures of Fanny Roberts' remaining still unprinted. Mrs. Calderwood died in 1774, eight months after the death of her husband, having had two sons and one daughter, and in the issue of the last the estate of Polton is now vested.

[Letters and Journals of Mrs. Calderwood of

Polton, edited by Lieut.-col. Alexander Fergusson, Edinburgh, 1884, 8vo; Coltness Collections, Maitland Club Publications, 1842, 4to.]

C. J. R.

**CALDERWOOD, SIR WILLIAM, LORD POLTON** (1660?-1733), lord of session, was the son of Alexander Calderwood, baillie of Dalkeith, and was admitted advocate at the Scottish bar in July 1687. After the revolution he was made deputy-sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, and some time before 1707 received the honour of knighthood. He was appointed to succeed Sir William Anstruther of Anstruther as an ordinary lord in 1711, under the title of Lord Polton. He was at the same time nominated a lord of justiciary. He died on 7 Aug. 1733, in his seventy-third year.

[Haig and Brunton's Senators of the College of Justice, p. 492.] T. F. H.

**CALDWALL, JAMES** (b. 1739), designer and engraver, born in London in 1739, was a pupil of Sherwin. He was a good draughtsman and engraved brilliantly in line, using the etching needle largely. He is chiefly known by his portraits, which include Sir Henry Oxenden, bart., Catharine, countess of Suffolk, Sir John Glynne, Sir Roger Curtis, Admiral Keppel, John Gillies, LL.D., David Hume, and Mrs. Siddons (and her son) in the tragedy of 'Isabella,' after W. Hamilton, 1783. He engraved the figures in 'The Immortality of Garrick,' after G. Carter, 1783 (landscape engraved by S. Smith), and 'The Fête Champêtre given by the Earl of Derby at the Oaks,' after R. Adams, and 'The Camp at Coxheath,' after W. Hamilton. He also engraved for Cook's 'Voyages' and Boydell's 'Shakespeare.' He exhibited one work at the Society of Artists and twenty-nine at the Free Society from 1768 to 1780. The last date on his engravings is 1783, but he survived his brother, John Caldwell, a miniature-painter of reputation, who was born in Scotland and died there in 1819.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Bryan's Dict. of Painters (Graves); Graves's Dict. of Artists.] C. M.

**CALDWALL, RICHARD, M.D.** (1505?-1584), physician, was born in Staffordshire about 1505 (*Tables of Surgery*). He was educated at Brasenose, graduated as B.A. in 1533 (Wood, *Fæsti* (Bliss), i. 95), and became a fellow, but afterwards moved to Christ Church and thence graduated M.D. at Oxford in 1554. He was admitted a fellow of the College of Physicians in 1559, was made a censor the same day, and was elected president in 1570. With Lord Lumley he founded

a surgery lecture in the college. In 1572 he was infirm, and was excused from attendance at its meetings by the college. He wrote several works, but only one was published, and that after his death, by E. Caldwell. It is a translation of some 'Tables of Surgery' by Horatius Morus, a Florentine physician. Caldwell died in 1584, and was buried in St. Benet's, Paul's Wharf. Camden describes his tomb—an elaborate work in later renaissance style, with many panels and borders, and adorned with surgical instruments.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, i. 60; Wood's Athenæ (Bliss), i. 510; Tables of Surgery, 1585; Camden's Annals, 1627.] N. M.

**CALDWELL, SIR ALEXANDER** (1763-1839), general, a younger son of William Caldwell (1710-1802), by his third wife, Isabella, daughter of Alexander Clark of Inverness, was born on 1 Feb. 1763. He was a grandson of Sir John Caldwell, second baronet of Castle Caldwell, co. Fermanagh. Alexander was nominated a cadet in the Bengal artillery in 1782, and on 3 April 1783, after a year's study at Woolwich, was appointed lieutenant fire-worker, and soon after arrived at Calcutta. After some garrison duty there he was ordered to Dacca in 1787 in command of a brigade of four 6-pounders, but was sent home on sick leave in 1789. He again studied at Woolwich, and after being promoted a lieutenant on 26 Nov. 1790 returned to India in 1791. In 1792 he was made commandant of the artillery at Midnapore; in the following year he was present at the reduction of Pondicherry; from 1794 to 1796 he commanded the artillery at Dinapore and Cawn-pore, and on 7 Jan. 1796 he was promoted captain. In 1798 he was nominated to command the artillery of the force which, under the command of Colonel Hyndman and the superintendence of John Malcolm, conquered and disbanded the powerful army trained for the service of the Nizam by M. Raymond. After this service he proceeded with the Nizam's contingent, which was placed under the command of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, to take part in the last Mysore war. He commanded the six guns posted on the left at the battle of Malavelly, and also the battery of artillery which supported Colonel Wellesley in his unsuccessful attack on the great 'tope' during the siege of Seringapatam. After the fall of Seringapatam Caldwell commanded the artillery and acted as field engineer with the force detached under Colonel Bowser to take the forts of Gooty and Gurrumcondah, and particularly distinguished himself at the head of the storming party which took the 'pettah' or inner fort of

Gooty. He acted in the same double capacity with the force under Colonel Desse which took Cuptal, where he was wounded in the shoulder, and received by a special resolution of General Harris the allowances of both commanding officer of artillery and of field engineer for his services in these two expeditions. In 1800 he returned to Calcutta, and from 1802 to 1806 was aide-de-camp to Major-general George Green there, and was employed in instructing the cadets for the Bengal artillery on their arrival from England. (The cadets were no longer permitted to receive their professional education at Woolwich.) In 1806 Caldwell came to England on sick leave; in 1807 was promoted major, and in 1810 returned to Calcutta. In February 1811 he was appointed to command the artillery, consisting of detachments from the Royal, Bengal, and Madras artillery, which accompanied the expedition under Sir Samuel Auchmuty to Java, and was very instrumental in the reduction of Batavia. He was then prostrated with fever, but nevertheless insisted on reporting himself well, and was present at the battle and the storming of the lines of Cornelis on 26 Aug., when his services were specially noticed in General Auchmuty's despatch. He was promoted lieutenant-colonel on 1 March 1812. In July 1812 he commanded the artillery at Agra in the operations against Zeman Shah, and was thanked in general orders for his conduct. In 1815 he again came to England on sick leave, and on 3 Feb. 1817 was appointed C.B. In 1819 he returned to India for the last time, and in 1821 retired from active service. In 1829 he was promoted colonel, and in 1837 major-general, and in the latter year he was also made a K.C.B. In 1838, when the court of directors was asked to nominate three distinguished officers of their army to be made extra G.C.B.'s on the occasion of the coronation of Queen Victoria, Caldwell was one of those selected. He died at his house in Upper Berkeley Street on 6 Dec. 1839.

Sir Alexander was twice married: first, to Ann Miller, who died on 22 Oct. 1836; and, secondly, to Elizabeth Shephard. The second Lady Caldwell, who afterwards married Colonel Le Blanc, died in 1891.

[Stubbs's Hist. of the Bengal Artillery; obit. notices in Gent. Mag. and Colburn's United Serv. Mag. for February 1840.] H. M. S.

**CALDWELL, ANDREW**, the elder (1733-1808), Irish barrister, son of Charles Caldwell, solicitor to the customs at Dublin, was born on 19 Dec. 1733. After residing about five years at the Temple, London, he returned to Dublin, where he was admitted

to the bar in 1760, but inheriting a sufficient estate he made little effort to succeed in the profession of law, devoting most of his time to the cultivation of his literary and artistic tastes. In 1770 he published, anonymously, 'Observations on the Public Buildings of Dublin,' and in 1804 printed for private circulation 'Account of the extraordinary Escape of James Stewart, Esquire (commonly called Athenian Stewart), from being put to death by some Turks, in whose company he happened to be travelling.' He died on 2 July 1808.

[Gent. Mag. lxxviii. 746.]

T. F. H.

**CALDWELL, SIR BENJAMIN** (1737?-1820), admiral, third son of Charles Caldwell, solicitor to the customs in Dublin, by Elizabeth Heywood, was born in Liverpool 31 Jan. 1738-9. In 1754 he was entered at the Royal Academy at Portsmouth, and in 1756 was appointed to the 50-gun ship *Isis*. In March 1759 he was removed to the *Namur*, bearing Admiral Boscawen's flag. He was in her at the defeat of *De la Clue's* squadron in Lagos Bay, 18-19 Aug., and afterwards in the defeat of *M. de Conflans* in Quiberon Bay, 20 Nov. From 1760 to 1762 he was a lieutenant of the *Achilles*; and after commanding the *Martin* ship for three years was in 1765 posted into the *Milford* frigate. He afterwards commanded the *Rose*, and from 1775 to 1779 the *Emerald* of 32 guns on the North American station; on 25 Dec. he was appointed to the *Hannibal* of 50 guns, and in the beginning of 1781 was moved into the *Agamemnon* of 64 guns. During the summer and autumn the *Agamemnon* was in the Channel fleet under Vice-admiral Darby, and was afterwards one of the small squadron with Rear-admiral Kempenfelt [q.v.] in the Bay of Biscay, December 1781. After the affair of 12 Dec. the *Agamemnon* was detached to pick up any stragglers of the scattered French convoy, and succeeded in capturing five more of them. She returned in time to sail with Sir George Rodney for the West Indies, where she had a brilliant share in the action off Dominica, 12 April 1782. She remained on the West Indian and North American station till the peace, and was paid off in May 1783. Caldwell was M.P. for Knocktopher in the Irish house of commons 1776-83, and for Harristown 1783-90. In 1787 he commanded the *Alcide* for a short time, and for a few months during the Spanish armament of 1790 commanded the *Berwick*. On 1 Feb. 1793 he was promoted to be rear-admiral of the white, and towards the close of the year hoisted his flag in the *Cumberland* of 74 guns, in the fleet under Lord Howe. In April 1794 he became rear-

admiral of the red, and transferred his flag to the *Impregnable* of 98 guns, still in Lord Howe's fleet, and took part in the action of the 1st of June, in which the *Impregnable* had thirty-one men killed or wounded. Caldwell was, nevertheless, left unmentioned in the official despatches of Lord Howe (*Naval Chronicle*, xi. 8). In consequence the gold medal was withheld from him, as it was from the other flag-officers and captains who had not been specially mentioned; and though it was very quickly understood that Howe had committed a serious blunder, and that the admiralty had offered a gross insult to several deserving officers, the mischief was done. Collingwood alone had it afterwards in his power to force the admiralty to acknowledge their mistake [see **COLLINGWOOD**, **CUTHBERT**, **LORD**]. On 4 July 1794 Caldwell was advanced to be vice-admiral of the blue, and in the following September was sent out to the Leeward Islands, with his flag in the *Majestic*, to join Sir John Jervis. Jervis shortly afterwards returned to England, leaving Caldwell commander-in-chief. In the following June, however, he was superseded by Sir John Laforey; and as his rank fully entitled him to the command, he was apparently led to suppose that the supersession was a continuation of the same insult which had withheld the gold medal. He returned to England in the *Blanche* frigate, and neither applied for nor accepted any further appointment. His advancement to the rank of admiral, 14 Feb. 1799, came, as matter of course, by seniority. His name was markedly omitted from the honours conferred at the end of the war, and, though the connection is not obvious, it was not till after the death of George III that, in May 1820, he received a tardy acknowledgment of injustice and wrong by being nominated an extra G.C.B. Caldwell married (7 June 1784) Charlotte, daughter of Admiral Henry Osborn, by whom he had a son, Charles Andrew. He died at his son's house, near Basingstoke, in November 1820.

[*Naval Chronicle*, vol. xi., with a portrait; *Charnock's Biog. Navalis*, vi. 530; *Ralfs's Nav. Biog.* i. 384; *Gent. Mag.* 1820, vol. xc. pt. ii. p. 565; *Burke's Landed Gentry*.] J. K. L.

**CALDWELL, HUME** (1733-1762), colonel, third son of Sir John Caldwell, second baronet, of Castle Caldwell, county Fermanagh, was born there in 1733. He entered the Austrian army at an early age. While stationed at Prague he accidentally set fire to the furniture in his lodgings, and his landlord applied to have his pay sequestrated to pay for the damage. The brothers of the Irish Fran-



ciscan convent came to his aid on account of the kindness with which Caldwell's father had treated his catholic neighbours (BURKE, *Peerage and Baronetage*, 1837, 'Caldwell, bart.'). Caldwell served with honour throughout the seven years' war; he soon rose to the rank of colonel, and received the cross of the order of Maria Theresa from the empress-queen for his gallant conduct at the battle of Domstädtl. His greatest exploit was at the sudden attack on the fortress of Schweidnitz, by General Loudon, on 30 Sept. 1761, when he led the stormers of the Garden Fort and carried it in a quarter of an hour, for which he was specially mentioned in Loudon's despatches. He died in the following year at Schweidnitz from a wound received during a sortie from the fortress, when it was being besieged by Frederick the great.

Maria Theresa never forgot Caldwell's services; she created his elder brother, Sir James Caldwell, bart., count of Milan in the Holy Roman Empire, and in 1766, when he was passing through Vienna, she gave him a magnificently enamelled gold box to present to his mother, the Dowager Lady Caldwell.

[Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* for 1837, 'Caldwell, bart. ; Von Jankos's article in the *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, where he refers to Hirttenfeld's *Mil. Theresien Orden*, i. 82, and Hirttenfeld's *Oesterreich. Conversations-Lexikon*, i. 601.] H. M. S.

CALDWELL, JOHN (1628-1679). [See FENWICK.]

CALENIUS, WALTER (*d.* 1151), is the name given by Bale to a person whom earlier writers mention only as 'Walter, archdeacon of Oxford.' There is strong reason for believing that the designation 'Calenius' was coined by Bale himself, or at all events that it was invented in the sixteenth century. Among the scholars of that period 'Calena' (a misreading for Calleva or Caleva, which occurs in Ptolemy and Antoninus as the name of a Roman station now known to have been at Silchester) was commonly understood to be a Latin name for Oxford. Thus in Elyot's *Latin-English dictionary* (3rd edition by Cooper, 1559) we find the explanation '*Calena*, a towne in Englande called Oxforde;' and in Bale's own work (*Script. Ill. Maj. Brit.*, Basle ed. 1557, pt. ii. p. 26) there is an article on Olenus Calenus, an Etruscan soothsayer who is mentioned by Pliny, and who, Bale informs us, 'is said by some to have migrated to Britain, and to have given his name to the city of Calena,

now called Oxford.' Bale also quotes from Gesner's 'Onomasticon' the statement that 'the Calena of Ptolemy is believed to have been the city which now bears the name of Oxford.' It seems therefore certain that Bale's 'Gualterus Calenius' is nothing else than a pseudo-classical rendering of 'Walter of Oxford.' Subsequently, however, Calena was identified by Camden with Wallingford, on the fancied ground that the Welsh *guall hen*, 'old wall,' was the etymon both of the Roman and the modern name. This identification led Bishop Kennet to conjecture that Walter 'Calenius' was so called on account of his having been born at Wallingford. Kennet's conjecture obtained general currency from being adopted by Le Neve, and in many modern books (e.g. in the edition of Henry of Huntingdon published in the *Rolls Ser.*) the archdeacon of Oxford is designated by the quite unwarranted appellation of 'Walter of Wallingford.'

Although the surname 'Calenius' is, as we have seen, merely a modern figment, it may be convenient to retain it for the sake of distinction, inasmuch as there were in the twelfth century two other archdeacons of Oxford who bore the name of Walter—viz. Walter of Coutances, appointed in 1183, and Walter Map, appointed in 1196. Leland confounded the subject of this article with Walter Map, and although Bale correctly distinguished between the two men, the confusion is still frequently met with.

The most important fact which is known respecting Walter 'Calenius' is that he brought over from Brittany the 'British' (i.e. either Breton or Welsh) book of which Geoffrey of Monmouth professed that his 'History of the Kings of Britain' was a translation. Geoffrey speaks of the archdeacon as 'accomplished in the art of oratory and in foreign history;' and in the course of his work he intimates that in his account of Arthur he has supplemented the statements of his British author by information which had been supplied to him by Walter himself. Ranulph Higden mentions Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, in his list of the authorities followed by him in his '*Polychronicon*.' It is quite possible that Higden may have had access to some genuine work of Walter which is now lost. On the other hand, there is evidence that a recension of the 'History of the Kings of Britain' was in circulation, in which Geoffrey's connection with the work was ignored, and in which Walter himself was alleged to have translated it into the British tongue. The Welsh versions of this history, preserved in two manuscripts in the library of Jesus College, Oxford, distinctly

assign the authorship of their immediate Latin original to Walter instead of Geoffrey. Leland, however, drew from Higden's statement the inference that Walter probably wrote a history of his own time; and Bale expanded Leland's conjecture into the definite assertion that 'Calenius' was the author of a continuation ('auctarium') of Geoffrey's history and of a history of his own time, each in one book, besides a book of 'Letters to his Friends,' and 'many other works.' It may be suspected that in this case, as in many proved instances, Bale drew upon his imagination for his facts. Henry of Huntingdon, in his *Epistola ad Walterum de Contemptu Mundi*, speaks of Walter, archdeacon of Oxford, as a distinguished rhetorician, and states that he was the successor of Alfred, who was one of the archdeacons appointed by Remigius, bishop of Lincoln. This Walter is identical with the so-called Calenius. The Walter to whom the *Epistola* was addressed was formerly supposed to be the same person, but this is impossible, as Henry states that the friend to whom the letter was written died before it was finished, which was in 1135, whereas Walter 'Calenius' lived until 1151.

Bishop Kennet's manuscript in the British Museum (*Lansdowne*, 935) states that Walter is mentioned as archdeacon of Oxford in 1104 and 1111, but no references are given to the documents in which these dates occur. He sat as the king's justiciar at Peterborough in 1125, together with Richard Basset, and also at Winchester with Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln. The date of the last-mentioned assize is not given, but the fact that Faritius, abbot of Abingdon, appears before the court on this occasion shows that it was not later than 1118. Walter was a witness to charters of Abingdon Monastery in 1115, and also to the foundation charter of Oseney Abbey in 1129. On the foundation of Godstow Nunnery by Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, in 1138, Walter gave to it the tithes of his estate at Cudeslawe. He was a canon of the collegiate church of St. George within the castle at Oxford, and according to the Oseney Abbey chronicle he was successful in claiming for his own collegiate body the rights over the church of St. Mary Magdalene, the possession of which had been usurped by the prior of St. Frideswide's. This transaction, however, is somewhat obscure, as we read in the same chronicle that in 1151 the pope confirmed to the abbey of Oseney the possession of the church of St. George and its dependent church of St. Mary Magdalene, which the prior of St. Frideswide's had claimed on the ground of an illegal grant made by Walter. Bishop

Kennet states that the Oseney register (the manuscript of which has since been destroyed by fire) mentions Walter as still archdeacon in 1151. As Robert Foliot was appointed archdeacon of Oxford in 1151, it is probable that Walter died in that year.

The statement of Bale that Walter was a Welshman is probably a mere inference from the interest which he took in British antiquities.

[Leland's *Comm. de Scriptoribus*, p. 187; Bale's *Script. Ill. Maj. Brit.* (ed. Basle, 1557), p. 180; Geoffrey of Monmouth, i. 1, xi. 1, xii. 20; Chron. Mon. Abingdon (Stevenson), i. 62, 63; MS. Lansdowne, 935, ff. 49, 50; Henry of Huntingdon (ed. Arnold), p. 304; *Annales Monastici* (Luard), i. 218; Higden's *Polychronicon*, i. 2; Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), iv. 362; Ward's *Cat. Romances in Brit. Mus.* i. 218.] H. B.

CALETO or CAUX, JOHN DE (d. 1263), treasurer of England, was probably a native of the Pays de Caux. By Matthew Paris he is called John of Caen (Johannes de Cadamo), and other writers give his cognomen in the various forms De Calceto, De Caux, De Cauaz, De Caus, and De Chauce. The Peterborough chronicler, Walter of Whittlesea, who wrote in the fourteenth century, states that he was born in Normandy, of a noble family, being related to Eleanor of Provence, the queen of Henry III, and entered the monastic life when a child seven years of age. Coming over to England at an early age, he became a monk of the monastery of St. Swithun, Winchester, of which he was chosen prior in 1247. In 1249 William Hotot, abbot of Peterborough, had been accused by his monks to the bishop of Lincoln (Robert Grosseteste) of enriching his relatives at the expense of the church. The bishop threatened William with deposition, but he anticipated the sentence by a professedly voluntary resignation. It was reported to Henry III that the real motive of the hostility of the monks to William was that he was favourable to the royal cause. The king was very angry, and ordered the monks to elect John de Caletto as Hotot's successor. This they did, although Matthew Paris intimates that the new abbot was unwelcome to them both on the ground of being a Norman and on that of belonging to another religious house. The royal assent to the election of John de Caletto was signified 15 Jan. 1250 (DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, Ellis, i. 356, where 'Lansd. MS. 1086, fol. 212 b,' is quoted as the authority; the reference, however, is wrong). His administration of the abbey was zealous and wise, and he seems soon to have succeeded in overcoming his

unpopularity with the monks. One of his acts was to invite his predecessor to take up his residence at Oxney, close to Peterborough, and to assign to him during his life the portion of four monks from the cellar and kitchen of the monastery, deducting it from the allowance which he was entitled to claim for his own table. It was the custom of Henry III to appoint the heads of Benedictine houses—greatly, as Matthew Paris complains, to the detriment of the wealth of the order—to act as itinerant justices. The abbot of Peterborough was nominated to that office in 1254, and from that year to 1258 his name occurs several times at the head of the list of justices at Buckingham, Derby, Lincoln, and Bedford. In 1260, according to most of the authorities (although the chronicle of Thomas Wykes places this event in 1258), he was appointed the king's treasurer, retaining, however, his office as abbot of Peterborough. His secular employments rendered it necessary for him to be frequently absent from the monastery, but Walter of Whittlesea states that he exercised strict control over its management, so that the interests of the house did not suffer. He built the infirmary of the abbey, and presented a great bell to the church, bearing the inscription 'Ion de Caux Abbas Oswaldo contulit hoc vas.' Among many other benefactions to the abbey he gave five books, the titles of which are enumerated by Gunton 'from an old manuscript.' Bishop Patrick endeavours to prove that John de Caletto was the author of the earlier portion of the '*Chronicon Angliæ*' (*Cotton MS. Claud. A. v.*) printed in Sparke's '*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores varii*.' The manuscript has on its first page a note ascribing its authorship to John, abbot of Peterborough; the handwriting of this entry is, however, only of the seventeenth century, and there is nothing to show from what source the statement was derived. The chronicle cannot in its present form have been written by John de Caletto, as it quotes Martinus Polonus, whose work was not published until after John's death. He died on 3 March 1262-3; according to Walter of Whittlesea at his own house in London, but the Dunsdale annals say that his death occurred at 'Lande,' which, if the reading be correct, probably means Laund in Leicestershire. His body was brought to Peterborough, and buried before the altar of St. Andrew. He was succeeded in the office of treasurer of England by Nicholas, archdeacon of Ely.

[Matt. Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Luard, v. 84, 85, 466; Walter de Whittlesea in Sparke, *Hist. Ang. Script.* p. 132; *Annales Monastici*

(Luard), i. 140, ii. 91, 98, 100, iii. 192, 206, 220, iv. 98, 120; *Excerpta e Rot. Fin.* ii. 276, 285, 286; Gunton's *Hist. of the Church at Peterborough*, 34, 309, and the Preface by Bishop Patrick; Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), i. 356; Foss's *Judges of England*, ii. 285.] H. B.

CALEY, JOHN (*d.* 1834), antiquary, was the eldest son of John Caley, a grocer in Bishopsgate Street, London (*Gray's Inn Admission Register*; *Kent's London Directory*). At an early age he devoted himself to antiquarian pursuits, and busied himself about old books, catalogues, and manuscripts. In this way he made the acquaintance of the well-known Thomas Astle [q. v.], by whose influence he was placed in the Record Office in the Tower. Here he quickly became known as a skilful decipherer of ancient records, and his promotion was rapid. In 1787 he received from Lord William Bentinck, as clerk of the pipe, the keepership of the records in the Augmentation Office, in place of Mr. H. Brooker, deceased (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lvii. pt. ii. p. 1126); and in 1818, on the death of the Right Hon. George Rose, he was appointed keeper of the records in the ancient treasury at Westminster, formerly the chapter-house of the abbey (*ib.* vol. lxxxviii. pt. i. p. 367). Meanwhile he had entered himself at Gray's Inn, on 11 Jan. 1786, but never proceeded to the bar. When the first record commission was nominated in 1801, Caley was appointed secretary, an office which he continued to hold until the dissolution of the commission in March 1831. A special office, that of sub-commissioner, to superintend the arranging, repairing, and binding of records, was forthwith created for him, and for discharging this duty he was rewarded with a salary of 500*l.* a year, besides retaining his two lucrative keeperships. To Caley's influence were attributed many of the scandals which brought the commission into such ill repute. Everything appears to have been left to his discretion, and he did not fail to profit by such easy compliance. We have, too, the testimony of Sir Henry Cole, Mr. Illingworth, and others, that owing to Caley's systematic neglect of duty the arranging and binding of the records were executed in a most disgraceful manner, the lettering and dates being inaccurate in almost every instance. He also removed the seals from a great number of conventual leases, cartæ antiquæ, and Scotch records, many of which were of elaborate and beautiful workmanship, ostensibly for arranging the documents in volumes, but in reality for the convenience of copying them and taking casts to add to his collection at his house in Spa Fields, where were also stored, greatly to their injury, many of

the more valuable national archives entrusted to his keeping.

As a sub-commissioner Caley became a joint-editor in no less than fourteen of the works undertaken by the commission. He also printed, at the request of Dr. Burgess, the then bishop of the diocese, a few copies of the 'Ecclesiastical Survey of the Possessions, &c., of the Bishop of St. David's,' 8vo, privately printed, 1812 (*Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. viii. 104, 2nd ser. xi. 233-4). The following year, 1818, he engaged, in conjunction with Dr. Bandinel and Sir Henry Ellis, to prepare a new edition of Dugdale's 'Monasticon,' which extended to six volumes, the first of which appeared in 1817, the last in 1830. To this undertaking, however, he did little else than furnish documents (NICHOLS, *Illustr. of Literature*, viii. xxxviii). Caley was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in March 1786, and to the eighth volume of the 'Archæologia' (pp. 389-405) he contributed a memoir of great interest and research, 'On the Origin of the Jews in England.' His other contributions were: in 1789 an extract from a manuscript in the Augmentation Office relative to a wardrobe account of Henry VIII (ix. 243-52); in 1790 a valuation (temp. Henry VIII) of the shrine called Corpus Christi Shrine at York (x. 469-71); and in 1791 the highly curious 'Survey of the Manor of Wymbledon, alias Wimpleton,' taken by the parliamentary commissioners in November 1649 (x. 399-448). He was also a fellow of the Royal and Linnean Societies, and a member of the Society of Arts.

Caley died at his house in Exmouth Street, Spa Fields, on 28 April 1834, aged 71. His library, rich in topography and collections of reports and searches made by him as a legal antiquary during a period of fifty years, was sold by Evans in the following July. Several of his manuscripts were acquired by the British Museum (*Index to Cat. of Additions to Manuscripts in Brit. Mus.*, 1841-5, 1854-75, 1876-81).

Applicants for historical documents had to apply at Caley's private house, whither they were brought in bags by his footman. The wrong document might often be brought, and a search which would now occupy two days, free of cost, would then be prolonged through as many weeks, while the scale of payment depended entirely upon the pleasure of the already highly paid official. From the offices, described at the time as 'dirty and dark,' the public was rigidly excluded; the contents were kept in a state of the utmost disorder, the only clue to them being the

indexes in Caley's possession at his private house. No access whatever was allowed to the indexes, nor indeed to any records except those sent for to Spa Fields for the purposes of inspection.

[Gent. Mag. (1834), ii. 320-1; Commons' Report on Record Commission, 1836; Pamphlets on Record Commission in Brit. Mus.] G. G.

**CALFHILL, JAMES** (1530?-1570), bishop-elect of Worcester (called also CALFIELD), was a native of Edinburgh (STRYPE, *Grindal*, p. 54), or of Shropshire, according to various accounts. He was educated at Eton, entered King's College, Cambridge, in 1545, and in 1548 was appointed a student of the new foundation of Christ Church, Oxford. He was B.A. 1549, M.A. 1552, B.D. 1561, and D.D. 1565-6. During Mary's reign he published some Latin verses in reply to some composed by Bishop White of Lincoln, in honour of the queen's marriage. He was ordained deacon on 14 Jan. 1558-9, and in the same month instituted to the rectory of West Horsley, Surrey. He took priest's orders on 9 June 1560, and became canon of Christ Church on 5 July following. In May 1562 he became rector of St. Andrew Wardrobe, London, and was proctor both for the clergy of London and the chapter of Oxford in the convocation of 1563, where he belonged to the more advanced protestant party. On 14 Dec. 1562 he was presented by the queen to the penitentiaryship of St. Paul's and the annexed prebend of St. Pancras. On 18 Feb. 1563-4 he was appointed Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Oxford. On 4 May 1565 he was collated to the deanery of Bocking, Essex, by Archbishop Parker, and on 16 July became archdeacon of Colchester. He applied unsuccessfully to secretary Cecil for the provostship of King's College, Cambridge, in 1569. In 1570 he was nominated to the bishopric of Worcester, vacant by the translation of Edwin Sandys to London, but died in August at Bocking before consecration. He left a widow, to whom administration of his effects was granted on 21 Aug. 1570.

Calfhill is said to have been a cousin of Tobie Matthew, afterwards archbishop of York, whom he persuaded to take orders (STRYPE). He appears to have been an elegant scholar, a forcible preacher, and a staunch Calvinist. A friend of Foxe praises an eloquent sermon preached by him at St. Paul's Cross in January 1560-1, bewailing the bondage of Oxford to the 'papistical yoke.' Walter Haddon complained to Archbishop Parker in July 1564 of a very offensive sermon preached by him before the queen, and

in 1568 he preached two sermons at Bristol in defence of Calvin, against Richard Cheyney [q. v.], bishop of Gloucester, who then held Bristol *in commendam*. The bishop complains that Calhill would not sup with him afterwards. His chief work was an 'Answer to the Treatise of the Crosse' (by John Martiall, who had dedicated his book to Queen Elizabeth upon hearing that she had retained the cross in her chapel. Martiall replied, and was answered by William Fulke), 1565. It was edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. Richard Gibbings in 1846. He also wrote: 1. 'Querela Oxoniensis academice ad Cantabrigiam' (a Latin poem on the death of Henry and Charles Brandon), 1552. 2. 'Historia de exhumatione Catherinæ nuper uxoris Pet. Martyris' (included in a volume of pieces relating to Martin Bucer, edited by Conrade Hubert in 1562). It includes two Latin poems and two epigrams by Calhill on the same occasion. Calhill superintended the reinterment of Catharine Bucer's remains at Christ Church (Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* viii. 297). 3. 'Poemata varia.' He left in manuscript a 'concio' on occasion of his B.D. degree, now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and 'Sapientie Solomonis liber carmine redditus,' dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, 15 May 1559, now in the British Museum (*Royal MSS.* 2 D ii.).

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss) i. 378; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 285; Le Neve's *Fasti*, ii. 242, 424, 519, iii. 65, 518; Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 92, 196, 272, ii. 69; Herbert's *Ames*, pp. 925, 1619; Parker Correspondence, p. 218; Cole *MSS.* xii. 161, xiv. 96; Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, iii. 44; Nichols's *Progr. Eliz.* (1823), i. 230, 243; Strype's *Annals*, i. i. 262, 353, 493, pt. ii. 200; *State Papers, Dom.* (1547-80), pp. 175, 242, 278; Boase's *Register*, p. 216.]

**CALHOUN, PATRICK** (1727-1796), American settler, was born in Ireland in 1727. His father emigrated in 1733 to Pennsylvania, and several years afterwards to the western part of Virginia. When that settlement, after the defeat of Braddock, was broken up by the Indians, the family removed to Long Cane, Abbeville, in the interior of South Carolina, on the confines of the Cherokee Indians. In the war of 1759 half of the settlement was destroyed, and the remnant retired to the older settlements, but on the conclusion of peace in 1763 Calhoun and others returned. Calhoun was appointed to the command of a body of rangers for the defence of the frontiers, in which he displayed great intrepidity and skill. He was the first member of the provincial legislature elected from the upper

county of the state, and was afterwards elected to the state legislature, of which, with the intermission of a single term, he remained a member till his death. In the revolutionary war he took an active part on the patriot side. He died in 1796. By his wife, a Miss Caldwell, of Charlotte county, Va., he had several children, one of whom, John Caldwell Calhoun, became vice-president of the United States.

[Allen's *American Biographical Dictionary*; Von Holst's *Life of John C. Calhoun* (1882).] T. F. H.

**CALKIN, JAMES** (1786-1862), organist and composer, was born in London in 1786. He studied under Thomas Lyon and Dr. Crotch, and was one of the earliest members and directors of the Philharmonic Society. On the consecration of the Regent Square Church, Gray's Inn Road, Calkin was appointed organist, a post he held for thirty years. In 1846 his madrigal, 'When Chloris weeps,' gained a prize from the Western Madrigal Society. His long, uneventful life was almost entirely devoted to teaching, in which he acquired considerable reputation as a successful master. His compositions include an overture and symphony for orchestra, string quartets, and a large quantity of pianoforte music. Calkin died at 12 Oakley Square, Camden Town, in 1862.

[Information from Mr. J. B. Calkin; Baptie's *Handbook of Musical Biography*; *Musical Directory*.] W. B. S.

**CALL, SIR JOHN** (1732-1801), first baronet, of Whiteford, Cornwall, Indian military engineer, was descended from an old family which, it is said, once owned considerable property in Devon and Cornwall. His father, John Call of Launcells, Cornwall, was in respectable but not affluent circumstances. Young Call was born at Fenny Park, near Tiverton, in 1732. It is believed that he was educated at Blundell's school in that town. When about seventeen he was recommended to the notice of Benjamin Robins, the celebrated mathematician, who at that time received the appointment of chief-engineer and captain-general of artillery in the East India Company's settlements. Robins left England in 1749, and arrived at Fort William in July 1750, bringing with him eight young writers, one of whom was Call, who acted as his secretary. Robins having died in July 1751, and war having commenced with the powers on the coast of Coromandel, Call, who was appointed a writer on the Madras establishment that year (PRINSEP, *Madras*, civ), was employed in the capacity of engineer to carry on

the erection of the defensive works at Fort St. David. In the beginning of 1752 he accompanied Captain (afterwards Lord) Clive on an expedition against the French, who had possessed themselves of the province of Arcot, and were plundering up to the very gates of Madras. After the great successes achieved by Clive, the army marched back to Fort St. David, where Call received the appointment of engineer-in-chief before he had attained his twentieth year. He retained that situation until 1757, when he was appointed chief-engineer at Madras, and soon after of all the Coromandel coast. He was chief-engineer at the reduction of Pondicherry, and in various operations under Lord Pigot and Sir Eyre Coote. In 1762 he had the good fortune, when serving with General Caillaud, to effect the reduction of the strong fortress of Vellore, which ever since has been the *point d'appui* of the British in the Carnatic. During the greater part of the war against Hyder Ali in 1767-8 Call was with the army in the Mysore. In 1768 he was appointed a member of the governor's council (*ib.*), and soon after was advanced by the East India Company, in recognition of his general services, from the fourth to the third seat in council. He was strongly recommended by Clive to succeed to the government of Madras on the first opportunity, but having received news of his father's death, he determined to return home, although strongly urged by Clive to remain. In 1771 he served as high-sheriff of Cornwall. In March 1772 he married Philadelphia, third daughter and coheir of William Batty, M.D., by whom he had six children. In 1782 Call was employed by Lord Shelburne, then prime minister, to inquire into the state of the crown lands, woods, and forests, in which office he acted conjointly with Mr. A. Holdsworth. In November 1782 they made their first report (see *Parl. Reps. on Land Revenue in Accts. and Papers*). Their work was interrupted by changes of ministry, but during the session of 1785-6 Sir Charles Middleton, Call, and Holdsworth were appointed parliamentary commissioners with ample powers to pursue the inquiry. His public duties now requiring his frequent presence in London, Call offered himself for the pocket borough of Callington, near his country residence, and on the recommendation of Lord Orford was unanimously returned at the general election of 1784. In 1785 he purchased the famous house of Field-marshal Wade in Old Burlington Street. At the general election of 1790 he was a second time returned unanimously for the borough of Callington. In recognition of his public services he was

created a baronet on 28 July 1791. Call was a fellow of the Royal Society and of the Royal Antiquarian Society, but his name does not appear as the author of any printed works. Some letters of his addressed to Warren Hastings and to Dr. Lettsom will be found in 'Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.' Call became totally blind in 1795, and died of apoplexy at his residence, Old Burlington Street, London, on 1 March 1801.

[Burke's *Baronetage*; *Gent. Mag.* (lxxi.) i. 282, 369; *Prinsep's Madras Civilians*; Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornubiensis*, i. 54; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* iv. 612; *Accts. and Papers*, vols. xxxvi. and xxxvii., 1787-92.] H. M. C.

**CALLACHAN, KING OF IRELAND.** [See **CEALLACHAN.**]

**CALLANAN, JEREMIAH JOHN** (1795-1829), Irish poet, was born in Cork in 1795. He was brought up in the country, where he acquired the knowledge of the Irish language which qualified him for his subsequent vocation as national bard and collector of popular traditions. At the earnest wish of his parents, who had devoted him to the priesthood from his cradle, he studied at Maynooth, but felt no inclination for the ecclesiastical profession, and offended his friends by deserting it. He was subsequently admitted as an out-pensioner of Trinity College, Dublin, where he remained for two years, and gained the prize for an English poem on Alexander's restoration of the spoils of Athens. Having, however, exhausted his resources, and seeing no prospect of qualifying himself for the pursuit of law or medicine, he abruptly left the college, and enlisted in the royal Irish regiment, from which he was speedily bought out by his friends. He returned to Cork, and partly supported himself by tutorship. One of his numerous brief engagements was in the school then kept by Maginn, who procured the insertion of his early poems in 'Blackwood's Magazine.' Most of his time, however, was spent in wandering about the south-west of Ireland, repaying the hospitality he received from the country people with songs, and collecting popular ballads and legends. In an unpublished letter to Crofton Croker, who had sought his assistance, he says: 'I converted what before was a matter of amusement into a serious occupation, and at every interval of leisure employed myself in rescuing from oblivion all that I could find of the songs and traditions of the south-west of Munster.' Writing on the same day to Maginn, he says: 'I am certain I could get up a good trumpet-blast or ball-cartridge volume of songs—Jacobite, love, Keenes, English Ninety-eighters—with

an ample store of forays, anecdotes of bards, drinking, fighting, and Lochinvaring, &c.' These collections seem to have been lost, and many of Callanan's own poems have perished, having never been committed to paper, though retained in his powerful memory and frequently recited by himself. At length his health failed, and he accepted a tutorship at Lisbon, where he spent the last two years of his life, dying of consumption on 19 Sept. 1829, after an ineffectual endeavour to return to Ireland.

Like most Irish poets, Callanan was a pure lyrist, with no reach or depth of thought, no creative imagination, and no proper originality, but endowed with abundance of fancy, melody, and feeling. His only sustained effort, 'The Recluse of Inchidony,' is as good an imitation of 'Childe Harold' as could well be written, but little more. His lyrical poems leave no doubt of the genuine quality of his inspiration, but only one, 'Gougane Barra,' a fine example of musical and impassioned description, the alliance of the eye and the heart, has produced a deep impression or attained general celebrity. His versions of Irish ballads are very stirring, and his rendering of Luis de Leon's 'Vida del Cielo' is exceedingly beautiful. Some of his pieces are marked by an aversion to England, which he recanted on the passing of the Emancipation Act. His private character was amiable; he was refined and susceptible to an uncommon degree, but to no less a degree indolent, irresolute, and unpractical. His poems were collected after his death (London, 1830; reprinted at Cork, 1847 and 1861).

[Bolster's Irish Magazine, vol. iii.; memoir in Callanan's poems, 1861.] R. G.

**CALLANDER, EARL OF** (d. 1674). [See LIVINGSTONE, JAMES.]

**CALLANDER, JAMES.** [See CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES.]

**CALLANDER, JOHN** (d. 1789), of Craigforth, Stirlingshire, Scottish antiquary, was descended from James VI's master-smith in Scotland, John Callander, who purchased Craigforth of the earls of Livingston and Callander about 1603. His father was also John Callander; his mother, Catherine Mackenzie of Cromarty. He passed advocate at the Scottish bar, but never obtained a practice, and seems to have devoted his leisure chiefly to classical pursuits. He presented five volumes of manuscripts entitled 'Spicilegia Antiquitatis Græcæ, sive ex veteribus Poetis perditæ Fragmenta,' to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in 1781, shortly after he was elected a fellow. He also presented at the

same time nine volumes of manuscript annotations on Milton's 'Paradise Lost,' of which he had published those on Book I. in 1750. In 1766-8 he brought out in three volumes 'Terra Australis Cognita, or Voyages to the Southern Hemisphere during the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries,' partly translated from the French of M. de Brosset, from which, however, he merely confesses to 'have drawn many helps.' In 1779 he published 'An Essay towards a Literal English Version of the New Testament in the Epistle of Paul directed to the Ephesians,' in which he gave a complete representation in English of the Greek idiom, even to the order of the words. His edition of 'Two ancient Scottish Poems, the Gabelunzie Man, and Christ's Kirk on the Green, with Notes and Observations,' published at Edinburgh in 1782, displays research; but, although the notes are valuable to those unfamiliar with the Scottish language, many of his etymological remarks are unsound. Callander projected a variety of other works, including 'Bibliotheca Septentrionalis,' of which he printed a specimen in 1778, and a 'History of the Ancient Music of Scotland from the age of the venerable Ossian to the beginning of the Sixteenth Century,' in regard to which he printed 'Proposals' in 1781. From the preface to 'Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Dromore, John Callander of Craigforth, Esq., and others, to George Paton,' which appeared at Edinburgh in 1830, we learn that Callander had a taste for music, and was an excellent performer on the violin, and that in his latter years he became very retired in his habits, and saw little company, his mind being deeply affected by a religious melancholy which unfitted him for society. He died, 'at a good old age,' at Craigforth on 14 Sept. 1789. By his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir James Livingstone, he had seventeen children. His eldest son, James, assumed the name of Campbell [see CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES].

In March 1818 an article on Callander's edition of Book I. of Milton's 'Paradise Lost' appeared in 'Blackwood's Magazine,' in which it was shown by parallel lines that much of his notes had been borrowed without acknowledgment from the annotations of Patrick Hume in the sixth edition of 'Paradise Lost' published by Jacob Tonson in 1695. On account of this article a committee of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland was appointed to examine his manuscript notes of Milton in their possession, who reported that, though only a comparatively small proportion of Callander's notes were borrowed from Patrick Hume, his obligations to him were not sufficiently acknowledged.

[Letters from Thomas Percy, D.D., afterwards bishop of Dromore, John Callander of Craigforth, Esq., David Herd, and others, to George Paton, Edinburgh, 1830; Scots Mag. li. 466; Blackwood's Mag. iv. 658-62; Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, iii. pt. i. 83-91; Orme's Bibliotheca Biblica, pp. 73-4; Chambers's Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen, i. 266-7; Burke's Landed Gentry.] T. F. H.

**CALLCOTT, SIR AUGUSTUS WALL** (1779-1844), landscape painter, was born in the Mall, Kensington Gravel Pits, 20 Feb. 1779. He was brother of Dr. Callcott the musician [q.v.], and in early life exhibited a taste for music as well as for drawing, and was for six years a chorister in Westminster Abbey, earning 7*l.* a year and 3½ yards of 'coarse black baize.' He then became a student of the Royal Academy, and commenced his artistic career as a painter of portraits under the tuition of Hoppner. The first picture he exhibited was a portrait of Miss Roberts, and its success at the Royal Academy in 1799 is said to have led to his final choice of painting as a profession. His preference for landscape, including river and coast scenery, soon showed itself, and after 1804 he exhibited nothing but landscapes for many years. The skill of his execution, the elegance of his design, and the charming tone of his works caused his reputation to rise steadily. In 1806 he was elected an associate of the Royal Academy, and in 1810 a full member. The care which he bestowed upon his pictures restricted their number. From 1805 to 1810 he exhibited about four pictures a year, in 1811 ten, and in 1812 six. From that year to 1822 he exhibited but seven works in all, but among these were some of his best and largest, such as 'The Entrance to the Pool of London' (1816), 'The Mouth of the Tyne' (1818), and 'A Dead Calm on the Medway' (1820). Another important picture was 'Rochester' (1824). Though his subjects down to this time were generally taken from the scenery of his own country, he had visited France and Holland and had painted some Dutch and Flemish scenes before 1827, a date of much importance in his life, for in this year he married and went to Italy for the first time. His wife was the widow of Captain Graham, R.N., a lady who had already attained considerable literary reputation [see **CALLCOTT, MARIA, LADY**]. On their return from Italy they took up their residence at the Gravel Pits, where he resided till his death, enjoying great popularity. In 1830 he commenced to exhibit Italian compositions, and after this year the subjects of his pictures were generally foreign. Though to the last his works were marked by charm of composition and sweet-

ness of execution, those produced before 1827 are now held in most esteem.

On the accession of her majesty in 1837, Callcott received the honour of knighthood. In that year he departed from his usual class of subjects, and exhibited a picture of 'Raffaele and the Fornarina,' with life-size figures, finished with great care, which was engraved by Lumb Stocks for the London Art Union in 1843. This and 'Milton dictating to his Daughters,' exhibited in 1840, were the most important of his figure paintings, of which rare class of his work the South Kensington Museum (Sheepshanks Collection) contains two specimens, 'Anne Page and Slender' and 'Falstaff and Simple.' The museum also possesses several landscapes in oil and sketches in water colour, &c. The figures in his landscapes were often important parts of the composition, and were always gracefully designed and happily placed, as, for instance, in 'Dutch Peasants returning from Market,' one of nine examples of this master left by Mr. Vernon to the nation. In 1844 he succeeded Mr. Seguier as conservator of the royal pictures. He died in the same year on 25 Nov., and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery.

There are true artistic qualities in Callcott's work, which justified the admiration of such painters as Turner and Stothard in his day, and must always preserve for him a distinguished place among the earlier masters of the English school of landscape. As a man he was greatly esteemed for the amiability of his disposition, his generosity and want of prejudice in his profession, and his liberal patronage of younger artists.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists (1878); Redgrave's Century of Painters; Bryan's Dict. of Painters (Graves); Art Journal, 1845.]

C. M.

**CALLCOTT, JOHN WALL** (1766-1821), musical composer, son of Thomas Callcott, a bricklayer and builder, by his second wife, Charlotte Wall, was born at Kensington on 20 Nov. 1766. At the age of seven he was sent as a day-boarder to a school kept by William Young. Five years later family circumstances compelled him to leave. He had made considerable progress in the classics and in the Greek Testament. In later years he studied Hebrew and the philosophy of Locke. Callcott was originally intended for the medical profession, and studied anatomy for a year; but the extreme distaste which he displayed on witnessing an operation, coupled with the interest in music which was aroused by his visits to the organ-loft of Kensington Church, induced his father to educate him as a musician. In 1778 he was



introduced to Henry Whitney, the organist of Kensington parish church, from whom he probably acquired some little instruction, since in the following year he was able to practise alone on a spinet which his father had bought him. In 1780 he learned the clarinet, and wrote music for an amateur play performed at Mr. Young's school. In the following year the clarinet was abandoned for the oboe, and young Callcott became acquainted with the elder Sale, secretary of the Catch Club, from whom, and also from Drs. Arnold and Cooke, he derived much desultory learning. About 1782 he occasionally played the oboe in the orchestra of the Academy of Ancient Music, and in the three following years sang in the chorus of the oratorios at Drury Lane Theatre. In 1783, on the recommendation of Attwood, Callcott was appointed deputy organist, under Reinhold, of St. George-the-Martyr, Queen Square, Bloomsbury, a post he held until 1785. In 1784 he competed for the first time for the prize given by the Catch Club, but without success, though in the following year three of the four prize medals of the club were awarded to his glees. On 4 July of the same year he took the degree of Mus. Bac. at Oxford, his exercise being a setting of Warton's 'Ode to Fancy.' In the following year two more prizes were awarded him by the Catch Club, and he set an ode by E. B. Greene, which was performed in February at a concert in aid of the Humane Society. In 1787 Callcott sent in no fewer than one hundred compositions to compete for the Catch Club prizes. Out of all these only two were successful, and the society passed a resolution that in future no more than twelve compositions should be sent in by any one competitor. This rule so offended Callcott that for two years he refused to compete, though in 1789 he changed his mind, and was rewarded by carrying off all the prizes of the club, while between 1790 and 1793 he won nine more medals. In 1787 he was associated with Arnold in the formation of the Glee Club, the first meeting of which was held on 22 Dec. at the Newcastle Coffee-house. In the next year he was elected a member of the Royal Society of Musicians, and in 1789 was appointed joint organist (with C. S. Evans) of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. In the same year his well-known glee, 'When Arthur first,' was introduced in Dr. Arnold's 'Battle of Hexham' at the Haymarket. On Haydn's arrival in London in 1791 Callcott was introduced to him by Salomon, and studied instrumentation with him, writing a symphony and other works under his guidance. In the same year Callcott was married. In 1793 he was appointed

organist to the Asylum for Female Orphans, a post he occupied until 1802, when he resigned it in favour of his son-in-law, William Horsley. About this time Callcott conceived the plan of writing an extensive dictionary of music. He had bought the manuscript collections of Dr. Boyce and his pupil, Marmaduke Overend, from the widow of the latter, and with characteristic energy set to work to qualify himself for his task by laborious researches into the theoretical writings of early musicians. Though much occupied in teaching, his evenings were devoted to studying mathematics and philosophy or in epitomising musical treatises, and in 1797 he issued the prospectus of his projected work. In the following year he took part in the formation of the Conceniores Society, for the practice of unaccompanied part-singing. On 18 June 1800 Callcott proceeded to the degree of Mus. Doc., on which occasion his exercise was a Latin anthem, 'Propter Sion non tacebo.' In 1801 he exerted himself successfully to form a band for the Kensington Volunteer Corps, of which he had been an officer since 1795. In the same year he published anonymously a little work entitled 'The Way to speak well made easy for Youth.' On 25 Oct. 1802 he wrote an anthem, 'I heard a Voice from Heaven,' which was performed four days later at Arnold's funeral. After Arnold's death he applied unsuccessfully for the post of composer to the king. During the next few years Callcott was principally occupied in writing his 'Musical Grammar,' which was published in 1806, and achieved great success. A second edition appeared in 1809, and a third in 1817, since when the work has been constantly reprinted. In 1806 he was appointed to succeed Dr. Crotch as lecturer of music at the Royal Institution, and in the following spring he published a pamphlet entitled 'A Plain Statement of Earl Stanhope's Temperament.' But his busy career was drawing to a close. He had already given up any idea of classifying the accumulation of notes and manuscripts he had made for his projected work, and for some time had suffered from continual restlessness. In 1807 his brain gave way, and for five years he was in an asylum. From 1812 to 1816 he recovered his reason; but after that date his malady returned, and he was never restored to health. He died near Bristol on 15 May 1821, and was buried at Kensington on the 23rd of the same month.

Callcott is best known as a glee writer of great power and fecundity. A collection of his glees, catches, and canons was published in 1824 by his son-in-law, W. Horsley, with a memoir of the composer and a portrait engraved

by F. C. Lewis from a painting by his brother, Sir Augustus Callcott, R.A. [q. v.] In addition to these works he published six sacred trios, a collection of anthems and hymns sung at the Asylum chapel, four glees composed at Blenheim in 1799, six sonatas for the harpsichord (op. 3), a hunting song, introduced at Drury Lane in Coffey's farce, 'The Devil to pay,' an explanation of the notes, marks, &c. used in music (1792), two curious musical settings of the multiplication and pence tables, and much other music. There is an engraved portrait of him by Meyer. Many of his manuscript compositions and his collections for a musical dictionary are preserved in the British Museum.

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 297; Memoir by W. Horsley prefixed to Callcott's *Glees*, 1824; Harmonicon for 1831, p. 53; Quarterly Musical Magazine, iii. 404; Gent. Mag. xci. 478; Records of Royal Soc. of Musicians; Catalogues of British Museum and Music School, Oxford; Evan's Catalogue of Engraved Portraits, p. 53; Add. MSS. 27686, 27693, &c.] W. B. S.

**CALLCOTT, MARIA, LADY** (1785-1842), traveller, and author of 'Little Arthur's History of England,' born in 1785 at Papecastle, near Cocker-mouth, was the daughter of George Dundas, rear-admiral of the blue and commissioner of the admiralty. From an early age she read widely and took great interest in plants, flowers, and trees. Her governess had been acquainted with the Burneys, Reynolds, and Johnson, and she often visited her uncle, Sir David Dundas, at Richmond, where Rogers, Thomas Campbell, Lawrence, and others were frequent guests. Early in 1808 Maria sailed with her father for India. In the following year she married Captain Thomas Graham, R.N., and soon after she set out on a travelling tour in India. She returned to England in 1811, and lived for a while in London, where she made the acquaintance of Sir James Mackintosh and Sir Samuel Romilly. Her husband was absent on foreign service for the next few years, but he and his wife spent some time in Italy in 1819, and started for South America in the ship *Doris* in 1821. Captain Graham died off Cape Horn in April 1822. His widow proceeded to Valparaiso, where she remained as instructress to Donna Maria from 22 Nov. 1822 to January 1823. Soon afterwards she came back to England, engaged in literary work, and on 20 Feb. 1827 married Augustus Wall Callcott [q. v.], the artist. In 1828 Mr. and Mrs. Callcott started on a long Italian tour. In 1831 Mrs. Callcott ruptured a blood-vessel, and became a confirmed invalid. She died at her husband's house at

Kensington Gravel Pits on 28 Nov. 1842, and was buried in Kensal Green cemetery.

Lady Callcott wrote popular descriptions of her travels, and was also the author in later life of many successful children's books, and of translations from the French. The book by which she is best remembered is 'Little Arthur's History of England,' first published in 1835 in two volumes, under her initials M. C., and repeatedly reissued. Her other works are as follows: 1. 'Journal of a Residence in India,' 1812; 2nd ed. 1813; a French translation of this book was issued in A. Duponchel's 'Nouvelle Bibliothèque des Voyages,' 1841, vol. x. 2. 'Letters on India, with etchings and a map,' 1814. 3. A translation from the French of De Rocca's 'Memoirs of the Wars of the French in Spain,' 1815; reissued in 1816. 4. 'Three Months in the Mountains east of Rome,' 1820. 5. 'Memoirs of the Life of Poussin,' 1820. 6. 'Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, and residence there during the years 1821-3,' 1824. 7. 'Journal of a residence in Chili during the year 1822, and a voyage from Chili to Brazil in 1823,' 1824. 8. 'History of Spain,' 1828. 9. A letter to the Geological Society respecting the earthquakes which Lady Callcott witnessed in Chili in 1822, together with extracts from her letters to H. Warburton, Esq., 1834. 10. A description of Giotto's chapel at Padua, being the letterpress issued with Sir A. W. Callcott's drawings in 1835. 11. 'Essays towards the History of Painting,' 1836. 12. Preface to the 'Seven Ages of Man' (a collection of drawings by Sir A. W. Callcott), 1840. 13. 'The Little Brackenburners, and little Mary's four Saturdays,' 1841. 14. 'A Scripture Herbal,' 1842.

[Information kindly supplied by Mr. I. Brunel; Athenæum, 4 Dec. 1842; Gent. Mag. 1843, pt. i. 98; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L.

**CALLCOTT, WILLIAM HUTCHINS** (1807-1882), musical composer, a younger son of Dr. John Wall Callcott [q. v.], was born at Kensington in 1807. As a child he received some instruction from his father, and later continued his studies under his brother-in-law, William Horsley. On 4 July 1830 he was elected a member of the Royal Society of Musicians. In 1836 he published an abridgment of his father's 'Grammar,' in 1840 a collection of psalm and hymn tunes for Bickersteth's 'Christian Psalmody,' and in 1843 'The Child's own Singing Book.' In the latter work he was assisted by his wife Maria, who was the authoress of several unimportant religious stories, &c. In 1851 Callcott published 'Remarks on the Royal Albert Piano' (exhibited at the International Exhibition),

and in 1859 'A few Facts on the Life of Handel.' Callcott was for some years organist of Ely Place Chapel. In the latter part of his life he suffered much from ill-health. He died at 1 Campden House Road, Kensington, on 5 Aug. 1882, and was buried on the 9th at Kensal Green. Callcott composed several songs, glees, and anthems, but his name is principally known by his arrangements and transcriptions for the piano, which amount to many hundred pieces. A son of his, Robert Stuart Callcott, who showed great promise as an organist and musician, died in the spring of 1886 at an early age.

[Baptie's Dict. of Musical Biography; Monthly Musical Record for 1 Sept. 1882; Musical Times for September 1882; Musical Standard for 3 Feb. 1883; Records of the Royal Society of Musicians; information from Mr. J. G. Callcott; Brit. Mus. Cat.] W. B. S.

**CALLENDER, GEORGE WILLIAM** (1830-1878), surgeon, was born at Clifton, and, after education at a Bristol school, became a student of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1849, in 1852 a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and F.R.C.S. in 1855. He was house-surgeon at St. Bartholomew's, was in 1861 elected assistant surgeon, and in 1871 surgeon to the hospital. At the same time he was a laborious teacher in the medical school, was registrar (1854), demonstrator of anatomy, lecturer on comparative anatomy and on anatomy (1865), and finally (1873) lecturer on surgery. For many years he was treasurer of the medical school, and exercised great influence in all its affairs. He published a paper on the 'Development of the Bones of the Face in Man' in the 'Philosophical Transactions' for 1869, which led to his election as F.R.S. in 1871, and in the Proceedings of the Royal Society there are abstracts of papers by him on the anatomy of the thyroid body and on the formation of the sub-axial arches of man. He published many papers in the 'Medico-Chirurgical Transactions,' in the 'Transactions' of the Clinical Society and of the Pathological Society, in the 'St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports,' in Holmes's 'System of Surgery,' and in the medical journals, besides, in 1863, a small book on the anatomy of the parts concerned in femoral rupture, and in 1864 an address delivered to the students at St. Bartholomew's Hospital. A great master of surgery and of panegyric who knew him throughout his career thus sums up Callender's work: 'In the future history of surgery Callender will have a large share of the honour which will be awarded to those who, in the last twenty years, by greatly diminish-

ing the mortality of operations, have made by far the most important improvement in practical surgery' (*St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, vol. xv.) Callender lived in Queen Anne Street, married, and had several children. A few years would probably have made his practice a great one, for he had reached the stage of being known to his profession, and was beginning to be known to the public. He died on 20 Oct. 1878 of Bright's disease, against which he had long struggled. His death took place at sea on his way back from America. He had gone thither for a holiday, and his illness had suddenly become aggravated while travelling. The extraordinary kindness with which, as a distinguished English surgeon, he was treated when taken ill in the United States deserves to be remembered to the honour of the medical profession in that country. He was buried at Kensal Green.

[Sir James Paget, memoir in *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, vol. xv. (MS. minutes of Medical Council of St. Bartholomew's Hospital); personal knowledge.] N. M.

**CALLENDER, JAMES THOMSON** (d. 1803), miscellaneous writer, a native of Scotland, in autumn 1792 published anonymously at London and Edinburgh 'The Political Progress of Britain, or an Impartial Account of the Principal Abuses in the Government of this Country from the Revolution of 1688.' This was meant to be the first of a series of pamphlets, but the project was checked by the arrest of the author on 2 Jan. 1793, on account of statements in the work. Having, as he says, 'with some difficulty made his escape,' he went to America and established himself in Philadelphia, where he republished his treatise (3rd edit. reissued 1795). It received the favourable notice of Jefferson, was translated into German (Edinburgh, Philadelphia, and London, 1797; the translator's preface is dated from Cologne, 4 June 1796), and was attacked in 'A Bone to Gnaw for the Democrats' (Philadelphia, 1795). A second part of the 'Political Progress' was published, but this was, says Jefferson, much inferior to the first. Callender also published at Philadelphia the 'Political Register' (3 Nov. 1794 to 3 March 1795), the 'American Annual Register for 1796,' 1797, and 'Sketches of the History of America,' 1798. He was a bitter writer; he was continually in want of money, and from either or both causes got into difficulties at Philadelphia, from which he 'fled in a panic.' He was afterwards at Richmond, Virginia, where he edited for some years the 'Richmond Recorder,' which became noted for the violence

of its attacks on the administrations of Washington and John Adams. It was probably at some time during his residence here that he wrote a work entitled 'The Prospect before us.' When Jefferson succeeded to power, Callender, who had obtained money from him on several occasions, wished to be appointed postmaster at Richmond. Jefferson would not consent to this, and Callender, taking 'mortal offence,' passed over from the republicans to the federalists, and bitterly attacked his former allies. Jefferson, who was very indignant at this, says his 'base ingratitude presents human nature in a hideous form,' and animadverted strongly on the scurrility of his writings. Callender was drowned while bathing in the James river at Richmond on 7 July 1803. The 'Gentleman's Magazine' says that he 'drowned himself.'

[Advertisement prefixed to Political Progress; Drake's Dictionary of American Biography (Boston, 1872); Jefferson's Correspondence, iv. 444-449 (New York, 1864); Gent. Mag. September 1803, p. 882.] F. W.-r.

**CALLIS, ROBERT** (*n.* 1634), serjeant-at-law, was born in Lincolnshire, and after being called to the bar at Gray's Inn was appointed a commissioner of sewers in his native county. He was made a serjeant-at-law on 12 April 1627. His works are: 1. 'The Case and Argument against Sir Ignoramus of Cambridg,' London, 1648, 4to. The lawyers were greatly annoyed by the Latin comedy of 'Ignoramus,' performed before James I at Cambridge, 1615, and in this 'reading,' delivered at Staple Inn in Lent, 1616, Callis states a supposititious law case, in order to determine in which of six persons the right exists of presentation to a church, and in the argument he introduces Sir Ignoramus, a clerk, presented to it by the university of Cambridge, who is described as being 'egregiè illiteratus.' 2. 'Reading upon the Statute, 23 H. VIII, cap. 5, of Sewers,' London, 1647, 4to; 2nd edit. enlarged, 1685, 4to; 4th edit. 1810, 8vo; 5th edit., with additions and corrections by William John Broderip, London, 1824, 8vo.

[Dugdale's Origines Juridicæ, pp. 296, 334, App. 109; Croke's Reports, temp. Car. I, 71; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser., v. 134, 204; Clarke's Bibl. Legum, 20, 323, 403; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 349; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Calendar of State Papers (Dom.), Charles I (1633-4), 409; Dugdale's Hist. of Imbanking and Draining (1772), 417; Nichols's Progresses of James I, iii. 90.] T. C.

**CALLOW, JOHN** (1822-1878), artist, was born in London on 19 July 1822. He was a pupil of his elder brother William, the well-known painter in water colours, who

took him with him to Paris in 1835, where he remained studying art for several years. In 1844 he returned to England to exercise his profession as a landscape painter in water colours, and a few years later was elected a member of the New Water-Colour Society. From this society he afterwards retired to be elected into the older Society of Painters in Water Colours. In July 1855 he was appointed professor of drawing in the Royal Military Academy at Addiscombe. After holding this appointment for six years, he gave it up, and got in its place the post of sub-professor of drawing at Woolwich. Some years later he retired from his professorship, receiving a sum of money as compensation in lieu of a retiring allowance. From the date of his retirement he was constantly occupied in painting for the exhibitions, and in teaching. As a teacher he was in great request, and taught in several schools, besides having many private pupils. He married in 1864, and died of consumption at Lewisham on 25 April 1878, leaving a widow and one son.

Callow's style of painting was formed on that of his master and elder brother, William, though he devoted himself to a different range of subjects. He excelled in sea-pieces more than in landscapes. The compulsory devotion of his time chiefly to teaching impeded the development of his own powers, so that his later productions never fulfilled the promise of some of his earlier works. He painted diligently, however, and exhibited at the yearly exhibition of the Old Water-Colour Society. His style of teaching was excellent, at once simple, lucid, and logical, and he always maintained the superiority of transparent over body colour. He left a great number of studies prepared for the use of his pupils, which were sold by auction after his death. Several of these have since been printed in colours as a series of progressive lessons in the art of water-colour painting.

[Information from Mr. William Callow.]

M. M'A.

**CALTHORPE, SIR HENRY** (1586-1637), lawyer, third son of Sir James Calthorpe of Cockthorpe, Norfolk, knight, by Barbara, daughter of Mr. John Bacon of Hessel, Suffolk, was one of a family of eight sons and six daughters, and was born at Cockthorpe in 1586. He entered at the Middle Temple, and seems early to have enjoyed a large and lucrative practice. By the death of his father in 1615 he inherited considerable estates in his native county, but he continued sedulously to devote himself to his profession, and shortly after the

marriage of Charles I he was appointed solicitor-general to Queen Henrietta Maria, after whom one of his daughters was named. When in November 1627 the five gentlemen who had been thrown into prison for refusing to contribute to the forced loan applied to the court of king's bench for a writ of habeas corpus, Calthrope was counsel for Sir Thomas Darnell, being associated in the case with Noy, Serjeant Bramston, and Selden; and we are told that 'the gentlemen's counsel pleaded at Westminster with wonderful applause, even of shouting and clapping of hands, which is unusual in that place.' In the proceedings against the seven members in the spring of 1630, Calthrope was counsel for Benjamin Valentine, one of the three who held down the speaker in the chair. In the conduct of this case he seems to have shown some lack of zeal, though when his turn came to speak he defended his client with conspicuous ability, notwithstanding that his sympathies were with the court party. In December 1635 he succeeded Mason as recorder of London, the corporation having been specially requested to elect him in a letter which Charles addressed to them on his behalf.

He held the recordership only a few weeks, for in January 1636 he was made attorney of the court of wards and liveries, and resigned the other appointment. Shortly after this he was knighted, and was chosen to be reader of his inn, but he never discharged the duties of his office, 'causa mortalitatis,' as Dugdale notes. He was now in his fifty-first year, and his path seemed clear to the highest legal preferments, but death came upon him in the full vigour of his powers in August 1637. Calthrope married Dorothy, daughter and heiress of Edward Humphrey, and by her had a family of ten children, only one of whom, Sir James Calthrope of Ampton (said to have been knighted by Oliver Cromwell), attained maturity. From him the present Lord Calthrope is lineally descended.

[Papers of Norfolk and Norwich Archæol. Soc. ix. 153; Nichols's Progresses of James I, i. 217; Forster's Sir John Eliot, i. 406, ii. 313 et seq.; State Trials, iii. 309; Dugdale's Origines, p. 220; Cal. of State Papers, Dom. 1635 and 1637; Blomefield's Norfolk, vii. 45, viii. 4.] A. J.

**CALTHROPE, SIR CHARLES** (d. 1616), judge, was probably one of the Calthropes of Suffolk, and was largely employed in the service of the crown in Ireland. He was made attorney-general for Ireland 22 June 1584, and was continued in his office by James I 19 April 1603. Calthrope's chief occupation was in connec-

tion with grants of forfeited lands, and in securing proper reservation of all royal rights in them. Thus, 24 Dec. 1585, he writes to Burghley that the queen gets but little by her tenures, and many frauds are practised to avoid them, and proposes the application to Ireland of the Statute of Uses and the Statute of Wills (31 Hen. VIII), and to put an end to gavelkind and Irish tenure; he repeats his complaint to Walsingham 27 Feb. 1586, and suggests that Coleman, the queen's remembrancer, is inattentive to his duties in the matter. On 15 July 1585 he is named as one of several commissioners to summon the chiefs in Connaught and Thomond, and to compound for their cesse by a fixed rent to the crown. During 1586 he acted as commissioner for all the attainted lands in Munster, visiting Dungarvan 21 Sept., and remaining eight days each at Lismore and Youghal, 'meting such lands as Sir Walter Rawley is to have.' Winter drove him back to Dublin after surveying 27,400 acres, and the work was left to be completed in December by subordinates. On 23 Jan. 1586-7 he represents to Burghley that by his good services the queen recovered 4,000*l.* owing for arrears, and accordingly his fees were augmented, and Mallow was assigned to him, not much to his satisfaction. Norreys, who had had it before, writes, 8 March 1586-7, begging to have it again, and saying the attorney-general will easily yield it up. Perhaps he felt ill requited, for 14 March 1586-7 Geoffrey Fenton writes to Burghley that reforms do not progress: 'If the attorney-general were the man he ought to be, the justice (Gardener) might have help of him; but for that he is discovered here to be short of that learning and judgment which his place requireth, and to be rather a pleaser of the lord deputy than careful of the public service; and lastly, too much addicted to the Irishry, the assistance he giveth profiteth little.' On 26 April he is named in a commission to settle all differences among the undertakers in the plantations in Munster, and he held an inquisition at Youghal in the same year on the death of Conohor O'Mahowne, late of Castle Mahowne, a rebel with the Earl of Desmond, and again in 1588 (10 June) he holds an inquisition with others as to the lands of O'Neill, earl of Tyrone, and of O'Connor Sliggaghe of Sliggaghe, Connaught (MORRIS, *Irish Patent Rolls*, ii. 145). In 1594 he was in the commission for putting in execution the acts concerning the queen's supremacy (*id.* 27 Nov. 1594). As attorney-general of Leinster his salary was now 78*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* He was in a commission of 1604 appointing justices for Connaught, and after being confirmed in his office by James he was

knighted at Dublin with Sarsfield, chief justice of the common pleas, on 24 March 1604, and was named with others in a commission to examine Sir Denis O'Roughan, a priest. On 19 July 1605 he was again named in a commission to survey, accept surrenders of, and re-grant lands in Ireland. By patent of 29 May 1606 he was raised to the bench of the common pleas as second puisne judge, in succession to Mr. Justice John Ady, the solicitor-general, Sir John Davis succeeding him as attorney-general. The promotion gratified him, but not the stipend, for as attorney-general his salary had been 159*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; as judge only one half of that sum. But Sir Arthur Chichester writes to the king that he will help him in other ways without charge to the crown, and he appears in 1611 to have been in receipt of 133*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* from the crown, and the same in addition by concordatum during pleasure. He died 6 Jan. 1616.

There was published in London in 1635 'The Relation betweene the Lord of a Mannor and the Coppyholder his Tenant . . . Delivered in the learned readings of C[harles] C[althrope].'

[Hamilton's Irish State Papers; Russell and Pendergast's State Papers; Carew's State Papers; Smith's Law Officers of Ireland; Erck's Irish Patent Rolls, pp. 35, 156, 183.]

J. A. H.

**CALVELEY, SIR HUGH** (*d.* 1393), a distinguished soldier, was the son of David de Calveleigh, and his first wife Joan, of Lea in Cheshire, and was the brother, it is thought, of Sir Robert Knolles. Both are celebrated in the pages of Froissart. Calvey was one of the soldiers of fortune engaged in the war of succession between the partisans of the widow of Jean de Montfort and the wife of Charles de Blois, which lasted with varying fortune from 1341 to 1364. In 1351 Robert de Beaumanoir sallied from his garrison at Château Josselin to attack the town and castle of Ploërmel, which was held for Montfort by Sir Robert Bamborough, who is sometimes identified with Sir Richard Greenacre of Merley. He is called Brembo in the Breton Chronicles, and it may be noticed that there is a Bromborough in Cheshire, to which county two, at least, of his knightly followers belonged. As the garrison did not care to leave their stronghold, Beaumanoir proposed a joust of two or three with swords and spears. To this Bamborough replied by suggesting that each side should select twenty or thirty champions who should fight in earnest on the open plain. The bargain having been made, sixty warriors repaired to a level tract near a midway oak, and there

fought the famous Bataille de Mi-Voie, which has since been chronicled both in prose and verse. Thirty knights on each side, having dismounted, fought until both sides were exhausted and a rest was called, when four French and two English knights lay dead upon the field. The fight was renewed with great ferocity, and when Beaumanoir, grievously wounded, was leaving the field to quench his thirst, he was recalled by the fierce exclamation, 'Beaumanoir, drink thy blood, and thy thirst will go off.' Despairing of breaking the solid phalanx of the English combatants, one of the French knights mounted his horse, and spurred his steed with great impetuosity against their ranks, which were thus broken. Sir Robert Bamborough was slain with eight of his men, while the others, including Calvey and Sir Robert Knolles, were taken prisoners to Josselin. A memorial cross was erected, which is engraved in the 'Archæologia' (vol. vi.) In 1362 he is named with Peter of Bunbury and others in a warrant of pardon for felonies committed in Chester. This pardon had already been commanded on 18 Jan., 27 Edward III, and letters of pardon were accordingly granted, 35 Edward III. In 1364 was fought the decisive battle of Auray, which ended the struggle for the duchy of Brittany. When asked to take command of the rear-guard, Calvey begged that another post might be assigned to him. Sir John Chandos protested with tears that no other man was equal to the post. Calvey accepted, and by his steadiness of discipline kept the army firm during a desperate charge of the foe. At the conclusion of the Breton war he and some of his freelances enlisted in the service of Henry of Trastamare in his struggle with Pedro the Cruel of Castille; but the Prince of Wales having joined the opposite party, feudal loyalty, it may be surmised, led Calvey to change sides, and he is honourably mentioned by Froissart as fighting under Sir John Chandos at the battle of Navarete on 3 April 1367. We next hear of him as the leader of two thousand freebooters, making disastrous war in the territories of the Earl of Armagnac. He became deputy of Calais in 1377, and one of his exploits was a foray to Boulogne, where he burnt some of the ships in the harbour, destroyed part of the town, and returned with a rich booty. He also recovered the castle of Marke on the same day it was lost, and soon after the Christmas of 1378 'spoiled the towne of Estaples the same day the fair was kept there. The sellers had quick utterance, for that that might be carried awaie the Englishmen laid hands upon.' In the following year, when he, with Sir Thomas Percy, as admi-

itals of England, conveyed the Duke of Brittany to a haven near St. Malo, the galleys laden with property were attacked by the French after the armed ships had entered; but Calvey, with his bowmen, forced the shipmaster to turn the vessel against his will to the rescue. 'Through the manfull prowess of Sir Hugh the gallies were repelled, for, according to his wonted valiancie, he would not return till he saw all other in safetie.' In July 1380 he was preparing to go abroad as part commander with Sir John Arundell of an expedition against Brittany. Twenty vessels, with Arundell and a thousand men, were lost in a storm. Calvey, with seven sailors only of his ship, was dashed upon the shore. He was now governor of Brest, and went with the Earl of Buckingham on his French expedition. The crusade undertaken against the adherents of Pope Clement did not commend itself to his judgment, but when his counsel was overruled, he fought vigorously for the policy adopted, and his successes lent it strength, until his troops were surprised in Bergues by the army of the French king in numbers so overpowering as to make resistance hopeless, and he withdrew. The dissatisfaction on the return to England at the failure of the expedition did not include any blame of Calvey. He had the patronage of the Duke of Lancaster, was governor of the Channel Islands, and had the enjoyment of the royal manor of Shotwick. The estate of Lea in Cheshire devolved upon him, 35 Edward III. His paternal estate, the profits of his various offices, and the booty produced by the kind of warfare in which he was long engaged, must have resulted in great wealth. He devoted a portion of his plunder to works of piety. In conjunction with his supposed brother, Sir Robert Knolles, and another famous freelance, Sir John Hawkwood, he is said to have founded a college at Rome in 1380. Six years later he obtained a royal license for appropriating the rectory of Bunbury, which he had purchased, for the foundation of a college with a master and six chaplains. The building was in progress in 1385, and was probably finished at the date of the founder's death on the feast of St. George in 1393. He was buried in the chancel of his college, and his effigy in complete armour may still be seen on one of the finest altar-tombs in his native county. It is engraved in Lysons and in Ormerod. A tablet is suspended against the north wall, opposite to the monument of Calvey, recording a bequest by Dame Mary Calvey of 100*l.*, the interest to be given to poor people frequenting the church on the condition of their cleaning the monument and chancel.

Fuller states that Calvey 'married the queen of Arragon, which is most certain, her arms being quartered on his tomb.' On this it is only necessary to remark that the arms of Arragon are not quartered on the tomb, and Lysons has shown that there was no queen of Arragon whom Calvey could well have married. 'It is most probable,' says Ormerod, 'that he never did marry, and it is certain that he died issueless.'

[Ormerod's History of Cheshire (ed. Helsby), ii. 766-9, 263; Fuller's Worthies of England (Cheshire); Lysons's Magna Britannia (Cheshire), 446, 542; Froissart's Chronicles (ed. Johnes), i. 371, 651, 666, 694, 734; Archæologia, vi. 148; Holinshed's Chronicles; W. H. Ainsworth's Ballads contain a translation of a Breton *lai* on the fight of the thirty published by J. A. C. Buchon in his Collection des Chroniques. Buchon first published Froissart's narrative of the battle in 1824, and afterwards included it in his edition of Froissart.] W. E. A. A.

**CALVER, EDWARD** (*f.* 1649), poet, was a puritan; the inscription under his portrait describes him as a 'Gent. of Wilbie, in the county of Suffolk.' It is said that he was a relation of Bernard Calver, or Calvert, of Andover, who went from Southwark to Calais on 17 July 1620, and back again the same day. His works are: 1. 'Passion and Discretion, in Youth and Age,' London, 1641, 4to. The work is divided into two books, the second of which is preceded by a prose epistle to his friend and kinsman, Master John Strut. The work is written in a plain and serious style, and abounds in pious and moral reflections on the passions, expressed in tame and prosaic language. The copy in the Grenville library has four appropriate plates, by Stent, which are rarely met with. 2. 'Divine Passions, piously and pathetically expressed, in three books,' London, 1643, 4to. 3. 'Englands Sad Posture; or, A true Description of the present Estate of poore distressed England, and of the lamentable Condition of these distracted times, since the beginning of this Civill and unnaturall Warr. Presented to the Right Honourable, Pious, and Valiant Edward Earle of Manchester,' London, 1644, 8vo. With portraits of the Earl of Manchester, engraved by Cross, and of the author, engraved by Hollar. 4. 'Calvers Royal Vision; with his most humble addresses to his majesties royall person,' in verse, London, 1648, 4to. 5. 'Englands Fortresse, exemplified in the most renowned and victorious, his Excellency the Lord Fairfax. Humbly presented unto his Excellency by E. C., a lover of peace,' a eulogium in verse, London, 1648, 8vo. 6. 'Zion's thankful Echoes from the Cliffs of Ireland. Of

the little Church of Christ in Ireland, warbling out the humble and grateful addresses to her elder sister in England. And in particular to the Parliament, to his Excellency, and to his Army, or that part assigned to her assistance, now in her low, yet hopeful condition,' London, 1649, 4to.

[Addit. MSS. 19122 f. 107, 19165 f. 199, 24492 f. 26; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), iii. 106; Bromley's Cat. of Engr. Portraits, 77; Corser's Collect. Anglo-Poetica, iii. 237-42; Bibl. Anglo-Poetica, 433; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Bibl. Grenvilliana, ii. 82.]

T. C.

**CALVERLEY, CHARLES STUART** (1831-1884), poet, was born on 22 Dec. 1831 at Martley in Worcestershire. His father, the Rev. Henry Blayds, was a descendant of the ancient Yorkshire family of Calverley. His mother was the daughter of Thomas Meade of Chatley, Somersetshire. The old name, which had been changed to Blayds in the beginning of the century, was resumed in 1852. Calverley, after being educated by private tutors and for three months at Marlborough, was admitted at Harrow on 9 Sept. 1846. He was in the sixth form from January 1848 to July 1850. He read little, affected no interest in other than school studies, and was famous for athletic feats, especially in jumping. His sweet temper and keen wit made him a charming companion; while he already showed extraordinary powers of verbal memory and of Latin versification. A copy of Latin verses turned off almost as an improvisation won for him the Balliol scholarship, to which he was admitted on 25 Nov. 1850. At Oxford he won the chancellor's prize in 1851 for a Latin poem which confirmed his high reputation. Offences against discipline proceeding from mere boyish recklessness caused his removal from Oxford in the beginning of 1852, and in the following October he entered Christ's College, Cambridge. Taking warning by his previous experience, he kept upon good terms with the authorities, and became widely popular. He won the Craven scholarship in 1854, the Camden medal in 1853 and 1855, the Browne medal (Greek ode) in 1855, and the members' prize for a Latin essay in 1856. He was second in the classical tripos for 1856, and two years later was elected fellow of Christ's. His academical success was the more remarkable because his constitutional indolence and love of society prevented regular work. His friends had to drag him out of bed by force, or lock him into his rooms to secure intellectual concentration. He had become the friend of many well-known members of his college, including Professors Seeley, Skeat, and Hales, Mr. Walter Besant,

and Dr. Robert Liveing. His social talents were rapidly developing; he could draw clever caricatures, he had a good ear for music and a sweet voice, and a singular facility for all kinds of light composition. Among his best known *facetiae* at this time was the examination paper on Pickwick at Christmas 1857 (printed in 'Fly Leaves'). The prizes were won by Mr. Walter Besant and Professor Skeat. His parodies and other humorous verses had already made him famous amongst fellow-students when his talents were first made known to the world by the publication of 'Verses and Translations' in 1862.

Calverley resided for a time in Cambridge, taking pupils and giving lectures in college. He then studied law, and was called to the bar as a member of the Inner Temple in 1865, having vacated his fellowship by a marriage with his first cousin, Miss Ellen Calverley of Oulton, Yorkshire. He joined the northern circuit, liked his professional studies, and made a good impression. In the winter of 1866-7 he fell upon his head while skating at Oulton Hall, and received a concussion of the brain. The injury was neglected at the time, and symptoms were soon developed which forced him to abandon his profession. The result was a gradual incapacitation for all serious work, though he continued to write occasional trifles. He also suffered from Bright's disease and great consequent depression, although his mental powers were scarcely impaired till the end. He died on 17 Feb. 1884, and was buried at Folkestone cemetery.

Calverley's almost unique powers of imitation are shown by his translations from and into English. The same power, combined with his quick eye for the ridiculous, made him perhaps the best parodist in the language. His intellectual dexterity, his playful humour and keen wit place him in the front rank of modern writers of the lighter kinds of verse. He shows more intellectual affinity to the author of the 'Rape of the Lock' than to the author of the 'Excursion.' Thackeray, as Professor Seeley says, was his favourite among moderns. Calverley's wit was refined common sense; he was no mystic, and directed his good-humoured mockery against the stilted, the obscure, and the morbidly sentimental. The affectionate recollections of his friends show that what Professor Seeley calls his 'elfish' mockery was the exuberant playfulness of a powerful mind and a tender and manly nature. His verses have the peculiar charm of a schoolboy's buoyancy combined with the exquisite culture of a thorough scholar.



His works are: 1. 'Verses and Translations,' 1862. 2. 'Translations into English and Latin,' 1866. 3. 'Theocritus translated into English verse,' 1869. 4. 'Fly Leaves,' 1872.

[Literary Remains, with Memoir by Walter J. Sendall. The memoir contains recollections by Dr. Butler, Professor Seeley, and Mr. Walter Besant. See also Payn's *Literary Recollections*, pp. 180-4.] L. S.

**CALVERLEY, WALTER** (*d.* 1605), murderer, was son and heir of William Calverley, by his wife Katherine, daughter of John Thorneholme of Haythorpe, Yorkshire. The Calverleys had been lords of the manors of Calverley and Pudsey, Yorkshire, since the twelfth century, and in addition to these manors Walter inherited from his father, who died while he was a boy, lands at Burley-in-Wharfedale, Bagley, Tarsley, Eccleshall, Bolton, and Seacroft. After his father's death a relative of Lord Cobham became Calverley's guardian. He was educated at Cambridge, where he entered as scholar of Clare Hall 5 May 1579, and was matriculated on 1 Oct. following. He took no degree, and apparently soon left the university. Being left to his own devices at home in Yorkshire, he affianced himself to the daughter of a humble neighbour. Subsequently coming to London, his guardian insisted on his breaking this engagement and on his marrying Philippa, daughter of Sir John Brooke, son of George, lord Cobham. This marriage took place and proved Calverley's ruin. He withdrew to Calverley Hall with his wife, whom he detested, and sought distraction in drinking and gambling; he soon squandered his large fortune, mortgaged all his lands, and spent his wife's dowry. On 23 April 1605 news was brought him that a relative, a student at Cambridge, had been arrested for a debt for which he himself was responsible. In a drunken frenzy he straightway rushed at his two eldest children, William and Walter, the former four years old and the latter eighteen months (baptised at Calverley on 4 Oct. 1603) and killed them both; at the same time he stabbed his wife, but not fatally. Immediately afterwards he rode off to a neighbouring village where a third infant son, Henry, was out at nurse, with a view to murdering him, but he was stopped on the road and taken before Sir John Savile, a magistrate, who committed him to prison at Wakefield. After some delay he was brought to trial at York in August following; he declined to plead, and was therefore pressed to death in York Castle (5 Aug.) His estates thus escaped forfeiture and descended to his surviving son Henry. The widow remarried Sir Thomas Burton of Sto-

kerston, Leicestershire. Calverley's position gave his crime wide notoriety. On 12 June Nathaniel Butter published a popular tract on the subject, which was followed on 24 Aug. by an account of Calverley's death. A ballad was also issued by another publisher, Thomas Pavier or Pauier, at the same time. Calverley's story was twice dramatised—first by George Wilkins [*q. v.*] in 'Miserics of Enforced Marriage' (1607), and, secondly, in 'The Yorkshire Tragedy,' which was first published by Thomas Pavier or Pauier in 1608, and bears the title 'The Yorkshire Tragedy—not so new as lamentable and true: written by W. Shakspeare.' A new edition appeared in 1619. Although conceived in the finest spirit of tragedy, there is no substantial ground for attributing the 'Yorkshire Tragedy' to Shakespeare, and it was probably first associated with his name by the enterprising publisher to create a sale for it. It was included in the third and fourth folios of Shakespeare's works (1664 and 1685). The theory that makes Thomas Heywood the author has much in its favour.

**HENRY CALVERLEY**, Walter's heir, was a sturdy royalist, and was mulcted in a composition amounting to 1,455*l.* by the sequestrators under the Commonwealth. He was the last of the family to reside regularly at Calverley Hall. He married, first, Elizabeth, daughter of John Moore of Grantham; secondly, Joyce, daughter of Sir Walter Pye. He died on 1 Jan. 1660-1, and was succeeded by a son Walter, who was knighted by Charles II in consideration of his father's loyalty.

[Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmet*, pp. 289 &c., where an account of Calverley's crime from a rare contemporary tract is printed at length; *Memoirs of Sir W. Blackett*, with a pedigree of the Calverleys (1819), p. 16; *Arber's Stationers' Register*, iii. 292, 299; *Stow's Chronicle*, sub anno 1605; *Collier's Dramatic Poetry*, ii. 438-439; *Cooper's Athenæ Cantabr.* iii. 10 (unpublished).] S. L.

**CALVERT, CAROLINE LOUISA WARING** (1834-1872), generally known as **LOUISA ATKINSON**, an Australian author, was born at Oldbury, Argyle County, New South Wales, on 25 Feb. 1834. Her father, James Atkinson, formerly principal clerk in the colonial secretary's office, Sydney, wrote 'An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales,' with coloured plates, London, 1826, 8vo, and was an early settler on the Hawkesbury. Her mother had some reputation as a writer of educational works for the young. Their daughter being of delicate health, the family removed early to Kurrajong. She described

the impression produced on her by the grand scenery and beauty of the flora of the district in 'A Voice from the Country,' a series of papers in the 'Sydney Morning Herald,' which secured her many literary friendships, and in several popular tales: 'Gertrude the Emigrant,' &c., with numerous engravings, Sydney, 1857, 8vo; 'Cowanda, the Veteran's Grant,' Sydney, 1859, 8vo, a story of a runaway Manchester clerk; and 'Tom Hillicker,' all illustrated by herself. She afterwards published 'Narratives and Sketches' in the 'Sydney Mail' and 'Town and Country Journal.'

During her residence at the Kurrajong she collected and prepared valuable botanical specimens for Baron Ferdinand von Müller, the government botanist, who was then producing, in conjunction with George Bentham, 'Flora Australiensis,' 7 vols. London, 1863, 8vo, and 'Fragmenta Phytographiæ Australiæ,' 4 vols. Melbourne, 1858-64, 8vo. One genus, *Atkinsonia*, was named after her, as was the species *Epaëris Calvertiana* at a later period. Müller speaks very kindly of her botanical contributions from the Blue Mountains. On leaving the Kurrajong with her mother, she resided in her native district with her brother, James Atkinson, J.P., and there married, 1870, James Snowden Calvert [q. v.] She died suddenly on 28 April 1872. A tablet in Sutton Fields Church, and another (by subscription) in St. Peter's Church, Richmond, tell the story of her pious labours and scientific researches. Her funeral sermon, by the Rev. Dr. William Woolls, has been printed. Her husband, an Englishman of 'the Borders,' settled early in Liverpool, Manchester, and Birmingham, and emigrated in 1840. Meeting on the voyage to Australia with Dr. Leichardt, he formed a lasting friendship with him, and four years afterwards joined him, with his own outfit and horses, on the first and successful expedition to Queensland. His name is well known in connection with various European exhibitions.

[Barton's Lit. of New South Wales, pp. 111-12; Heaton's Australian Dictionary, p. 32; Baron von Müller's Botanical Works; Atkinson's Agriculture, &c., 1826.] J. W.-G.

**CALVERT, CHARLES (1785-1852),** landscape-painter, born at Glossop Hall, Derbyshire, on 23 Sept. 1785, was the eldest son of Charles Calvert, agent of the Duke of Norfolk's estate. He was apprenticed to the cotton trade, and began business as a cotton merchant in Manchester, but against the wishes of his friends he abandoned commerce for art and became a landscape-painter. He was one of those instrumental in the

foundation of the Manchester Royal Institution (which has since become the City Art Gallery), and he gained the Heywood gold medal for a landscape in oil, and the Heywood silver medal for a landscape in water colour. Much of his time was necessarily devoted to teaching, but all the moments that could be spared from it were passed in the lake districts. Even in his later years, when confined to his bed by failing health, he occupied himself in recording his reminiscences of natural beauty. He died at Bowness, Westmoreland, on 26 Feb. 1852, and was buried there.

The father of the landscape-painter, **CHARLES CALVERT** the elder, was an amateur. He was born in 1754; died on 13 June 1797, and is buried in St. Mary's churchyard, Manchester; a younger brother, **RAISLEY CALVERT**, who died in 1794, was a sculptor, and is well known as the friend and admirer of Wordsworth, to whom he bequeathed 900*l*. Another son of Charles Calvert the elder, Frederick Baltimore Calvert, is separately noticed. Two other sons, Henry and Michael Pease, were both painters.

[Art Journal, 1852, p. 150 (the same notice appears in the Gent. Mag. June 1852, new ser. xxxvii. 630); Nodal's Art in Lancashire and Cheshire, 1884.] W. E. A. A.

**CALVERT, CHARLES ALEXANDER (1828-1879),** actor, was born in London on 28 Feb. 1828, and educated at King's College School. On leaving it he spent some time in the office of a London solicitor and in a mercer's business in St. Paul's Churchyard; but before long he was drawn to the stage, having derived a first impulse towards it from the plays of Shakespeare produced at Sadler's Wells Theatre by Phelps, from whom Calvert afterwards modestly declared that he had learnt all his art. He first entered into an engagement as an actor in 1852, at Weymouth Theatre, under the management of Sothorn, the famous Lord Dundreary of later days. Then he played leading parts at Southampton and in South Wales, till about 1855 he joined the company of Messrs. Shepherd and Creswick at the Surrey Theatre in London, where he played leading youthful parts of a 'legitimate' type. A year after his arrival in London he married Adelaide Ellen Biddles, who, as Mrs. Calvert, attained to a good position on the stage. They had several children, of whom five (three sons and two daughters) have followed their parents' profession. In 1859 Calvert became stage-manager and principal actor in the Theatre Royal, Manchester. In this town he was to make his name; but it was not till

1864 that as manager of the newly built Prince's Theatre he began the series of Shakespearean 'revivals' which were the chief efforts of his professional life. Convinced that Shakespeare could be 'made to pay,' he consistently produced the plays which he presented with elaborate attention to scenery, costume, and every other element of stage effect. Moreover, he aimed in these matters at historical correctness, thereby earning the recognition of J. R. Planché, the real originator of a reform on the merits of which the Kemble family were divided. The Shakespearean plays 'revived' by Calvert were the following: 'The Tempest' (1864), with which the Prince's Theatre opened, and which proved a signal success; 'Antony and Cleopatra' (1866); 'The Winter's Tale' (1869); 'Richard III' (1870); 'The Merchant of Venice,' with Arthur Sullivan's music (1871); 'Henry V' (1872); 'Twelfth Night' (1873); 'The Second Part of Henry IV' (1874). From a draft in his handwriting it appears to have been his intention, had his connection with the Prince's Theatre continued, to crown the series by an arrangement of the three parts of Henry VI together with Richard III in three plays, under the title of 'The Houses of York and Lancaster.' During his management he produced, after a less elaborate fashion, some other Shakespearean plays, as well as Byron's 'Manfred' (1867), and other dramas. He generally had a good 'stock' company, in which several actors and actresses of mark received their training; and he showed a commendable freedom from pettiness in occasionally associating with himself on his own stage London actors of great reputation and popularity. Financially the prosperity of the speculation with which he was associated seems to have varied; in 1868 the Prince's Theatre passed into the hands of a company, for which it was rebuilt as the prettiest theatre in England; afterwards he had for a short time a proprietary interest in it; in 1875 his connection with it ceased altogether. Shortly before this Calvert had visited New York, where he produced Henry V with very great success. After quitting the Prince's Theatre he produced, at the Theatre Royal, Manchester, in 1877, 'Henry VIII.' He and his accomplished coadjutor, Mr. Alfred Darbyshire, regarded the stage directions forming part of the text of this play as justifying their views about the stage setting of such plays. Calvert's acting edition of Henry VIII has accordingly an interest of its own. He also brought out with great splendour Byron's 'Sardanapalus' at Liverpool and at the Theatre Royal, Manchester, and superintended

a 'replica' at Booth's Theatre in New York. His last years were migratory, and spent at the head of a travelling company which appeared in Manchester and at other places. In 1871 he had been much interested in the scheme for establishing a subsidised 'Shakespeare Memorial Theatre' in London, which came to nothing. His last years must have brought him much disappointment and little rest. Towards the end the state of his health, which had given way four years previously, disquieted his friends, and ultimately he sought retirement at Hammersmith, where he died on 12 June 1879. The genuine admiration felt for him at Manchester had been shown on the occasion of his first departure for New York by a public banquet (4 Jan. 1875). His funeral at Brooklands cemetery, near Sale in Cheshire, was made the occasion of a popular demonstration. Later in the year (1 and 2 Oct.) friendship commemorated his worth in a performance of 'As you like it' at Manchester for the benefit of his family. Calvert was a true enthusiast, whose career, 'provincial' as it was in its principal portion, has an enduring interest for the history of the English stage. As an actor he was, in the opinion of some, best fitted for the so-called domestic drama; but his ambition took a higher flight, and, though his physical advantages were few, his intelligence and reading, together with a certain breadth and strength of style, qualified him even for heroic parts such as Brutus and Henry V. His elocution was excellent, and his declamation at times masterly. He was a careful student of Shakespeare, and his acting editions of nearly all the Shakespearean plays mentioned above form a pleasing memorial of his zeal and his good sense. Personally he was much respected as well as liked, and his private correspondence shows him to have thought with courage, but without immodesty, on the highest of themes.

[Private information and personal knowledge.]  
A. W. W.

CALVERT, EDWARD (1799-1883), artist, was a native of Appledore in Devonshire, where he was born on 20 Sept. 1799. The first years of his life were passed near Starcross. His father, Roland Calvert, who had been in the army, died when Edward was twelve years old. He early entered the navy and served as midshipman under Sir Charles Penrose. While on board he saw his dearest shipmate killed at his side during an action. He soon after left service to devote himself to the arts. He studied under James Ball and A. B. Johns, the latter a landscape-painter of repute at Plymouth. After his

marriage with Miss Bennell of Brixton he removed to London and attended the Royal Academy schools. Before long he made the acquaintance of William Blake, and joined a little band of artists who revered Blake as their chief, including Samuel Palmer, Linnell the elder, and George Richmond. Blake's designs exercised considerable influence over Calvert. He was one of the few friends who attended Blake's interment in 1827. His first exhibited picture was at the Royal Academy in 1825. It was called 'Nymphs,' and excited much warm admiration. At the same gallery he exhibited in 1827 his picture 'A Shepherdess.' In 1829 he sent 'Morning' to the exhibition of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk Street. Another poetic landscape with the same title was exhibited by him at the Royal Academy in 1832, and a third in 1835. His last contribution to the Academy exhibition was in 1836, when his picture illustrated Milton's 'Eve.' Calvert produced many woodcuts and plates of singular beauty, which were privately printed by himself at his successive residences in Brixton and Paddington. He was extremely fastidious, and, though incessantly at work, was always dissatisfied with the result and destroyed some of his blocks and plates. Of his woodcuts the 'Christian Ploughing the last Furrow of Life' and the 'Cider Press' are described as very like Blake's. Calvert was a thorough student of anatomy, and also spent some time in St. Thomas's Hospital during the cholera of 1830. He was an enthusiast for Greek art, and once visited Greece, returning with many sketches. Among his intimate friends were Derwent Coleridge and Francis Oliver Finch, the landscape-painter. In honour of the latter he wrote an *éloge*, which is printed in the 'Memorials' of that artist published in 1865.

Calvert died at Hackney on 14 July 1883, in his eighty-fourth year, and was buried at Abney Park cemetery.

[*Athenæum*, 18 and 25 Aug. 1883, the latter notice by George Richmond, R.A.; Gilchrist's *Life of W. Blake*, 1880, i. 343, 407; Graves's *Diet. of Artists*, 1760-1880; Royal Academy Catalogues; private information through Mr. John Richmond.] C. W. S.

**CALVERT, FREDERICK**, sixth LORD BALTIMORE (1731-1771), eldest son of Charles, fifth lord, by Mary, youngest daughter of Sir Theodore Janssen, was born in 1731. Carlyle, in his 'Life of Frederick the Great,' refers to the father in 1739 as 'something of a fool, to judge by the face of him in portraits, and by some of his doings in the world.' In 1753 Frederick married Diana

Egerton, youngest daughter of the Duke of Bridgewater. In 1768 he was tried at Kingston on a charge of rape, but acquitted (Report of trial in *Gent. Mag.* xxxviii. 180-8). He died at Naples on 14 Sept. 1771, without legitimate children. His remains were brought to England in order to be interred in the family vault at Epsom, and for some time lay in state in Exeter Exchange, Strand. The moment his body was removed the populace plundered the room where it had lain (*ib.* xlii. 44). The title became extinct on his death, and by his will he bequeathed the province of Maryland, in America, to Henry Harford, a child, and the remainder of his estates in fee to his younger sister. Winckelmann characterises him as 'one of those worn-out beings, a hipped Englishman, who had lost all moral and physical taste.' He was the author of a 'Tour in the East in the years 1763 and 1764, with Remarks on the City of Constantinople and the Turks. Also Select Pieces of Oriental Wit, Poetry, and Wisdom,' regarding which Lord Orford declared it 'no more deserved to be published than his bills on the road for post-horses.' In 1769 he printed at Augsburg ten copies of a book entitled '*Gaudia Poetica Latina, Anglica, et Gallica Lingua composita.*' It forms a volume of 120 pages, beautifully printed, and richly decorated with head and tail pieces. It consists of a Latin poem translated into English and French, with some smaller pieces, and several letters which had passed between him and Linnæus, to whom he had dedicated the volume. Linnæus had been so much flattered by the dedication that he refers to the book in extraordinary terms of eulogy, and designates it an 'immortal work.' Baltimore also published '*Cælestes et Inferi*,' Venice, 1771, 4to.

[Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors* (Park), v. 278-82; Morris's *The Lords Baltimore*, 52-61.] T. F. H.

**CALVERT, FREDERICK BALTIMORE** (1793-1877), actor and lecturer on elocution, son of Charles Calvert, steward of the Duke of Norfolk, at Glossop Hall, Derbyshire [see under **CALVERT, CHARLES**], was baptised on 11 April 1793, and entered Manchester school on 12 Jan. 1804. Thence he was sent to the Roman catholic college at Old Hall Green, Hertfordshire, with a view to receiving holy orders; but he took to the stage, and in the course of his career alternated leading parts with the elder Kean, Macready, and the elder Vandenhoff. In 1824 he published '*A Defence of the Drama*,' which had an extensive circulation, and was read by John Fawcett to the members of the

Theatrical Fund at their annual dinner in that year. In 1829 he became elocutionary lecturer of King's College, Aberdeen, and gave lectures on oratory, poetry, and other literary subjects in the large towns of England. He afterwards proceeded to America, where he lectured on the English poets, and on returning to England gave evening discourses at the leading athenæums on what he had seen during his visit to the western hemisphere. About 1846 he was appointed master of the English language and literature in the Edinburgh Academy. In the winter of 1847-8 he gave readings of the English poets in connection with the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. Some years after he became lecturer on elocution to the free church colleges of Edinburgh and Glasgow. He died at his residence, 2 West Newington, Edinburgh, 21 April 1877. He was a man of great literary refinement, and had an extensive acquaintance with the literature of Greece and Rome, as well as with that of England and France. He married, in 1818, Miss Percy of Whitby, by whom he had a numerous family; his youngest son, Michael Talbot Calvert, made a reputation as a tragic actor, under the stage name of Henry Talbot. Calvert was the author of: 1. 'A Defence of the Acted Drama,' in a letter to T. Best, Hull, 1822. 2. 'Principles of Elocution,' by T. Ewing, thoroughly revised and greatly improved by F. B. Calvert, 1852; another edition, 1870. 3. A Letter to the Very Rev. Dean Ramsay, Edinburgh, on 'The Art of Reading and Preaching distinctly,' 1869. 4. 'The De Oratore of Cicero,' translated by F. B. Calvert, M.A., 1870. 5. 'An Ode to Shakespeare.'

[Smith's Manchester School Reg. ii. 233, iii. 334; The Era, 6 May 1877, p. 13.] G. C. B.

**CALVERT, FREDERICK CRACE** (1819-1873), chemist, was born in London on 14 Nov. 1819, and was the son of a Colonel Calvert. At the age of sixteen he left London for France, where he remained till 1846. One result of this long stay abroad was that till the end of his life he spoke English with a French accent, and was, in consequence, frequently taken for a foreigner. After studying at Rouen under Gerardin, and in Paris at the Sorbonne, the Collège de France, and the École de Médecine, he held for a short time the post of manager of Messrs. Robiquet & Pelletier's chemical works, but this post he vacated on being appointed assistant to the eminent chemist, Chevreul. It was under Chevreul (his old master as he would always call him) that Calvert's serious chemical work began, and it was the influence of Chevreul which directed his researches

towards those branches of industrial chemistry in which he acquired his reputation. In 1846 he returned to England and was appointed professor of chemistry at the Royal Institution in Manchester, where he had settled in practice as a consulting chemist. He now devoted himself almost entirely to questions of industrial chemistry, tanning, the desulphurisation of coke, the protection of iron ships from rust, the manufacture of chlorate of potash, iron puddling, calico-printing, &c. A few years later he took up the manufacture of coal-tar products, especially of phenic or carbolic acid, which he was the first to manufacture in a pure state in this country. Its use as a disinfectant and for therapeutic purposes is due, it may be said, entirely to him. The manufacture of carbolic acid was commenced by him on a small scale in 1859, and in 1865 he established large works at Manchester for its production. He contributed largely to scientific literature, both English and French; his papers are to be found in the 'Comptes Rendus,' the 'Royal Society's Proceedings,' the 'Annales de Chimie,' the 'Philosophical Magazine,' the 'British Association Reports,' the 'Journal of the Society of Arts,' and elsewhere. A full but not complete list of the papers, and unfortunately without references, is given in the biographical notice prefixed to the second edition of his work on 'Dyeing and Calico-printing.' He delivered five courses of 'Cantor' lectures at the Society of Arts on applied chemistry. His death was the result of an illness contracted at Vienna, whither he had gone to serve as a juror at the International Exhibition of 1873. He died at Manchester 24 Oct. 1873.

[A life is given in the Soc. of Arts Journal, xxi. (1873) 919; a very full account of Calvert's scientific work is given as an introduction to the second edition of his Dyeing and Calico-printing, Manchester, 1876; short notices appear in Journ. Chem. Soc. xxvii. 1198; Chem. News, xxviii. (1873) 224. For scientific writings see Royal Soc. Cat. Scientific Papers s. v. Crace-Calvert.]  
H. T. W.

**CALVERT, GEORGE**, first LORD BALTIMORE (1580?-1632), statesman, son of Leonard Calvert and Alice, daughter of John Crosland of Crosland, was born at Kipling in the chapelry of Bolton in Yorkshire about 1580. In the Oxford University register of matriculations, Calvert, who matriculated from Trinity College on 12 July 1594, is entered as 'annos natus 14.' He obtained the degree of B.A. on 23 Feb. 1597, and was created M.A. on 30 Aug. 1605, during the visit of King James to Oxford. After leaving Oxford he travelled for a time, and on his

return became secretary to Sir Robert Cecil, 'being then esteemed a forward and knowing person in matters relating to the state' (Wood). On 10 July 1606 Calvert was granted the office of clerk of the crown in the province of Connaught and county of Clare (*Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1603-6, p. 565). In January 1608 he was appointed one of the clerks of the council (Lodge, *Illustr. of English Hist.* iii. 256), and entered parliament as M.P. for Bossiney in October 1609. In January 1612 he is mentioned as assisting the king in the composition of his discourse against Vorstius, and in June of the following year, during the vacancy of the secretary of state's place, the charge of answering the Spanish and Italian correspondence was entrusted to him (*Court and Times of James I*, i. 134-76). In 1613 Calvert was one of the committee sent to Ireland to examine into the grievance of the catholics and the complaints made against the lord deputy (*Cal. State Papers*, Ireland, 1611-14, Commission, p. 436, Report of Commissioners, pp. 426, 438). His different services were rewarded in 1617 by knighthood (29 Sept.), and in February 1619 he became secretary of state. 'The night before he was sworn,' writes Chamberlain to Carleton, 'the lord of Buckingham told him the king's resolution; but he disabled himself various ways, but specially that he thought himself unworthy to sit in that place, so lately possessed by his noble lord and master' (*Court and Times of James I*, i. 142). The trial of the Earl of Suffolk in the Star-chamber was the first business of importance on which Calvert was engaged, and his letters to Buckingham during that trial, particularly one in which he excuses himself for his 'error in judgment' in consenting to too light a sentence on the delinquent, show how much he depended on the favourite's influence (*Forrescue Papers*, p. 98; HOWARD, *Collection of Letters*, p. 57). On 2 May 1620 the king granted Calvert a yearly pension of 1,000*l.* on the customs (CAMDEN, *James I*). In the parliament of 1621 he with Sir Thomas Wentworth represented Yorkshire; their election; which was obtained through an unscrupulous exertion of Wentworth's influence, though called in question, was voted good by the House of Commons. It was Calvert's duty as secretary to lay the king's necessities before the house and press for a supply for the defence of the Palatinate. He would not have our king, he said, 'trust entirely to the king of Spain's affection. It is said our king's sword hath been too long sheathed; but they who shall speak to defer a supply seek to keep it longer in the scabbard' (*Proceedings and Debates*, ii. 213; vide also i. 48).

As intermediary between the king and the commons in the disputes which arose during the second session, the secretary had a very difficult part to play. To him James, on 16 Dec. 1621, addressed the remarkable letter in which he explained his answer to the remonstrance of the commons, but he could not succeed in preventing the drawing up of the protestation by which the commons replied (*ib.* ii. 339). The house did not trust him; he was suspected of communicating to the king intelligence of their proceedings, to the detriment of the leading members. Allusions to this were made in the debates, and the charge is directly brought against him by Wilson, with special reference to this remonstrance (WILSON, *Life of James I*, p. 71). A few days earlier, when he had attempted to explain the commitment of Sir E. Sandys, and asserted that he was not committed for anything said or done in parliament, a member moved that the statement should be entered in the journals, and the note-taker adds, 'the house will scarce believe Mr. Secretary, but thinketh he equivocateth' (*Proceedings and Debates*, ii. 200). At the same time Calvert possessed no great influence with the king. The French ambassador, Tillyères, in a letter dated 25 Nov. 1621, describes the secretary as an honourable, sensible, well-intentioned man, courteous to strangers, full of respect towards ambassadors, zealously intent for the welfare of England, but by reason of these good qualities entirely without consideration or influence (RAUMER, *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ii. 263). As the more efficient of the two secretaries of state the conduct of foreign affairs was principally in Calvert's hands, and he shared at the time the unpopularity of his master's policy. He was accused of being sold to Spain, and of an undue devotion to the interests of catholicism, a charge to which his subsequent conversion gave some colour. Nevertheless, says Mr. Gardiner, 'it is quite a mistake to suppose that because Calvert afterwards became a catholic he was ready to betray English interests into the hands of the Spaniards. Expressions in favour of a more decided policy in Germany than that adopted by the king are constantly occurring in his correspondence with Carleton' (*Hist. England*, iv. 411). But the failure of the Spanish marriage scheme was still a blow to him, both as a statesman and a catholic. A correspondent of Roe's describes him as never 'looking merrily since the prince his coming out of Spain' (Roe's *Letters*, p. 372). On 8 Jan. 1623-4 he became M.P. for Oxford University. In the council he was one of nine who opposed a breach with Spain (14 Jan. 1624) and in the following January he resigned his office

and declared himself a catholic. Goodman, who describes him as having been converted by Count Gondomar and Count Arundel (whose daughter Calvert's son had married), states that for some time he had made no secret of his views. 'As it was said, the secretary did usually catechise his own children, so as to ground them in his own religion; and in his best room having an altar set up, with chalice, candlesticks, and all other ornaments, he brought all strangers thither, never concealing anything, as if his whole joy and comfort had been to make open profession of his religion' (*Court of King James*, p. 376). Calvert resigned on 12 Feb. 1625 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom.), being allowed to sell his office to Sir Albert Morton for 6,000*l.*, and obtaining also the title of Baron of Baltimore in the county of Longford in Ireland (16 Feb. 1625). Large estates in that district had before been granted to him; these were now confirmed to him by a fresh grant (12 Feb. 1625). On the accession of Charles I, Baltimore made objections to taking the oath offered to him as a privy councillor, and was consequently excluded from the council. He returned to Ireland bearing a letter to the lord deputy, in which the king recommended him as one who 'parted from us with our princely approbation and in our good grace' (29 May 1625). Except that he was summoned to court in February 1627 to consult on the terms of the proposed peace with Spain, he took henceforth no part in state affairs. For the rest of his life he devoted himself to what one of his biographers terms 'that ancient, primitive, and heroic work of planting the world.' As early as 1621 Calvert had despatched Captain Edward Wynne to Newfoundland, where he established a small settlement named Ferryland. In 1622 another ship, under Captain Daniel Powell, was sent to carry on the work (*Letters of Wynne and Powell*; OLDMIXON, *British Empire in America*, i. 9). Finding their reports favourable, Calvert now obtained a charter for the colony under the name of the province of Avalon (*Cal. State Papers*, Colonial, 7 April 1623), so called, says Lloyd, 'in imitation of old Avalon in Somersetshire, where Glastonbury stands, the first-fruits of christianity in Britain, as the other was in that part of America' (LLOYD, *State Worthies*). 'Mr. Secretary Calvert,' wrote Sir William Alexander two years later, 'hath planted a colony at Ferryland, who both for building and making trial of the ground have done more than was ever performed of any in so short a time, having on hand a brood of horses, cows, and other bestials, and by the industry of his people he is beginning to draw back yearly some bene-

fits from thence already' (*An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 25). Nevertheless, in 1627 Baltimore found it necessary either to go over and settle the colony in better order, or to lose the fruit of all his exertions (*Strafford Correspondence*, i. 39). He arrived at Newfoundland in July 1627, but remained there merely a few weeks; in the following spring, however, he returned again with his family, and continued to reside there until the autumn of 1629. During this second visit Baltimore successfully repulsed the attacks of some French privateers, and took six prizes, but dissensions arose in the colony in consequence of the presence of the priests whom he brought with him, and a puritan denounced him to the home authorities for allowing the practice of catholicism and the saying of masses (*Cal. State Papers*, Col. 93, 94). A more serious difficulty was the climate, and on 19 Aug. 1629 Baltimore wrote to the king complaining that the winter lasted from October to May, that half his company had been sick, and ten were dead, and begged for a grant of lands in a more genial country (*ib.* 100). Without waiting for the king's reply he set sail for Virginia, but directly he landed at Jamestown was met with the demand that he should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and a refusal to allow him to establish himself there except on that condition (*ib.* 104). Baltimore returned to England and endeavoured to obtain a patent for a new colony. In February 1631 he was on the point of securing a grant for a district south of the James River, but the opposition of the members of the late Virginia Company obliged him to abandon it (NEILL, p. 19). He now sought instead for a similar grant in the region north and east of the Potomac, but the same influences interposed to delay its completion, and he died on 15 April 1632, before the patent had passed the great seal. He was buried in the church of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, in Fleet Street (WOOD). The charter of Maryland was finally sealed on 20 June 1632 (*Cal. State Papers*, Col.), and Cecilius, second lord Baltimore, founded the colony which his father had projected. The name it received was given it by Charles I, in honour of his queen, and the provisions of the charter were copied from the charter of Carolana, granted to Sir Robert Heath in 1629 (NEILL, pp. 20-24). The question whether Baltimore designed the colony to be a stronghold for persecuted Romanism, or intended to base it on the principle of toleration for all sects, has been much discussed. But the clause requiring that all churches and places of worship in Maryland should be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of

the church of England refutes the former theory, and proves that the church of England was to be regarded as the sole established religion. Certainly Baltimore sought the free exercise of his own religion, and was prepared to practise the toleration he demanded, but no legal provision for toleration was made until the laws of 1649. The power of the proprietor and the composition of the colony were sufficient to secure it. Baltimore married in 1604-5 Anne (*d.* 1622), daughter of George Mynne of Hertingfordbury, Hertfordshire, a Roman catholic. He was succeeded by his son Cecil; a second son, Leonard [*q. v.*], was the first governor of Maryland.

Baltimore's works are: 1. 'Carmen funebre in D. Hen. Untonum,' in an Oxford collection of verses on Sir Henry Unton's death, 1596, 4to. 2. 'The Answer to Tom Tell-Troth, the Practice of Princes, and the Lamentations of the Kirk,' a quarto pamphlet printed in 1642, and said to be 'written by Lord Baltimore, late secretary of state.' This is a justification of the policy of King James in refusing to support the claim of the Elector Palatine to the crown of Bohemia, or to support by arms his restoration to his hereditary dominions. 3. 'He hath also written something concerning Maryland, but whether printed or not I cannot tell' (Wood). 4. Letters in various printed collections, viz. four letters in the 'Strafford Papers,' five in the 'Clarendon State Papers,' four in Leonard Howard's 'Collection of Letters,' 1753, eleven letters in the 'Fortescue Papers' (Camden Society, 1871), three in the 'Relations between England and Germany in 1618-19' (Camden Society, 1835), two letters in the 'Court and Times of James I,' and others in the 'Calendar of Domestic State Papers.' Manuscript letters are to be found, six in the 'Tanner MSS.,' fifteen among the 'Harleian MSS.' (1580), and in 'MSS. Cotton. Julius,' c. iii. fol. 126-30. There is a portrait by Mytens.

[Calendar of Domestic, Colonial, and Irish State Papers; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*; Lloyd's *State Worthies*; Goodman's *Court of James I.*; Court and Times of James I and Charles I, 4 vols. 1848; Gardiner's *History of England*; Doyle's *The English in America*; Neill's *Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, Baltimore, 1869*; Kennedy's *Discourse on the Life and Character of Sir G. Calvert, Baltimore, 1845*; the Reply to Kennedy and the Review of Reply to Kennedy's Life of Sir George Calvert; the London Magazine for June 1768 contains an account of the Baltimore family.] C. H. F.

**CALVERT, GEORGE (1795-1825)**, surgeon, obtained the Jacksonian prize of the London College of Surgeons three years in succession. One of the essays, 'On Hæmor-

rhoids, Strictures,' &c., was expanded and published in 1824. The 'Medico-Chirurgical Review' described it as 'the best in the English language,' April 1825, p. 297. Calvert also revised Coffyn's translation of Bichat's 'General Anatomy,' 1824. He showed great promise, but died on 14 Nov. 1825, aged 30. [*Gent. Mag.* 1825, November, p. 475.]

G. T. B.

**CALVERT, SIR HARRY (1763?-1826)**, baronet, general, was eldest son of Peter Calvert, of Hampton Court, a partner in the brewing firm (*d.* 1810), by his wife, Mary, daughter of Thomas Reeve, M.D., and grandson of Felix Calvert of Oldbury Park. He was christened in March 1763 (BERRY, *Hertfordshire Genealogies*, p. 21). He was educated at Harrow, and at the age of fifteen was appointed to the 23rd royal Welsh fusiliers, his commission as second lieutenant therein bearing date 24 April 1778. In the following spring he joined his regiment, then at New York, with General Clinton, and became a first lieutenant on 2 Oct. 1779. He served with the regiment at the siege of Charleston, and throughout the subsequent campaigns under Lord Cornwallis, and was present at the surrender at York Town on 17 Oct. 1781. He remained a prisoner of war in America from 1781 until the peace of 1783, and returning home with his corps early in 1784, received permission to spend the remainder of the year on the continent. In October 1785 he purchased a company in the 100th, and reverting to the 23rd as captain en second a month later continued to serve with it at home until 1790, when he exchanged from the 23rd to the Coldstream guards, as lieutenant and captain. In February 1793 he embarked for Holland with his battalion, forming part of the brigade of guards under Lake, and, after the arrival of the troops before Tournay, was appointed aide-de-camp to the Duke of York, in which capacity he was present in the principal engagements during the campaigns of 1793-4. Having returned home with the Duke of York in December 1794, he was despatched in April 1795 on a confidential mission to Brunswick and Berlin, the object of which was to induce the King of Prussia to take the initiative in placing the Duke of Brunswick at the head of the allied armies. In December of the same year Calvert became captain and lieutenant-colonel in the Coldstreams, and in 1796 was appointed deputy adjutant-general at headquarters. He became brevet lieutenant-colonel in 1797, and in 1799 exchanged as lieutenant-colonel to the 63rd foot, retaining his staff appointment. On 8 June 1799 he married the second daughter of Thos. Hammersley of Pall Mall,



and niece of Mr. Greenwood, of the firm of Cox & Greenwood, army agents. By this lady, who died in 1806, he had two sons and three daughters. About the time of his marriage, Calvert was advanced to the post of adjutant-general of the forces, in succession to Sir W. Fawcett. He was made colonel of the (old) 5th West India regiment in 1800, and became a major-general in 1803. In 1806 he was transferred to the colonelcy of the 14th foot, which during the latter part of the French war had the unusual number of three battalions, and was thence dubbed 'Calvert's Entire.' Its country title was altered from Bedfordshire to Buckinghamshire at his request (CANNON, *Hist. Record 14th Foot*). In 1818 Calvert, who had attained the rank of lieutenant-general in 1810, and had been made a G.C.B. 1815 and a G.C.H. 1817, received next year a baronetcy in further recognition of his services. He was appointed lieutenant-governor of Chelsea Hospital in 1820, and attained the rank of general in 1821.

Rumour alleged that Calvert's advancement to the post of adjutant-general in January 1799, five months before his marriage, was partly due to heavy obligations which the Duke of York was under to the firm of Cox & Co. However this may have been, the appointment was amply justified by the results, as during his long tenure of the office Calvert proved himself a true soldier's friend, and an able instrument in giving effect to many valuable improvements in the administration and discipline of the army. Among these were the better organisation of the medical department and army hospitals, and of the chaplains' department; the introduction of regimental schools; the development of the military colleges at High Wycombe and Marlow, since united at Sandhurst; the founding of the Royal Military Asylum for Soldiers' Orphans, better known as the Duke of York's School, and various other measures for the benefit of the service. One of his immediate subordinates wrote of him, long afterwards: 'Such was the kindness of his look and demeanour, and courtesy of his manner, that it was impossible to offer him any disrespect, and with whatever sentiments a gentleman might have approached him, he could only retire with those of regard and esteem.'

Calvert died suddenly of apoplexy on Sunday, 3 Sept. 1826, at Claydon Hall, Middle Claydon, Buckinghamshire, where he was on a visit with his family. He was buried at West or Steeple Claydon, where the church spire was erected as a memorial of him. His son, the second baronet, took the name of

Verney instead of Calvert on succeeding to the Verney estates.

Calvert's journals and letters during the Flanders campaigns, together with memoranda relating to his Berlin mission and to the defensive arrangements against invasion at the beginning of the present century, have been published by his son under the title, 'Journals and Correspondence of Sir H. Calvert, Bart.,' London, 1853.

[Berry's County Genealogies, Herts; Army Lists; Cannon's Hist. Record 23rd R. W. Fus.; Graham's Life of Gen. S. Graham, 1862; Cannon's Hist. Record 14th (Buckinghamshire) Foot; Sir H. Verney's Journals and Correspondence of Sir H. Calvert, Bart.; Gent. Mag. vol. xcvi. pt. ii. p. 371.] H. M. C.

CALVERT, JAMES SNOWDEN (1825-1884), Australian explorer, was born on 13 July 1825, and received his schooling in Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and London, where his family successively resided after leaving the border. Having friends in New South Wales, Calvert and a brother decided to go out thither in 1840, and on the voyage, in the ship *Sir Edward Paget*, contracted a lasting friendship with Dr. Ludwig Leichhardt, the well-known explorer, afterwards lost in the bush, who was their fellow-passenger. The result was that Calvert agreed to accompany Dr. Leichhardt on his first expedition, providing his own horses and outfit. The party left Moreton Bay settlement (Brisbane) in 1844 for Port Essington, on the north coast, and after many hardships and difficulties, including numerous conflicts with the blacks, accomplished their mission and returned to Sydney late in 1845. Full particulars of the expedition will be found in Dr. Leichhardt's subsequently published narrative of the journey. Calvert was an exhibitor at the earlier exhibitions in London and Paris, and at the London Exhibition of 1862 was awarded a silver medal for his collection of Australian paper-making materials. Soon after the arrival of Sir Wm. Denison as governor he was placed on the commission of the peace at Sydney. He married the well-known Australian authoress, Miss Laura Atkinson [see CALVERT, CAROLINE LOUISA WARING, *née* Atkinson], and after that lady's sudden death in 1872 he led a retired life. He died in New South Wales 22 July 1884.

[Heaton's Dict. Australian Biog.; Exhibition Reports; Leichhardt's Journal of an Overland Journey (London, 1847).] H. M. C.

CALVERT, LEONARD (*d.* 1647), governor of Maryland, America, was the second son of George Calvert, first lord Baltimore

[q.v.], and the brother of Cecil Calvert, second lord Baltimore, who received a charter for the colony from Charles I on 20 June 1632. At the request of his brother, Leonard Calvert set sail with the expedition from Cowes on 22 Nov. 1633 in the two ships the *Ark of Avalon* and the *Dove*. The emigrants consisted of two hundred persons of good families and of the Roman catholic persuasion; but although the colony was designed to be a refuge for English catholics, religious toleration was from the beginning proclaimed for all christians. The name Maryland was bestowed on the colony by Charles I in honour of his queen, Henrietta Maria. They arrived at Point Comfort, Virginia, on 27 Feb. 1634, and on 27 March took possession of an abandoned Indian village in Maryland, which they named St. Mary's. Soon after Calvert had an interview with Captain Clayborne, who had established a trading station on Kent Island, Chesapeake Bay, and intimated to him that the settlement would be considered part of the Maryland colony. He also met an Englishman, Captain Henry Fleet, who had spent several years among the Indians, and through whose influence the chief was induced to go on board the governor's vessel, and to forego all objections to the settlement of the colony. For the first ten years of the existence of the colony there is an hiatus in the information, the records having been seized in 1646 by one of Clayborne's men and carried to England. Clayborne in 1635 resorted to force, but was defeated and fled to Virginia. In April 1637 Calvert was made chief official of Maryland, and his support of the king excited the wrath of the parliamentary party. For some years Calvert was in England, but returned to Maryland in August or September 1644 with a new commission from the lord proprietary. Meanwhile Clayborne had possessed himself of Kent Island, and Richard Ingle, who held a commission from the parliament, drove Calvert to Virginia; but in 1646 Calvert returned and routed the rebels. He then proceeded to reduce Kent Island, and after its submission, 16 April 1647, pardon was granted to all offenders. He died on 9 June in the same year.

[Of a Latin narrative of the voyage of the colonists by Father Andrew White, S.J., a jesuit missionary who accompanied the colony, a translation was published in Force's Tracts, and the Latin version, with a new translation and notes by the Rev. Dr. Dalrymple, in the Proceedings of the Maryland Historical Society. Of a Relation of Maryland, together with a Map of the Country, the condition of Plantation, and his Majesty's charter to the Lord Baltimore,

translated into English, London, 8 Sept. 1635. For lives of Calvert see Belknap's American Biography, ii. 372-80; Sparks's American Biography, xix. 1-229; Morris's Lords Baltimore (1874), pp. 36-41.] T. F. H.

**CALVERT, MICHAEL** (1770-1862), author of a history of Knaresborough, was born in that town and baptised at the parish church on 2 Feb. 1770. His parents' names were Richard and Barbara. He was by calling a chemist. In 1808 and 1809 he filled the office of churchwarden, and in the latter year repaired the chancel of the church. Among other public objects in which he took an interest was the Knaresborough Spa, a mild sulphur spring on the road to Harrogate, and by his exertions the house and spa-baths and fountain were erected. He wrote an account of the history and mineral qualities and virtues of the waters. His 'History of Knaresborough, comprising an accurate and detailed account of the castle, the forest, and the several townships included in the said parish,' was published in 1844 in duodecimo. He died on 3 Dec. 1862, at the age of 92, in the town where he had spent all his life.

[Boyne's Yorkshire Library, 1869, p. 142; Grainge's Hist. of Harrogate, 1871, p. 261; information supplied by Mr. Charles Powell, Knaresborough.] C. W. S.

**CALVERT, THOMAS** (1606-1679), divine, a native of York, was educated at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. He became chaplain of Sir Thomas Burdet in Derbyshire, and was afterwards vicar of Trinity Church in the King's Court at York. During the Commonwealth he held one of the four preacher-ships endowed by the crown at the minster, besides the living of Allhallows, York. He was ejected from his living in 1662, was banished from York by the Five Mile Act, and 'withdrew to the good Lady Berwicks, near Tadcaster.' Later he returned to York, where he died in March 1679, aged 73. He had a son by whose extravagances he was much troubled, but found a congenial companion in his nephew James Calvert, and corresponded with the chief scholars of the time. He was well read in Hebrew. His works were: 1. 'The Blessed Jew of Marocco, a Blackmoor made White,' York, 1648. To this work, which is a translation (through the Latin) of the testimony of Rabbi Samuel, a converted Jew, to the truth of christianity, Calvert contributes annotations and a long diatribe on the mediæval history of the Jews and the wretchedness of their present condition. 2. 'Heart-Salve for a wounded Soule: or Meditations of Comfort for Relief of a soul

sick, of delayed prayers, and the hiding of God's countenance' (a sermon on Ps. cxliii. 7), and 'Eye-Salve for the blind world' (a sermon on Isaiah lvii. 1), York, 10 Oct. 1647. 3. 'The Wise Merchant; or the peerless pearl, set forth in some meditations delivered in two sermons upon Matt. xiii. 45, 46, to the company of merchants in the city of York,' London, 1660. Calamy and Palmer enumerate many other sermons, including one preached at the funeral of Lady Burdet, and a translation of Gerard's 'Schola Consolatoria.'

[Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, iii. 458-9; Brit. Mus. Cat.] S. L.

**CALVERT, THOMAS** (1775-1840), theologian, was born at Preston in 1775. His father, whose name was Jackson, sent him to Clitheroe free grammar school, of which the master was then the learned Rev. Thomas Wilson, B.D. He entered St. John's College, Cambridge, and was fourth wrangler. He was B.A. in 1797, M.A. in 1800, B.D. in 1807, and D.D. in 1823. The last-named degree was taken in the name of Calvert, which he assumed on the death of a friend belonging to an old Lancashire family, who, although unconnected by blood, left him in 1817 a large fortune. He was fellow of his college in 1798, tutor in 1814, and Norrisian professor of divinity from 1815 to 1824, in which year he resigned the post of Lady Margaret's preacher, which he had held since 1819. Having been appointed king's preacher at Whitehall, he attracted the attention and admiration of Lord Liverpool, who appointed him to the rectory of Wilmslow. Although the crown claimed the patronage, it was ultimately decided that the right vested in the ancient family of the Traffords of Trafford, who for more than two centuries have been Roman Catholics. Calvert had his consolation in the college living of Holme, Yorkshire, in 1822, and in the wardenship of the collegiate church of Manchester, conferred unsolicited on the recommendation of his admirer, Lord Liverpool. He was installed on 8 March 1823. He married Juliana, daughter of Sir Charles Watson of Wrating Park, Cambridgeshire, and had three sons.

He wrote: 1. 'The Disinterested and Benevolent Character of Christianity, a Sermon,' Cambridge, 1819. 2. 'The Rich and Poor shown to be of God's appointment and equally the objects of His regard, two Sermons at Whitehall,' Cambridge, 1820. 3. 'Christ's Presence a source of Consolation and Courage, a Sermon,' London, 1823. 4. 'Help in Time of Need, a Sermon,' London, 1826. 5. 'Infidelity Unmasked, a Sermon,' Manchester, 1831. 6. 'An Established

Church the best means of providing for the Care of a Christian Community, a Sermon,' Manchester, 1834. 7. 'A Sermon preached before the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy in St. Paul's Cathedral' (? 1837). 8. 'On the Duty of Bridling the Tongue, a Sermon,' 1840. This was written for a volume made up of contributions by thirty-nine divines towards a fund for St. Andrew's Schools, Manchester. Calvert was constitutionally diffident, and did not take much part in public affairs except in his opposition to Catholic emancipation. His serene manners and gentle deportment made him very popular. He died after a short illness in his house at Ardwick on 4 June 1840, and was followed to the grave by the whole body of the Manchester clergy.

[Raines's Lives of the Wardens of Manchester (Chetham Society), 1885; Baker's St. John's College, Cambridge, ed. Mayor, p. 311.]

W. E. A. A.

**CAMBELL or CAMPBELL, Sir JAMES** (1570-1642), lord mayor of London, was the grandson of Robert Cambell of Foulsham, Norfolk. His father, Sir Thomas Cambell (*d.* 1614), was alderman successively of Bridge Without (15 Nov. 1599), of Bread Street (23 April 1610), and of Coleman Street (11 Oct. 1611); sheriff of London (24 June 1600); lord mayor (29 Sept. 1609); governor of East India Company (1602-3); and twice master of the Ironmongers' Company (1604 and 1613). Sir Thomas, who was knighted at Whitehall (26 July 1603), married Alice, daughter of Edward Bright of London (*Harl. MS.* 1096, f. 13). The son James followed his father's trade of ironmonger. He was elected sheriff of London in 1619, alderman of Billingsgate ward, 24 May 1620, whence he removed to Lime Street, 14 May 1625, and lord mayor in 1629. Thomas Dekker, the dramatist, arranged and wrote the pageant 'London's Tempe' for Cambell's installation (*Fairholt, Lord Mayor's Pageants* (Percy Soc.), part ii. 35-60). During his mayoralty Cambell was knighted (23 May 1630), and he presented an elaborate cup to the king at the christening of Prince Charles (15 June 1630). Cambell was thrice master of the Ironmongers' Company (1615, 1623, and 1641). He died at his house in Throgmorton Street, 5 Jan. 1641-2, and was buried (8 Feb.) at St. Olave's Jewry. His wife Rachel survived him, but he had no children. By his will he left a large number of legacies to relatives and friends, and made several charitable bequests to the London hospitals and the Ironmongers' Company, for 'redemption of poor captives from Turkish slavery,' 'for erecting of a free school at Barking in Essex,' and

for pious uses. The total sum distributed amounted to 48,967*l*.6*s*.8*d*. Edward Browne, Cambell's clerk, to whom he left 20*l*., published (May 1612) an elaborate panegyric, entitled 'a rare laterne of justice and mercy, exemplified in the many notable and charitable legacies of Sir James Cambel.' The tract includes an engraved portrait of Cambell and a drawing of his tomb. The original of the former is now at St. Thomas's Hospital. Lady Cambell died in January 1656-7. Robert Cambell, Sir James's brother, was also an alderman of London, and was master of the Ironmongers' Company in 1631.

[Nicholl's Ironmongers' Company (1866), pp. 272, 536; Overall's Remembrancer, pp. 72, 498; Stow's Survey, ed. Strype, i. 274-5 (where the will is printed); Metcalf's Knights, 151, 195; Cal. State Papers, 1629-41 (where several of Cambell's official letters are printed); Browne's tract.] S. L.

**CAMBRENSIS, GIRALDUS** (1146?-1220?). [See GIRALDUS.]

**CAMBRIDGE, JOHN** (d. 1835). [See CANTEBRIG, JOHN DE.]

**CAMBRIDGE, DUKE OF** (1774-1850). [See ADOLPHUS FREDERICK.]

**CAMBRIDGE, EARLS OF**. [See LANGLEY, EDMUND DE, 1341-1402; RICHARD, d. 1415; HAMILTON, JAMES, first EARL, 1589-1625; HAMILTON, JAMES, second EARL, 1606-1649; HAMILTON, WILLIAM, third EARL, 1616-1651.]

**CAMBRIDGE, RICHARD OWEN** (1717-1802), poet, was born in London on 14 Feb. 1717. His family came originally from Gloucestershire. His father, who had been a Turkey merchant, died soon after his birth, and he was left to the care of his mother and his maternal uncle, Thomas Owen. He was educated at Eton, where he seems to have distinguished himself rather by facility than application. In 1734 he entered as a gentleman-commoner of St. John's College, Oxford, and one of his first poetical efforts was a poem on the marriage of Frederick, prince of Wales, which was published in 1736 among the 'Oxford Congratulatory Verses.' In the following year, having left the university without taking a degree, he became a member of Lincoln's Inn. His legal studies were but languid, and in 1741 he married Miss Trenchard, daughter of George Trenchard of Woolverton in Dorsetshire, and granddaughter of the Sir John Trenchard who had been secretary of state to William III. After this he removed to his family seat at Whitminster in Gloucestershire, on the banks of the Severn, where he led the life of a country gentleman whose tastes lay rather in letters and landscape-

gardening than farming and field sports. At the death of his uncle in 1748, he received a large addition to his income, and quitted Whitminster. For a short time he resided in London, but in 1751 he removed to Twickenham, where he purchased a villa, standing, says Lysons, 'in the meadows opposite Richmond Hill.' At Twickenham he lived during the remainder of his long life, which closed 17 Sept. 1802. His widow survived him four years, dying 5 Sept. 1806.

Cambridge was a man of considerable wit, great conversational powers, and much literary taste, and his pleasant house at Twickenham, which he delighted in decorating and beautifying, was the resort of many contemporary notabilities. Gray, Lyttelton, Soame Jenyns, Pitt, Fox, Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, James Harris, Lord Hardwicke, Admiral Boscawen, Lord Anson, and a host of others were among his acquaintances or intimates. There are traces of him in Boswell's 'Johnson,' in the letters of Walpole, and the journals of Miss Berry. His character was drawn by another friend, Lord Chesterfield: 'Cantabrigius drinks nothing but water, and rides more miles in a year than the keenest sportsman, and with almost equal velocity. The former keeps his head clear, the latter his body in health. It is not from himself that he runs, but to his acquaintance, a synonymous term for his friends. Internally safe, he seeks no sanctuary from himself, no intoxication for his mind. His penetration makes him discover and divert himself with the follies of mankind, which his wit enables him to expose with the truest ridicule, though always without personal offence. Cheerful abroad, because happy at home; and thus happy because virtuous' (*World*, No. xcii.)

While residing in his Gloucester home he had written the work most generally associated with his name, 'The Scribleriad,' a mock-heroic poem in six books, and in the Pope couplet. It was not published until 1751, when it appeared with frontispieces to each book, chiefly by P. L. Boitard. Its hero is the Scriblerus of Swift and the rest, and its object is the ridicule of false science and false taste. The versification is still elegant and finished, but the interest of the satire has evaporated. Even in its author's day a long preface was needed to explain its intention. This was prefixed to the second edition. In 1752 Cambridge published 'A Dialogue between a Member of Parliament and his Servant,' in imitation of Horace, Sat. ii. 7. This was followed in 1754 by 'The Intruder,' another imitation of Sat. i. 9; and the 'Fable of Jotham.' In 1756 came 'The Fakeer,' and 'An Elegy written in an empty

Bath Assembly Room.' The last three of these are printed in the sixth volume of Dodsley's 'Collection of Poems.' There are others in the 4to edition of the author's works published by his son, the Rev. G. O. Cambridge, in 1803. His prose writings consisted of a 'History of the War upon the Coast of Coromandel,' 1761, a contribution to the chronicles of India only superseded by the more important work of Orme. He was also the author of twenty-one papers in Edward Moore's 'World,' 1753-6. They are among the best in that collection. It is with respect to this periodical that one of the few recorded witticisms of this once famous conversationalist is related. 'A note from Mr. Moore requesting an essay,' says his son, 'was put into my father's hands on a Sunday morning as he was going to church; my mother, observing him rather inattentive during the sermon, whispered, "What are you thinking of?" He replied, "Of the next World, my dear."'

[Works of R. O. Cambridge, by his son, G. O. Cambridge, M.A., Prebendary of Ely; a sumptuous 4to, with several fine portraits, published in 1803.] A. D.

**CAMDEN, EARL OF (1713-1793).** [See PRATT, CHARLES.]

**CAMDEN, MARQUIS (1759-1840).** [See PRATT, JOHN JEFFREYS.]

**CAMDEN, WILLIAM (1551-1623),** antiquary and historian, was born in the Old Bailey in London on 2 May 1551. His father was Sampson Camden, a native of Lichfield, who in early life came up to London to follow the profession of a painter, and was a member of the Guild of Painter-Stainers. In the inscription on a cup which his son bequeathed to the guild he was described as 'Pictor Londinensis,' which, as Gough observes, may apply either to his profession or his company. Camden's mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Giles Curwen of Poulton Hall, Lancashire, and came of the ancient family of Curwen of Workington in Cumberland, a descent of which he speaks with modest pride in his 'Britannia.' At an early age he was entered at Christ's Hospital, probably as a 'town child' or 'free scholar,' but the year is unknown. His biographer, Dr. Smith, infers, from the fact of the hospital having been founded for the benefit of orphans, that he had then already lost his father; and Bishop Gibson disregards the story of his admission. But Degory Wheare, his contemporary, presumably had good authority for stating the fact; and he also seems to imply that Camden's father had the care of his early training. In the registers of St. Augustine's

Church, London, is entered the marriage of Sampson Camden and Avis Carter, 4 Sept. 1575. This might be a second marriage of Camden's father, but more probably a brother is referred to (see CHESTER, *Westm. Abbey Registers*, p. 122). In 1563, at the age of twelve, the boy was attacked by the plague at Islington ('peste correptus Islingtoniæ,' *Memorabilia*), but there is no evidence for Anthony Wood's addition that there 'he remained for some time, to the great loss of his learning.' On his recovery he was sent to St. Paul's School, where he remained until 1566, when he went up to Oxford, being then in his fifteenth or sixteenth year.

Without patrimony, his introduction to the university was under the patronage of Dr. Thomas Cooper, fellow of Magdalen College and late master of the school, afterwards successively dean of Christ Church (1567) and bishop of Winchester [q. v.]. Camden's position at Magdalen is uncertain. Wood says that 'in the condition of a chorister or servitor he perfected himself in grammar learning in the free school adjoining;' Degory Wheare, less definite, is content with 'tirocinium primum exegit et logices rudimentis celerime decessit inter Magdalenenses.' Bishop Gibson adopts the suggestion of his service as chorister. Failing to obtain a demyship at his college, he was taken by the hand by Dr. Thomas Thornton, on whose invitation he was admitted to Broadgates Hall (Pembroke College). Here among his fellow-students were the two Carews, Richard and George, the latter of whom was afterwards created Baron Carew of Clifton and Earl of Totnes, whose tastes, like his own, led them to antiquarian research. Other associates were Sir John Packington, Sir Stephen Powel, and Sir Edward Lucy. It is recorded that certain short graces, composed by him in Latin, were used in hall for many years after he had left. His residence there lasted three years, when, on Thornton's promotion to a canonry at Christ Church, he followed his patron thither; and during the rest of his Oxford life he was supported by this generous friend. Next he appears as a candidate for a fellowship at All Souls, but in this attempt he was frustrated by the popish party. Although scarcely of the age of twenty, Camden had made enemies by taking part in religious controversy. Writing in after years (1618) to Usher, he refers to this defeat 'for defending the religion established' (ep. 195). Thus disappointed of obtaining the means of living in the university, he supplicated in June 1570 for the degree of bachelor of arts; but nothing on this occasion appears to have followed, for afterwards, in March 1573, he again applied for the same

degree, which was granted, but he failed to complete it by determination. In fact it seems doubtful whether Camden ever actually fulfilled the requirements for the first degree, although in June 1588, describing himself as B.A. of Christ Church, he supplicated for that of master of arts, and that 'whereas he had spent sixteen years, from the time he had taken the degree of bachelor, in the study of philosophy and other liberal arts, he might be dispensed with for the reading of three solemn lectures' (Wood). He did not, however, obtain the master's degree on this occasion; but it was afterwards offered to him in 1613, when he visited Oxford to attend Sir Thomas Bodley's funeral, and then, according to Wood, he refused it as an unprofitable honour at that advanced period of his life.

In 1571 Camden left Oxford and returned to London. He had no regular employment, and for the next few years he was free to pursue his antiquarian studies. He now began to amass the materials which laid the foundation for his future work, the 'Britannia.' In the address 'ad Lectorem,' which he added to the fifth edition of that work, Camden has himself given us an interesting sketch of the way in which his studies were directed to antiquarian subjects, and how the 'Britannia' grew under his hand. From his earliest days, we are told, his natural inclination led him to investigate antiquity; as a boy at school, and afterwards as a young man at Oxford, all his spare time was given to this favourite pursuit. He especially mentions the encouragement he had from his fellow-student at Christ Church, Sir Philip Sidney. Much of his leisure after leaving the university was passed in travelling through the kingdom and noting its antiquities. But his collections at this time were not made with any view to publication.

Camden's patrons at this period were Dr. Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster, and his brother Godfrey; and it was by the dean's interest that he was appointed in 1575 to the second mastership in Westminster School under Dr. Edward Grant. A schoolmaster's life still left him free in holiday time to make occasional journeys of inquiry. In 1578 he surveyed the country of the Iceni in Norfolk and Suffolk (*Corresp. of Ortelius*, ed. J. H. Hessels, ep. 78). He has noted in his biographical 'Memorabilia' in 1582 a journey through Suffolk into Yorkshire, returning by way of Lancashire. His reputation as an antiquary and topographer was now established, and he became known to scholars of other nations. He notes under the year 1581, the commencement of his friendship with Brisson, the distinguished French jurist, who, being on

an embassy in England, singled out the poor Westminster master, the 'umbraticus vir et pulvere scholastico obsitus' (SMITH), for special attention; and still earlier, in 1577, a visit of Abraham Ortelius, the 'universæ geographiæ vindex et instaurator,' to England brought the two men together. Camden, urged and encouraged by his new friend, undertook the systematic preparation of the 'Britannia.' For this work Camden's labours were enormous. Among other things, he tells us that he had to get some knowledge of the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon languages, to read and read again both native and other historians, many of whose works still remained in manuscript, and to ransack and select from the public records; and to all this, be it remembered, was added the 'laboriosissimum munus' of teaching (see some of the original collections for the work in *Cotton MSS.* Titus F. vii-ix, and Cleopatra A. iv).

After ten years' toil the 'Britannia' was completed, and appeared with a dedication to Lord-treasurer Burghley, dated 2 May 1586, the day on which Camden completed his thirty-fifth year. Its success was great; nothing of the kind had been attempted since the days of Leland, and by him only in briefer outline. In the space of four years it passed through three London editions, besides a reprint at Frankfort in 1590; a fourth edition came out in 1594. All these editions had the supervision of the author, and the last was more fully illustrated with genealogical matter. In 1589 Camden travelled into Devonshire, where he had been presented early in the year (6 Feb.) by Dr. Piers, bishop of Salisbury, with the prebend of Ilfracombe, a preferment which he held for life, although a layman. In the next year he was in Wales in company with Dr. Francis Godwin, soon afterwards bishop of Llandaff (1601), and then of Hereford (1617). The expenses of these journeys are said to have been defrayed by his old friend Godfrey Goodman. In October 1592 a quartan ague fastened upon him, and clung to him persistently for months. It was not till June 1594 that he could write down 'febre liberatus.'

Meanwhile Dr. Grant, the head-master of Westminster, resigned his post in February 1593, and in the following month he was succeeded by Camden. In 1596 Camden visited Salisbury and Wells, returning by way of Oxford, 'where he visited most, if not all, of the churches and chapels for the copying out of the several monuments and arms in them, which were reduced by him into a book written with his own hand' (Wood). But the next year he fell seriously ill again, and removed to the house of one Cuthbert Line,

by the careful nursing of whose wife he recovered. In 1597 also he published his Greek grammar for the use of Westminster School, 'Institutio Græcæ Grammatices Compendiaria,' which was based on an earlier one ('Græcæ Linguae Spicilegium') by his predecessor, but cast in a more convenient form (see a portion of the manuscript in *Cotton MS. Vespasian E. viii*). It became very popular, and has gone through numberless impressions, having continued in use down to a recent date.

About this time he was offered a mastership of requests, which he refused; but in September of the same year (1597) the office of Clarenceux king-of-arms fell vacant, and on 23 Oct. Camden was appointed to the place, having been created Richmond herald for a single day as a formal step to the higher rank. He owed the appointment to Sir Fulke Greville [q. v.], afterwards (1621) Lord Brooke, without any personal solicitation. If we may believe Smith, Lord Burghley was offended that Camden had not made interest personally with him, but was appeased when he found that Greville had acted on his own motion. Camden was thus released from the routine of a schoolmaster's life. Of his work in the school we have but few details. In his letter to Ussher (ep. 195) in 1618, he makes some reference to his success as a teacher, but only to illustrate his constant obedience to the English church. He writes: 'At my coming to Westminster I took the like oath, where (*absit jactantia*) God so blessed my labours that the now bishops of London, Durham, and St. Asaph, to say nothing of persons employed now in eminent places abroad, and many of especial note at home of all degrees, do acknowledge themselves to have been my scholars—yea, I brought there to church divers gentlemen of Ireland, as Walshes, Nugents, O'Raily, Shees . . . and others bred popishly and so affected' (see an account of some of Camden's distinguished pupils in Gough's *Britannia*, 1806, i. xxvii). A few records of Camden's connection with the chapter have been found in the chapter books of Westminster (see CHESTER, *Westm. Abbey Registers*, p. 121). Among certain regulations, under the date of 16 May 1587, respecting the college library, 'Mr. Camden, usher for the tyme present,' is appointed 'keeper of the said librarie,' with a yearly salary of twenty shillings. On 2 Dec. 1591 he had the lease of 'a little tenement in the Close for the term of his life.' On 29 Jan. 1594 he and another 'have their diet allowed them at our common table;' and after receipt of 'hir Ma<sup>ties</sup> letters in favor of Mr. Camden, a patent for his manes diet

during the life of the said Mr. Camden' was granted to him on 13 June 1594.

Camden's appointment as Clarenceux had given offence, for it was mainly a feeling of jealousy that prompted the public attack opened upon him in 1599. His antagonist was Ralph Brooke (or Brookesmouth) [q. v.], York herald, who is said to have also aspired to the post which Camden had obtained. Taking the fourth edition of the 'Britannia' of 1594, Brooke had set himself to examine the pedigrees of illustrious families therein set forth, and produced the errors in a book entitled 'A Discoverie of certain Errours published in print in the much commended "Britannia," 1594,' and without date. It has been stated that Brooke had been preparing his attack from the time of the publication of the fourth edition. In his prefatory address 'to Maister Camden' he does not give him the title of Clarenceux. On the other hand, it seems hardly probable that the address, published in 1599, would have been issued as written two years earlier. Brooke more probably abstained from recognising as a king-of-arms one whom he was attacking for his shortcomings as a herald. Besides, Camden had written with some lightness of the opinions of heralds, and Brooke's professional jealousy was touched. Besides accusing Camden generally of errors in genealogy, Brooke charges him with pillaging from Glover, from whom he had gleaned 'not handfuls, but whole sheaves,' and claims for Leland the honour of having anticipated Camden 'as the first author and contriver of this late-born "Britannia." The style of the attack is personal and coarse, but Brooke recognised Camden's wide reputation as a scholar 'of rare knowledge and singular industry;' and yet no man, he fairly adds, 'is so generally well seen in all things but an inferior person in some one special matter may go beyond him.' Camden's biographers have made the most of Brooke's bad qualities. He appears to have been a man of ability, but of a quarrelsome temper, and constantly at war with his brother heralds.

In the latter part of the year 1600 Camden travelled into the north as far as Carlisle with his friend Robert (afterwards Sir Robert) Cotton, in order to survey the northern counties, and returned in December. Meanwhile, he had prepared a fifth edition of the 'Britannia,' and published it in this same year, appending to it an address 'ad Lectorem,' in which he replied to Brooke's strictures. In this document Camden is at pains to show how Brooke had himself blundered, and he injudiciously introduces much personal matter. The strong point of his defence is that the 'Britannia' was a topographical and

historical work, rather than heraldic and genealogical. For the rest, he shifts many of his faults on to his predecessor, Clarenceux Cooke, whose papers he had used. He confesses he had copied Leland, but not without acknowledgment; and argues that while Leland had spent five years, he had passed six times that number in the study of antiquity. Camden would have been to blame had he not made use of his predecessor. How much he improved upon him is too manifest to need proof (see Gough's edition, in which, under Dorsetshire, the passages taken from Leland are printed in italics). As Bishop Gibson remarks, a perusal of Leland's 'Itinerary' is Camden's best defence.

Brooke wrote a 'Second Discoverie,' in which he charges Camden with having originally rejected friendly offers of correction on the appearance of his fourth edition, and complains that his 'First Discoverie' was interrupted and cut short by the influence of Camden's friends, and he 'stayed by commandment of authority to proceed any farther.' He presented this second part of his work to King James in 1620, but was not allowed to publish it (NOBLE, *College of Arms*, p. 243; but see also NICOLAS, *Memoir of Augustine Vincent*, 1827, p. 26), and it was not till a century later (in 1723) that it appeared in print, from the manuscript in the possession of John Anstis the elder [q. v.], with an appendix showing the corrections which Camden made, in the points in dispute, in his fifth edition of 1600.

In 1600 Camden also 'diverted himself among the ancient monuments' (GIBSON), and published his account of the monuments, or rather list of the epitaphs, in Westminster Abbey, entitled 'Reges, Reginae, Nobiles, et alii in ecclesia collegiata B. Petri Westmonasterii sepulti,' a work which he enlarged and issued again in 1603 and 1606. In 1601 he was again stricken with fever, but recovered under the care of his friend William Heather, afterwards doctor of music and founder of the professorship of music at Oxford; and in 1603, on an outbreak of the plague in London, he removed to his friend Cotton's house at Connington in Huntingdonshire, where he stayed till Christmas. In the latter year appeared at Frankfurt his edition of the chronicles of Asser, Walsingham, and other historians, with the title 'Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, a veteribus scripta,' and a dedication to Sir Fulke Greville. This book originally grew out of his preparatory labours on the 'Britannia.' He had also conceived the idea of writing a general history of England in Latin, but the vastness of the scheme compelled him to abandon the project. He

had accordingly to content himself with putting forth this volume of chronicles and smaller works, dealing with particular periods, as the account of the Norman invasion which he gave in his edition of the 'Britannia' of 1607, and his annals of Queen Elizabeth. Camden's edition of the chronicle of Asser [q. v.] is famous from the fact of its containing the interpolated passage regarding the foundation of Oxford University by King Alfred. The same account had already appeared in his 'Britannia' of 1600. Conclusive evidence on the point is lost by the disappearance of the manuscripts of Asser, but it is now admitted that the passage is a late forgery. The circumstance of its interpolation in Camden's publications has naturally cast some suspicion upon his honesty in the matter; but, as Gough says, Camden had no special reason for glorifying Oxford, and his character for truthfulness stands too high to be impeached on imperfect evidence. The composition of the passage has been attributed to Sir Henry Savile (see PARKER, *Early Hist. of Oxford*, Oxford Hist. Soc. 1884-5, pp. 39 sqq.) At this same time Camden was also preparing for the press his 'Remains,' or commonplace collections from his 'Britannia,' 'the rude rubble and outcast rubbish of a greater and more serious work,' as he styles it. The book was brought out in 1605, with a dedication to Sir Robert Cotton, signed only with the letters M. N., the last letters of Camden's two names, and passed through as many as seven editions in the course of the seventeenth century. He had originally intended to dedicate it to Sir Fulke Greville, but did honour to that patron by the dedication of his collection of chronicles in its place. On the discovery of the Gunpowder plot Camden was for the first time called upon to write in the public service, and instructed to translate into Latin the account of the trial of the conspirators. Accordingly in 1607 appeared his 'Actio in Henricum Garnetum, Societatis Jesuiticæ in Anglia superiorem, et ceteros.'

On 7 Sept. 1607 Camden had injured his leg so severely by a fall from his horse that he was kept to his house for nine months, only leaving it at length to attend the funeral of his friend Sir John Fortescue, who had assisted him in his early work on the 'Annals.' During this confinement 'he put the last hand to his "Britannia" which gained him the titles of the Varro, the Strabo, and the Pausanias of Britain in the writings and letters of learned men' (GIBSON), and published during 1607 an edition in folio, which was a considerable enlargement on those which had preceded. As his own memoranda



prove, he did not to the last give up thoughts of a still further edition, and as late as 1621 he was making researches for the purpose (*Apparat. Annal. Jac. I.*, p. 70).

Under date of 1608 Camden enters in his 'Memorabilia' the words 'Annales digerere coepi:' he began to digest the material for a history of Elizabeth's reign which he had contemplated for some years. As far back as 1597 he had been urged to the work by his patron, Lord Burghley; but the death of the latter in the following year had probably been one of the principal reasons for laying it aside. He now resumed his preparations, but was interrupted by a severe illness which seized him on his birthday, 2 May 1609. The fear of the plague, which broke out in his neighbourhood at the same time, drove him to his friend Heather's house in Westminster, where he recovered under the treatment of Dr. John Giffard. When convalescent he removed to Chislehurst in August, and remained there till the close of the following October.

It was at this period that an attempt was made to carry out a plan, devised by Dr. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, to found a college at Chelsea for a certain number of learned men who were to be employed in writing against the errors of the church of Rome. The king nominated a provost (Dr. Sutcliffe himself), seventeen fellows, and two historians. One of the latter was Camden, whose appointment was dated 10 May 1610. The scheme fell through for lack of funds, and the site of the building, which was actually begun, was finally used for the present Chelsea Hospital.

At length, in 1615, Camden published his annals brought down to the end of the year 1588, 'Annales rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum, regnante Elizabetha, ad annum Salutis MDLXXXIX.' The book was received generally with high praise. Smith and other biographers of Camden specially quote Selden's eulogy, who singles out Camden's 'Annals' and Bacon's 'History of Henry VII' as the only two books of their kind which reach a high standard of excellence, for, except them, 'we have not so much as a publique piece of the history of England that tastes enough either of the truth or plenty that may be gained from the records of the kingdom' (Letter quoted in VINCENT's *Discoverie of Errours*, 1622). But Camden's impartiality was afterwards impugned in certain points, and particularly in the contradictions which appeared between his own account of the events in Scotland and concerning Mary Queen of Scots, and the information which he was said to have

supplied to the French historian De Thou on the same subject. Gough points out that Camden writing in England could not use the same freedom as De Thou writing abroad. But, as a matter of fact, there is really no evidence to show that Camden supplied De Thou with the information which has been attributed to him. Their correspondence began at a date when the second part of the French historian's work was already in the press, and there is nothing in their letters to show that any such information had passed (see SMITH, *Vita*, p. 54; BAYLE, *Dictionary*, English ed. 1736, iv. 64, 65). On the contrary, in his first letter to Camden, February 1605-6 (ep. 54), De Thou, telling him that the book is being printed, asks his advice how he may best avoid giving offence in treating of the affairs of Scotland. But there was then no time to alter the whole complexion of his account, however he may have modified anything on Camden's suggestion of moderation; and, in fact, he apologises for doing so little in this direction in the letter which accompanied the gift of his work, August 1606 (ep. 59). Camden wrote a paper of 'Animadversiones in Jac. Aug. Thuani Historiam, in qua res Scoticae memorantur' (printed with the 'Epistolae'); and, although this was done by James's order, Camden could hardly have thus criticised work for which he was himself partly answerable. At a later period De Thou was greatly indebted to Camden's assistance. There is extant (*Cotton MS. Faustina F. x.*, f. 254) a memorandum by the latter: 'The copie of this story of Queen Elizabeth, from 1583 to 1587, not transcribed by myself as yett, but sent into France to Tuanus.' The transcript was no doubt sent to De Thou in continuation of Sir Robert Cotton's 'Commentaries,' which, as far as the year 1582, had been placed at his service in 1613 (*De Thou to Camden*, ep. 99). De Thou refers to it in his letter of July 1615 (ep. 111), in which he also asks for the rest of the annals of Elizabeth's reign, and, if possible, the continuation to 1610.

As to the theory that Camden smoothed down his original account to please James, or even that the king himself made alterations, we are able to go to the manuscripts themselves for evidence. Camden's drafts and transcripts (unfortunately imperfect) of his 'Annals' are in the Cottonian Library (Faustina F. i-x). In the first part of the work these manuscripts contain a portion of the first drafts, a first fair copy, which was further revised, and, from this revision, a second fair copy, which, after receiving further corrections and insertions, presents,

with slight variations, the text of the printed work. The first copy ends with the year 1582, and no doubt it was the rest of this transcript that was sent to De Thou. The second copy breaks off in the middle of 1586. Throughout the work there is no alteration of the main lines on which the history was first laid down. The latter part (1586-8), where the transcripts fail, and especially the account of Mary's trial and execution, is supplied by the drafts, a perusal of which clearly indicates that the revision which they underwent was exactly of the same nature as that which is seen in the transcripts of the earlier portion. The second transcript appears to have been finally revised in 1613, and the text thus received the form in which it was published before it was submitted to the king.

Camden's biographers, from Smith downwards, tell us that on account of these censures he determined that the second part of his 'Annals' should not see the light during his lifetime. However, it appears from one of his letters (ep. 287), written on the submission of the manuscript to the king, that at that time his feelings were neutral. While careless as to the publication of the Latin original, he was decidedly opposed to the appearance of an English translation: 'As I do not dislike that they should be published in my lifetime, so I do not desire that they should be set forth in English until after my death, knowing how unjust carpers the unlearned readers are.' He finished the compilation in 1617, and, keeping the original, he sent a copy to his friend, Pierre Dupuy, the historian, who undertook to publish it after the author's death. It was accordingly issued at Leyden in 1625, and in London in 1627.

The materials from which Camden compiled his 'Annals' exist to the present day in great part in the Cottonian Library. Godfrey Goodman, bishop of Gloucester, once a pupil of Camden's at Westminster, and nephew of his old friend the dean, asked for such materials as a legacy, but Camden had already bequeathed them to Archbishop Bancroft, on whose death he transferred the bequest to the succeeding primate, Abbot. Bishop Gibson has suggested that the papers so bequeathed were only such as more immediately concerned ecclesiastical matters. Whatever they may have been, it is supposed that they were lost on the pillage of Laud's library, as Sancroft could find no trace of them.

Camden continued to write short memoranda of events in the course of the reign of James I: 'a skeleton of a history, or bare

touches to put the author in mind of greater matters, had he lived to have digested them in a full history' (Wood), which were printed by Smith at the end of his 'Camdeni Epistolæ.' Wood is the authority for the story of the original manuscript having been carried off, after Camden's death, by John Hacket, afterwards (1661) bishop of Lichfield, 'who, as I have been divers times informed, did privately convey it out of the library of the author.' It is now in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Camden spent the latter years of his life in retirement at Chislehurst. He describes himself to Ussher, in July 1618 (ep. 195), as 'being retired into the country for the recovery of my tender health, where, *portum anhelans beatitudinis*, I purposed to sequester myself from worldly business and cogitations; and, constant to his place of retreat, he declined the invitation, made in 1621 by Sir Henry Savile, to take up his quarters in his house at Eton, where, says his friend, 'you might make me a happy man in my old age without any discontent' (ep. 251). In February 1620 he had a severe vomiting of blood (*Memorabilia*), and remained ill till the following August, his constitution rallying, however, even after further blood-letting by Dr. Giffard.

During 1619 his letters show that he had some dispute with his brother kings-of-arms, Garter and Norroy, concerning his appointment of deputies to serve on his visitations (see a list of counties visited by his deputies in *The Visitation of co. Huntingdon*, Camd. Soc., 1849, p. vi). Indeed, down to the very time of his death this matter continued to cause him trouble, there being still extant (*Cotton MS.* Julius C. iii. f. 151 b; *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, Camd. Soc. p. 126) on this subject a letter signed, with painful effort, 22 Oct. 1623, after he had received the stroke which shortly preceded his death. In another letter, dated simply 26 Oct., probably 1623, he refers to the office of Clarenceux having been given to another, and continues that 'they proposed to leave me 600*l.* presently, and an hundred mark a year' (*Cotton MS.* Faustina E. i. f. 131).

Early in 1621 he was summoned to court to exercise his office of king-of-arms on the creation of Lord-chancellor Bacon as Viscount St. Albans; and in June of the same year he was present at the degradation of Sir Francis Mitchell (*Apparat. Annal. Jac. I.*, pp. 65, 72).

At the end of August 1621 he had a return of the blood-vomiting. He had long had the design of founding a history lectureship at Oxford, and now he executed a deed of gift,

5 March 1622, and sent it down to the university, where it was published in convocation on 17 May. The endowment was provided out of the manor of Bexley in Kent, which Camden had purchased of Sir Henry Spelman. The rents, valued at 400*l.* per annum, were settled on William Heather and his heirs for a term of ninety-nine years, dating from the time of Camden's death, and during this term the annual stipend of 140*l.* was to be paid to the professor of history. The first professor, appointed by Camden himself, was Degory Wheare.

Within a few weeks of this foundation Camden records, in the last entry in his 'Memorabilia,' a night of illness on 7 June 1622. Little more than a year after (18 Aug. 1623) he fell from his chair, stricken with paralysis, which for the moment deprived him of the use of his hands and feet (*Apparat. Annal. Jac. I.*, p. 82). This was followed by an illness which put an end to his life, 9 Nov. 1623. His body was brought up to his house at Westminster, and on the 19th of the month was thence carried to burial in the abbey, and laid, in the presence of a large company, in the southern transept (see a copy of his funeral certificate, which gives the names of persons who attended, printed in *The Visitation of co. Hunt.*, Camd. Soc., 1849, p. xi). His monument of white marble, which is affixed to the wall above his grave, represents him at half length, his left hand resting on a closed book, on which is the word 'Britannia.' It is curious that in the inscription his age is wrongly stated to have been seventy-four. Smith (p. 75) tells an apparently absurd story, on the faith of gossip of Charles Hatton, that the nose of the effigy was wilfully damaged by a young man, one of whose relatives had been reflected on by Camden. Another and more probable account of the mischief is that the cavaliers or independents who broke into the abbey at night to deface the hearse of the Earl of Essex (1646) 'used the like uncivil deportment towards the effigies of old learned Camden, cut in pieces the book held in his hand, broke off his nose, and otherwise defaced his visioignomy' (*Perfect Diurnal*, 23-30 Nov. 1646, quoted in Stanley's *Memoirs of Westm. Abbey*, 1876, p. 290). The damages were repaired at the cost of the university of Oxford. An oration in Camden's honour, which was delivered by Zouch Townley, deputy-orator, and another ('Parentatio Historica') by Degory Wheare, together with various copies of complimentary verses composed by members of the university, were published in 1624 under the title of 'Camdeni Insignia.'

During his long service at Westminster School, Camden had laid by sufficient means to content him. By his will, which was proved 10 Nov. 1623, William Heather being executor, and which was printed by Hearne (*Curious Discourses*, ii. 390), he left a number of small sums to various friends and dependents. His cousin John Wyatt, painter, of London, receives the largest bequest of 100*l.* A piece of plate is left to Sir Fulke Greville, lord Brooke, 'who preferred me *gratis* to my office.' The two city guilds of Painters and Cordwainers also received each a piece of plate, with directions to have it inscribed as the gift of 'Guil. Camdenus, filius Sampsonis pictoris Londinensis.' With regard to his books and manuscripts Camden directs that Sir Robert Cotton 'shall have the first view of them, that he may take out such as I borrowed of him,' and then bequeaths to him all except heraldic collections and ancient seals, which were to pass, at a valuation, to his successors in the office of Clarenceux. The printed books, however, were diverted to another use; for on the building of the new library attached to the abbey, Dr. John Williams, bishop of Lincoln and dean of Westminster, 'laid hold of an expression in the will that was capable of a double meaning' (GIBSON), and removed the books thither. Sir Henry Bourghchier, in his letter to Ussher (PARR, *Life of Ussher*, p. 302), says: 'His library, I hope, will fall to my share, by an agreement between his executors and me; which I much desire, partly to keep it entire, out of my love to the defunct.'

Camden appears to have been of a peculiarly happy temperament. His gentleness of disposition made and kept him many friends. He was active in body, of middle height, of a pleasant countenance, and as his portraits, taken when he was well advanced in life, present him, of a ruddy complexion. He was careless of ordinary personal distinction, and refused knighthood. 'I never made suit to any man,' he writes in his letter to Ussher in 1618 (ep. 195), 'no, not to his majesty, but for a matter of course, incident to my place; neither, God be praised, I needed, having gathered a contented sufficiency by my long labours in the school.' And again, his own words, 'My life and my writings shall apologise for me' (ep. 194), might have been adopted as his motto.

Among his intimate friends Smith enumerates Sir Robert Cotton, Bishop Godwin, Matthew Sutcliffe, Sir Henry Savile, Sir Henry Wotton, Archbishop Ussher, Sir Henry Bourghchier, Sir Henry Spelman, and John Selden. In addition, his printed correspondence connects him with Thomas Savile, who

died early (1592), Degory Wheare, John Johnstone of St. Andrews, Sir William Beecher the diplomatist, and many other Englishmen; and with Ortelius, James Gruter, the librarian of the Elector Palatine, the historian and statesman, Jacques de Thou, Casaubon, Peter Sweerts, Peiresc, Jean Hotman, once Leicester's secretary, and others. Of his friendship with De Thou he seems to have been especially proud, as he enters in his 'Memorabilia,' as he had done in the case of Brissot, a note of their first acquaintance in 1606.

Camden's 'Britannia, sive Florentissimum Regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum adjacentium ex intimâ antiquitate Chorographica Descriptio,' was first published, in 8vo, in 1586. Anthony Wood (ii. 343, ed. Bliss) has erroneously stated that editions appeared in 1582 and 1585. Camden himself has fixed the true date in his 'Memorabilia,' in 1586, 'Britanniam edidi.' The second edition, which besides other additions is distinguished by an index, was issued, in the same size, in 1587. The third edition, also 8vo, followed in 1590; a facsimile of it being also published at Frankfurt, and again issued in 1616. The fourth edition, in 4to, is dated 1594. The fifth, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, also in 4to, was published in 1600, and is the first edition which treats of coins, of which it has six plates, besides four maps and a view of Stonehenge. The sixth edition, the last issued in Camden's lifetime, appeared in 1607, in folio, and has large additions. It is dedicated to James I, and has maps of several counties by Saxton and Norden. It was reprinted as the fourth part of Jansson's 'Novus Atlas' in 1659; and two editions of an epitome were published in Holland in 1617 and 1639.

The 'Britannia' was first translated into English by Philemon Holland, apparently under Camden's own direction. Two editions were issued, in 1610 and 1637. Edmund Gibson, afterwards bishop of Lincoln (1716), and of London (1723), published the first edition of his translation, in folio, in 1695; the second, in two vols. folio, in 1722. The latter was reprinted in 1753; and again, with a few corrections, by Gibson's son-in-law, George Scott, in 1772. The last translation was by Richard Gough, who issued it, with very large additions, in three vols. folio, in 1789. A second edition, in four vols. (the first alone being revised by the editor), was issued in 1806. The Ashmole MS. 849 contains an English translation by Richard Knolles, which was found in Camden's study after his death, having probably been presented to him by the translator.

The first part of the 'Annales' was published in 1615, in folio. The second part appeared (with a reprint of the first part) at Leyden in 1625 in 8vo, and independently, but uniform with the 1615 edition of the first part, in London in 1627. Further editions of the complete work were issued at Leyden in 8vo in 1639 and 1677. The most perfect edition is that printed by Hearne from Dr. Smith's copy, which had received corrections from Camden's own hand, collated with a manuscript in the Rawlinson collection, three vols. 8vo, 1717.

A French translation of the first part was published by Paul de Bellegent in London, 1624, 4to, and of both parts in Paris, 1627. This translation of the first part was turned into English by Abraham Darcie, or Darcy, in 1625, 4to. The second part of the 'Annals' was translated into English by Thomas Browne, in 1629, 4to. An English version of the whole work, by R. Norton, appeared in 1635. English editions were also issued in 1675 and 1688, folio. The work was also incorporated in White Kennet's 'Complete History,' 1706.

Camden's correspondence was published by Dr. Thomas Smith: 'V. cl. Gulielmi Camdeni et Illustrum Virorum ad G. Camdenum Epistolæ,' London, 1691, 4to. (The original letters to Camden are contained in *Cotton MS. Julius C. v.*) The volume also includes a Latin life of Camden; Zouch Townley's oration on his death; his notes of the reign of James I, 'Regni Regis Jacobi I Annalium Apparatus'; a single leaf of autobiographical 'Memorabilia de seipso'; and a few smaller pieces. An English version, with some omissions, of his 'Notes of the Reign of James' was incorporated in White Kennet's 'Complete History,' 1706.

Several of Camden's short papers on heraldic or antiquarian subjects, which he seems to have written for a Society of Antiquaries of which he was a member (see Spelman's 'Original of the Terms,' in GIBSON'S *Reliq. Spelmanianæ*, 1723, p. 69), are printed in Hearne's 'Collection of Curious Discourses,' 1771. Specimens of his power in Latin verse composition are to be seen in some small pieces printed by Smith, and in his 'Marriage of Thame and Isis' in the 'Britannia' (Oxfordshire).

We learn from Smith that it was at the request of Peiresc and other friends that Camden had his portrait taken. The artist was Marc Geerarts, and two of the three extant authentic portraits are from his hand. The first came to the hands of Degory Wheare, who presented it to the History School at Oxford. It is now in the gallery of the

Bodleian Library. The second belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, and remained until recently with his library in the British Museum. It is now in the National Portrait Gallery. A third portrait, taken by stealth, when Camden was on his deathbed, belonged to Lord-chancellor Clarendon. It still forms part of the Clarendon Gallery (see *LADY THERESA LEWIS's Friends of Clarendon*, 1852, iii. 284). Two other portraits, in possession of the College of Arms and the Painter-Stainers' Company, perished in the fire of London. A copy of one of the originals was made for Sylvan Morgan, who also set up a second, much decorated, as a sign before his door.

The engraved portraits of Camden are as follows: 1. Oval, by J. T. de Bry, in Bois-sard's '*Bibliotheca sive Thesaurus Virtutis et Gloriae*,' 1628, sm. 4to. 2. Small oval (by J. Payne?), bearing the name of G. Humble as publisher; the plate afterwards used, Humble's name being cleaned off, in the 1637 edition, and again, retouched, in the 1657 edition of the '*Remains*,' sm. 4to. 3. Small square, by W. Marshall, in Fuller's '*Holy State*,' 1648, folio. 4. In a herald's coat, very unlike all the others, and perhaps copied from Morgan's 'sign,' by J. Gaywood, in Morgan's '*Sphere of Gentry*,' 1661, sm. folio. 5. An adaptation of 2 by R. White, in the '*Remains*,' 1674, 8vo. 6. Another, larger, by White, representing Camden at fifty-eight years of age, A.D. 1609, in the '*Epistolæ*,' 1691, 4to. 7. In a herald's coat, also by White, large, in Gibson's '*Britannia*,' 1695, folio. 8. The Bodleian portrait, engraved by Basire for Gough's '*Britannia*,' 1789, folio. 9. A small head-piece, by G. Vertue, for Wise's ed. of Asser, 1722. In addition, there are a few modern copies, including one after the Clarendon portrait.

Camden's house at Chislehurst passed, in the last century, into the hands of the family of Pratt, barons Camden, who took their title from the property. To the present generation it is known as the place of retirement of the French emperor, Louis Napoleon.

[Camden's *Memorabilia de seipso*, his *Jac. I Annalium Apparatus*, and his correspondence, all in Smith's *Camdeni Epistolæ* (1691); his address ad *Lectorem* in the 1600 ed. of the *Britannia*; Degory Wheare's *Parentatio Historica* (1624); *Camdeni Vita*, by Smith (1691); *Life* in Gibson's *Britannia*; *Life* in Gough's *Britannia*; *Life* in Bayle's *Dictionary* (1736); *Life* in the *Biographia Britannica*; *Life* in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (ed. Bliss), vol. ii.; *Letters of Eminent Literary Men* (Camd. Soc. 1843); *Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers* (1875)].

E. M. T.

CAMELEAC. [See CIMELLIATUC.]

CAMELFORD, first BARON (1737-1793). [See PITT, THOMAS.]

CAMERON, SIR ALAN (1753-1828), general, the head of a branch of the great clan Cameron, was born at Errach, Inverness-shire, in 1753. He won a great athletic reputation in his native glens, and on the outbreak of the war of the American revolution volunteered for service in America, and received a commission in one of the provincial regiments. In 1782 he was taken prisoner when on a mission to organise a force out of the Indian tribes, and was imprisoned for two years in the common gaol at Philadelphia as an abettor of Indian atrocities. In an attempt to escape he broke both his ankles. In 1784 he was released and returned to Errach, and was put upon half-pay. On 17 Aug. 1793 letters of service were issued to him to raise a corps of highlanders, of which he was appointed major-commandant. His immense popularity in the highlands made this an easy task, although he had no bounty to grant. In January 1794 a fine body of a thousand men, raised by him and officered by old half-pay officers of the American war, was inspected at Glasgow and named the 79th, or Cameron Highlanders; Cameron was nominated lieutenant-colonel commandant. From 1794 to 1795 the new regiment served in Flanders, and in 1796, in which year he was gazetted a lieutenant-colonel in the army, it was ordered to the West Indies and engaged at the recapture of Martinique. In 1797 the men of the regiment, which had been decimated by disease, were drafted into the 42nd Highlanders, and Cameron and the officers returned to Scotland, where in a few months they had raised a new regiment under the same designation, fit to be ordered on active service. Accordingly, in 1799, the new 79th regiment was ordered to form part of the expedition to the Helder; it was one of the regiments in Moore's brigade, and particularly distinguished itself in the battle of 2 Oct., in which Cameron was wounded. After recruiting to supply its losses, the 79th was ordered to form part of Sir James Pulteney's expedition to Ferrol, and then to join Sir Ralph Abercromby in the Mediterranean. In the army which landed at Aboukir Bay on 8 March 1801 and won the battle of Alexandria the 79th formed part of Lord Cavan's brigade, and was not much engaged. In 1804 Cameron was permitted to raise a second battalion, which he did in six months, and on 1 Jan. 1804 he was gazetted a colonel in the army and colonel of the 79th. He commanded both battalions in Lord Cathcart's expedition

to Denmark in 1807, and was appointed to take military possession of Copenhagen after the siege. In the following year he was, at Sir John Moore's especial request, made a brigadier-general, with the command of one of the brigades in Moore's army. He accompanied Moore to Sweden and then to Portugal, where he arrived just after the battle of Vimeiro. When Sir John Moore made his famous advance to Salamanca, Cameron was left behind with his brigade to command in Lisbon, but when he was superseded in that capacity by the arrival of Major-general Cradock, he at once moved forward by that general's order to join Moore. On reaching Almeida he heard of Moore's retreat, and occupied himself in collecting the stragglers; these he formed into two battalions, each a thousand strong, which did good service at the battle of Talavera, and were known as the 1st and 2nd battalion of Detachments. He then fell back on Santarem, and made every preparation for covering Lisbon under the direction of Major-general Cradock. When Wellesley landed to supersede Cradock, he told off Cameron's strong brigade to cover the passes into Portugal from the east, while he drove Soult from Oporto, and then coming south ordered Cameron to lead the advance of the army into Spain. At the battle of Talavera Cameron's brigade was posted on the left of the first line and was hotly engaged, and the general had two horses shot under him, but he continued to command his brigade until after the battle of Busaco, when he was promoted major-general on 25 July 1810, and obliged to come home from ill-health. He saw no more service. His regiment served at Fuentes de Onoro, where his eldest son, Lieutenant-colonel Philip Cameron, was killed at its head, and throughout the Peninsular war. In 1814 he received a gold medal and clasp for the battles of Talavera and Busaco, and in January 1815 was made a K.C.B. on the extension of the order of the Bath. On 12 Aug. 1819 he was promoted lieutenant-general. He died at Fulham on 9 March 1828.

[Sketches of the Manners, Character, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland, with details of the Military Services of the Highland Regiments, by Colonel David Stewart, 2 vols. 1822; and *Gent. Mag.* April 1828.] H. M. S.

**CAMERON, ALEXANDER, D.D.** (1747-1828), catholic bishop, was born at Auchindrine, in Castleton of Braemar, Aberdeenshire, on 28 July 1747. After spending four years in the seminary at Scaln, in Glenlivet, he entered the Scotch college at Rome on 22 Dec. 1764. On his return to Scotland

in 1772 he was appointed to the mission of Strathaven, and in 1780 he became rector of the Scotch college at Valladolid. He was nominated coadjutor to Bishop Hay in 1797; was consecrated bishop of Maximianopolis, in Palæstrina Secunda, on 28 Oct. 1798, at Madrid; returned to Scotland in 1802; succeeded as fifth vicar-apostolic of the Lowland district on the resignation of Bishop Hay in 1806; resigned his vicarial functions in 1825; died at Edinburgh on 7 Feb. 1828, and was buried there in St. Mary's Church, on which occasion the funeral service of the catholic church was, for the first time since the Reformation, publicly performed with the proper ceremonial in Scotland.

[J. Gordon's Catholic Church in Scotland, p. 458 (with portrait); *Gent. Mag.* xviii. (i.) 272; Catholic Directory (1835), p. 61; Fox's Hist. of James II, pref. pp. xxvii, xxviii.] T. C.

**CAMERON, SIR ALEXANDER (1781-1850)**, general, a younger son of Alexander Cameron of Inverailort, Argyllshire, was born there in 1781. On 22 Oct. 1797 he received a commission as ensign in the Breadalbane Fencibles, and in 1799 he volunteered to serve with the 92nd Highlanders in the expedition to the Helder, and received an ensigncy. In 1800, when the rifle brigade, then known as the Corps of Riflemen and afterwards as the 95th regiment, was raised, Cameron volunteered, and was promoted lieutenant 6 Sept. 1800. In the same year he was at the battle of Copenhagen, and in 1801 he volunteered to serve with his former regiment, the 92nd Highlanders, in Egypt, and was severely wounded in the arm and side in the battle of 13 March. He then returned to England, and rejoined the rifles, and was trained with the other officers in the camp at Shorncliffe by Sir John Moore, who secured his promotion to the rank of captain on 6 May 1805. He served with his battalion in Lord Cathcart's expedition to Hanover in 1805, and in the expedition to Denmark, and was present at the action of Kioge. In 1808 he was ordered to Portugal with Anstruther's brigade, and was present at the battle of Vimeiro. During the retreat of Sir John Moore he was continually engaged with the rest of the reserve in covering the retreat. He especially distinguished himself at the affair of Cacabelos and the battle of Corunna, at both of which he commanded two companies of his battalion. In May 1809 he was again ordered to Portugal, and on reaching Lisbon his battalion was brigaded, with the 43rd and 52nd regiments, into the celebrated light brigade, under the command of Robert Craufurd, which made its famous forced

march in July, and joined the main army the day after the battle of Talavera. From January to June 1810 Craufurd's advanced position on the Coa was one of extreme danger, and Cameron distinguished himself in many emergencies, and in the action, 24 June 1810, held the bridge with two companies against the French army until Major Macleod of the 43rd came to his assistance. In the retreat on Busaco he commanded the rear companies of the light brigade, which covered the retreat. He commanded the outposts during the time when Masséna remained at Santarém, and in the pursuit after that marshal succeeded to the command of the left wing of the rifles, after the fall of Major Stuart at Foz d'Aronce, and twice led it into action at Casal Nova and at Sabugal. The light brigade had during the occupation of the lines of Torres Vedras become the light division by the addition of two regiments of Portuguese caçadores, and as a wing of the rifles was attached to each brigade, Cameron's command was of proportionate importance, and he was specially recommended by Lord Wellington for a brevet majority, to which he was gazetted on 30 May 1811. During the siege of Almeida and at the battle of Fuentes de Onoro he commanded a detachment of two hundred picked sharpshooters and half a troop of horse artillery, with the special duty of preventing supplies from entering the place, and during the siege of Ciudad Rodrigo he commanded the left wing of the rifles at the outposts and the covering party during the storm on 18 Jan. 1812. At the siege of Badajoz he was specially thanked in general orders, with Colonel Williams of the 60th, for repulsing a sortie, and on the night of the assault he again commanded the covering party. On the death of Major O'Hare he succeeded to the command of the battalion, and led it into the city. He received a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy and the vacant regimental majority on 27 April and 14 May 1812. He then succeeded to the command of the 1st battalion, which was again united, on the 2nd battalion rifles joining the division, and kept it in such perfect condition that it became a model to the whole army (see anecdote in COPE'S *History of the Rifle Brigade*, p. 127). This battalion he commanded at the battle of Salamanca, and in the advance to Madrid, and with it covered Hill's retreat along the left bank of the Tagus. He had the mortification of being superseded in his command of the battalion by the arrival of Lieutenant-colonel Norcott in May 1813, and so was only present at the battle of Vittoria as a regimental major, where he was so severely wounded that he had to return to England. Towards the close of 1813 he was

selected for the command of a provisional battalion of rifles, which was sent to Flanders to serve in Sir Thomas Graham's expedition, and he commanded it at Merxem, when he was thanked in the general orders and mentioned in despatches, and before Antwerp. At the conclusion of peace he received a gold medal and two clasps for having commanded a battalion at Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and Salamanca, and was made a C.B. When war again broke out in 1815, he accompanied the 1st battalion rifles to Belgium as regimental major, and commanded the light companies of Kempt's brigade of Picton's division at Quatre Bras, and his battalion at the battle of Waterloo, from the period of Barnard's wound until the close of the day, when he was himself wounded in the throat. Cameron saw no more service, and his latter years are marked only by promotions and honours. In October 1815 he was made a knight of the Russian order of St. Anne; in 1830 he was promoted colonel; in 1832 he was appointed deputy-governor of St. Mawes; in 1838 he was promoted major-general, and made a K.C.B.; in 1846 he received the colonelcy of the 74th regiment, and on 26 July 1850 he died at Inverallort in Argyllshire. He was one of the very best officers of light troops ever trained by Moore and employed by Wellington.

[Royal Military Calendar; Cope's History of the Rifle Brigade.] H. M. S.

**CAMERON, ARCHIBALD** (1707-1753), Jacobite, was the fourth son of John Cameron, eighteenth of Lochiel, by his wife, Isabel, daughter of Alexander Campbell of Lochnell, and the younger brother of Donald Cameron [q. v.], who took a prominent part in the rising of 1745. He was born in 1707, and was originally intended for the bar, but preferred medicine to law, and, after completing his studies at Edinburgh and Paris, settled at Lochaber among his own people, devoting his whole attention to their general welfare, and exercising among them as much the functions of a philanthropist as a physician. In the rebellion of 1745 he was present with his clan, 'not from choice,' as he alleged, 'but from compulsion of kindred,' and chiefly in the character of physician, although apparently holding also the rank of captain. After the defeat of the highlanders at Culloden, 16 April 1746, Cameron took an active part in concealing Prince Charles, being always in constant communication with him, and sending information to him, when in the 'cage' at Benalder, of the arrival of two vessels at Loch-nanuagh to convey him and his friends to France. Escaping with the party, which

included also his brother, Cameron obtained an appointment as physician and captain in Albany's regiment, to which his brother had been appointed colonel, and on his brother's death in 1748 he was transferred to a similar position in Lord Ogilvie's regiment. In 1749 he came over to England to receive money contributed by the Pretender's friends for the support of his adherents, and in 1753 he paid a visit to Scotland on a similar errand, when, word being sent to the garrison of Inversnaid of his arrival in the neighbourhood, he was on 12 March apprehended at Glenbucket, whence he was brought to Edinburgh Castle, and after a short confinement was sent up to London. On 17 May he was arraigned before the court of king's bench upon the act of attainder passed against him and others for being concerned in the rebellion of 1745, and not surrendering in due time, and was condemned to be hanged and quartered. Notwithstanding the frantic efforts of his widow to save him by petitioning the king, and the more influential of the nobility, the sentence was carried out on 7 June, Cameron bearing himself with undaunted composure. The execution, after hostilities had so long ceased, of a gentleman of so humane a disposition, who during the rebellion had exercised his skill as a physician among both friends and foes, is explained by the general suspicion prevailing among political circles that he was an emissary of King Frederick of Prussia, who, it was said, purposed to send over 15,000 men to aid a new Jacobite rising (*WALPOLE, George II, and Letters to Horace Mann*). The execution of Cameron provoked, according to Boswell, a caustic invective against George II, from Dr. Johnson, when on a visit to Richardson. By his wife Jean, daughter of Archibald Cameron of Dungallon, Cameron left seven children.

[Life of Dr. Archibald Cameron, London, 1753; Scots Magazine, xv. (1753), 157, 200, 250-1, 278-280, 305, 657, 659; Gent. Mag. xxiii. (1753), 198, 246, 257-8; State Trials, xix. 734-46; Mackenzie's Hist. of the Camerons, 214, 222, 233, 239, 241-3, 251-3, 261-78; Carlyle's Frederick the Great, bk. xvi. ch. xiii.] T. F. H.

**CAMERON, CHARLES DUNCAN** (d. 1870), British consul in Abyssinia, was son of an old Peninsular officer, Colonel Charles Cameron, 3rd Buffs. He entered the army, by purchase, as ensign in the 45th foot on 19 May 1846, and served therein until July 1851. He was attached to the native levies during the Kaffir war of 1846-7. Having settled in Natal on his retirement from the 45th, he was employed by Mr. (afterwards Sir B. C.) Pine, then lieutenant-governor of that colony, on diplomatic service in the

Zulu country, and acted as Kaffir magistrate in the Klip river district of Natal. He commanded the Kaffir irregulars sent from Natal to the Cape Colony overland during the war of 1851-2. At the outbreak of the war with Russia he was appointed to the staff of Sir Fenwick Williams, her majesty's commissioner with the Turkish army, receiving the local rank of captain in Turkey while so employed. He was placed in command of the fortifications in course of erection at Erzeroum, and after the fall of Kars was detached on special service to Trebizond until September 1856. For his military services he received the Kaffir and Turkish war medals, and the Turkish medal for Kars. He passed an examination before the civil service commissioners, and obtained an honorary certificate on 16 June 1858. He was appointed vice-consul at Redout Kale in April 1858, and was removed to Poti in 1859. He was appointed British consul in Abyssinia to reside at Massowah in 1860, and left for his new station in November 1861, arriving there on 9 Jan. 1862. He accompanied the Grand Duke of Saxe-Coburg during a visit to the interior in that year. Cameron afterwards left Massowah for Gondar, to deliver to King Theodore of Abyssinia a royal letter and presents from Queen Victoria, and arrived at Gondar on 23 June 1862. He was imprisoned by King Theodore, on charges of interfering with the internal politics of the kingdom, from 2 June 1864 until 17 Aug. 1865, when he was handed over to Mr. Rassam, assistant political agent at Aden, who had been sent on a special mission to Abyssinia to obtain his release. He was reimprisoned by King Theodore, together with Mr. Rassam and others, at Amba Magdala from 12 July 1866, until released, with the other prisoners, on the appearance of the British army before Magdala, 11 April 1868. Cameron returned to England in July 1868, and retired on a pension in December of the same year. He died at Geneva on 30 May 1870. His account of his captivity and the correspondence relating thereto, and to the Abyssinian expedition, will be found among 'Parl. Printed Papers,' 1868-9. He was elected fellow of the Royal Geographical Society in 1858.

[Army Lists; Foreign Office Lists; Parl. Papers, Accounts and Papers, 1868-9; Hozier's Narrative of the Expedition to Abyssinia (London, 1869); Journal R. Geog. Soc., London, xli. p. cliii.] H. M. C.

**CAMERON, CHARLES HAY** (1795-1880), jurist, was born on 11 Feb. 1795. He was the son of Charles Cameron, governor of the Bahama Islands, by Lady Margaret Hay, daughter of the fourteenth Earl of Erroll.



His grandfather, Donald Cameron, was the younger son of Dr. Archibald Cameron [q.v.] Charles Hay Cameron erected a monument to his great-grandfather in the Savoy Chapel. It was injured by a fire in 1864, when Mr. C. L. Norman, Cameron's son-in-law, replaced it by a painted window. Cameron was called to the bar at Lincoln's Inn in 1820. He was a disciple, and ultimately perhaps the last surviving disciple, of Jeremy Bentham. He was employed upon various commissions. His report upon 'judicial establishments and procedure in Ceylon,' the result of a mission with Colonel Colebrooke, is dated 31 Jan. 1832. He was also a commissioner for inquiring into charities, and prepared a report upon the operation of the poor laws in April 1833. By the act of 1833 a fourth member was added to the Supreme Council of India (previously the Council of Bengal), and a law commission was constituted, one member of which was to be appointed from England. Cameron was the first member so appointed, and went to India in the beginning of 1835. In 1843 he was appointed fourth member of council, and became president of the Council of Education for Bengal, of which he had been a member from his arrival in India. Cameron took an important part in the work of codification begun by Macaulay, and was Macaulay's chief adviser and co-operator in the preparation of the penal code (TREVELLYAN, *Macaulay*, i. 427, 443, 463). He took a great interest in the introduction of English education among the natives of India. A public meeting of natives was held at Calcutta on 22 Feb. 1848, upon his departure for England, to thank him for his exertions, and request him to sit for his portrait. His views are explained in an 'Address to Parliament on the duties of Great Britain to India in respect of the education of the natives and their official employment, by C. H. Cameron' (1853), in which he advocates a more liberal treatment of the Hindoo population.

Cameron took no further part in active life after his return to England. He lived successively in London, Putney, and at Freshwater in the Isle of Wight. In 1875 he went to Ceylon, where his sons were established. After a visit to England in 1878, he died in Ceylon on 8 May 1880.

Cameron was a man of cultivated intellect, well read in classical and modern literature, and intimate with many distinguished men of his day, especially Sir Henry Taylor, Lord Tennyson, and H. T. Prinsep. He married, in 1838, Julia Margaret Pattie [see CAMERON, JULIA MARGARET], by whom he had five sons and a daughter, Julia (*d.* 1873), married to Charles Lloyd Norman.

[Academy, 26 June 1880; Sir H. Taylor's Autobiography, ii. 48-55, 184; Mackenzie's History of the Camerons, 1884; information from the family.] L. S.

CAMERON, DONALD (1695?-1748), generally known as GENTLE LOCHIEL, was of mature age at the time of the rebellion of 1745. He was born at Achnacarrie, Lochiel, Inverness-shire, but the date of his birth is not known. His father, Colonel John Cameron of Lochiel, who was attainted and forfeited for his share in Mar's rebellion of 1715, and had retired to the continent, was son of Sir Ewen [q.v.] On the death of his grandfather in 1719, and during his father's exile, Donald succeeded as chief of the clan Cameron, and like his ancestors was loyal to the Stuarts. His mother was Isabel, daughter of Alexander Campbell of Lochnell.

Early in 1745 James Stuart (the elder Pretender) opened up negotiations with Cameron. The young Pretender, Charles Stuart, landed at Borodale, Lochnanuagh, and threw himself on the loyalty of the highlanders on 28 July 1745. The undertaking was apparently so desperate that Cameron sent his brother Archibald, the physician [q.v.], to reason with the prince. At a subsequent conference Cameron advised the prince to hide in the highlands until supplies arrived from the French court. 'Stay at home and learn from the newspapers the fate of your prince!' was the taunt that stung Cameron beyond endurance. 'No!' was the answer, 'I will share the fate of my prince, and so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me power.' Had Cameron held back, no other highland chief would have declared for the Pretender. The mustering of the clans was to be at Glenfinnan on 19 Aug.; Cameron arrived with eight hundred clansmen. Charles Stuart at once declared war against the elector of Hanover, and his father was proclaimed 'James VIII of Scotland.' The prince stayed a few days at Cameron's house at Achnacarrie, where an agreement was formally drawn up and signed by all concerned.

The prince commenced his daring march at the head of twelve hundred men, two-thirds being Camerons. On crossing the Forth the highlanders were intent on plunder, but a summary act of justice by Cameron on a marauder, coupled with his just and humane orders as to discipline, gave his miscellaneous army an honourable character for forbearance. The insurgents were unopposed in their march to Edinburgh. Some leading citizens were returning from a mission to the prince, and as they were entering the West Port in a coach,

Cameron poured in his men, disarmed the guards, and captured the city on the morning of 17 Sept. Other successes followed, mainly due to Cameron. When a question of precedence was raised before the affair of Prestonpans, he waived his claim in favour of the Macdonalds, 'lords of the isles.' At Prestonpans the Camerons distinguished themselves, striking at the horses' heads with their claymores, taking no heed of the riders. The expedition in two divisions, passing southwards, met at Derby. There it was decided to return, and by 20 Dec. Scotland was reached. Falkirk was taken by Cameron, who was wounded there; Stirling Castle was besieged but not taken; and desultory fighting filled up the months of January and February. Throughout the campaign Cameron's prudence, courage, and clemency are generally praised. He was a principal leader at Culloden, 16 April 1746; but it was in direct opposition to his counsel that the attempt was made of a night surprise of Cumberland's army. Charles rode off the field, but Cameron was severely wounded, and was borne off by his clansmen.

Cameron was attainted and forfeited, 1 June, but found a refuge in his native district for two months; then returned to the borders of Rannoch, and lay in a miserable hovel on the side of Benalder to be cured of his wounds, his cousin, Cluny Macdonald, bringing him his food. One day (30 Aug.) he and his few attendants were about to fire on an approaching party of men taken for enemies, when Cameron discovered them to be Prince Charles and Archibald Cameron, with a few guides. Soon after two French vessels arrived, and the prince, Cameron, his brother, and a hundred other refugees embarked, and safely reached the coast of Brittany, 29 Sept.

When fully recovered Cameron received command of the regiment of Albany in the French service, Prince Charles being Count of Albany. In the French chronicles of the time we read of Cameron attending the 'young chevalier' on his visit to Versailles as his 'master of the horse.' His father died at Nieuport in Flanders, after a long exile of thirty-three years, in 1748. In the same year Cameron died. By his wife, Anne, daughter of Sir James Campbell, fifth baron Auchinbreck, he had three sons and four daughters: John, who succeeded to his father's Albany regiment, and was afterwards captain of Royal Scots in the French service, died 1762; James, captain of Royal Scots in the same service, died 1759; Charles, who succeeded to his father's highland claims, held from the British crown leases of some of the estates on easy terms, and a commis-

sion in the 71st Highlanders, to which he added a company of clansmen of his own raising. On the regiment being ordered on foreign service while he was ill in London, the Camerons refused to march without him. Hastening to Glasgow to appease them, his strength was exhausted, and he died soon after. His descendant, Donald Cameron, late M.P. county Inverness, is the representative of the house of Camerons of Lochiel. Of the four daughters of Cameron, Isabel and Harriet married officers in the French service; Janet became a nun; and Donald died young.

Bromley, in his 'Catalogue of Engraved Portraits,' mentions a portrait of Cameron, 'whole-length in a highland dress,' but omits the names of artist and engraver. When Sir Walter Scott was in Rome in 1832, he visited the Villa Muti at Fiescati, which had been many years the favourite residence of the Cardinal of York, who was bishop of Tusculum. In a picture there of a fête given on the cardinal's promotion Scott discovered a portrait like a picture he had formerly seen of Cameron of Lochiel, whom he described as 'a dark, hard-featured man.'

[Culloden Papers, 1815; Douglas's Baronage of Scotland, i. 328; Scott's Tales of a Grandfather, c. 75; Chambers's History of the Rebellion; Boswell's Tour to the Western Isles; Lockhart Papers, ii. 439, 479; Scots Mag. 1746, pp. 39, 174; Bromley's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, p. 303; Notes and Queries, 4th series, vii. 334; Lockhart's Life of Scott, p. 747; various Histories of Scotland, under date A.D. 1745-6.] J. W.-G.

**CAMERON, SIR EWEN** or **EVAN** (1629-1719), of Lochiel, highland chief, was descended from a family who were able to trace their succession as chiefs from John, surnamed Ochtery, who distinguished himself in the service of King Robert I and King David. He was the seventeenth in descent from John Ochtery, being the eldest son of John McAllan Cameron, and Margaret, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Campbell, then of Glenfalloch, afterwards of Glenurchy, grandfather of John Campbell, eighth earl of Breadalbane [q. v.] He was born in the castle of Kilchurn, the seat of Sir Robert Campbell, in February 1629. His father having died in his infancy, the first seven years of his life were passed with his foster-father, Cameron of Latter-Finlay, after which he was taken in charge by his uncle. Having in his twelfth year been placed in the hands of the Marquis of Argyll as a hostage for the behaviour of the Camerons, he attended the school at Inverary. The marquis had intended him to study at Oxford, but the unsettled state of the country prevented them

proceeding further south than Berwick. While with the marquis during the meeting of the parliament at St. Andrews in September 1646, Cameron found an opportunity, without the knowledge of the marquis, of visiting Sir Robert Spotiswood, then a prisoner in the castle, under sentence of death, whose conversation is said to have had a powerful effect in attaching him to the royal cause. His life at Inverary became irksome, and in his eighteenth year he privately told his uncle of his wish to return home. The principal gentlemen of the clan Cameron addressed the marquis on his behalf, who complied with their request, and young Cameron was conducted to his territory of Lochaber with great pomp by the whole body of the clan, who went a day's journey to meet him. After his return he spent a great part of his time in hunting in his extensive forests, and especially in destroying the foxes and the wolves which still tenanted the highlands. In 1680 he is said to have killed with his own hand the last wolf that was seen in the highlands. Few in the highlands were his equal in the use of the weapons of war or of the chase. In stature he was 'of the largest size,' and his finely proportioned frame manifested a perfect combination of grace and strength. Lord Macaulay styled him 'the Ulysses of the Highlands,' and the title at least indicates not inaptly the peculiar combination of gifts to which he owed his special ascendancy. Shortly after his return to his estates he found an opportunity of manifesting something of his mettle in chastising Macdonald of Keppoch and Macdonald of Glen-garry, both of whom had refused to pay him certain sums of money they owed him as chief of the Camerons. After the execution of Charles I he responded to the act for levying an army in behalf of Charles II, but the backwardness of his followers, or his distrust of Argyll, delayed him so much, that when, with about a thousand of his followers, on the way to join the king's forces at Stirling, he was intercepted by Cromwell, and compelled to turn back. He was, however, the first of the chiefs to join Glencairn in the northern highlands in 1652, bringing with him about seven hundred of his clan. Having received the appointment of colonel, he distinguished himself on numerous occasions, especially in defending the pass of Tulloch, at Braemar, against the whole force of the English, when Glencairn on retreating had neglected to send orders for him to fall back. For his conduct he received a special letter of thanks from King Charles, dated 3 Nov. 1653. Cameron persevered in his resistance to Gene-

ral Monck, the English commander, for a considerable time after Glencairn had come to terms with him, and continued pertinaciously to harass the English troops stationed on the borders of his territory, notwithstanding the efforts of Monck to win him over by the offer of large bribes. To hold Cameron in check, Monck resolved to establish a military station at Inverloch, at the foot of Ben Nevis, and by ship transported thither two thousand troops, with material and workmen for the erection of the fort. On learning of their arrival Cameron hurried down with all his men, but already found the defence so strong as to render a direct attack hopeless. Dismissing the bulk of his men to drive the cattle into places of greater security, and to find provisions for a more lengthened stay in the neighbourhood, he withdrew with thirty-two gentlemen of the clan and his personal servants to a wood on the other side of the loch, where he lay in concealment to watch events. Obtaining information by spies that a hundred and fifty men were to be sent across to the side of the loch where he was concealed to forage for provisions and obtain supplies of timber, he resolved, notwithstanding their numbers were four to one, to attack them in the act of pillaging. Some of the gentlemen having objected, lest no successor to the chieftom should be left, he tied his brother Alan to a tree to reserve him as the future head of the clan. In the desperate conflict which ensued an Englishman covered Cameron with his musket, and was about to pull the trigger, when his brother Alan—who had persuaded the boy in charge of him to cut the cords which bound him to the tree—appeared upon the scene, in the nick of time to save the chief's life by shooting down his opponent. The onslaught of the highlanders was so sudden and furious that the Englishmen were soon in flight to their ships. In the pursuit Cameron came up with the commander of the party, who remained in wait for him behind a bush. After a desperate struggle, Cameron killed his opponent by seizing his throat with his teeth. The combat formed the model for Sir Walter Scott's description of the fight between Roderick Dhu and FitzJames in the 'Lady of the Lake.' In various other raids against the garrisons Cameron made his name a word of terror, but when the other chiefs had all withdrawn, he received a letter from General Middleton advising him to capitulate. Cameron thereupon captured three English colonels in an inn near Inverary, and retaining two of them as hostages, despatched the third to General Monck with overtures of submission. Satisfactory terms were soon arranged, and were

confirmed by Monck 5 June 1658, no oaths being required of the Camerons but their word of honour, and permission being granted them to carry their arms as formerly. Reparation was also made to Cameron for the wood cut down by the garrison at Inverlochy, and for other losses, as well as indemnity for all acts of depredation committed by his men. When Monck marched south to London with the design of restoring Charles II, he was accompanied by Cameron, who was present when Charles made his entry into London. He was received at court with every mark of favour, but his services on behalf of the royal cause met with little substantial recognition. Through the influence of the Duke of Lauderdale his claims on certain of the forfeited lands of Argyll were not only disregarded, but a commission of fire and sword was used against him as a rebellious man who held certain lands in high contempt of royal authority. The chief of the Macintoshes who undertook to execute this commission was easily worsted by Cameron. Though Charles on one occasion facetiously alluded to Cameron in his presence as the 'king of thieves,' it does not appear that Lauderdale received from Charles much countenance in his procedure against him, which proved practically fruitless. In 1681 Cameron visited Holyrood to solicit the pardon of some of his men, who, by mistake, had fired with fatal effect on a party of the Atholl men. His request was immediately granted, and he received the honour of knighthood.

The restoration of Argyll to his estates in 1689 was not more distasteful to any other of the highland chiefs than it was to Cameron, who had taken possession of a part of his forfeited lands. It was at Cameron's house in Lochaber, an immense pile of timber, that, in answer to the summons of the fiery cross, the clans gathered in 1690 under Dundee, and although overtures were made to him from the government promising him concessions from Argyll, and even offering him a sum of money to hold aloof from the rebellion, he declined to return to them any answer. His influence was of immense importance to Dundee, who at a council of war proposed a scheme for bringing the clans under similar discipline to that of a regular army, but Cameron on behalf of the chiefs strongly opposed it. It was chiefly owing to his advice that Dundee resolved to attack General Mackay as he was entering the pass of Killiecrankie. 'Fight, my lord,' he said, 'fight immediately; fight if you have only one to three. Our men are in heart. Their only fear is that the enemy should escape. Give them their way, and be assured that they will either perish or win

a complete victory.' These words decided Dundee. Cameron strongly advised Dundee to be content with overlooking the arrangements and issuing the commands, but without success. When the word was given to advance, Cameron took off his shoes and charged barefooted at the head of his clan, Mackay's own foot being the division of the enemy which by the impetuous rush of the Camerons were driven into headlong flight. After the death of Dundee, Cameron, in order to prevent the coalition of the clans from breaking up, was strong for energetic action against Mackay, and on his advice being disregarded by General Cannon, he retired to Lochaber, leaving his eldest son in command of his men. Shortly afterwards General Cannon was defeated at Dunkeld, and the highlanders returned home. A gathering of the clans was planned for the following summer. Cameron was then in bed from a wound at first believed to be mortal, which he had received in endeavouring to prevent a combat. When Breadalbane endeavoured to induce the clans to give in their submission, on the promise of a considerable sum of money, Cameron at first endeavoured to thwart the negotiations, having very strong doubts as to Breadalbane's real intentions; but after the proclamation of August 1692 requiring submission by 1 January following, he ceased to advise further resistance. 'I will not,' he said, 'break the ice; that is a point of honour with me; but my tacksmen and people may use their freedom.' In the rebellion of 1714, being too infirm to lead his vassals, he entrusted the command of them to his son. The result of the battle of Sheriffmuir caused him much chagrin, and having inquired into the conduct of his clan in the battle, he mourned their degeneracy with great bitterness, saying of them to his son: 'The older they grow the more cowardice; for in Oliver's days your grandfather with his men could fight double their number, as I right well remember' (PATTEN'S *History of the Rebellion in 1715*, pp. 197-8). Writing in 1717 Patten says of Cameron: 'He is a gentleman though old of a sound judgment, and yet very healthful and strong in constitution.' This is corroborated by the account of his death in the Balhaddie papers (*Memoir of Sir Ewen Cameron*, editor's introduction, p. 24): 'His eyes retained their former vivacity, and his sight was so good in his ninetieth year, that he could discern the most minute object, and read the smallest print; nor did he so much as want a tooth, which to me seemed as white and close as one would have imagined they were in the twentieth year of his age.' He died of a high fever in February 1719. In his

many encounters it never chanced that his blood on any occasion was drawn by an enemy. He was thrice married: first, to Mary, daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald, eighth baron and first baronet of Sleat, by whom he had no issue; secondly, to Isabel, eldest daughter of Sir Lachlan Maclean of Duart, by whom he had three sons and four daughters; and thirdly, to Jean, daughter of Colonel David Barclay of Uric, by whom he had one son and seven daughters. His eldest son (by his second wife), John Cameron (attained 1715, died 1745), was father of Donald Cameron [q. v.], and great-grandfather of John Cameron (1771-1815) [q. v.]

[Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, chief of the clan Cameron, supposed to have been written by one John Drummond (Bannatyne Club, 1842); Life of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, in appendix to Pennant's Tour in Scotland; Mackenzie's History of the Camerons (1884), pp. 94-212; Patten's History of the Rebellion in 1715 (1717); Papers illustrative of the Highlands of Scotland (Maitland Club, 1845); Leven and Melville Papers (Bannatyne Club, 1843); Hill Burton's History of Scotland; Macaulay's History of England.] T. F. H.

**CAMERON, GEORGE POULETT** (1806-1882), colonel, an Indian officer, was the son of Commander Robert Cameron, R.N., who perished with the greater part of his crew under the batteries of Fort St. Andero (Santander), on the north coast of Spain, on 22 Jan. 1807. He was appointed a cadet of infantry at Madras in 1821, and in 1824 and 1825 served as adjutant of a light field battalion under Lieutenant-general Sir C. Deacon in the southern Mahratta country. Returning to England in 1831, he shortly afterwards joined the expedition to Portugal organised by Don Pedro to recover the throne for his daughter, the late Queen Maria II. Cameron was attached to the staff of field-marshal the Duke of Terceira, under whose command he distinguished himself in two actions fought on 4 March and 5 July 1833, receiving special commendation on the second occasion for having remained at his post after being severely wounded. A few years later he was sent on particular service to Persia, and was employed with the Persian army in 1836, 1837, and 1838, commanding the garrison of Tabriz. On leaving Persia in 1838 he visited the Russian garrisons in Circassia. In 1842 he held for a short time the appointment of political agent at the titular court of the Nawáb of Arcot. In 1843 he was created a C.B., having previously received from the government of Portugal the order of the Tower and Sword, and from that of Persia the order of the Lion and Sun. After serving for a

time in the quartermaster-general's department in the Madras presidency, he was transferred, in consequence of ill-health, to the invalid establishment. Subsequently, in 1856, he was commandant of the Nilgiri Hills, the duties of which post were principally of a civil character. Having retired from the service of the East India Company early in 1858, he was present with the Austrian army in the Italian campaign of the following year. He was the author of the following works: 'Personal Adventures and Excursions in Georgia, Circassia, and Russia,' 2 vols. 1848; 'The Romance of Military Life, being souvenirs connected with thirty years' service,' 1853. He died in London in 1882.

[Ann. Reg. 1882; India Office Records.]

A. J. A.

**CAMERON, HUGH** (1705-1817), millwright, was a native of the Breadalbane district of Perthshire. After serving an apprenticeship as a country millwright he settled at Shiain of Lawers, where he erected the first lint mill in operation in the highlands of Scotland. He was the first to introduce spinning-wheels and jackreels in Breadalbane instead of the distaff and spindle, and instructed the people in their use. Nearly all the lint mills erected during his time in the highlands of Perthshire and in the counties of Inverness, Caithness, and Sutherland were constructed by him. It was he who designed the first barley mill built on the north side of the Forth, for which a song, very popular in the highlands, was composed in his honour, entitled 'Moladh di Eobhan Camashran Muilleir lin,' that is, 'A song in praise of Hugh Cameron, the lint miller.' He died in 1817, at the reputed age of 112.

[Anderson's Scottish Nation.] T. F. H.

**CAMERON, JOHN** (d. 1446), bishop of Glasgow and chancellor of Scotland, is said to have belonged to a family of Edinburgh burghers, and to have drawn his name more remotely from the Camerons of Craigmillar, and not, as was formerly asserted, from the Camerons of Lochiel (ROBERTSON, *Concilia Scotiae*, i. lxxii). In 1422 he was appointed official of Lothian by Archbishop Wardlaw of St. Andrews (CRAWFORD). Two years later he was acting in the capacity of secretary to the Earl of Wigtown (December 1423), who gave him the rectory of Cambuslang in Lanarkshire (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 13; GORDON). Next July he signs as secretary to the king (James I), and would appear to have been made provost of Lincluden, near Dumfries, within six months of this date (*ib.* Nos. 4, 14). Before the close of 1425 (October) he was keeper of the privy seal;

and by the commencement of 1427 (8 Jan.) keeper of the great seal (*ib.* Nos. 25, 74). According to Crawford and Gordon he had been appointed to the latter post as early as February and March 1425-6. By July 1428 he had been elected to the bishopric of Glasgow (*ib.* 56), but does not appear to have been consecrated till later in this year or early in the next (ROBERTSON, with whom cf. *Reg. Mag. Sig.* 78, for 12 Jan.) About the same time he was made chancellor, under which title he is found signing in December 1426 (*ib.* 68). According to Dr. Robertson, Cameron was appointed to the privy seal in April 1425, and to the great seal in March 1426. There does not seem to be any means of ascertaining where he studied, but it is worth while noting that he signs a charter of the Earl of Wigtown in 1423 as 'licenciatus in decretis,' which, taken in connection with the patronage of Wardlaw, may point to his having been a student of the newly founded university of St. Andrews, where there had been a faculty in canon law since 1410 (GOODALL, *Scotichronicon*, ii. 445). Cameron seems to have continued chancellor of Scotland till May 1439, when he was succeeded by William Crichton (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* 201).

The newly appointed bishop and chancellor is credited with having assisted James I in his attacks on the ecclesiastical courts of Scotland, and is supposed to have been the leading spirit in the provincial council of Perth (1427), and mainly instrumental in drawing up the great act of parliament passed in July this year (ROBERTSON, *Concil. Scot.* i. lxxxi). For this offence he was summoned to Rome by Martin V. James, however, would not forsake his servant, and sent an embassy (1429) to excuse the bishop from appearing, on the plea that the duties of the chancellorship prevented him from quitting the kingdom. The pope's reply was a citation to Rome, which was delivered to the archbishop by his personal enemy, William Croyser, archdeacon of Teviotdale, who was thereupon (1433) driven from the kingdom for treason, and deprived of all his possessions and preferences (ROBERTSON, lxxxiii; RAYNALDUS, ix. 228; *Excheq. Rolls of Scotland*, pref. cxi; THEINER, 373-5). Eugenius IV now demanded the abrogation of the obnoxious statutes, and threatened even the king with excommunication (1436). Meanwhile the bishop of Glasgow had been despatched to Italy and had persuaded the pope (July 1436) to send a fresh legation for the purpose of reforming the church of Scotland (RAYNALD, ix. 231). The king's murder seems to have delayed the reconciliation for

some years, and it was not till the very end of 1439 that we find Croyser commissioned to raise the excommunications that had been levelled against the bishop (THEINER, 375).

In the years that had intervened since his election to the see of Glasgow, Cameron had been employed in many other affairs of moment. In 1426, 1428, and 1444 he appears as the king's auditor (*Excheq. Rolls*, iv. 379, 482, v. 143). In 1429-30 he was appointed member of a commission for concluding a permanent peace with England. Seven years later he was employed on a mission to the English court (RYMER, x. 417, 446, 482-491, 677). About 1433 Cameron was one of the two bishops whom James I selected to represent Scotland at the council of Basle (ROBERTSON, ii. 248, 384); and it is probably in connection with this appointment that he received a safe-conduct for his journey through England in October and November 1433 (RYMER, x. 537, 563). He sat on the lay-clerical commission of June 1445, charged with the settlement of the long-disputed point as to the testamentary powers of the episcopacy (ROBERTSON, i. ciii-civ). Within the limits of his diocese Cameron seems to have been a vigorous administrator. In 1429 he established six prebends in connection with his cathedral (*Reg. Episc. Glasg.* ii. 340); and in the course of three years caused an inventory of all the ornaments and books belonging to the church of Glasgow to be taken (*ib.* ii. 329). About 1430 he built the great tower of the episcopal palace, where his arms were still to be seen in the last century (INNES, *Sketches*, 58-9; GORDON), and continued the chapter-house commenced by his predecessor. He appears to have died in the castle of Glasgow on Christmas eve 1446 (*Short Chronicle of Scotland*, quoted in GORDON). There does not seem to be any valid foundation for Spotiswood's charge that Cameron was of a cruel and covetous disposition; and still less is any credit to be attached to the legend of terror with which the story of his death has been embellished (BUCHANAN). The circumstances of this legend seem to point to an attack of apoplexy.

[Gordon's *Ecl. Chron. for Scotland*, ii. 498-508; Crawford's *Lives of Officers of the Scotch Crown*, 24-6; *Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, ed. Burnett (*Scotch Rolls Series*), iv. v.; *Registrum Magni Sigilli Scotiæ*, ed. Paul, i. (*Scotch Rolls Series*); *Concilia Scotiæ*, ed. Robertson (*Bannatyne Club*), i. lxxxii, &c. ii.; Raynaldi, *Ann. Ecl.* ix. 228, &c.; Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta Scotiæ et Hiberniæ*, 373-5; Spotiswood's *Hist. of Church of Scotland* (ed. 1677), 114; Buchanan's *Historia Scot.* i. xi. c. 25; *Registr. Episcopatus Glasguensis*, ed. Innes;

Innes's Early Scotch History; MacGeorge's Old Glasgow, 107, 116, 127.] T. A. A.

CAMERON, JOHN (1579?-1625), Scottish theologian, was born about 1579 in Glasgow, according to Robert Baillie, 'in our Saltmercat, a few doores from the place of my birth' (*Letters*, iii. 402). His father is identified with John Cameron, rector of Dunoon, and the family claimed connection with that of Lochiel, Argyleshire. After studying at Glasgow University, he taught Greek there for a year. In 1600 he went to Bordeaux, and having by his special skill in Greek and Latin greatly impressed two protestant clergymen in that city, one of whom was his countryman, Gilbert Primrose [q.v.], he was on their recommendation appointed to teach the classical languages in the newly founded college of Bergerac. Shortly afterwards the Duke de Bouillon made him professor of philosophy in the university of Sedan; but after two years he resigned his professorship, and, returning to Bordeaux, was in the beginning of 1604 nominated one of the students of divinity maintained at the expense of the protestant church at Bordeaux to prosecute their studies, for four years, in any protestant seminary. He spent one year at Paris, two at Geneva, and one at Heidelberg, acting at the same time as tutor to the two sons of Calignon, chancellor of Navarre. In April 1608 he maintained in Heidelberg a series of theses, 'De triplici Dei cum Homine Foedere,' which have been printed among his works. The same year he was appointed colleague of Primrose in the church of Bordeaux. Having in 1617 attended on two protestant captains condemned to death for piracy, he printed a letter giving an account of their last moments, entitled 'Constance, Foy et Résolution à la mort des Capitaines Blanquet et Gaillard,' which was ordered by the parliament of Bordeaux to be burned by the hands of the common executioner. The following year he succeeded Gomar as professor of divinity in the university of Saumur. In 1620 he engaged in a discussion with Daniel Tilenus on the theological opinions of Arminius, of which an account, under the title 'Amica Collatio,' was printed at Leyden in 1621. The civil troubles in France compelled him in 1620 to seek refuge in England, and after reading private lectures on divinity in London, he was in 1622 appointed principal of the university of Glasgow, to succeed Robert Boyd of Trochrig [q.v.], removed on account of his opposition to the 'Five Articles of Perth.' In Cameron King James found one of the strongest supporters of his own opinions as to the power and prerogatives of kings (see letter of Cameron to King James,

printed in the *Miscellany* of the Abbotsford Club, i. 115); and Robert Baillie, D.D. [q.v.], who was one of his pupils in Glasgow, states that he drank in from him in his youth the slavish tenet, 'that all resistance to the supreme magistrate in anie case was simple unlawful' (Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, ii. 189). His appointment to succeed Boyd, necessarily unpopular in itself, was rendered more so by his extreme opinions, and Calderwood mentions 'that he was so disliked by the people that he was forced not long after to remove out of Glasco' (*History*, vii. 567). He therefore returned to Saumur, where, however, he was only permitted to read private lectures, his application in 1623 to the national synod of Charenton to be reinstated in his professorship being refused, owing to the opposition of the king, although the synod indicated its appreciation of his talents by voting him a donation of a thousand livres. In the following year he obtained the professorship of divinity in the university of Montauban, but here again his doctrine of passive obedience excited the indignation even of his own party, and he was one night so severely assaulted in the streets by some unknown person that his health was permanently impaired. He died at Montauban in 1625. He was twice married. By his first wife, Susan Bernard of Tonneins, on the Garonne, whom he married in 1611, he had a son and four daughters, of whom the son and eldest daughter predeceased him; and by his second wife, Susan Thomas, whom he married a few months before his death, he left no issue.

Cameron was held in his day in very high esteem, although he is said to have possessed a considerable share both of irritability and vanity. Sir Thomas Urquhart states that 'he was commonly designed (because of his universal reading) by the title of the *Walking Library*' (URQUHART, *Jewel*, p. 182); John Dunbar specially refers to the purity with which he spoke the French language (*Epigrammata*, p. 188); his biographer, Cappe, affirms that he could speak Greek with as much fluency and elegance as another could speak Latin; and Milton, in his 'Tetrachordon,' characterises him 'as an ingenious writer and in high esteem.' He was the author of: 1. 'Santangelus, sive Steliteuticus in Eliam Santangelum caudidicum,' La Rochelle, 1616. 2. 'Traité auquel sont examinez les prejuges de ceux de l'eglise Romaine contre la Religion Reformée,' La Rochelle, 1617, translated into English under the title, 'An Examination of those plausible appearances which seem most to commend the Romish church and to prejudice the Reformed,' Ox-

ford, 1626. 3. 'Theses de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio,' Saumur, 1618. 4. 'Theses XLII. Theol. de Necessitate Satisfactionis Christi pro Peccatis,' Saumur, 1620. 5. 'Sept Sermons sur le cap. vi. de l'Evangile de S. Jean,' Saumur, 1624. After his death there appeared, under the editorship of his pupil, Louis Cappel: 6. 'Joh. Cameronis, S. Theologiæ in Academia Salmuriensi nuper Professoris, Prælectiones in selectiora quædam N. T. loca Salmurii habitæ,' Saumur, 1626-8, 3 tom. 7. 'Myrothecium Evangelicum, in quo aliquot loca Novi Testamenti explicantur: una cum Spicilegio Ludovici Cappelli de eodem argumento cumque 2 Diatribis in Matth. xv. 5 de Voto Jephthæ,' Geneva, 1632, 4to; another edition, with a different subtitle, Saumur, 1677. 8. 'Joannis Cameronis, Scoto-Britanni, Theologi eximii, τὰ σωθήνεα, sive Opera partim ab auctore ipso edita, partim post ejus obitum vulgata, partim nusquam hactenus publicata, vel e Gallico idiomate nunc primum in Latinam linguam translata: in unum collecta, et variis indicibus instructa,' Geneva, 1642, with memoir of the author by Cappel prefixed, under the title 'Joh. Cameronis Icon.'

[Memoir by Cappel; Bayle's Dictionary (English translation), ii. 284-9; Robert Baillie's Letters and Journals, passim; Dempster's Hist. Eccles. Gent. Scot.; Irving's Scottish Writers, i. 333-46; Chambers's Biog. Dict. of Eminent Scotsmen, i. 273-6.] T. F. H.

CAMERON, JOHN (1724-1799), presbyterian minister, was born in 1724 near Edinburgh. Having served his apprenticeship to a bookseller in Edinburgh, he entered the university and took his M.A. degree. He belonged to the 'reformed presbyterians,' or 'covenanters,' and was admitted a probationer of that body. Going as a missionary to the north of Ireland about 1750, he travelled in various districts of Ulster as an outdoor preacher. His labours as a 'mountain minister' met with large acceptance. In 1754 there was a division in the presbyterian congregation of Billy (otherwise Bushmills), co. Antrim, part adhering to their minister, John Logue, and part going off to form the new congregation of Dunluce. The Dunluce people offered to give a call to Cameron if he would leave the covenanters and join the regular presbyterian body. He consented. On 24 April 1755 the call was signed by 137 persons, and on 3 June Cameron was ordained by the presbytery of Route, having distinguished himself in the course of his 'trials' as an extemporary preacher. His subsequent course was scarcely in accordance with his antecedents. Though an active pastor, he found

time for a renewal of his studies, and became noted as a writer of sermons, which were freely borrowed by his friends for use both in episcopal and presbyterian pulpits. He was dining one day with 'a dignitary of the established church,' when the conversation turned on Dr. John Taylor's 'Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin,' which Cameron had never seen. His host made him take the book home with him, though Cameron 'would as soon have been accompanied by his Satanic majesty.' A perusal of the book produced 'a complete and entire change' in his theology. He got much beyond Taylor, adopting humanitarian views of the person of Christ. Cameron also turned his attention to science. Being in want of a parish schoolmaster, he took into his house Robert Hamilton (1752-1831), the promising son of a neighbouring weaver, trained him for his work, and introduced him to the study of anatomy. Hamilton afterwards became a physician of some distinction at Ipswich, and showed his gratitude to Cameron by dedicating to him 'The Duties of a Regimental Surgeon,' 1794, 2 vols. In 1768 Cameron was moderator of the general synod of Ulster. His year of office was marked by the renewal of intercourse between the synod and the Antrim presbytery, excluded for non-subscription in 1726, and by the publication of Cameron's only acknowledged work, a prose epic. He wrote anonymously several works (often in the form of dialogues) attacking from various points of view the principle of subscription to creeds. The authorship of these able productions was no secret; but the extent of Cameron's doctrinal divergence from the standards of his church was not publicly revealed till nearly thirty years after his death. A paper rejecting the doctrine of the resurrection of the body was forwarded by Cameron to Archdeacon Blackburne, in expectation of a reply. Blackburne sent the paper to Priestley, who published it in his 'Theological Repository,' vol. ii. 1771, with the signature of 'Philander' ('Philander,' in later volumes, is one of the many signatures of Joseph Bretland). This led to a correspondence between Priestley and Cameron, and to the settlement of Cameron's son, William, as a button-maker in Birmingham. In 1787-9 Cameron got a double portion of *regium donum*; his means were always very small. He died on 31 Dec. 1799, and was buried in the parish churchyard of Dunluce, a picturesque spot on the road between Portrush and the Giant's Causeway. A striking elegy on his grave was written by Rev. George Hill, formerly librarian of Queen's College, Belfast. Besides his son, Cameron left a daugh-



ter, married to John Boyd of Dunluce. Cameron's writings were: 1. 'The Policy of Satan to destroy the Christian Religion,' n.d. (1767, anon.) 2. 'The Messiah; in nine books,' Belfast, 1768; reprinted with memoir, Dublin, 1811, 12mo. 3. 'The Catholic Christian,' &c. Belfast, 1769, 16mo (anon.) 4. 'The Catholic Christian defended,' &c. Belfast, 1771, 16mo (in reply to Benjamin M'Dowell, D.D., who attacked him by name. Cameron, however, published his defence with the pseudonym of 'Philaethes'). 5. 'Theophilus and Philander,' &c. Belfast, 1772, 16mo (an anonymous reply to M'Dowell's rejoinder). 6. 'Forms of Devotion,' &c. Belfast, 1780. 7. 'The Doctrines of Orthodoxy,' &c. Belfast, 1782, 12mo (republished 1817, with title, 'The Skeleton covered with Flesh'). 8. 'The State of our First Parents,' &c. (mentioned by Witherow). Posthumous was 9, 'The Doctrine of the Holy Scriptures,' &c. 1828, 16mo (known to have been edited by Arthur Nelson (d. 20 June 1831), presbyterian minister of Kilmore, otherwise Rademon. The list of subscribers is almost entirely English).

[Monthly Rev. May 1776; Monthly Repos. (1831), 720; Bible Christian (1837), 203; Reid's Hist. Presb. Church in Ireland (Killen) (1867), iii. 330, 336; Witherow's Hist. and Lit. Mem. of Presb. in Ireland (2nd ser. 1880), 122, 145; Disciple (Belfast, May 1883), p. 127 (Article by Rev. W. S. Smith, Antrim), June 1883, p. 183.]  
A. G.

CAMERON, JOHN (1771-1815), of Fassiefern, colonel, Gordon Highlanders, a great-grandson of John Cameron eighteenth of Lochiel [see CAMERON, SIR EWEN, *ad fin.*], was one of the six children of Ewen Cameron of Inverscadale, on Linnha Loch, and afterwards of Fassiefern, in the parish of Kilmallie, both in Argyleshire, by his first wife Lucy Campbell of Balwardine, and was born at Inverscadale on 16 Aug. 1771. Nursed by the wife of a family retainer, whose son, Ewen McMillan, was his foster-brother and faithful attendant through life, young Cameron grew up in close sympathy with the traditions and associations of his home and people, who looked to his father as the representative head of the clan in the enforced absence of the chief of Lochiel. He received his schooling in part at the grammar school at Fort William, but chiefly by private tuition. Later he entered the university of King's College, Aberdeen. He was articled to a writer to the signet at Edinburgh, James Fraser of Gorthleck, but after the outbreak of the war, at his special request, a commission was procured for him, and he entered the army in May 1793 as ensign, 26th Cam-

ronians, from which he was promoted to a lieutenancy in an independent highland company, which was embodied with the old 93rd foot (Shirley's, afterwards broken up in Demerara). In the year following, the Marquis of Huntly, afterwards last Duke of Gordon, then a captain, 3rd foot guards, raised a corps of highlanders at Aberdeen, which originally was numbered as the 100th foot, but a few years later was re-numbered, and has since become famous as the 92nd Gordon Highlanders. Cameron was appointed to a company in this regiment on 24 June 1794. He served with it in Corsica and at Gibraltar in 1795-7, and in the south of Ireland in 1798. There he is said to have lost his heart to a young Irish lady at Kilkenny, but the match was broken off in submission to his father's commands. The next year saw him in North Holland, where he was wounded in the stubborn fight among the sandhills between Bergen and Egmont op Zee on 2 Oct. 1799, one of the few occasions on which bayonets have been fairly crossed by contending lines. He was with the regiment at the occupation of Isle d'Hourat, on the coast of Brittany, and off Cadiz in 1800, and went with it to Egypt, where he was wounded at the battle of Alexandria, and received the gold medal given by the Ottoman Porte for the Egyptian campaign. He became major in the regiment in 1801, and lieutenant-colonel of the new second battalion (afterwards disbanded) on 23 June 1808. After some years passed chiefly in Ireland, Cameron rejoined the first battalion of his regiment soon after its return from Corunna, and commanded it in the Walcheren expedition, subsequently proceeding with it to Portugal, where it landed, 8 Oct. 1810. At its head he signalised himself repeatedly during the succeeding campaigns, particularly at Fuentes de Onoro, 5 May 1811; at Arroyo dos Molinos, 28 Oct. 1811; at Almaraz, 19 May 1812; and at Vittoria, 21 June 1813, where his services appear to have been strangely overlooked in the distribution of rewards; at the passage of Maya, 13 July 1813 (see NAPIER'S *Hist.* v. 219-21); at the battles on the Nive between 9 and 13 Dec. 1813 (*ib.* p. 415); at the passage of the Gave at Arriverette, 17 Feb. 1814; and at the capture of the town of Aire (misprinted 'Acre' in many accounts), 2 March 1814. Some particulars of the armorial and other distinctions granted to Cameron in recognition of his services on several of these occasions will be found in Cannon's 'Historical Record, 92nd Highlanders.' In the Waterloo campaign the 92nd, under Cameron, with the 42nd Highlanders,

1st Royals, and 44th, formed Pack's brigade of Picton's division, and were among the first troops to march out of Brussels at daybreak on 16 June 1815. On that day, when heading part of the regiment in an attack on a house where the enemy was strongly posted, on the Charleroi road, a few hundred yards from the village of Quatre Bras, Cameron received his death-wound. He was buried in an allée verte beside the Ghent road, during the great storm of the 17th, by his foster-brother and faithful soldier-servant, private Ewen McMillan, who had followed his fortunes from the first day he joined the service, Mr. Gordon, the regimental paymaster, a close personal friend, and a few soldiers of the regiment whose wounds prevented their taking their places in the ranks. At the request of the family, however, Cameron's remains were disinterred soon afterwards, brought home in a man-of-war, and, in the presence of a gathering of three thousand highlanders from the then still populous district of Lochaber, were laid in Kilmallie churchyard, where a tall obelisk, bearing an inscription by Sir Walter Scott, marks the site of his grave. In 1817 a baronetcy was conferred on Ewen Cameron of Fassiefern, in recognition of the distinguished military services of his late son. Sir Ewen died in 1828, at the age of ninety, and the baronetcy has since become extinct on the demise, some years ago, of Sir Duncan Cameron, younger brother of Colonel Cameron, and second and last baronet of Fassiefern.

About thirty years ago a memoir of Cameron was compiled from family sources by the Rev. A. Clerk, minister of Kilmallie, two editions of which were privately printed in Glasgow. In addition to many interesting details, which testify to the keen personal interest taken by Cameron in his highland soldiers and to his kindly nature, the work contains a well-executed lithographic portrait of him in the full dress of the regiment, and wearing the insignia of the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword, with other decorations, after an engraved portrait taken just before his fall, and published by C. Turner, London, 1815.

[Burke's Landed Gentry, vol. i.; Army Lists and War Office Muster-Rolls; Cannon's Hist. Rec. 92nd Highlanders; Napier's Hist. Peninsular War; Siborne's Waterloo; Clerk's Memoir of Colonel John Cameron, 2nd ed. (privately printed, Glasgow, 1858), 4to; Gent. Mag. vol. xcix. pt. i. p. 87.]

H. M. C.

**CAMERON, SIR JOHN (1773-1844)**, general, was the second son of John Cameron of Calchenna, and nephew of John Cameron

of Caltort, the head of a branch of the great clan Cameron, and a descendant of Lochiel. He was born on 3 Jan. 1773; was educated at Eton, and on 25 April 1787 received his first commission as an ensign in the 43rd regiment. On 30 Sept. 1790 he was promoted lieutenant, and on 11 July 1794 captain in the same regiment. In 1793 his regiment was one of those which formed Sir Charles Grey's expedition to the West Indies; he was present at the capture of the islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, and Guadeloupe, and was especially distinguished at the storming of Fort Fleur d'Épée in the latter island, where he won his captaincy. In 1794 Sir Charles Grey returned to England, in the belief that his West Indian conquests were safe, and the 43rd regiment, which had been so reduced by sickness that Cameron, though only a junior captain, commanded it, formed part of the garrison of the Berville camp under Brigadier-general Graham, who had been left in charge of the island of Guadeloupe. Victor Hugues, the commissary of the French republic in the West Indies, then organised an army out of the beaten French soldiers, the negro slaves, and the Caribs, reconquered St. Lucia, and in the autumn of 1794 attacked Guadeloupe. His first assault upon the Berville camp on 30 Sept. was unsuccessful, but on 4 Oct. the camp was carried, and Cameron was wounded and made prisoner. He remained in France as a prisoner of war for more than two years, but in 1797 was exchanged, and immediately rejoined his regiment in the West Indies. There he remained till 1800, when he was promoted major, and brought his regiment home, after it had suffered terrible losses from the West Indian climate. On 28 May 1807 Cameron was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 7th West India regiment, and on 5 Sept. of the same year exchanged into the 9th regiment. In July 1808 he set sail for Portugal with the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the 9th and 29th regiments were on disembarking brigaded together as the 3rd brigade under Brigadier-general Catlin Craufurd. This brigade bore the brunt of the battle of Roliça, for it had to charge and carry the strong position of Laborde in front, and in so doing Colonel Stewart, of the 2nd battalion of the 9th, was killed, and Cameron succeeded to the command of the regiment. With it he served at the battle of Vimeiro, in the advance to Salamanca, and the disastrous retreat to Corunna, and then returned to England at its head. From July to September 1809 he commanded the 1st battalion in the Walcheren expedition, and in March 1810 returned to Portugal at the head of the 2nd battalion of the 9th, which he com-

manded until the end of the Peninsular war. At the battle of Busaco on 27 Sept. 1810 he was particularly distinguished; the picked regiments of Reynier's corps d'armée had driven in the right of the 3rd division, and established themselves in the very heart of the British position. General Leith ordered up his 1st brigade to drive off the enemy, but the ground was too rugged for them to advance. 'Meanwhile,' to quote the words of Sir William Napier, 'Colonel Cameron, informed by a staff officer of the critical state of affairs, formed the 9th regiment in line under a violent fire, and, without returning a single shot, ran in upon and drove the grenadiers from the rocks with irresistible bravery, plying them with a destructive musketry as long as they could be reached, and yet with excellent discipline refraining from pursuit, lest the crest of the position should be again lost, for the mountain was so rugged that it was impossible to judge clearly of the general state of the action' (NAPIER, *Peninsular War*, book xi. chap. 7). Cameron afterwards commanded his regiment at the battle of Fuentes de Onoro, the siege of Badajoz, the battle of Salamanca, the affair with the French rearguard at Osma on 18 June 1813, and the battle of Vittoria, on all of which occasions it formed a part of the 2nd brigade of the 5th division under General Leith. At the siege of San Sebastian the 9th carried the convent of San Bartholomé on 17 July 1813, when Cameron was wounded; it was engaged in the attempt of 25 July to storm San Sebastian, and in the successful assault of 31 Aug., when Cameron was again wounded, and during the siege operations his regiment lost two-thirds of its officers and three-fourths of its soldiers. In the invasion of France, as in the advance upon Vittoria, the 5th division formed the extreme left of the army; the 9th regiment led the division across the Bidassoa and in the attack on the French position, in the battle of the Nivelle, and in the fiercely contested battles of 9, 10, and 11 Dec. before Bayonne, which are known as the battle of the Nive. In these three days the 9th regiment lost 300 men; on 10 Dec. it was completely surrounded, but charged back to the main army, and took 400 prisoners, and on 11 Dec. Cameron had his horse killed under him when reconnoitring the village of Anglet. The loss of the regiment in 1813 exceeded that of any other regiment in the Peninsula, amounting to 41 officers and 646 men killed and wounded. Cameron was not present at Orthes or Toulouse, but was engaged until the end of the war in Sir John Hope's operations before Bayonne. On the conclusion of peace he received many rewards. On 4 June 1814 he

was promoted colonel, and on the extension of the order of the Bath in January 1815 he was made one of the first K.C.B.'s; he was also made a knight of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, and received a gold cross with three clasps in commemoration of the six battles and one siege at which he had commanded his regiment. In 1814 he commanded his regiment in Canada, where he acted as brigadier-general and commandant of the garrison of Kingston until 1815, when he received the command of a brigade in the army of occupation in France. On 19 July 1821 Cameron was promoted major-general, and commanded the western district from 1823 to 1833, in which year he was appointed colonel of the 9th regiment, which he had so long commanded. He had been colonel 93rd foot 1832-3, and was lieutenant-governor of Plymouth 1823-35. On 10 Jan. 1837 he was promoted lieutenant-general; and on 23 Nov. 1844 died at Guernsey. He married a Miss Brock, niece of the first Lord de Saumarez, when stationed in Guernsey in 1803, by whom he had a son, Sir Duncan Cameron, G.C.B., who commanded the Black Watch at the battle of Balaclava, and afterwards the highland brigade in the Crimea.

[Royal Military Calendar; Regimental Record of the 9th Regiment; Wellington Despatches; Napier's Peninsular War; private information.]

H. M. S.

**CAMERON, JOHN ALEXANDER** (d. 1885), war correspondent, was descended from the Camerons of Kinlochiel, and was born at Inverness, where he was for some time a bank clerk. Subsequently he went out to India, and was connected with a mercantile house in Bombay. He began contributing to the 'Bombay Gazette,' and was for some time acting editor, when on the outbreak of the Afghan war in 1878 he was appointed special correspondent. When towards the close of the following year the war broke out afresh, he became correspondent of the London 'Standard.' Joining the column under General Phayrer sent to the relief of Candahar, he was the first to ride with the news of the victory of General Roberts to the nearest telegraph post, beating all other competitors by a day and a half. Then returning to Candahar he went out to the battle-field of Maiwand (July 1880), his description of which established his reputation as one of the most graphic of newspaper correspondents. On the outbreak of the Boer insurrection (December 1880) he crossed from Bombay to Natal, arriving there long before the correspondents from England. He was present (January 1881) at the battles of Laing's Nek and Ingogo, and, though taken prisoner at

the fatal fight on Majuba Hill (February 1881), contrived on the following day to despatch his famous message descriptive of the battle. On the conclusion of peace he returned to England, but on the news of the riots in Alexandria (June 1882) he left for Egypt, and was present on board the admiral's ship *Invincible* at the bombardment of the town. He afterwards continued with the British troops throughout the Egyptian campaign until their arrival in Cairo. After a short interval he set out for Madagascar, his letters from which attracted much attention. As the French delayed their attack on the island, he crossed the Pacific to Melbourne, and thence made his way to Tonquin, and was present at the engagement in which the French failed to carry the defences which the Black Flags had erected. English correspondents not being permitted to remain with the French forces, he was on his way home when Osman Digma's forces began to threaten Souakim, and on reaching Suez he immediately took ship for that port. When Baker Pasha's force was crushed by the Arabs, he narrowly escaped with his life. He accompanied the British expeditionary force in their advance upon Tokar, and witnessed the battles of El Teb and Tamanieb. After a short stay in England he set out to join the Nile expedition in 1884, regarding the progress of which he sent home many telegrams and letters. He was killed 19 Jan. 1885, two days after the first battle at Abu Klea.

[Standard, 27 Jan. 1885; Illustrated London News, with portrait, 7 Feb. 1885.] T. F. H.

**CAMERON, JULIA MARGARET** (1815-1879), photographer, born at Calcutta on 11 June 1815, was the third daughter of James Pattle of the Bengal civil service. In 1838 she married Charles Hay Cameron [q.v.], then member of the law commission in Calcutta. Her other sisters married General Colin Mackenzie [q.v.], Henry Thoby Prinsep [q.v.], Dr. Jackson, M.D., Henry Vincent Bayley, judge of the supreme court of Calcutta, and nephew of Henry Vincent Bayley [q.v.], Earl Somers, and John Warrender Dalrymple of the Bengal civil service. Miss Pattle was well known in Calcutta society for her brilliant conversation. She showed her philanthropy in 1846, when, through her energy and influence, she was able to raise a considerable sum for the relief of the sufferers in the Irish famine. Mrs. Cameron came to England with her husband and family in 1848. They resided in London, and afterwards went to Putney, and in 1860 settled at Freshwater in the Isle of Wight, where they were the neighbours and friends of Lord

Tennyson. In 1875 they went to Ceylon; they visited England in 1878, and returned to Ceylon, where she died on 26 Jan. 1879.

Mrs. Cameron was known and beloved by a large circle of friends. She corresponded with Wordsworth; she was well known to Carlyle, who said, on receiving one of her yearly valentines, 'This comes from Mrs. Cameron or the devil.' Sir Henry Taylor, a valued friend, says of her in his 'Autobiography' (ii. 48): 'If her husband was of a high intellectual order, and as such naturally fell to her lot, the friends that fell to her were not less so. Foremost of them all were Sir John Herschel and Lord Hardinge. . . . Sir Edward Ryan, who had been the early friend of her husband, was not less devoted to her in the last days of his long life than he had been from the times in which they first met. . . . It was indeed impossible that we should not grow fond of her—impossible for us, and not less so for the many whom her genial, ardent, and generous nature has captivated ever since.' A characteristic story of one of her many acts of persevering benevolence is told in the same volume (pp. 185-8). Her influence on all classes was marked and admirable. She was unusually outspoken, but her genuine sympathy and goodness of heart saved her from ever alienating a friend.

At the age of fifty she took up photography, which in her hands became truly artistic, instead of possessing merely mechanical excellence. She gained gold, silver, and bronze medals in America, Austria, Germany, and England. She has left admirable portraits of many distinguished persons. Among her sitters were the Crown Prince and Princess of Prussia, Charles Darwin, Lord Tennyson, Mr. Browning, Herr Joachim, and Sir John Herschel, who had been her friend from her early girlhood. Mrs. Cameron wrote many poems, some of which appeared in 'Macmillan's Magazine.' Her only separate publication was a translation of Bürger's 'Leonora,' published in 1847.

[Personal knowledge.]

J. P. S.

**CAMERON, LUCY LYTTTELTON** (1781-1858), writer of religious tales for children, was born 29 April 1781, at Stanford-on-Teme, Worcestershire, of which place her father, George Butt, D.D. [q.v.], was the vicar. Her mother was Martha Sherwood, daughter of a London silk merchant. Mrs. Cameron was the youngest of three children—John Marten, Mary Martha (the well-known authoress, Mrs. Sherwood [q.v.]), and Lucy Lyttelton. She took her baptismal name from her godmother, Lady Lucy Fortescue Lyttelton, daughter of George, the first lord

Lyttelton—"the good lord"—who married Viscount Valentia, afterwards Earl Mountnorris. On Dr. Butt's death, in 1795, Mrs. Butt and her two daughters went to live at Bridgworth.

Mrs. Cameron's early education was conducted by her parents. She was a precocious child, beginning Latin at seven years of age, mastering French so as to be able to write and think in it with almost the same facility as in English, and afterwards studying Italian and Greek. She speaks at a later period of having finished reading the 'Iliad.' At eleven years of age she went to school at Reading, where she continued till she was sixteen. From her earliest years she had the advantage of intercourse with cultivated and intellectual society. Gerrard Andrewes [q. v.], dean of Canterbury and rector of St. James's, Piccadilly, was a connection by marriage, and on her visit to his rectory she was introduced to London society of the best kind, making the acquaintance of Elizabeth Carter [q. v.] and Humphry Davy, then only known as 'a young man of promise.' Visiting Bristol, she was introduced to Mrs. Hannah More, Miss Galton (afterwards Mrs. Schimmelpenninck), and other members of the literary coteries of that city. In 1806 she married the Rev. C. R. Cameron, of Christ Church, Oxford, the eldest son of Dr. Cameron (of the Lochiel family), a celebrated physician at Worcester. Shortly after her marriage her husband was appointed to a church at Donnington Wood, in the parish of Lilleshall, Shropshire, recently built on the estate of Lord Stafford for the colliers of the district, their residence being at Snedshill. Here she and her husband remained for twenty-five years, devoting themselves with unremitting labour, and with the happiest results, to the moral and spiritual improvement of their rude parishioners. While at Snedshill she became the mother of twelve children, the greater part of whom died before her. In 1831 Mr. Cameron accepted the living of Swaby, near Alford, in Lincolnshire, but continued to reside at Snedshill, serving his old parish as curate till 1836, when he moved to Louth, and finally, on the completion of a rectory, settled at Swaby in 1839. While visiting the Lakes, in 1856, Mrs. Cameron was surprised by a storm on Ulleswater, and caught a cold from which she never recovered, and died on 6 Sept. 1858, and was buried at Swaby. Mrs. Cameron's life was the quiet, laborious, unpretending one of a clergyman's wife, and the devoted mother of a large family. Her fame rests on her religious tales and allegories, written chiefly for the young. Of these Dr. Arnold was a warm admirer. He writes: 'The

knowledge and the love of Christ can nowhere be more readily gained by young children than from some of the short stories of Mrs. Cameron, such as "Amelia," the "Two Lambs," the "Flower Pot" (ARNOLD, *Sermons*, i. 45). She commenced authorship at an early age. 'Margaret White' was written when she was only seventeen, and she continued her literary work more or less all through her life. The 'Two Lambs' was written in 1803, but not published till 1827. In 1816 she began to compose penny books for the poor and ignorant. Her stories were often based on real events, and describe the scenes with which she was familiar, to which the naturalness and graphic power which form the charm of her simple stories are mainly due. Mrs. Cameron's fame as a writer has been rather overshadowed by that of her elder sister, Mrs. Sherwood. The younger sister's writings are often attributed to the elder, and Mrs. Cameron, who is in some respects the better authoress, is consequently less known than she deserves to be. She wrote rapidly. One of her best known little books, 'The Raven and the Dove,' occupied her only four hours. A complete list of Mrs. Cameron's publications is prefixed to the second edition of her life, by her son, the Rev. G. T. Cameron. Besides those already mentioned, the best known are 'Emma and her Nurse,' 'Martin and his Two Sunday Scholars,' 'The Bright Shilling,' and 'The Pink Tippet.'

[Memoir by the Rev. G. T. Cameron, 1862 (2nd edit. 1873); Autobiography of Mrs. Sherwood.]

E. V.

CAMERON, RICHARD (d. 1680), covenanting leader, was born at Falkland in Fife. He was at first schoolmaster and precentor in the parish church, which had then an episcopal incumbent, but having gone to hear some of the field preachers, he was powerfully impressed by their sermons, and was won over to their side. Cameron now espoused the cause of the most advanced section of the presbyterians, holding that those who had accepted the 'indulgence' had sinned very heinously, and that their fellowship was to be utterly shunned. His strong views on this point made him unacceptable to Sir Walter and Lady Scott of Harden, in whose family he had been tutor for a time. Cameron had received no university training, but, having a gift of natural and persuasive eloquence, he was considered by John Welsh, Gabriel Semple, and other leading field preachers to have a call to the office of preacher, and was licensed by them accordingly. In Annandale and Clydesdale hundreds and thousands hung upon his lips, and, moved by his tender and melting

appeals, 'fell into a great weeping.' In 1678 he went to Holland, where many like-minded men were in banishment, and in his absence a new indulgence was proclaimed which many accepted. Returning in 1680, he found very few ministers to share his views. Among the few were Donald Cargill and Thomas Douglas, who met with him several times to form a public declaration and testimony as to the state of the church. What is commonly called the Sanquhar declaration followed, so named from the town of Sanquhar, where it was published. It disowned the authority of Charles II, and declared war against him. It disowned likewise the Duke of York and his right to succeed to the throne. Substantially this was the very basis on which, a few years after, the revolution was effected. The work of but a handful of poor men, it had little effect, except to embitter the spirit of opposition, and set a price of 5,000 merks on the head of Cameron, and 3,000 on those of Donald Cargill and Thomas Douglas. For a few weeks, notwithstanding, Cameron, now accompanied by a small body of armed men, went on preaching here and there, and uttering very strong predictions against all who should favour the royal indulgence. On 22 July 1680 his party was surprised by a body of royal troops who came upon them at a place called Ayrsmoss or Airdsmoss, in the parish of Auchinleck in Ayrshire. The Cameronians resolved to receive the charge, Cameron having thrice prayed 'Lord, spare the green and take the ripe; but notwithstanding their great valour, they were overpowered by superior numbers and mostly cut to pieces; Cameron and his brother were among the slain. The preacher's head and hands were cut off, and by order of the council were fixed to the Nether Bow gate in Edinburgh.

After his death the name of Cameron, though cherished with a kind of holy reverence by his friends, was very often applied vaguely by enemies to all sects or bodies who held advanced or unusual opinions. In particular it used to be given to the 'reformed presbyterians' who would not accept the settlement of church and state under William and Mary. It ought to be added that the 'reformed presbyterians' decline the term 'Cameronian,' although to this day it is applied to them in popular use in Ireland, Scotland, and the United States.

[*Biographia Presbyteriana*, vol. i.; *Howie's Scots Worthies*; *Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*; *Grub's Eccles. Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii.; *McCrrie's Story of the Scottish Church*; *Herzog and Schaff's Encyclopædia*, art. 'Cameronians.'] W. G. B.

**CAMERON, WILLIAM** (1751-1811), Scotch poet, was born in 1751, and educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he was a pupil of Dr. Beattie [q. v.] Having been licensed a preacher of the church of Scotland, he was ordained minister of the parish of Kirknewton, Midlothian, on 17 Aug. 1786. Along with the Rev. John Logan and Dr. John Morrison, he assisted in preparing the collection of 'Paraphrases' from Scripture for the use of the church of Scotland, and he wrote for the collection *Paraphrases XIV and XVII*. On the occasion of the restoration of the forfeited estates in the highlands, he wrote a congratulatory song, 'As o'er the Highland Hills I hied,' which was inserted in Johnson's 'Museum' adapted to the old air, 'The Haughs of Cromdale.' He was also the author of a 'Collection of Poems,' published anonymously, 1790; 'The Abuse of Civil and Religious Liberty,' a sermon, 1793; 'Ode on Lochiel's Birthday,' 1796; 'A Review of the French Revolution,' 1802; 'Poems on several Occasions,' 1813; and the account of the parish of Kirknewton in Sinclair's 'Statistical Account.' His poems are for the most part of a moral and didactic character. He died on 17 Nov. 1811.

[*New Statistical Account of Scotland*, i. 441; *Scots Magazine*, lxxiv. 79; *Forbes's Life of Beattie*, i. 375; *Rogers's Scottish Minstrel*, i. 34-38; *Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot.* i. 143-4.]

T. F. H.

**CAMIDGE, JOHN**, the elder (1735-1803), organist and composer, was born at York in 1735. His early musical education was obtained as a chorister of York Minster under Dr. Nares, to whom he was articled for seven years, after which he studied in London under Dr. Greene, and received some lessons from Handel. On his return to Yorkshire, Camidge became a candidate for the post of organist at Doncaster parish church, but the Dean of York hearing him play offered him the appointment of organist to York Minster, where he entered upon his duties on 31 Jan. 1756. Camidge was the first cathedral organist to introduce into the service, as anthems, selections from Handel's oratorios, an innovation which at the time was thought very bold, as the style of Handel's music was considered too secular for performance in churches. He was a florid and brilliant organ-player, and his extempore performances were celebrated. Camidge remained at York all his life. His wife was a Miss Mills, daughter of the chapter registrar, by whom he had a son Matthew [q. v.] He resigned his organistship 11 Nov. 1799, and died 25 April 1803.

[Authorities as under **JOHN CAMIDGE** the younger.] W. B. S.

**CAMIDGE, JOHN**, the younger (1790-1859), organist and composer, grandson of John Camidge the elder [q. v.] was born at York in 1790. He received his musical education from his father, Matthew Camidge [q. v.], and in 1812 graduated at Cambridge as Mus. Bac., taking his doctor's degree in 1819. About 1825 he published a volume of cathedral music of his composition, and he also adapted much classical music for use in the Anglican service, but he was principally known as a masterly executant. From his youth up he played on the organ at York Minster, and was retained at a high salary by the dean and chapter as assistant to his father. After the fire in the cathedral in 1829, Camidge devoted much attention to the construction of the magnificent new organ, which for many years was one of the finest in the world, and which was mainly built under his direction. On his father's retirement he was appointed organist of the cathedral (15 Oct. 1842), a post he held until his death, which took place at Gray's Court, Chapter House Street, York, 29 Sept. 1859. On 28 Nov. 1848 he became paralysed while playing the evening service, and never afterwards touched the organ. Camidge left one daughter and three sons, Charles, John, and Thomas Simpson. The two latter followed their father's profession, Mr. T. S. Camidge, now (1886) organist of Hexham Abbey, having acted as his deputy at York from 1848 until his death. A son of Mr. T. S. Camidge is now organist of Beverley Minster, the fifth generation of organists which this remarkable family has produced.

[Chapter Records of York Minster, communicated by Mr. C. W. Thiselton; Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 300; Gent. Mag. xvi. 92, lxxiii. 484; Musical World for 1 Oct. 1859; information from Mr. T. S. Camidge.] W. B. S.

**CAMIDGE, MATTHEW** (1758-1844), organist and composer, son of John Camidge the elder [q. v.], was born at York in 1758. At an early age he became a chorister of the Chapel Royal, where he was educated by his father's old master, Dr. Nares. On his return to York he became assistant to his father. He is said to have been the first to teach the cathedral choristers to sing from notes; previously all the services had been learnt by ear. The two Camidges also originated the York musical festivals, beginning with a performance, on a small scale, of Handel's 'Messiah' at the Belfry church, which led to oratorios being given with orchestral accompaniments in the minster. On the resignation of John Camidge, Matthew was appointed his successor as organist (11 Nov. 1799), a

post he held until his retirement, 8 Oct. 1842. He published a considerable quantity of music for the harpsichord, organ, and piano, besides a collection of psalm tunes, a 'Method of Instruction in Musick by Questions and Answers,' and some church music. Camidge was married to a niece of Sheriff Atkinson of York, by whom he had three sons; two took orders, and became respectively vicar of Wakefield and canon of York, and chaplain at Moscow and Cronstadt, and the third [see CAMIDGE, JOHN, the younger] succeeded his father as organist of York. Camidge died 23 Oct. 1844, aged eighty-six.

[Authorities as under JOHN CAMIDGE the younger.] W. B. S.

**CAMM, ANNE** (1627-1705), quakeress, daughter of Richard Newby, was born at Kendal, Westmoreland, in 1627. Her parents sent her, when thirteen years old, to London that, under the care of an aunt, she might perfect her education. During her residence in London she connected herself with some sect of puritans. At the end of seven years she returned to Kendal and joined a company of 'seekers,' part of whose worship consisted in sitting in silence. At these meetings she became acquainted with John Audland, whom she married in 1650, and by whom she had a son. Audland and his wife attended a meeting at Fairbank in 1652, which was conducted by George Fox; both joined the quakers, and were chosen preachers. Mrs. Audland's first ministerial work lay in the county of Durham, and at Auckland she was arrested for preaching and sent to gaol, but she continued her discourse from the windows of her prison. She seems to have been discharged the same night. During 1653 she was ill-treated and arrested at Banbury on a charge of blasphemy. She was tried at the assizes for having affirmed that 'God did not live,' a perversion of the quotation she acknowledged to having used, viz. 'Though they say the Lord liveth, surely they swear falsely' (Jer. v. 2). The jury returned a verdict that she had been guilty of misdemeanour only, which, forming no part of the indictment, amounted to a verdict of acquittal; but the judge refused to liberate her unless she found bond for good behaviour. This she refused to give. She was committed to a prison partly underground, destitute of any means of heating, and through which ran the common sewer. She was liberated after eight months, and then seems to have constantly accompanied her husband on his preaching expeditions till his death in 1663. She remained a widow for two or three years, when she married Thomas Camm [q. v.], by

whom she had a daughter, and with whom shelived happily for nearly forty years. After her second marriage she does not appear to have been much molested. She died after a short illness in 1705. It seems to have been owing to her efforts that quakerism obtained the firm hold it once had in Oxfordshire. Her only work, 'Anne Camm, her Testimony concerning John Audland, her late Husband,' printed in 1681, was exceedingly popular among the early Friends.

[A Brief Account of her is given in the Friends' Library, vol. i., Philadelphia; see also Besse's Sufferings and Fox's Journal of his Life, Travels, &c.] A. C. B.

**CAMM, JOHN** (1604?-1656), quaker, was born at Camsgill, near Kendal, Westmoreland, and was a man of good birth, tolerable education, and considerable property. When comparatively young he left the national church and established a small religious society. About 1652, after hearing George Fox preach at Kendal, he embraced quakerism. Hespeditly became a preacher, although, according to Thomas Camm's 'Testimony,' it involved the renunciation of brilliant prospects. In 1654 he and Francis Howgill visited London, where he attempted to found a quaker society. The principal object of their journey, however, was to 'declare the message of the Lord to Oliver Cromwell, then called Protector,' in favour of toleration. They were received very courteously, but Cromwell, supposing them to require the assistance of the law, gave them no encouragement. An interesting letter which Camm wrote to undeceive the Protector is still extant. After revisiting the north Camm spent a considerable time in London, and in 1654, in company with John Audland, visited Bristol. It is said that they were favourably received by the inhabitants until the clergy incited a mob to illtreat them and the magistrates to issue a warrant for their apprehension. Nothing further is known of Camm till 1656, when a letter records that he was residing at Preston Patrick, near Kendal. During the same year he again visited Bristol. He was a man of weakly constitution, and he is said to have been usually obliged to take his son Thomas [q. v.] to wait on him. His bodily ailments rapidly increased, and, according to the register preserved at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate, he died of consumption at the end of this year (1656). Thomas Camm, in his 'Testimony,' written in 1680, says he died in 1655, and the same date is given in Whiting's 'Catalogue.' Camm was an untiring minister, and an amiable, simple-minded man. Although his literary ability was small and his

style clumsy and obscure, his works were highly esteemed.

Camm's most important works are: 1. 'This is the Word of the Lord which John Camm and Francis Howgill was moved to declare and write to Oliver Cromwell, who is named Lord Protector, shewing the cause why they came to speak with him, . . . ' 1654. 2. 'A True Discovery of the Ignorance, Blindness, and Darkness of . . . Magistrates. . . ' J. C. attributed to Camm, 1654. 3. 'Some Particulars concerning the Law sent to Oliver Cromwell, . . . ' 1654 (reprinted 1655). 4. 'The Memory of the Righteous revived, being a brief collection of the Books and Written Epistles of John Camm and John Audland, . . . ' 1689.

[Brief Lives of Camm are to be found in Tuke's Biog. Notices of Friends, and in the Friends' Library, Philadelphia, 1841; the foundation for both is Thomas Camm's Testimony, 1680. A full description of his writings is given in Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books, i. 376; see also Sewel's History of the Rise, &c., of the Society of Friends.] A. C. B.

**CAMM, THOMAS** (1641-1707), quaker, was born at Camsgill, Westmoreland, in 1641, and was the son of John Camm [q. v.] As both his parents were quakers, he was educated in their faith, and when very young became one of its ministers. In 1674 he was sued by John Ormrod, vicar of Burton, near Kendal, for small tithes, and in default of payment was imprisoned for three years. In 1678 a magistrate broke up a meeting of quakers held at Ackmonthwaite, committed several Friends to prison, and also seems to have fined them, for Camm, who had been the preacher at the meeting, lost nine head of cattle and fifty-five sheep. Shortly after this another distraint was made upon his property by warrant from the same justice. Somewhat later he was imprisoned for nearly six years in Appleby gaol, probably for some offence against the Conventicle Act. Camm did much to prevent the growth of the schisms to which quakerism at that time was liable. He continued his preaching expeditions till he was advanced in years, died after a short illness in 1707, and was buried in the Friends' burial-ground at Park End, near Camsgill.

Camm wrote considerably, and his works were fairly popular among the early Friends, but they are now utterly forgotten; a full list is given in Joseph Smith's 'Catalogue of Friends' Books.' The most important are: 1. 'The Line of Truth and True Judgement stretched over the heads of Falsehood and Deceit . . . ' 1684. 2. 'The Admirable and Glorious Appearance of the Eternal God,



. . . ' 1684. 3. 'Thomas Camm's Testimony concerning John Camm and John Audland,' 1689. 4. 'A Testimony to the fulfilling the Promise of God relating to . . . prophetesses, . . . ' 1689. 5. 'An Old Apostate justly exposed,' 1698. 6. 'Truth prevailing against Reason, . . . ' 1706. 7. 'A Lying Tongue reproved, . . . ' 1708.

[A short account of Thomas Camm is given in the Friends' Library, vol. i. (Philadelphia, 1841); see also Swarthmore MSS., Besse's Sufferings.] A. C. B.

CAMMIN, SAINT. [See CALMIN.]

CAMOCKE, GEORGE (1666?-1722?), captain in the royal navy, renegade, and admiral in the service of Spain, descended from an Essex family, was a native of Ireland. According to his own statements in numerous memorials to the admiralty (1699-1702), he entered the navy in or about 1682, and, having served five years 'in his minority' and three years as a midshipman, was in 1690 'made a lieutenant by the lords of the admiralty for boarding a cat that was laden with masts for his majesty's ships, then riding at Cow and Calf in Norway, with a French privateer of 12 guns lashed on board her, which ship I brought safe to England.' He was afterwards appointed to the Lion of 60 guns, and in her was present, probably at the battle of Beachy Head, certainly at the battle of Barfleury; in command of the Lion's boats he was actively engaged in burning the French ships at La Hogue, and claimed to have personally set fire to a three-decker, in which service he was wounded. On 13 March 1692-3 he was appointed first lieutenant of the *Loyal Merchant*, one of the fleet which went to the Mediterranean with Sir George Rooke [q. v.] In 1695 he was appointed to command the Owner's Goodwill fireship, and in December was promoted to the *Intelligence brigantine*, in which vessels he took part in the several bombardments of Calais. In December 1697 the *Intelligence* was put out of commission, and Camocke was for some time in very embarrassed circumstances. In May and June 1699 he repeatedly memorialised the admiralty, and on 28 June was appointed as first lieutenant of one of the guardships at Portsmouth (*Admiralty Minutes*). After all, these ships were not commissioned, and on 5 Sept. Camocke again appealed to the lords of the admiralty, praying that, 'after serving his Majesty all my life, I may not have my bread to seek in another service.'

On 11 Sept. he was appointed to the *Bonetta sloop*, which he commanded, in the North Sea and afterwards on the north coast of Ireland, till June 1702, when, after several

more memorials, he was advanced to post rank and the command of the *Speedwell frigate*. This command he held for the next eight years, being employed for the most part on the coast of Ireland, and in successful cruising against the enemy's privateers. In the spring of 1711 he was appointed to the *Monck* of 60 guns, which he commanded on the same station, and in which he was again fortunate in capturing some troublesome privateers. On 9 May 1712, having put into Kinsale, he wrote thence on some fancied slight that he had been 'twenty years used ill by the whigs,' and added that he had 'the honour of a promise of being vice-admiral in the Tsar of Muscovy's service, which I shall accept of, if my rank is taken from me here' (*Home Office Records (Admiralty)*, No. 28).

In the following February, still in the *Monck*, he was sent out to the Mediterranean, and, being at Palermo in the early months of 1714, received an order from Sir John Jennings, the commander-in-chief, to go to Port Mahon, take on board a number of soldiers and convey them to England. Instead of doing so, he, on his own responsibility, undertook to carry and convey the Spanish army from Palermo to Alicante, whence he himself visited Madrid. Afterwards, having taken on board the English soldiers at Port Mahon, on his way home he put into Cadiz, and again into Lisbon. For these several acts in violation of duty he was suspended and called on for an explanation, and his explanation being unsatisfactory, he was told that his suspension would be continued until he was cleared by a court-martial.

On 18 Jan. 1714-15 he wrote to the secretary of the admiralty, from Hornchurch, Essex, stating his case at considerable length, alleging also that the late queen had approved of his conduct, and had given orders for the suspension to be taken off. He therefore declined the offer of a court-martial, choosing rather to leave the matter in the hands of their lordships. 'Whenever,' he added, 'it shall please their lordships to put it in my power to show my zeal for his majesty King George's service, there is not a person in my rank or station that will, with the highest obedience and duty, take more care to acquit himself.' The admiralty reply was an official notification that he was struck out of the list of captains.

Three years later he was a rear-admiral in the Spanish navy, and held a junior command in the fleet which was destroyed by Sir George Byng [q. v.] off Cape Passaro on 31 July 1718, but he made his escape and

got back to Messina. On 15 Aug. Byng wrote to Craggs: 'Captain Camocke is, as you have been informed, rear-admiral in the Spanish service, but ran early. Before your letter came to me I had given the very orders relating to him that you send; for when my first captain went ashore at Messina from me to the Spanish general, I ordered him not to suffer Camocke to be in the room, not to speak to him, nor receive any message from him, not thinking it fit to treat or have any correspondence with rebels.' Notwithstanding this refusal of Byng's to hold any intercourse with the traitor, Camocke had the insolence to write, offering him, in the name of King James, 100,000*l.* and the title of Duke of Albemarle if he would take the fleet into Messina or any Spanish port. To Captain Walton he wrote a similar letter (22 Dec. 1718), offering him 10,000*l.*, a commission as admiral of the blue, and an English peerage.

But meantime Messina was closely blockaded. Several ships tried to get out, but were captured, and among them a small frigate in which, on 25 Jan. 1718-19, Camocke tried to run the blockade; she was taken on the 26th by the Royal Oak. Camocke, however, escaped 'by taking in time to his boat, and got safe to Catania; but so frightened that he never thought of anything, but left his king's commission for being admiral of the white together with all his treasonable papers' (*Mathews to Byng*, 2 Feb. 1718-19). He succeeded in getting back to Spain, but was no longer in favour, and was banished to Ceuta, where he is said to have died a few years later in the extreme of want and degradation.

There has been a certain tendency to rank Camocke as a political martyr. From his being a native of Ireland, and from the date (falsely quoted as 12 Aug. 1714) of his leaving the English service, it has been commonly taken for granted that he suffered for attachment to the house of Stuart. Critically examined his conduct admits of no such excuse. He had served under both William and Anne, and had professed himself ready to serve with 'zeal' and 'the highest obedience' under George: his attachment to the Stuart interest was called into being solely by his summary dismissal from the English service for gross breaches of discipline and a suspicion of hiring his ship out to the service of a foreign prince. Already, in 1712, as we have seen, he contemplated entering the service of Russia; and the necessary change of religion offered no stumbling-block to his accepting service in Spain in 1715. The best that can be said

for him is that, in 1715, Spain was not at war with England.

Camocke's name has been misspelt in different ways, Cammock being perhaps the most common. The spelling here given is that of his own signature.

[Official Letters and other Documents in the Public Record Office; Corbett's *Expedition of the British Fleet to Sicily in the years 1718-19-20*; Charnock's *Biog. Navalis*, iii. 221.] J. K. L.

**CAMOYS, THOMAS DE**, fifth baron (*d.* 1420), is said to have been the grandson of Ralph, the fourth baron, and to have succeeded his uncle, John de Camoys, in 46 Edward III (NICOLAS). According to Dugdale, he served in several expeditions during the early years of Richard II, notably under his cousin, William, lord Latimer (1 Rich. II), who bequeathed him the manor of Wodeton (*Test. Vet.* i. 108), and in John of Gaunt's expeditions against Scotland and Castile in 1385 and 1386 (RYMER, vii. 475, 499). He next appears as one of the favourites of Richard II, from whose court he was removed in 1388, at the instance of the Duke of Gloucester and the Earl of Derby (KNYGHTON, 2705; CAPGRAVE, 249). In 1400 he manned a ship for service against the Scotch and the French, and next year was summoned to take up arms against Owen Glendower (RYMER, viii. 127; NICOLAS, *Proceedings and Ordinances*, ii. 56). A year or two later (June 1403) he received a payment of 100*l.* for his expenses in conducting Henry IV's intended bride, the Princess Joan, from Brittany to England (DEVON, *Exchequer Issues*, 293). In 1404 he was called upon to defend the Isle of Wight against the threatened descent of the Count of St. Paul; and in November of the same year he was ordered to Calais, to treat with the Flemish ambassadors, but probably did not start till July 1405 (RYMER, viii. 375-6, 378). In December 1406 he signed Henry IV's deed regulating the succession to the crown (*ib.* 462), and, perhaps earlier in the same year, was sent with Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester, to treat with France (DUGDALE; RYMER, viii. 432). In 1415 he accompanied Henry V on his French expedition (RYMER, ix. 222), having previously been appointed a member of the committee for the trial of the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope (NICOLAS, *Agincourt*, 38), and commanded the left wing of the English army at Agincourt (*Gesta Henrici Quinti*, 50). Next year he negotiated the temporary exchange of the Dukes of Burgundy and Gloucester (*ib.* p. 101), and was made a K.G. 23 April (NICOLAS, *Agincourt*, 174). In 1417 he reviewed the muster of the earl

marshal's men at 'Thre Mynnes,' near Southampton. Two years later (March 1419) he was called upon to collect troops against the threatened invasion of the King of Leon and Castile; and in April of the same year he signed his name to the parole engagements of the captive Arthur of Brittany and Charles of Artois (RYMER, ix. 702, 744-5). He was a 'trier of petitions' for Great Britain and Ireland in the October parliament of 1419 (*Camoys' Claim*, p. 27). According to Dugdale he died on 28 March 1422; but the inscription on his tomb at Trotton (figured in DALLAWAY'S *Sussex*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 224-5) gives 28 March 1419, equivalent to 1420 in the new style, as seems probable from the date of Henry V's inquisition writ (18 April 1420), and is rendered certain by the evidence of the jurors, who state that he died on a Thursday, on which day of the week March 28 fell in 1420 (*Camoys' Claim*, p. 28). From the same inscription we learn that he was a knight of the Garter, and that his wife's name was Elizabeth (cf. *Cal. Inq. post Mort.* iv. 28). This Elizabeth is said to have been the daughter of the Earl of March and widow of Harry Hotspur, a theory which is rendered more probable by the appearance of the Mortimer arms on the tomb alluded to above. The name of a previous wife may possibly be preserved in the 'Margaret, late wife of Sir Thomas Camoys, Knt., who was dead in April 1386 (*Test. Vet.* i. 122, with which, however, cf. the obscure passage in BLOMEFIELD'S *Norfolk*, v. 1196, and BURKE'S *Baronage*, where the name of Baron Camoys's first wife is given as Elizabeth). Camoys's infant grandson, Hugh, appears to have inherited his estates. On his death (August 1426) the barony fell into abeyance till 1839, when it was renewed in favour of Thomas Stonor, sixth baron Camoys, who made good his descent from Margaret Camoys, sister of the above-mentioned Hugh (*Camoys' Claim*, p. 33; NICOLAS). Camoys was elected one of the knights of the shire for Surrey in 7 Richard II (1383), but was excused from serving on the plea of being a banneret. From the same year till the time of his death he was summoned to parliament (*Dignity of a Peer*, iv. 84 a; *Camoys' Peerage Claim*, p. 8, &c.)

[Dugdale's *Baronage*, i. 768; Nicolas's *Historic Peerage*, ed. Courthope, 91; Rymer's *Fœdera*, vols. vii. viii. ix.; *Issues of Exchequer*, ed. Devon, 1837; *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. Nicolas, ii.; *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. Williams for English Historical Society, 50, 101, 270; Capgrave's *Chronicle of England*, ed. Hingeston (Rolls Series), 249; Knyghton ap. Twysden's *Decem Scriptores*,

2705; Dallaway's *History of Sussex*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 217-25; Brayley's *History of Surrey*, ed. Walford, iv. 206; Horsfield's *Sussex*, i. 222, ii. 90; Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ed. Parkins, 1775; Woodward's *Hampshire*, ii. 254; Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, ii. 149; Banks's *Extinct Peerage*, 251; Nicolas's *Battle of Agincourt*; Collins's *Peerage*, ed. Brydges, ii. 272-3; Nicolas's *Testamenta Vetusta*, i. 108, 122; *Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem*, iii. 318, &c., iv. 58, 107; *Camoys' Peerage Claim*, published by order of the House of Lords, 1838; *Report on the Dignity of a Peer* (House of Lords), iv.] T. A. A.

CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER (d. 1608), bishop of Brechin, son of Campbell of Ardinglass, Argyllshire, received through the recommendation of his kinsman, the Earl of Argyll, while still a boy, a grant from Mary Queen of Scots of the see of Brechin, of which he was the first protestant bishop. He was endowed with all the patronage formerly belonging to the bishops of Brechin (*Reg. Priv. Sig.*) The boy bishop was never consecrated, nor did he attempt to exercise any episcopal functions. According to Keith (*Catalogue of Scottish Bishops*, 1755, p. 98) the only use he made of his position was to alienate the greater part of the lands and tithes belonging to the see in favour of the Earl of Argyll, leaving barely sufficient for the support of a minister for the city of Brechin. This alienation was confirmed by parliament. In May 1567 he obtained a license from the queen to leave the realm for seven years, but his name appears on the list of those who personally attended the convention of Perth in 1569. In the 'Book of Assumption' the bishop is mentioned as being at the schools at Geneva in January 1573-4 (KEITH, *History*, &c., p. 507, and App. p. 181). After his return to Scotland in the following July he for some time exercised the office of particular pastor at Brechin, retaining the title of bishop, but without exercising any episcopal authority. In 1574 he complained to the general assembly that the Bishop of Dunkeld had alleged that he had been compelled by the Earl of Argyll 'to give out pensions,' which he considered a slander. He was also present at the general assemblies of 1575 and 1576. In 1580 he and several other bishops were summoned to appear before the next general assembly to answer charges of having alienated the lands of their benefices, and in 1582 Campbell was directed by the general assembly to appear before the presbytery of Dundee to account for various negligences in the performance of the duties of his office. The process against him was duly produced to the general assembly in 1583, but there is no record of any further steps having been taken. He continued to

sit in parliament on the spiritual side until his death, which took place in 1808. Keith gives the date as 1606, but the records of the Edinburgh Commissary Court (quoted by M'Crie) refer his death to February 1608. The deed appointing him to the bishopric of Brechin is printed in the 'Registrum Episcopatus de Brechin' (Bannatyne Club).

[Anderson's Scottish Nation, p. 369; *Registrum Episcopatus de Brechin* (Bannatyne Club), 1850; Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, 1824; Acts of the General Assembly, &c. MDLX.-MDCXVIII. (Bannatyne Club); M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville; Stephens's History of the Church of Scotland, 1843, i. 157.] A. C. B.

**CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER**, second **EARL OF MARCHMONT** (1675-1740), was the eldest surviving son of Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, first earl of Marchmont, and his wife, Grizel, daughter of Sir Thomas Ker of Cavers. In his boyhood he shared his father's exile in Holland, with the other members of the family. He spent two or three years at the university of Utrecht, where he made a special study of civil law, being intended to follow the legal profession. On 25 July 1696 he was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates, and on 29 July 1697 married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, Ayrshire. He was afterwards knighted by the style of Sir Alexander Campbell of Cessnock. On 16 Oct. 1704 he was appointed an ordinary lord of session, in the place of Sir Colin Campbell, Lord Aberuchill, and took his seat on the bench on 7 Nov. as Lord Cessnock. In April 1706 he was returned as one of the members for Berwickshire, and accordingly sat in the last Scotch parliament which met for its final session in the following October. He zealously supported the union, and took an active share in the work of the sub-committee, to which the articles of the union were referred. In 1710 his eldest brother, Lord Polwarth, died, and in 1712 he went to Hanover, where he entered into correspondence with the electoral family, and was the means of contradicting the report which had been eagerly circulated, that the elector was indifferent to the succession to the English throne. In 1714 Campbell resigned his seat on the bench in favour of his younger brother, Sir Andrew Hume of Kimmerghame. He was made lord-lieutenant of Berwickshire in 1715, and at the breaking out of the rebellion raised four hundred of the Berwickshire militia in defence of the Hanoverian succession.

In the same year he was appointed ambassador to the court of Copenhagen, where

he remained until the spring of 1721, and in December 1716 he received the further appointment of lord clerk register of Scotland. In January 1722 he was nominated one of the British ambassadors to the congress at Cambray. On the death of his father on 1 Aug. 1724 he succeeded to the earldom, and on 10 March in the following year was invested, at Cambray, by Lord Whitworth, with the order of the Thistle. In 1726 he was sworn a member of the English privy council, and in 1727 was elected one of the Scotch representative peers. In 1733, with other Scotch nobles, he joined in the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole's excise scheme in the hope that by joining forces with the English opposition Lord Islay's government of Scotland might be overthrown.

Though the bill was dropped, those who had opposed it were not forgotten by Walpole, and in May 1733 Marchmont was dismissed from his office of lord clerk register. In the following year he was not re-elected as a representative peer. He took an active part in the attempt to criminate the government for interference in the election of the Scotch peers, which, however, was not successful. He died in London on 27 Feb. 1740, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and was buried on 17 March in the Canongate churchyard, Edinburgh. By his wife, Margaret, he had a family of four sons and four daughters. He was succeeded by his third son, Hugh [see HUME, HUGH, third and last **EARL OF MARCHMONT**], through whose daughter, Lady Diana, the barony of Polwarth descended to her son, Hugh Scott of Harden.

[Marchmont Papers, edited by Sir G. Rose (1831), vols. i. and ii.; Sir R. Douglas's Peerage of Scotland (1813), p. 182; Brunton and Haig's Senators of the College of Justice (1832), pp. 476, 477; Nicolas's Orders of Knighthood (1842), iii., T. 39, 41, 47, xxxii.; Scots Mag. 1740, ii. 94, 99-101; Foster's Scotch M.P.'s 46.]

G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER** (1764-1824), musician and miscellaneous writer, born in 1764 at Tombea, Loch Lubnaig, and first educated at the grammar school, Callander, was the second son of a carpenter who, falling into straitened circumstances, removed to Edinburgh, where he died when Alexander was eleven years old. The family was supported by John, the eldest son, afterwards a well-known Edinburgh character (John Campbell died 1795, was precentor at the Canongate church, and a friend of Burns; his picture appears thrice in Kay's 'Portraits'). The two brothers were pupils of Tenducci, then a music teacher in Edinburgh, who helped

to establish them both in his own profession. Campbell was appointed organist to an 'episcopalian chapel in the neighbourhood of Nicholson Street.' He also gave lessons in singing. Among his pupils were the Scotts. But the lads had no taste for the subject; the master had no patience. The result was that 'our neighbour, Lady Cunningham, sent to beg the boys might not all be flogged precisely at the same hour, as, though she had no doubt the punishment was deserved, the noise of the concord was really dreadful' (Notes to Scott's Autobiography, in chap. i. of LOCKHART'S *Life*). While a teacher he published 'Twelve Songs set to Music' (1785?) About this time he became engaged in a quarrel with Kay, whom he ridiculed in a sketch. This procured him a place in Kay's 'Portraits,' where he is represented turning a hand-organ while asses bray, a dog howls, a bagpipe is blown, and a saw sharpened as an accompaniment (vol. ii. print 204).

Campbell married twice at a comparatively early age. His second wife was the widow of Ranald Macdonald of Keppoch. Thinking that the connection thus formed might be useful in procuring an appointment, he resigned his music teaching and studied medicine at the university of Edinburgh. Though in 1798 he announced 'A Free and Impartial Inquiry into the Present State of Medical Knowledge' (a work apparently never published), he does not seem to have practised his new profession, but to have devoted himself to literary work. At this period he wrote 'Odes and Miscellaneous Poems, by a student of medicine at the university of Edinburgh' (Edinburgh, 1796), and also published some drawings of highland scenery made on the spot. Campbell's next work was 'An Introduction to the History of Poetry in Scotland' (Edinburgh, 1798). This contains a collection of Scotch songs; it was illustrated by David Allen, and dedicated to H. Fuseli. It is written in a curiously stilted style, but contains much information about contemporary poets and poetasters. Though only ninety copies were printed, it excited some notice. L. T. Rosegarten supplements his translation (Lübeck and Leipzig, 1802) of T. Garnett's 'Tour in the Highlands,' 1800, with information drawn from it. Rosegarten specially commends the views therein expressed about Ossian, the authenticity of whose poem Campbell stoutly maintained. Campbell now produced 'A Journey from Edinburgh through parts of North Britain [1802, new edition 1811], with drawings made on the spot' by the writer. This is an interesting and even valuable picture of the state of many parts of the country at the beginning of the century.

It was followed by 'The Grampians Desolate, a poem in six books' (Edinburgh, 1804). More than half of this work, which is without literary merit, consists of notes. Its object was to call attention to the 'deplorable condition' of the highlands, brought about by the introduction of sheep-farming. A melancholy incident recorded in a note to page 11 led to the establishment of the Edinburgh Destitute Sick Society. After some interval there appeared 'Albyn's Anthology, or a select collection of the melodies and vocal poetry of Scotland, peculiar to Scotland and the Isles, hitherto unpublished' (2 vols. Edinburgh, 1816 and 1818). Campbell had projected this work since 1790, but it was not till Henry Mackenzie, Walter Scott (who obtained the prince regent's acceptance of the dedication of the book), and other Edinburgh men of note, gave him their help that the project was carried out. A grant was obtained from the Highland Society, and the author travelled between eleven and twelve hundred miles in collecting materials (preface). Among the contributors of verse are Scott, Hogg, Jamieson, and Alexander Boswell. In the 'Anthology' (p. 66) Campbell claims the authorship of the well-known air usually joined to Tannahill's 'Gloomy Winter's nou awa'; but the claim has been disputed (ANDERSON, *Scottish Nation*).

In the last years of his life Campbell fell into great poverty, and obtained his living chiefly by copying manuscripts for his old pupil Scott, though 'even from his patron he would take no more than he thought his services as a transcriber fairly earned.' Scott, however, tells a half-pitiful story of a dinner which Archibald Constable gave to 'his own circle of literary serfs,' when 'poor Allister Campbell and another drudge of the same class' ran a race for a new pair of breeches, which were there displayed 'before the threadbare rivals.' Scott thought the picture might be highly coloured, and at any rate Constable bestowed on him 'many substantial benefits,' as he gratefully acknowledges in a letter written the year before his death, which took place from an attack of apoplexy 15 May 1824. His manuscripts were sold 'under judicial authority.' Among them was a tragedy, which was never published. Campbell was a warm-hearted and accomplished, though somewhat unpractical, man. Scott, who wrote an obituary notice of him in the 'Edinburgh Weekly Journal,' says that, though his acquirements were considerable, 'they did not reach that point of perfection which the public demand of those who expect to derive bread from the practice of the fine arts.'

[Anderson's *Scottish Nation*; Kay's *Original Portraits*, vol. ii. new ed. Edinburgh, 1877; Lockhart's *Life of Scott*; Thomas Constable's *Memoir of Archibald Constable*, Edinburgh, 1873, ii. 236-7; *Memoir of Robert Chambers*, 12th ed. Edin. 1883, pp. 186-7. The works not mentioned in this article, but ascribed to Campbell in the *Scottish Nation*, the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and even in the contemporary *Biographical Dictionary of Living Authors*, 1816, p. 52, are not his, but are the production of one or more other writers of the same name. Lockhart, who says Campbell was known at Abbotsford as the *Dunnie-wassail*, makes an apparently strange mistake in identifying him with the 'litigious Highlander' called Campbell, mentioned in Washington Irving's *Abbotsford* and *Newstead* (conversation with Scott in 1817, note to chap. xxxvi. of *Scott's Life*); R. Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, p. 130.] F. W.-T.

**CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER** (1788-1866), founder of the 'Campbellites,' eldest son of Thomas Campbell, schoolmaster and minister of the Secession church (1763-1854), by his marriage in June 1787 with Jane Corneigle, who died in 1835, was born near Ballymena, county Antrim, on 12 Sept. 1788, and, after a preliminary education at Market Hill and Newry, worked for several years as a day labourer on his father's farm. Afterwards he became an assistant in an academy conducted by his parent at Rich Hill, near Newry. The father emigrated to the United States in April 1807, and in September of the following year, accompanied by his mother and the rest of the family, he embarked in the *Hibernia* for Philadelphia, but on 7 Oct. that vessel was wrecked on the island of Islay, and her passengers were landed in Scotland. Campbell's mind being much impressed with the prospect of a speedy death, he resolved that, if his life were saved, he would spend his days in the ministry of the gospel. On 8 Nov. 1808 he entered Glasgow University, where he pursued his studies until 3 July 1809, when he again embarked and arrived safely in America. He almost immediately joined the Christian Association of Washington, a sect which his father had established on 17 Aug. 1809 on the basis 'of the Bible alone, the sole creed of the church.' In this denomination he was licensed to preach the gospel on 4 May 1811 at Brush Run Church, Washington county, and ordained on 1 Jan. 1812. Having married on 2 March 1811 Margaret, daughter of John Brown, and receiving as her marriage portion a large farm, he declined to take any remuneration for his ministerial services, and supported himself and family throughout his life by labour on his own land. In after years he introduced fine-woolled merino and Saxon sheep; the experi-

ment proved successful, and he soon had a large and valuable flock. The Buffalo Seminary was opened by him in his own house in January 1818, an establishment for preparing young men to labour on behalf of the 'primitive gospel,' but not answering his expectations in this respect, it was given up in November 1822. The word *reverend* was not used by him, but he frequently called himself Alexander Campbell, V.D.M., i.e. *Verbi Divini Minister*. Having persuaded himself that immersion was the only proper mode of baptism, he and his family, in 1812, were, to use his own expression, 'immersed into the christian faith.' After this the congregations with which he was connected in various parts of the country formed an alliance with the baptist denomination, with whom they remained in friendly intercourse for many years. He was always much engaged in preaching tours through several of the states. He had many public discussions on the subject of baptism, and finally, on 4 July 1823, commenced the issue of a publication called 'The Christian Baptist,' which ran to seven volumes, and was succeeded in January 1830 by 'The Millennial Harbinger,' which became the recognised organ of his church. In these two works may be found a complete history of the 'church reforms' to which his father and himself for so many years devoted themselves.

In 1826 he commenced a translation of the Greek Testament, which he compiled from the versions of Dr. George Campbell, Rev. James MacKnight, and Philip Doddridge, with much additional matter from his own readings. One object of this work was to expound that the words baptist and baptism are not to be found in the New Testament. The publication of this volume caused a complete disruption between his people and the baptist denomination. In the succeeding year his followers began to form themselves into a separate organisation, and uniting with other congregations in the western states, which were led by the Rev. W. B. Stone, founded a sect called variously the 'Church of the Disciples,' the 'Disciples of Christ,' the 'Christians,' or the 'Church of Christ,' but more commonly known as the 'Campbellites.' This denomination, which in 1872 was estimated to comprise 500,000 persons, extended into the states of Virginia, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Campbell added to his other arduous labours by inaugurating on 21 Oct. 1841 Bethany College, an establishment chiefly intended for the education of schoolmasters and ministers; of this college he remained president till his death, when he endowed it with 10,000 dollars and a valuable library of books. He visited Great

Britain in 1847, and while at Glasgow engaged in an anti-slavery debate. Some expressions which he then used caused the Rev. James Robertson to prefer a charge of libel against him, and to have him arrested on the plea that he was about to leave the country. His imprisonment lasted ten days, when the warrant for his arrest was declared to be illegal, and ultimately a verdict was given in his favour. On his return to America he continued with great zeal his preaching and educational work, and died at Bethany, West Virginia, on 4 March 1866. His wife having died on 22 Oct. 1827, he, by her dying wish, married secondly, in 1828, Mrs. S. H. Bakewell. He wrote among others the following works: 1. 'Delate on the Evidences of Christianity between Robert Owen and A. Campbell,' 1829; another edition, 1839. 2. 'The Christian Baptist,' edited by A. Campbell, 1835, 7 vols. 3. 'The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, commonly styled the New Testament. With prefaces by A. Campbell,' 1835; another edition, 1848. 4. 'A Debate on the Roman Catholic Religion between A. Campbell and J. B. Purcell, bishop of Cincinnati,' 1837. 5. 'The Christian Messenger and Reformer, containing Essays, Addresses, &c., by A. Campbell and others,' 1838, 9 vols. 6. 'Addresses delivered before the Charlottesville Lyceum on "Is Moral Philosophy an Inductive Science?"' 1840. 7. 'A Public Debate on Christian Baptism, between the Rev. W. L. Maccalla and A. Campbell,' 1842. 8. 'Yr oraclau bywiol neu y Testament Newydd. Wedi ei gyfieithu gan J. Williams gyda rhaglithiau ac attodiad gan A. Campbell,' 1842. 9. 'Capital Punishment sanctioned by Divine Authority,' 1846. 10. 'An Essay on the Remission of Sins,' 1846. 11. 'An Address on the Amelioration of the Social State,' 1847. 12. 'An Address on the Responsibilities of Men of Genius,' 1848. 13. 'Christian Baptism, with its Antecedents and Consequents,' 1853. 14. 'Essay on Life and Death,' 1854. 15. 'Christianity as it was, being a Selection from the Writings of A. Campbell,' 1867. 16. 'The Christian Hymn Book, compiled from the writings of A. Campbell and others,' 1869. Nearly the whole of the 'Christian Baptist,' or the 'Millennial Harbinger,' was written by Campbell himself and his father.

[Rice's Campbellism, its Rise and Progress, 1850; Smallwood's Campbellism Refuted, 1833; Inwards's Discourse on Death of A. Campbell, 1866; Ripley and Dana's American Cyclopædia, 1873, under Campbell and Disciples; Richardson's Memoirs of A. Campbell, with portrait, 1871, 2 vols.] G. C. B.

CAMPBELL, ANNA MACKENZIE, COUNTESS OF BALCARRES, and afterwards of ARGYLL (1621 ?-1706 ?), was the younger daughter of Colin the Red, earl of Seaforth, chief of the Mackenzies; her mother was Margaret Seyton, daughter of Alexander, earl of Dunfermline. After her father's death, in 1633, she resided at Leslie, the seat of her cousin, Lord Rothes. Here she was married in April 1640, against the wish of her uncle, then the head of the family, to another cousin, Alexander Lindsay, master of Balcarres, who became Lord Balcarres in the following year. She was a woman, if the picture apparently painted in Holland during the protectorate and preserved in Braham Castle may be trusted, of extreme beauty, the face being full of vivacity, sweetness, and intelligence. Her husband fought for the covenant at Marston Moor, Alford, and Kilsyth, was made governor of the castle of Edinburgh in 1647, was a leader of the resolutioners, and after the defeat at Preston retired with his wife to Fife. At the coronation of Charles at Scone in 1651, Balcarres was made an earl. On 22 Feb. 1651 the king paid her a visit shortly before the birth of her first child, to whom he stood godfather. On the invasion after Worcester she went with her husband to the highlands, where he had command of the royalists. To pay for the debts incurred by Balcarres in the royal cause, she sold her jewels and other valuables, and many years of her subsequent life were spent in redeeming the ruin in which the Balcarres family had been involved. In 1652, being obliged to capitulate to the English, Balcarres settled with his wife at St. Andrews. After the defeat of Glencairn's rising in the highlands, in which the earl joined, he received a summons from Charles II, then at Paris, to join him with all speed. His wife determined to accompany him. In the depth of winter, through four hundred miles of country occupied by the enemy, she travelled in disguise with her husband, the children having been left behind, and arrived safely in Paris in May 1654. For the next four years they followed the court, the queen-mother, Henrietta Maria, bestowing much kindness upon the countess, who was at this time appointed *gouvernante* to the young Prince of Orange. They were settled at the Hague in 1657, and there Balcarres died on 30 Aug. 1659. The countess's letters to Lauderdale and others on the occasion are preserved among the Lauderdale papers in the British Museum, and are models of sincere and intelligent piety. Between her, her husband, Lauderdale, Kincardine, and Robert Moray there existed a friendship of



the closest intimacy, as well as family connection, so much so that she and her husband, in the letters which pass between the friends, are always familiarly alluded to as 'our cummer' and 'gossip.' The countess returned immediately to Fifeshire, but shortly went on to France, where, being herself warmly attached to the presbyterian church, she was instrumental in securing the support of the French protestant ministers for the king in 1680 (*Lauderdale Papers*, Camden Society, i.) At the Restoration a pension of 1,000*l.* a year was settled upon her by Charles, who often expressed for her a deep admiration, but it was some years before it was paid. During the interval she and her children suffered great privations—'Not mistress of sixpence,' she says of herself on 4 July, and 'unable to pay the apothecary.' She remained in England until May 1662, and there became intimately acquainted with Baxter, who declares that 'her great wisdom, modesty, piety, and sincerity made her accounted the saint at the court.' The conversion of her eldest daughter and her subsequent death in a nunnery were a great blow to the countess. In 1662 she returned to Scotland, when from poverty and anxiety she became very ill. Her eldest son died in October of this year. She was now of service to Lauderdale in warning him of the plots set on foot by Middleton to oust him from the secretaryship (*ib.*) In 1664 her condition was rendered easier by the fuller payment of the promised pension, for which she had petitioned in November 1663, but the friendship with Lauderdale appears to have been in a great measure broken off. The next few years were spent in endeavouring, by careful economy, to pay off the debts upon the estates, and in 1669 her son's rights on the Seaforth estates were given up by her for the sum of 80,000 marks. On 28 Jan. 1670 the Countess of Balcarres became the second wife of Archibald, ninth earl of Argyll [q. v.], having previously, by wise management, brought everything connected with her son's property into exact order. This marriage unfortunately, for reasons not very obvious, lost her in a great measure the friendship of Lauderdale, her letters of remonstrance to whom are full of affectionate and dignified feeling. With Argyll, who was chiefly engaged in raising the fallen estate of his family, she lived a life of quiet affection until the catastrophe of 1681. It was her daughter, Sophia, doubtless by her advice and assistance, who accomplished his escape from the castle. The forfeiture of his estates again brought her into great straits. By the Scotch law the forfeiture extended to herself. Nothing remained to her except her house at Stirling

and her revenue of 4,000 marks a year from a small estate of Wester Pitcorthie, a jointure settled on her by her first husband. On 4 March 1682, however, Charles gave her a provision of 7,000 marks a year out of the forfeited lands, on account of 'the faithful services done to him by the late Earl of Balcarres and the severe hardships which she herself had suffered, and because she and her first husband's family had constantly stood up for the royal authority.' By April 1684, however, she had only received 4,600 marks, and the utmost she had was 2,400 more; and a fresh inventory of her movables, drawn up in 1682, shows that she had been compelled to sacrifice the greater part of the 'womanly furniture' still left her. In December 1683 she was brought before the privy council to decipher some intercepted letters of Argyll, implicating him in the Rye House plot. She replied that she had a key, but that upon the breaking out of the English plot she had burnt it. It was finally discovered that this key was not the one to the cipher used in these letters, and she was not troubled further. When news arrived, 15 May 1685, of Argyll's landing, the countess and Lady Sophia were at once arrested at Stirling and imprisoned in the castle, whither also her husband was brought upon his capture, and was only permitted to see him on the day previous to his execution. His last letter to her but a few hours before his death is preserved, and testifies to the deep affection between husband and wife. After Argyll's execution the countess was at once released, and went to London, spending three months in attendance on the court, but returned again shortly to Scotland. In 1689 she settled finally at Balcarres, managing the estates of her son, Colin, who was in exile. By her care she paid off the burdens still remaining on that estate, and in addition gave up a part of her jointure of 7,000 marks from the Argyll estate for the other members of that family. Her last signature, of 1 Oct. 1706, is given to a provision of 1,000 marks a year to her grandchild, Elizabeth Lindsay. She appears to have died in this year. She was buried probably beside her first husband and her son Charles in the chapel of Balcarres; no record of interment is found in the parish books.

[The chief source of this article is an interesting monograph by the present Earl of Lindsay, privately printed, the *Memoirs of Lady Anna Mackenzie*.] O. A.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, second EARL OF ARGYLL (*d.* 1518), eldest son of Colin, first earl of Argyll [q. v.], and Isabella, eldest



daughter of John, lord of Lorne, succeeded his father in 1493. In a charter of 30 June 1494 he is designated Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and in the same year he was appointed master of the household. In 1499 he and others received from the king a commission to let on lease for the term of three years the entire lordship of the Isles as possessed by the last lord, both in the Isles and on the mainland, with the exception of the island of Isla and the lands of North and South Kintyre. He also received a commission of lieutenancy over the lordship of the Isles, and some months later was appointed keeper of the castle of Tarbert, and baillie and governor of the king's lands in Knapdale. Along with the Earl of Huntly and others he was in 1504 charged with the task of suppressing the rebellion of the islanders under Donald Dubh; and after its suppression in 1506 the lordship of the Isles was shared between him and Huntly, the latter being placed over the northern region, while the south isles and adjacent coast were under Argyll. From this time till his death the western highlands were free from serious disturbance. At the battle of Flodden, 9 Sept. 1513, Argyll, along with the Earl of Lennox, held command of the right wing, composed wholly of highlanders, whose impetuous eagerness for a hand-to-hand fight when galled by the English archers was the chief cause of the defeat of the Scots. Argyll was one of the thirteen Scottish earls who were slain. By his wife, Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, first earl of Lennox, he had four sons and five daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Colin, third earl of Argyll [q. v.] His fourth son, Donald (*d.* 1562), is separately noticed.

[Register of the Great Seal of Scotland; Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 90; Donald Gregory's Hist. of the Western Islands.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, fourth **EARL OF ARGYLL** (*d.* 1558), eldest son of Colin, third earl of Argyll [q. v.], and Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of Alexander, third earl of Huntly, immediately after succeeding to the title and offices of his father, in 1530, was employed in command of an expedition to quell an insurrection in the southern isles of Scotland. The voluntary submission of the principal chiefs rendered extreme measures unnecessary, and Alexander of Isla, the prime mover of the insurrection, was able to convince the king not only that he was personally well disposed to the government, but that the disturbances in the Isles were chiefly owing to the fact that the earls of Argyll had made use of the office of lieu-

tenant over the Isles for their own personal aggrandisement. The earl was therefore summoned before the king to give an account of the duties and rental of the Isles received by him, and, as the result of the inquiry, was committed for a time to prison. Shortly afterwards he was liberated, but was deprived of his offices, and they were not restored to him until after the death of James V. In a charter to him of the king's lands of Cardross in Dumbartonshire, 28 April 1542, he is called 'master of the king's wine cellar.' Along with the Earls of Huntly and Moray he was named one of the council of the kingdom in the document which Cardinal Beaton produced as the will of James, and which appointed Beaton governor of the kingdom and guardian to the infant queen. After the arrest of Beaton, 20 Jan. 1542-3, Argyll retired to his own country to muster a force to maintain the struggle against the Earl of Arran, who had been chosen governor. Shortly afterwards the Earls of Argyll, Bothwell, Huntly, and Moray, supported by a large body of the barons and landed gentry, as well as by the bishops and abbots, assembled at Perth, avowing their determination to resist the measures of the governor to the uttermost. On being summoned by the governor to disperse they deemed it prudent not to push matters to extremities; but when it became known that Henry VIII of England had succeeded in arranging a treaty of marriage between the young queen Mary and Edward, prince of Wales, the Earls of Argyll, Huntly, Lennox, and Bothwell marched from Stirling with a force of ten thousand men, and compelled the governor to surrender to their charge the infant queen, with whom they returned in triumph to Stirling. In the summer of 1544 Lennox, who had gone over to the party of the English king, plundered the Isle of Arran, and made himself master of Bute and the castle of Rothesay, but as he sailed down the Clyde he was fired on by the Earl of Argyll, who with four thousand men occupied the castle of Dunoon. After a consultation with his English officers he determined to attack Dunoon, and, notwithstanding the resistance of Argyll, effected a landing and burnt the village and church. Retreating then to his ships, he subsequently laid waste a large part of Kintyre; but, as he had not succeeded in obtaining possession of the castle of Dumbarton, the main purpose of the expedition was a failure, since it was impossible without it to retain a permanent footing on the Clyde. On the forfeiture of the estates of Lennox, Argyll was rewarded with the largest share. Although Lennox continued to foment discontent in the Isles, the practical result of the

dissensious he had sown was still further to increase the power of Argyll. At the battle of Pinkie, 10 Sept. 1547, Argyll, with four thousand west highlanders, held command of the right wing of the Scottish army. In January 1547-8 he advanced to Dundee with the determination of making himself master of Broughty Castle, but apparently the negotiations of the English prevented him from persevering in his purpose, although in a letter to Lord Grey, 15 March 1548 (*State Papers*, Scottish Series, i. 83), he denied the rumour that he favoured England, and had been rewarded by a sum of angel nobles. If he did manifest a tendency to defection it was only temporary, for shortly afterwards he rendered important service along with the French at the siege of Haddington, and was made 'a knight of the cockle by the king of France at the same time as the Earls of Angus and Huntly' (Knox, *Works*, i. 217). At an early period Argyll came under the influence of Knox, and he subscribed the first band of the Scottish reformers. On his way to Geneva in 1556 Knox made a stay with him at Castle Campbell, 'where he taught certain days' (*ib.* i. 253). After the agreement of the barons, in December 1557, that the reformed preachers should teach in private houses till the government should allow them to preach in public, Argyll undertook the protection of John Douglas, a Carmelite friar, caused him to teach publicly in his house, and 'reformed many things according to his counsel.' To induce Argyll to renounce the reformed faith, the Archbishop of St. Andrews sent him a long and insinuating letter (see *ib.* i. 276-80), to which he wrote an answer replying 'particulerlie to every article' (*ib.* i. 281-90). He died in August 1558, 'whereof,' according to Knox (*ib.* i. 290), 'the Bischoppis war glaid; for they thought that thare great ennemye was takin out of the way.' In his will he enjoined his son 'that he should study to set fordward the publick and trew preaching of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, and to suppress all superstitioun and idolatrie to the uttermost of his power.' By his marriage to Lady Helen Hamilton, eldest daughter of the first earl of Arran, he had one son; and by his marriage to Lady Margaret Graham, only daughter of the third earl of Menteith, one son and two daughters. He was succeeded in the earldom by Archibald, fifth earl (1530-1573) [q. v.], his son by the first marriage. Colin, sixth earl [q. v.], was his son by his second marriage.

[Register of the Great Seal of Scotland; Calendar of State Papers (Scottish Series); Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. i.; Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrents (Bannatyne Club, 1833); Bishop Lesley's History of Scot-

land (Bannatyne Club, 1830); Knox's Works (Bannatyne Club), vol. i.; Donald Gregory's History of the Western Highlands; Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 91.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, fifth EARL OF ARGYLL (1530-1573), the leader along with Lord James Stuart, afterwards earl of Moray [q. v.], of the 'lords of the congregation' at the Reformation, was the eldest son of Archibald, fourth earl of Argyll [q. v.], and Lady Helen Hamilton, eldest daughter of the first earl of Arran. In 1556, along with Lord James Stuart, he attended the preaching of Knox at Calder, when they both 'so approved the doctrine that thei wissed it to have been publick' (Knox, *Works*, i. 250). As lord of Lorne he signed the invitation to Knox to return from Geneva in 1557, and, along with his father, subscribed the first band of the Scottish reformers. While thus, both by natural choice and early training, inclined towards the reformed doctrines, he was solemnly enjoined in the will of his father, who died in August 1558, to give them his zealous support. At the same time his conduct never gave any evidence of extreme fanaticism, nor, on the other hand, tortuous and inconsistent as his actions afterwards became, does personal ambition appear to have been one of his ruling motives. In his early years his reputation stood very high. Cecil, writing to Elizabeth on 19 July 1560, informs her that Argyll 'is a goodly gentleman, universally honoured by all Scotland.' In judging of his career it must, however, be borne in mind that at the crisis of the Reformation he was closely associated with Lord James Stuart, who was his senior by several years, and who besides possessed a strength of will and a knowledge of men and affairs which placed him almost on a level with Knox. The predominant influence of Lord James Stuart in a great degree moulded the public conduct of Argyll, and eliminated from it, during its earlier period, any uncertainty arising from indecision of purpose, impulsiveness of temperament, or mingled ulterior motives. Their early friendship, cemented by their common interest in the teaching of Knox at Calder, was a fortunate occurrence for the Reformation, which, but for the fact that they worked hand in hand in its support when its fate seemed suspended in the balance, might have been frustrated for many years.

At first the action of Argyll and Lord James Stuart in joining the queen regent with their forces after the monasteries and religious houses had been spoiled by the 'rascal multitude' at Perth in May 1559, showed such lukewarmness towards the Re-

formation that Willock and Knox upbraided them for their desertion of the brethren, but they warmly defended themselves as having acted in the interests of peace. Through their mediation a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon by both parties, all controversies being reserved till the meeting of parliament. Influenced, however, by a sermon of Knox, who expressed his conviction that the 'treaty would only be kept till the regent and her Frenchmen became the strongest,' Argyll, Lord James, and the other lords of the congregation, before separating on the last day of May 1559, subscribed a bond in which they obliged themselves, 'in case that any trouble be intended,' to spare 'neither labour, goods, substance, bodeis, or lives in maintenance of the libertie of the whole congregation and everie member thereof' (CALDERWOOD, *History*, i. 458-9). The suspicions of Knox found almost immediate justification, for on the day that the supporters of the Reformation left Edinburgh the queen regent proceeded to restore the popish services and to garrison the city with Scotch soldiers in the pay of France. Argyll and Lord James, having remonstrated with her in vain, secretly left the city with three hundred followers, and went to St. Andrews, whither they summoned the leading reformers to meet them on 4 June 'to concur to the work of the Reformation.' The destruction of the cathedral of St. Andrews and the razing of the monasteries, which again followed the preaching of Knox, were probably not included in their programme, but here as elsewhere it was found vain to endeavour to curb the excited crowd. On the news reaching the queen regent at Falkland, she gave instant orders to advance to St. Andrews, with the view of crushing Argyll and Lord James, still attended by only a slender retinue. Already, however, her purpose had been foreseen and thwarted. They hastened to occupy Cupar with a hundred horsemen, and from Fife and Forfar their supporters flocked in so rapidly that, in the words of Knox, 'they seemed to rain from the clouds.' Before noon of Tuesday, 13 June, their forces numbered over 13,000 men, which, under the command of Provost Haliburton of Dundee, occupied such a strong position on Cupar Muir, overlooking the town and commanding with their artillery the whole sweep of the surrounding country, that the queen regent, after opening negotiations, agreed to a truce of eight days, meanwhile engaging to transport the French troops that were with her beyond the bounds of Fife, and to send commissioners to St. Andrews to arrange the differences between her and the congrega-

tion (see 'Tenor of Assurance' in CALDERWOOD's *History*, i. 467). The first part of the agreement was kept, but after waiting in vain for the promised arrival of the commissioners in St. Andrews, Argyll and Lord James addressed to her a joint letter (printed in CALDERWOOD's *History*, i. 468-9), requesting the withdrawal of the garrison from Perth, 'that the same may be guided and ruled freely.' Receiving no reply, they advanced against the town, and the garrison, after some delay in hope of relief, surrendered on 26 June. In revenge for 'the slaughter of their citizens,' the inhabitants of Dundee then proceeded to sack the palace and church of Scone, which were saved for one night by the interposition of Argyll and Lord James. On the following night their restraint was withdrawn, as they were called away by the sudden message that the queen regent intended to stop the passage of the Forth at Stirling. Leaving Perth at midnight, they were again successful in defeating her purposes, and, proceeding immediately to Linlithgow, so disconcerted her by their rapid movements, that on hearing of their arrival there she retreated with her French troops to Dunbar; and, though only attended by a small following, Argyll and Lord James, without the necessity of striking a blow, entered Edinburgh on 29 June 1559. From Dunbar the queen regent issued a proclamation against them as rebels, to which they replied by a letter on 2 July 1559, asserting that their only purpose was 'to maintain and defend the true preachers of God's Word' (see documents in CALDERWOOD's *History*, i. 478-82). To their representations she at first answered so pleasantly as to awaken hope that all they stipulated for would be conceded, but in the midst of the negotiations she suddenly appeared in Edinburgh with a strong force, upon which the lords agreed to deliver up the city on condition that matters should remain *in statu quo* till the meeting of parliament on 10 Jan. Meantime Argyll hastened to the western highlands to counteract the intrigues of the queen regent with James Macdonald of Isla, the most powerful of the western chiefs, and was so successful that in October 1559 Macdonald was on his way to join the lords of the congregation with seven hundred foot soldiers. They did not arrive too soon, for the queen regent had begun to fortify Leith, and at the beginning of the siege by the forces of the congregation a sally of the French, which drove them to the middle of the Canongate and up Leith Wynd, was only stopped by Argyll and his highlanders. So stubborn was the resistance of the French, and so successful were the emissaries of the queen

regent in increasing her following, that the lords of the congregation found it advisable on 5 Nov. to evacuate the city and retire to Stirling. In February following a contract was entered into between them and Queen Elizabeth of England—part of which bound Argyll to assist Elizabeth in subduing the north of Ireland—by which an English army was sent to their assistance; but while they were still besieging Leith the queen regent died on 10 June 1560, having before her death sent for Argyll and the other protestant lords, to whom she expressed regret that matters had come to such an extremity, and laid the blame on Huntly and her other advisers. Peace was soon afterwards agreed upon, and at a parliament held in the ensuing August a confession of faith, drawn up by the protestant ministers, was sanctioned as the standard of protestant faith in Scotland. This was followed by a Book of Discipline, which the Earl of Argyll was the third of the nobility to subscribe. Soon afterwards the lords made an act 'that all monuments of idolatry should be destroyed,' and Argyll, with the Earls of Arran and Glencairn, was employed to carry out this edict in the west of Scotland.

Argyll was one of those who received Queen Mary on her arrival at Leith, 19 Aug. 1561, and shortly afterwards he was named one of the lords of the privy council. As before, he continued to act in concert with Lord James Stuart, the queen's half-brother, who had been created earl of Moray, and by whose advice Mary was content for some years to regulate her policy. Randolph, writing to Cecil, the minister of Elizabeth, on 24 Sept. 1561 (quoted in *Keith's History*, ii. 88), reports that, when on 14 Sept. high mass would have been sung in the Chapel Royal, the 'Earl of Argyll and Lord James so disturbed the quire that some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears;' but in reality their interference was of a totally different kind, and for resisting the attempt of the mob to stop the service they were warmly denounced by Knox, who, on account of their tolerant attitude towards catholic practices, was estranged from them for some years. Mary's power of fascination had had its effect in modifying the reforming zeal of Argyll, and to it must be partly attributed the inconsistencies of his subsequent course of action. Possibly it was chiefly with the view of cementing this influence that in May 1563 Mary sought the good offices of Knox in bringing about a reconciliation between Argyll and his wife, her half-sister and her favourite attendant, natural daughter of James V, by Elizabeth, daughter of John, lord Carmichael. The

letter which Knox wrote Argyll was 'not weall accepted of the said erle; and yit did he utter no part of his displeasur in public, but contrairrelie schew himself most familiar with the said John' (*Knox, Works*, ii. 379). But if the letter was unsuccessful Mary did not manifest any resentment against Argyll, for in August of this year she went on a visit to him in Argyllshire to witness the sport of deer-hunting (*Calderwood, History*, ii. 229). With the determination of the queen to marry Darnley matters were, however, for a time completely changed. Moray, in disgust at the overweening insolence of Darnley, retired from the court, upon which Mary did not scruple to affirm her conviction that he aimed 'to set the crown on his head,' while at the same time she made use of expressions implying her 'mortal hatred' of Argyll (*Randolph to Cecil*, 3 May 1565). So much were Moray and Argyll in doubt regarding her intentions that when they came to Edinburgh to 'keep the day of law' against the Earl of Bothwell, then on trial for high treason, they deemed it prudent to bring with them seven thousand men, and at no time would be in court together, in order that one of them might be left on guard. The current rumour that Moray and Argyll about this time formed a plot to seize Mary and Darnley as they rode from Perth to Callander, and to convey Mary to St. Andrews and Darnley to Castle Campbell, though not improbable in itself, has never been sufficiently substantiated, but there can be no doubt that they used every effort to secure the aid of Elizabeth to prevent the marriage by force of arms. After the marriage Moray vainly endeavoured to promote a rebellion, and Argyll, on the charge of resetting him, was summoned before the council, and, failing to appear, was on 5 Dec. 1565 declared guilty of 'lese majesty' (*Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, i. 409). Meanwhile Moray had gone to the English court to lay his case before Elizabeth, and had been ignominiously dismissed from her presence as an 'unworthy traitor' to his sovereign. On learning the nature of his reception, Argyll bade Randolph inform his mistress that if she would reconsider herself he would stick to the English cause and fight for it with lands and life; but he demanded an answer within ten days; if she persisted he would make terms with his own sovereign (*Randolph to Cecil*, 19 Nov. 1565; *Cal. State Papers*, For. Ser., 1564-5, p. 522). This was the turning-point in the career of Argyll, although there is unquestionably exaggeration in the statement of Froude that he who had been 'the central pillar of the Reformation' from 'that

day forward till Mary Stuart's last hopes were scattered at Langside, became the enemy of all which till that hour he had most loved and fought for' (FROUDE, *History of England* (Lib. ed.), viii. 224). His negotiations with Elizabeth still continued, and what is chiefly manifest in his subsequent conduct is the absence of a settled and determined purpose, indicating that he was swayed by different motives at different times. Without the help of Elizabeth he had no option but to make terms with Mary, and it so happened that after the murder of Rizzio Mary was glad to be reconciled both to him and Moray. That the murder had their sanction there can be no doubt, but they were not present when it was committed, and Darnley, who had denounced Morton, Ruthven, and the other perpetrators of the deed, made no allusion to their connection with it. When it became known that Darnley was himself the principal contriver of the murder, the queen's attitude towards those who had all along opposed the marriage must have been somewhat changed, and, at least as regards Argyll, she gave strong proof of his restoration to her confidence when, on going to Edinburgh to be confined of a child, she ordered lodgings to be provided for him next her own. Shortly after this Argyll was caught in the toils which virtually bound him in honour or dishonour to the cause of Mary, so long as there was a party to fight for her in Scotland. His course of action was determined rather by circumstances than by his own will or choice. Possibly he became at first the tool of the queen and Bothwell in order to revenge himself on Darnley for his treachery towards Morton and the other banished lords, for at this time he was negotiating with Elizabeth to interfere on their behalf, on the promise that he would with his highlanders hold Shan O'Neil in check in Ireland, and would do what he could to hinder the 'practice between the queen and the papists of England.' That Argyll signed the bond at Craigmillar for the murder of Darnley there can be no doubt; and it was in the company of him and his countess that the queen spent the evening after she had left her husband to his fate. Thus irrevocably bound by his share in the murder to the fortunes of Mary and Bothwell, the part which Argyll had now to act was painful and humiliating to the last degree. Along with Bothwell he signed the proclamation offering 2,000*l.* for the discovery of the murderer, and as hereditary lord justice he presided at the trial, by a packed jury, of Bothwell, his co-conspirator. Along with other lords he

was present on 19 April 1567 at the supper given by Bothwell in Ainslie's tavern, when, after they were all excited by wine, Bothwell induced them to sign a bond in favour of his marriage with the queen. After the marriage took place Argyll manifested a temporary gleam of repentance by signing the bond for the defence of the young prince, and, notwithstanding the boast of the queen, 'for Argyll I know well how to stop his mouth' (*Drury to Cecil*, 20 May 1567), it was only after the flight of Bothwell that he joined the party of nobles who on 29 June met at Dumbarton to plan measures for her deliverance. On 20 July following he was summoned to attend a meeting of the general assembly of the kirk, but excused himself on the plea that the brethren assembled in Edinburgh were in arms, and that he had not yet joined himself to them, but promised meantime to continue in the maintenance of the true religion (CALDERWOOD, *History*, ii. 378). He was nominated one of the council of regency who, when the queen, on the suggestion of the assembly, consented to demit the government in favour of her son, were charged to carry it on till the arrival of Moray from France; but this did not reconcile him to the arrangement, and although Moray on his arrival, being 'in respect of old friendship loath to offend him,' sent him an invitation to meet him for consultation on public affairs, he declined to accept it, and only made his submission when he found further resistance to be for the time vain. Possibly the influence of Moray might have been effectual in restraining him from taking further measures in behalf of the queen, had it not been for their quarrel on account of the attempt of Argyll to divorce his wife, to which Moray, who was her half-brother, would not consent. Argyll was further exasperated by the action of the general assembly in regard to the divorce, for the assembly, doubtless with the view of punishing him for his political conduct, compelled him for separation from his wife and 'other scandalous offences' to submit to public discipline (*ib.* ii. 397). Nor could he have appreciated the impartiality which meted out similar justice to his countess; who, having acknowledged 'that she had offended God and slandered the kirk, by assisting the baptism of the king in Papisticall maner with her presence,' was 'ordered to mak her publick repentance in the Chappell Royall of Stirling, in time of sermoun' (*ib.*). But while these matters must have had their effect in estranging him from the regent and from the extreme protestant party as represented by Knox, the main influence that bound him to the cause of the queen and made him persevere in

conspiring for her rescue from Lochleven, was dread of the revelations made on the scaffold by the subordinate agents in the murder of Darnley. Something must moreover be attributed to the influence of his relations the Hamiltons, who knew how to work both on his hopes and fears. Subsequently he also asserted that in his efforts in behalf of Mary he had been secretly encouraged by Elizabeth (*Randolph to Cecil*, 21 Feb. 1573), and his appeals to her to support the cause of Mary after her escape would seem to favour the supposition. He signed the bond, 8 May 1568, to effect the queen's deliverance from Lochleven, and on her escape joined her at Hamilton, and was appointed lieutenant of the forces who mustered to her support. To his incapacity, owing to irresolution or his disablement by a fainting fit, is generally attributed the fatal hesitancy at the crisis of the battle of Langside on 13 May, which resulted in the rout of the queen's forces and the ruin of her cause. After the flight of the queen to England, Argyll retired to Dunoon, and, refusing to submit to the regent, appeared twice in Glasgow to concert measures with the Hamiltons for her restoration; but, as Elizabeth only supported the movement by promises never put in execution, he at last made an amicable arrangement with the opposite party, and gave in his submission to Moray at St. Andrews on 14 April 1569. After the murder of the regent, Argyll and Boyd sent a letter to Morton on 17 Feb. 1570 avowing ignorance of the perpetrators of the deed. It is perhaps only charitable to suppose that Argyll was not aware of the conspiracy against the life of one who so long had been his most confidential friend, and afterwards had dealt with him so leniently, but he continued for a time to act as formerly with the Hamiltons. Subsequently, finding the cause of Mary hopeless, he made terms with the faction of the king, and, after the death of Lennox on 4 Sept. 1571, was a candidate, with the Earl of Mar, for the regency. The choice fell on Mar, but Argyll was chosen a privy councillor. On Morton obtaining the regency in November 1572, Argyll was made lord high chancellor, and on 17 Jan. 1573 obtained a charter for that office for life. Chiefly through his agency a reconciliation was brought about between the two rival parties, on the secret understanding—of considerable importance to himself—that no further inquiry should be made into the murder of the late king. He died of stone on 12 Sept. 1573 (not 1575 as sometimes stated), aged about 43. After the divorce of his first wife, the half-sister of Mary, queen of Scotland, he married Johan-

neta Cunningham, second daughter of Alexander, fifth earl of Glencairn, but by neither marriage had he any issue, and the estates and title passed to his brother, Colin Campbell of Boquhan, sixth earl [q. v.]

[Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vols. i. and ii.; Calendar of State Papers (Scottish Series), vol. i.; ib. (Irish Series) for 1509–1573; ib. (Foreign Series) from 1559 to 1573; Knox's Works (Bannatyne Club), vols. i. ii. iii. and vi.; Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland (Wodrow Society), vols. i. ii. and iii.; Bishop Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland (1835), vols. i. ii. and iii.; Donald Gregory's History of the Western Highlands; Letters to the Argyll Family from various Sovereigns (Maitland Club); Historie of King James the Sext (Bannatyne Club); Crawford's Officers of State, i. 116–32; Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 91–3; the Histories of Tytler, Burton, and Froude.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, seventh EARL OF ARGYLL (1576?–1638), eldest son of Colin, sixth earl of Argyll [q. v.], by his second wife, Agnes, eldest daughter of William, fourth earl Marischal, widow of the regent Moray, was born about 1576. Being only eight years of age on the death of his father, he was commended by his will to the protection of the king, and placed under the care of his mother, with the advice and assistance of six persons of the clan Campbell. Quarrels arose between his guardians, and Archibald Campbell of Lochnell, near heir to the earldom, entered into a conspiracy with the Earl of Huntly to effect the murder of Campbell of Calder, of the Earl of Moray, and also of the young Earl of Argyll. Moray was murdered in February 1592 by a party of Gordons, under the command of the Earl of Huntly; Calder was shot by a hackbut; and Argyll, soon after his marriage, in 1592, to Lady Anne Douglas, fifth daughter of William, first earl of Morton, of the house of Lochleven, was attacked at Stirling by a serious illness, the result, it was supposed, of attempts to poison him by some of his household, bribed by Campbell of Lochnell. On 22 June 1594 Campbell of Ardkinglass, one of the conspirators, signed a document, in which he made a full confession of all that he knew of the plots against Calder and the Earls of Moray and Argyll. For some reason or other the confession was not immediately revealed to Argyll, and when, in the autumn of the same year, he was appointed king's lieutenant against the Earls of Huntly and Erroll, Campbell of Lochnell had command of one of the divisions of the army. With an army of six thousand men Argyll marched towards Strathbogie, and at Glenlivet fell in with Huntly and Erroll, in command of fif-

teen hundred men, mostly trained soldiers. Though advised to wait for the reinforcements which were approaching to his assistance, under Lord Forbes, Argyll, relying on his superiority in numbers, resolved to risk a battle, taking, however, the precaution of encamping on a strong position. Campbell of Lochnell treacherously made known to Huntly the disposition of Argyll's forces, and promised to desert to him during the engagement. At his suggestion an attack was suddenly made on the morning of 3 Oct., when the troops of Argyll were at prayers, by a discharge of artillery at Argyll's banner. Lochnell met with the fate which he had hoped might have befallen Argyll, and was struck down dead by a stray missile, but his followers seem to have faithfully carried out his instructions. A large number of the highlanders took to instant flight. Argyll, with only twenty men left around him, scorned to give up the conflict, and was forcibly led off the field by Murray of Tullibardine, shedding tears of grief and rage at the disgraceful cowardice of his followers. In his captured baggage several letters were found dissuading him from the fight. Shortly afterwards Argyll was informed of the conspiracy against his life, and also of the treachery of Lochnell. Hurrying to the north he proclaimed a war of extermination against Huntly and those who had deserted him at Glenlivet. To put an end to the conflict the king interfered, and in January following imprisoned Argyll in the castle of Edinburgh for oppression, said to have been committed by his followers (CALDERWOOD, *History*, v. 361). On finding caution he was shortly afterwards liberated, and on 13 Feb. 1603 the king, before leaving for England, succeeded in reconciling him with Huntly. In 1608 he and Huntly combined against the Macgregors, and almost extirpated the clan. He was also completely successful in suppressing the lawless Clondonalds, after which, in 1617, he received from the king a grant of their country, which included the whole of Kintyre, and the grant was ratified by a special act of parliament. But although successful in winning for his family an unexampled influence in the west of Scotland, he found himself impoverished rather than enriched by his conquests. 'So great,' says Sir John Scot in his 'Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen,' 'was the burden of debt on the house of Argyll, that he had to leave the country, not being able to give satisfaction to his creditors.' On the pretence of going abroad to the Spa for the benefit of his health, he obtained, in 1618, permission from the king to leave the country, but instead he went over to West Flanders to serve the King of Spain. In going

abroad he was actuated by another motive besides the desire to escape the importunity of his creditors. For his second wife he had married, 30 Nov. 1610, Anne, daughter of Sir William Cornwallis of Brome, and by her influence had become a convert to the catholic faith. For leaving his country to fight in support of a catholic king he was on 16 Feb. 1619 denounced as a traitor and rebel at the market-cross of Edinburgh (*ib.* vii. 357), but on 22 Nov. 1621 he was again declared the king's free liege (*ib.* 515). On the departure of Argyll, Alex. Craig, author of 'Poetical Essays,' wrote the following verses, preserved by Scot in his 'Staggering State:—'

Now Earl of Guile and Lord Forlorn thou goes,  
Quitting thy Prince to serve his foreign fous,  
No faith in plaids, no trust in highland trews,  
Cameleon-like they change so many hues.

He afterwards returned to England, and died in London in 1638. His later years were spent in retirement. From the time that he left Scotland in 1619 his estates were held by his son Archibald (1598–1661), afterwards Marquis of Argyll [q. v.] By his first wife he had, besides Archibald, four daughters, and by his second five daughters and three sons, including James, colonel of the Scots Guard in France, created Earl of Irvine in 1642, who died in 1645 (*Archives of French Foreign Office*). To his first wife William Alexander, earl of Stirling, inscribed his 'Aurora,' in 1604. There is a portrait of her in Walpole's 'Royal and Noble Authors' (ed. Park, v. 64); but it was the second countess, not the first, as Walpole states, who collected and published in Spanish a set of sentences from the works of Augustine.

[Reg. Privy Council of Scotl. vols. iv. v. and vi.; State Papers, Scottish Ser. vol. iv.; Calderwood's Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland (Wodrow Soc.), vols. v. vi. and vii.; Sir John Scot's Staggering State of Scottish Statesmen (ed. 1872), pp. 40–41; Acts of the Parl. of Scotland, passim; Donald Gregory's Hist. of the Western Highlands; A Faithful Narrative of the Great and Marvellous Victory obtained by George Gordon, Earl of Huntly, and Francis Hay, Earl of Erroll, Catholic noblemen, over Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, lieutenant, at Strathaven, 3 Oct. 1594, in Scottish Poems of the Sixteenth Cent. ed. Dalryell, Edin. 1801, i. 136; Douglas's Scottish Peerage, i. 93–4; Histories of Tytler and Hill Burton.]

T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, MARQUIS OF ARGYLL** and eighth **EARL** (1598–1661), was eldest son of Archibald, seventh earl of Argyll [q. v.], by his first wife, Lady Anne Douglas, daughter of the first Earl of Morton, and was born in 1598. During the last desperate struggle of the Clondonalds, in 1615, he was present with his father at the conflicts which



resulted in their subjugation. His father, before openly adopting the catholic religion and entering the service of Philip of Spain, had taken the precaution to convey to him the fee of his estates (letter of council to the king, 2 Feb. 1619: manuscript in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, quoted in GREGORY'S *Western Highlands*, ed. 1881, p. 401), and from this time he continued, while only lord of Lorne, to wield the vast territorial influence of the family. Clarendon affirms that the old earl afterwards, provoked by his son's disobedience and insolence, resolved to bequeath his estates away from him, but was compelled by the king 'to make over all his estates to his son' (*History*, ii. 58), and partial confirmation of the statement is to be found in the 'Acts of the Scottish Parliament,' v. 80 (1633), which contain a ratification to him of a charter to his father in life-rent and himself in fee of the earldom of Argyll, and of a renunciation to him by his father of his life-rent. In an act of 1661 (*Acts of the Scottish Parliament*, vii. 340) it is also asserted that after he obtained the life-rent he 'put his father to intolerable straits,' which gives a colour of credibility to the further statement of Clarendon that the old earl prophesied the king would live to repent having bestowed favours on him, for he was 'a man of craft, subtilty, and falsehood, and can love no man' (*History*, ii. 58). But while undoubtedly the father and son were thus not on the best of terms with each other, it is not so certain that the whole blame of this rested with the son. In common with the children of the earl's first wife, Lorne had been educated in the protestant religion, for it was not the son, as S. R. Gardiner states, but the father who 'threw off his religion,' and the religious feuds between the two families were so insuperable a barrier to confidence and trust as to render strict precautions on the part of Lorne absolutely necessary. The possessions of the Argylls had under the old earl been greatly extended by the suppression of the Clangregors, Clandonalds, and other outlawed races, and when Lorne entered on the life-rent of his father's estates he 'was by far the most powerful subject in the kingdom' (BAILLIE, *Letters and Journals*, i. 145). In a proclamation issued in 1639 in the king's name to free those who held their lands in certain tenures, to hold the same immediately of the king under easier conditions, it was estimated that the Earl of Argyll, by virtue of those tenures, held command of twenty thousand men (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1639, p. 5). Within his own territory he was, by virtue of his special office of justiciary, a potentate exercising almost royal power, and if dreaded

rather than loved by many who had been compelled to bear the name of the clan, he exercised over them a more thorough discipline and had welded their rival interests into more complete unity than prevailed elsewhere in the highlands.

In the great Scottish ecclesiastical dispute with the sovereign, which had reached a crisis in 1638, the side which Lorne should take was thus a matter of prime importance to both parties. He had not as yet committed himself to the covenanting party. For many years he had basked in the smiles of royal favour. On the occasion of the king's visit to Scotland in 1633 for coronation he was confirmed in his office of justiciary and the possession of the life-rent of the estates of his father. In 1634 he was chosen an extraordinary lord of session. From the time that in 1626 he was chosen a privy councillor he had acted, until 1637, with great caution in regard to ecclesiastical matters. The first indication of his decided opposition to episcopacy was when in the latter year he had a dispute with the Bishop of Galloway regarding the imprisonment of a guardian of Viscount Kenmure, who on the occasion of the communion being dispensed to the people kneeling had 'cryit out saying it wes plane idolatrie' (SPALDING, *Memorials of the Troubles*, i. 78). Lorne offered the bishop 500 merks of fine to free him, expecting that the offer would itself sufficiently heal the bishop's wounded *amour propre*. When the bishop took the money 'without ceremony,' Lorne was deeply offended, and at a private meeting which he convened he and other influential noblemen began 'to regrayt their dangerous estait with the pryd and avarice of the prelatie, seiking to overrule the haill kingdome' (*ib.* i. 79). After the renewal of the covenant in 1638, in opposition to the attempt of the king to introduce the Book of Common Prayer and other 'innovations,' Lorne, along with Traquair and Roxburgh, was summoned to London to advise the king, Lorne being 'sent for by a privy missive, not by a letter to the council as the other two' (BAILLIE, *Letters*, i. 70). Indeed, the main purpose of the king was to secure the support of Lorne to his schemes, and well might Baillie write, 'We tremble for Lorne that the king either persuade him to go his way or find him errands at court for a long time.' Courage of the highest kind was required to enable him to conduct himself with credit, and he displayed a straightforward honesty and resolution at least as remarkable as his wariness. He was, Baillie mentions, 'very plain with the king,' and, having been brought into controversy with Laud, 'did publicly avow his contempt of his



malice' (*ib.* i. 73). Clarendon states that the old earl, then in London, advised the king to retain him a prisoner at court, but he was permitted to depart, arriving at Edinburgh 20 May. The only motive Baillie could discover to 'make that man' to side with the covenanters 'in that necessary time, to the extreme hazard of his head,' was 'the equity of the cause,' and so far as this implies that Lorne was incapable of acting from mere headstrong impulse, no objection can be taken to it. As yet the king had not come to an open and irreconcilable breach with Lorne when he left London, but he gave a secret commission to the Earl of Antrim, the patron of the outlawed Clondonalds, to invade Argyllshire ostensibly on his own account. Lorne at once divined whom he had to thank for it, as is evident from his letter to Strafford of 25 July (STRAFFORD, *Letters*, ii. 187). To a hint of Strafford's that 'it behoves persons of your lordship's blood and abilities actively and avowedly to serve the crown,' he replies in a second letter, 9 Oct., containing much skilful parrying and dexterous home-thrusts, but winding up with the confident expectation 'of, God willing, a fair and happy conclusion very shortly' (*ib.* ii. 220). Possibly the only result of the insinuations and hints of Strafford was to increase Lorne's distrust of the policy of the king, and the death of the old Earl of Argyll, which happened shortly before the meeting of the assembly of the kirk at Glasgow in November, left him greater freedom of action. But though he attended the assembly he seemed more desirous to discover what its temper really was than to influence its opinion one way or another. So far from being the sour bigot he is sometimes represented, Argyll, as he states in 'Instructions to a Son,' had no preference for presbyterianism and extempore prayers over episcopacy and service books, except that the former was what the great bulk of his countrymen had adopted. He saw that the policy of the king was doing violence to the deepest convictions of the nation, and that the only chance of preventing a catastrophe was to present a firm front of resistance to his unreasonable demands. When advice and soft words proved of no avail in altering the bent of the king's purpose, he resolved to stake his all with the covenanters. Argyll was the only member of the privy council who did not retire with the Marquis of Hamilton when the assembly was dissolved from sitting any longer. Though not a member of the assembly he, at the request of the moderator, agreed to attend the subsequent meetings, at which episcopacy was abolished, and to 'bear witness to the righteousness of their proceedings.' On the

arrival of the king's proclamation, declaring the procedure of the assembly to be the act of traitors, the covenanters placed their forces under Alexander Leslie [q. v.]. On 20 Feb. 1639 Argyll sent a letter to Laud in defence of the Scots, containing a statement which rested the position they had taken up on unassailable constitutional principles (Melbourne MSS., quoted in GARDINER'S *Hist. of England*, viii. 392). Meanwhile he took the precaution of raising a force of nine hundred men, a portion of whom he left in Kintyre to watch the Irish, another portion in Lorne to hold the Clondonalds in check, while with the remainder he passed over into Arran, where he seized the castle of Brodick, belonging to the Marquis of Hamilton. On learning that the king had decided on an invasion of Scotland, Argyll sent him a letter, 'which' Rossingham, writing under date 16 April, says 'his majesty does tear all to pieces as resolving to have his head' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1639, p. 52). The mood of Charles, however, underwent a rapid alteration after his arrival at Berwick, where he found Leslie encamped on Dunse Law barring his further progress with a superior force. As the Scots would 'not think to treat' without Argyll, he was sent for to conduct the negotiation. He had been lying with a considerable army round Stirling, in the heart of the country, to be ready in case of 'unexpected accidents' (BAILLIE, *Letters*, i. 211), and leaving the bulk of his followers there, he, in a few days, joined the main army and set up his tent on the hill, where, according to Baillie, the highlanders who accompanied him aroused the wonder of the English visiting the camp (*ib.* i. 212). The pacification of Berwick, 18 June 1639, substantially promised all that the covenanters asked, but its terms were not sufficiently clear. The substantial fruits of the victory Argyll therefore resolved to gather as quickly as possible. Episcopacy having been abolished, it was necessary that successors should be chosen for the bishops as lords of the articles. Montrose [see GRAHAM, JAMES, first Marquis], who here first indicated a divergence in opinion from Argyll, proposed that their place should be taken by fourteen laymen appointed by the king; but Argyll was too astute to let slip the magnificent chance of striking a fatal blow at the irresponsible influence of the king, and moved that each estate should in future choose its own lord of the articles, which was carried by a bare majority of one, the barons and burgesses being thenceforth represented by sixteen votes, the nobility by eight, and the king by none. The change was momentous, for the result was, in the words of S. R. Gardiner (*Hist. of*

*England*, ix. 54), to make the parliament and not the king 'the central force in Scotland.'

Meantime information had reached the English court of the draft of a letter written before the Berwick pacification by some of the Scottish leaders to Louis XIII, soliciting his interest in the affairs of the Scots (Letter in *RUSHWORTH*, part ii. vol. ii. 1120). The letter does not appear to have been sent, but Charles made it a pretext for committing the Earl of Loudon to the Tower. He was soon afterwards liberated, but the incident was the occasion, if not the cause, of a renewal of hostilities. When the king ordered the prorogation of parliament, in May 1640, Argyll moved that it be held without his sanction, and in order to take measures against the hostile preparations of the king, a committee of estates was formed to which was entrusted the practical government of the kingdom. Of this committee Argyll was not a member, but he was 'major potestas,' and 'all knew that it was his influence that gave being, life, and motion to the new-modelled governors.' On 12 June a commission of 'fire and sword' was issued by the committee of estates to Argyll against the Earl of Atholl and the Ogilvies, who had taken up arms in behalf of the king. With a force of four thousand men he swept over the districts of Badenoch, Atholl, and Mar, according to the hostile chroniclers stripping the fields of the sheep and cattle. At the Fords of Lyon he found Atholl posted with a strong force, and, it is said, on promise of a safe return, inveigled him to an interview, when, failing in an attempt to win him over, he sent him a prisoner to Edinburgh, where, after making his submission, he was liberated. Argyll then descended into Angus, attacking the Ogilvies and burning their house to the ground. The incidents of its destruction, as recorded in the ballad 'The Bonnie Hoose o' Airlie,' must not be accepted as literally true, for Lady Ogilvie did not treat the summons of Argyll with scorn, but had left the house for some time before its destruction, and the actual execution of the act was entrusted by Argyll to a subordinate, Dugald Campbell of Inverawe, whom he enjoined only to fire it if the operation of destroying it was 'langsome,' adding, with characteristic caution, 'You need not let know that you have directions from me to fire it' (Letter quoted in full in *Notes and Queries*, third series, vi. 383, from original in possession of the correspondent). The cruelties exercised by Argyll during the raid formed one of the charges in the indictment on which he was executed, but do not appear to have been for those times exceptionally severe.

Learning that Charles was again raising an army against them, the Scots, under Leslie, in August of this year passed into England in strong array 'to present their grievances to the king's majesty,' and taking possession of Newcastle remained quartered in Northumberland and Durham till negotiations were entered into with the king at Ripon on 1 Oct. Montrose had accompanied the army, but already ominous differences had arisen between him and Argyll. He had strongly opposed the motion of Argyll for holding a parliament in opposition to the king; he had already entered into correspondence with Charles on his own account, and before crossing the Tweed he and other noblemen signed, in August, at Cumbernauld, a bond 'against the particular and indirect practickings of the few' (see copy in *BAILLIE'S Letters and Journals*, ii. 468, and *NAPIER'S Memorials of Montrose*, i. 254). Shortly afterwards the bond was discovered by Argyll, but it was deemed sufficient to burn it by order of the committee of estates. The clemency only irritated more acutely Montrose's jealousy of Argyll, and drove him to more desperate courses. The predominant influence wielded by Argyll over the committee of estates Montrose interpreted into an assumption of dictatorship over the kingdom, which for the time being it undoubtedly was; and information he had received from various enemies of Argyll corroborated his own conviction that a plan was in preparation for the formal recognition of the dictatorship and the deposition of the king. He thereupon communicated what he had learned to Charles, who agreed to pay a visit to Scotland in the summer, when Montrose, according to arrangement, would in his place in parliament accuse Argyll before the king of meditating treason against the throne. Montrose was, however, ill fitted to manage a matter requiring such exceptional caution. Already he had bruited his charges against Argyll throughout the country, and Argyll called him to answer for his speeches. Montrose, acknowledging at once his responsibility for the charges, named his authorities, but his principal witness, Stewart of Ladywell, wrote a letter to Argyll admitting that he had, 'through prejudice of his lordship,' wrested words which he had heard him speak at the Fords of Lyon from their proper meaning. The correspondence of Montrose with the king and the secret purpose of his majesty's visit were revealed in the course of the inquiry. While by his confession Stewart did not save his life, Montrose and other noblemen were on 11 June committed to the castle of Edinburgh on a charge of plotting.

With Montrose in prison, and Argyll probably in the secret of the whole conspiracy, Charles found the outlook in Scotland completely altered. On receipt of the news that the scheme had miscarried, he wrote on 12 June a letter to Argyll repudiating the rumour that his journey to Scotland was 'only desired and procured by Montrose and Traquair,' and asserting that, so far from intending division, his aim was 'to establish peace in state and religion in the church' (Letter in *Letters to the Argyll Family*, p. 36, and in *Memorials of Montrose*, i. 282). Argyll grasped the situation at once as regards both Scotland and England, and resolved to make the most of a golden opportunity. As the king, before setting out for Scotland, had on 12 Aug. given his sanction to an act confirming the treaty with the Scots, he was received on his arrival with the warmest manifestations of good-will. On 30 Aug., when he was entertained at a banquet in the parliament house, the rejoicings in Edinburgh resembled, it is said, the celebration of a jubilee. The king yielded, almost without a murmur, to the demands of Argyll that no political or judicial office should be filled up without the approval of parliament, and during six weeks' discussion of questions bristling with controversial difficulties the prevailing harmony between him and the estates was scarcely broken, when suddenly on 12 Oct. the city was roused to feverish excitement by the news that Hamilton, Lanark, and Argyll had on the previous night left the city and fled to Kenneil House. Gradually the rumour spread that a plot had been formed to arrest them by armed men under the Earl of Crawford in the king's bed-chamber. Of the existence of a plot of some kind the depositions of the witnesses leave no room for doubt (see copies of depositions relating to the 'Incident' in *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 163-70), but probably Argyll's flight was chiefly a subtle stroke of policy to unmask his enemies. In any case the 'Incident,' as it afterwards came to be called, had rendered Argyll so completely master of the situation that he did not think it worth while to institute a prosecution against the authors of the plot. After a private examination of witnesses the result of the inquiry was stated in vague terms to be that Crawford had been plotting something desperate, and that 'nothing was found that touched the king.' Shortly afterwards Montrose and other 'incendiaries' were liberated, all outstanding difficulties were arranged, and the king, in token of his complete reconciliation with the covenanters, made a liberal distribution of honours among their leaders, the greatest

being reserved for Argyll, who on 15 Nov. was raised to the dignity of marquis.

The result of the king's journey to Scotland had been, in the words of Clarendon, 'only to make a perfect deed of gift of that kingdom' to the covenanting party. Argyll had been able by subtle and dexterous manoeuvring to transfer the whole administrative power in Scotland from the king to the parliament. The king had been completely outwitted. To obtain the aid of the Scots against the English parliament, he had granted to the Scottish parliament concessions with which the English parliament would have been perfectly satisfied. They were thus encouraged to be only the more importunate in their demands, while Argyll saw clearly that to pay Charles the price he desired for his concessions would be suicidal, and that the fruits of the great constitutional victory won in Scotland could only be secured by a similar victory of the parliament in England. In order to smooth the way towards a peaceful arrangement of the dispute, the Scottish privy council in January 1641-2 offered themselves as mediators, but their offers were rejected by Charles. Finding that his policy of concession had been a total failure, Charles endeavoured to win the support of the Scots against the English parliament by stratagem and force. On 25 May a special meeting of the privy council was fixed to be held, at which an effort was to be made to overawe a decision for the king. Kinnoul, Roxburghe, and other noblemen brought with them to Edinburgh a large body of armed retainers, but the rumour having spread that the life or liberty of Argyll was in danger, large crowds flocked into Edinburgh from Fife and the Lothians, and thus any intentions of violence were necessarily abandoned.

For some time after the outbreak of the civil war in England the Scots remained inactive, and it was only after the subscription by the English houses of parliament and the Westminster Assembly of the solemn league and covenant that in January 1643-4 a Scotch army, under the Earl of Leven, entered England by Berwick, Argyll accompanying it as representative of the committee of estates. This procedure roused into activity the ultra-royalists in Scotland, and seemed to give to Montrose the opportunity for which he had been waiting. Hostilities were begun in the north by the Marquis of Huntly, who, after making prisoner the provost and magistrates of Aberdeen and plundering the town of its arms and ammunition, began his march southward. Argyll, who had lately returned from England, was in April

despatched against him, and coming up with him near Montrose, which he had plundered and burned, compelled him to retreat to Aberdeenshire. On 12 July news reached the Scottish parliament of the landing at Ardnamurchan, in the north of Argyllshire, of two thousand Irish and Scoto-Irish, and on the 16th Argyll received a commission to advance against the invaders. It was the territory of Argyll alone which was threatened, and no doubt was entertained that he would easily cope with the danger; but it suddenly became apparent that the incursion only formed part of a much more comprehensive scheme.

According to Clarendon, Argyll was the person whom Montrose 'most hated and contemned.' It was on Montrose's recommendation that the expedition from Ireland had been undertaken, and to act in concert with it he, on 1 Feb. 1643-4, received a commission appointing him lieutenant-general of all his majesty's forces in Scotland. While the question at issue between Argyll and Montrose was less that of king and covenant than personal rivalry, the highlanders who flocked to Montrose's banner were actuated more by hatred of Argyll than by loyal or religious motives; in the words of Macaulay, 'a powerful coalition of clans waged war nominally for King Charles, but really against MacCallum More.' To avoid Argyll, who was approaching from the west, Montrose, with a force of 2,500 Irishmen and highlanders, marched southwards across the Tay, and, after defeating a covenanting force of six thousand men under Elcho at Tippermuir on 1 Sept. 1644, entered Perth. Argyll hung on his skirts as he retreated northwards by Dundee and Aberdeen, but never could come within striking distance, and as Argyll approached Aberdeen he withdrew westwards towards the Spey, and descending through the wilds of Badenoch again entered Atholl. Disconcerted by the rapidity of his movements, Argyll induced the estates to proclaim him a traitor, and offered a reward of 20,000*l.* (Scots) for his head. Only once, at Fyvie Castle, which he had taken on 14 Oct., was Montrose almost caught in a trap; but making a feint of ostentatious preparation for a desperate resistance, he drew off his forces while Argyll was making his dispositions. Passing northwards he went to Strathbogie with the hope of rousing the Gordons, but being unable to win them over he retired again into the wilds of Badenoch. Here he learned that Argyll, having sent his horse into winter quarters, was at Dunkeld with a number of his followers, tampering with the Atholl men. By a night march over the mountainous region that lay between him and Atholl, he endeavoured to

pounce on Argyll unawares, but the latter, learning his approach while he was yet sixteen miles off, broke up his camp and retreated to Perth, where there was a strong garrison (RUSHWORTH, *Historical Collections*, ed. 1692, pt. iii. vol. ii. 985). On his return to Edinburgh, Argyll, giving as his reason that he had been insufficiently supported with money and troops, resigned his commission, which was given to Baillie [see BAILLIE, WILLIAM, *fl.* 1648]. Argyll then proceeded to his castle at Inverary, securely relying on the almost inaccessible mountain passes, when suddenly one morning in the middle of December 'the trembling cowherds came down from the hills and told him that the enemy was within two miles of him' (*ib.*) Barely making his escape in a fishing boat, he fled to his castle at Roseneath, on the Clyde, and from 13 Dec. to the end of January Montrose burned and devastated Argyll and Lorn at his pleasure. Towards the end of January news reached the committee of estates, in consultation with Argyll at Roseneath, that Montrose was marching northwards by Lochaber, as if to challenge the covenanters in the north under Seaforth. It was therefore determined that while Baillie should hold the central districts round Perth, Argyll, with a thousand lowland infantry lent him by Baillie, and as many of his own broken followers as he could hurriedly muster, should follow on the track of Montrose and fall on him when engaged with Seaforth, or cut off his retreat if he were defeated. On news reaching Montrose that Argyll was thirty miles behind him at Inverlochy, Montrose resolved to attempt the extraordinary feat of leading his hardy followers over the Lochaber mountains, so as to take the camp of Argyll on its flank and rear. On the evening of Saturday, 1 Feb., sounds were heard by the troops of Argyll as if a storm were gathering in the direction of Ben Nevis, and soon in the frosty moonlight the forces of Montrose were seen by the outposts descending from the skirts of the mountain. Having sent out skirmishers to feel the position of Argyll, Montrose delayed his attack till the morning, and Argyll took advantage of the respite to embark with other members of the committee of estates on board his galley in Loch Eil, the command of his troops being entrusted to an experienced officer, his kinsman Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck. It was stated that Argyll had been compelled by his friends to embark, because owing to a fall from his horse some days previously he was 'disabled to use either sword or pistol.' On the morrow Argyll witnessed from his galley the greatest disaster that had ever befallen his house, fifteen

hundred of the Campbells, including their leader, and five hundred duniwassels being either massacred or driven into the lake and drowned. Sailing down the lake, Argyll then proceeded to Edinburgh, arriving on 12 Feb., when, says Guthry, 'he went straight to the parliament, having his left arm in a sling as if he had been at bones-breaking.' The day previous Montrose had been declared guilty of high treason, but his victorious career was continued until, by his great triumph at Kilsyth on 15 Aug., all Scotland was for a time at his mercy. Baillie, the nominal commander of the covenanters, afterwards affirmed the real cause of the disaster to have been the unwarrantable interference of the committee of estates, the chief member of which was Argyll. From the battle Argyll escaped on horseback to Queensferry, where he got on board ship and sailed down the Firth to Newcastle. This has been attributed to panic, but may be sufficiently accounted for by a desire to be in communication with the Earl of Leven and his strong force of covenanters in England. Shortly afterwards Argyll was in Berwickshire endeavouring to counteract the negotiations of Montrose with the border lords. The victorious career of Montrose was terminated on 12 Sept. at Philliphaugh. Argyll, although again supreme in Scotland, had suffered almost as severely from the contest as Montrose. The flower of his clan had been slain either in cold blood during Montrose's terrible winter raid, or in the struggle at Inverlochy; the glens had been stripped of their cattle; the produce of the fields had been carried away or wasted by the Irish and highland marauders. Such was the terrible destitution that prevailed, that a collection for the relief of the people of Argyll was ordered to be made throughout all the churches in Scotland; and on 1 Jan. 1646-7 the parliament ordained 10,000*l.* to be paid to the marquis for subsistence, and 30,000*l.* for the relief of the shire (*Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, vi. part i. pp. 643, 675). After the flight of the king to the Scots army, Argyll was sent in May 1646 to treat with him at Newcastle. He was, Charles wrote to the queen, 'very civil and cunning' (*Charles I in 1646*, Camden Society, p. 49). Writing on 10 June Charles says: 'Argyll went yesterday to London with great profession of doing me service there; his errand (as is pretended) is only to chasten down and moderate the demands that are coming to me from thence' (*ib.* 47). The professions of Argyll, as interpreted by Charles, were to a certain extent carried out in his speech on 25 June in the Painted Chamber before the committee of the lords and commons, in which he depre-

cated the persecution of 'peaceable men who cannot through scruple of conscience come up in all things to the common rule,' but he was careful to add that the personal regard for the king in Scotland 'hath never made them forget that common rule, "The safety of the people is the supreme law"' (*The Lord Marquis of Argyll's Speech*, London, printed for Laurence Chapman, 27 June 1646). Argyll did all that he thought could be done for the king with safety, and although admitting that the ultimatum was in certain respects too stringent, he impressed upon him the necessity of accepting it as inevitable. All along Argyll had supported joint action on the part of the two parliaments as the only safe course both for the cause of the king and the people. He was therefore entirely opposed to the secret treaty concluded by the Scots, by which the king bound himself to confirm the covenant, on condition that an army was sent into England to help in his restoration. On news reaching Scotland that the Scotch army sent into England under the Duke of Hamilton had been routed by Cromwell at Preston, the western covenanters, to the number of seven thousand, gathered under Leslie, earl of Leven, and marched towards Edinburgh. On his way to join them, Argyll, with a body of highlanders, was surprised by the Earl of Lanark while dining with the Earl of Mar at Stirling, but galloping across Stirling bridge he reached North Queensferry, and crossed the Firth in a small boat to Edinburgh, where the 'Whigamores,' as they were afterwards called, had already arrived. The incursion known as the 'Whigamore Raid' dealt the final blow to the cause of the king. At Edinburgh a new committee of estates was formed with Argyll at its head. Cromwell, who had been for some time in communication with Argyll, was met by him on the borders, and invited to the capital, which he entered in procession, accompanied by the civil authorities, on 4 Oct. As a condition of his friendship Cromwell demanded of the committee of estates that no person accessory to the 'engagement' should 'be employed in any public place or trust whatsoever' (CARLYLE, *Cromwell*, letter lxxvii.), and in accordance with the pledge of the committee to that effect, Argyll, at the ensuing meeting of the parliament in January, brought forward a motion against the 'Engagers,' whom he classed under five heads, the act passed against them being thus known as the 'Act of Classes' (BALFOUR, *Annals of Scotland*, iii. 377). On 7 Oct. Cromwell was entertained by the committee at a sumptuous banquet in the castle, and the same evening

he set out for England, leaving Lambert with some regiments to aid Argyll in maintaining the new arrangement.

While Cromwell was lodged at Moray House, Argyll and some others had held long conferences with him in private, and Guthry states that it was afterwards 'talked very loud that he did communicate to them his design in reference to the king and had their consent thereto' (*Memoirs*, 298). 'Nothing,' however, Guthry admits, 'came to be known infallibly.' Argyll moved for delay in giving instructions to the Scottish commissioners to protest against the trial of the king until after a fast that had been ordered (BALFOUR, *Annals*, iii. 386), but if not influenced in this by religious scruples, he may have hesitated to countenance their interference as more likely to endanger the life of the king than to save it. His asseverations at his own trial and on the scaffold must also count for something. In any case such was the universal horror awakened throughout Scotland by the news of the king's execution, that Argyll, if he had ventured to stand against the tempest, would have involved himself in hopeless ruin. The alliance with Cromwell was therefore repudiated without a dissenting voice, and on 5 Feb. 1649-50 Charles II was proclaimed king, not merely of Scotland, but of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, at the cross of Edinburgh. The situation in which Argyll now found himself may perhaps be best understood from his own pathetic description in 'Instructions to a Son,' 'By that confusion,' he says, 'my thoughts became distracted, and myself encountered so many difficulties that all remedies that were applied had the quite contrary operation; whatever therefore hath been said by me or others in this matter, you must repute and accept them as from a distracted man of a distracted subject in a distracted time wherein I lived.' The policy now entered upon by him was a desperate one. He supported the movement for inviting the king to Scotland, as it was deemed of prime importance that he should land in Scotland under the auspices of the covenanters, rather than in Ireland unfettered by any oaths and promises. The king favoured the Irish proposal, and upon a temporary gleam of hope broke off negotiations with the Scotch commissioners, and despatched Montrose to Scotland to attempt the restoration of the monarchy without the aid of the covenanters. After the dispersion of his small band of followers Montrose was captured, and on 1 May 1650 brought into Edinburgh. Argyll, as he afterwards affirmed in his defence at his own trial, refused to interfere one way or another

in regard to his fate; but when Montrose was paraded through the town bound on a cart on his way to the Tolbooth, 'the procession,' it was said, 'was made to halt in front of the Earl of Moray's house, where among the spectators was the Marquis of Argyll, who contemplated his enemy from a window the blinds of which were partly closed' (M. de Graymond's report to Cardinal Mazarin, quoted in NAPIER's *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 781). Writing to his nephew Lord Lothian on the day of Montrose's execution announcing the birth of a daughter, Argyll notes that 'her birthday is remarkable in the tragic end of James Graham at the cross,' and adds: 'He got some resolution after he came here how to go out of this world, but nothing at all how to enter another, not so much as once humbling himself to pray at all upon the scaffold' (*Ancrum Correspondence* p. 262).

Anticipating the pledge given by him at Breda on 13 May, Charles signed the covenant while the ship in which he had embarked for Scotland was still riding at anchor in the Moray Firth, but the covenanters were determined not to be thrown off their guard, and the sole direction of affairs was still continued in the hands of the committee of estates with Argyll at their head. For his browbeating by the presbyterian clergy Charles obtained some consolation from the assurances of Argyll that 'when he came into England he might be more free, but that for the present it was necessary to please these madmen' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1650, p. 310). Possibly Argyll chafed more under their domination than did Charles. Argyll took advantage of Charles's position to make overtures for a marriage between him and his daughter, but nothing came of it owing largely to the queen's opposition (see 'Instructions to Captain Titus' in HILLIER's *King Charles in the Isle of Wight*, 324-34). After the victory of Cromwell at Dunbar Argyll's policy changed. Charles saw the prime necessity of preventing him entering into communications with Cromwell, and by a private letter under his sign-manual dated Perth 24 Sept. recorded his purpose to make him Duke of Argyll and knight of the Garter, and as soon as royalty was established in England to see him paid 40,000*l.* (Letter in app. to EACHARD's *Hist.*) Argyll recognised that the cause of the king was hopeless so long as the presbyterian clergy had the sole direction of affairs. He had only to choose between a desertion of the king by coming to terms with Cromwell, and an endeavour to promote an alliance between the covenanters and the royalists in Scotland and England. Possibly

the actual decision of the point was taken out of his hands by the king himself, when on 4 Oct. he escaped or was permitted to escape from Perth, and joined the northern loyalists. Although the king returned to Perth on the 6th declaring that he had been treacherously deceived by some that suggested and made him believe that he was to be delivered up to the enemy (BALFOUR, *Annals*, iv. 118), not only was nothing done to punish those treacherous persons, but on 12 Oct. an act of indemnity was ordered to be passed to those in Atholl who had taken up arms upon his majesty's departure from Perth on 4 Oct. (*ib.* iv. 122), and shortly afterwards Argyll and others were sent to the western covenanting army 'to solicit unity for the good of the kingdom' (*ib.* iv. 123). In order to give solidity and weight to the combination against Cromwell, preparations were also begun for the coronation of the king, which took place at Scone 1 Jan. 1651, Argyll putting the crown on his head. From this time the supremacy of Argyll in the affairs of Scotland terminated both in name and reality. For some months, though retaining his place at the helm of affairs, he had been helplessly drifting at the mercy of contending factions. As the extreme covenanters now held aloof from the king, Argyll, at the parliament which met at Perth on 13 March, found his counsels completely overruled, and from this time the struggle of Charles II against Cromwell was directed by the Hamilton faction. Argyll strongly opposed the enterprise of leading an army into England, and when it was decided on excused himself from accompanying it on account of the illness of his lady. After the disaster at Worcester on 3 Sept. he defended himself for nearly a year in his castle at Inverary, but in August 1652 was surprised by General Deane, when he gave in his submission, making as usual a very astute bargain. It is generally stated that he absolutely refused to make an unconditional surrender, and only promised to live peaceably under that government, but the exact form of his declaration was as follows: 'My dewtie to religioun, according to my oath in the covenant, always reserved, I do agrie for the civill pairt that Scotland be maid a Commonwelth with England, that thair be the same government, without King or Hous of Lordis deryved to the pepill of Scotland, and yit in the meanetyme, quhill this can be practized, I sall leave quyetlie under the Parliament of the Commonwelth of England and thair authoritie' (NICOLL'S *Diary*, p. 100). On his making this declaration Deane engaged that he should have his

liberty, and his estates, lands, and debts free from sequestration (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1655-6, p. 111).

The fall of Argyll was complete and final, and he moreover found that with his power his reputation had vanished like a dream. Up to the time when he entered upon the ill-starred enterprise of recalling Charles II, his statesmanship had been masterly and triumphant. The execution of the king had completely upset his calculations, which had all along been founded on a close union between the parliaments of Scotland and of England. This union was by that event abruptly severed, but the responsibility for the disaster rested not with him but with Cromwell. The results of his safe and prudent policy were ruthlessly annihilated by an act which after events proved to have been a mistake, although the powerful personality of Cromwell was able to turn it into immediate good for England. Argyll lost his presence of mind, and therefore his control of events in this stupendous conjuncture, and became as much a puppet in the hands of contending factions as was Charles II. Consequently, when the scheme for recalling Charles II failed, Argyll was execrated by all parties. 'He was no less drowned in debt,' says Baillie, 'than in public hatred almost of all both Scottish and English' (*Letters and Journals*, iii. 387). To the reputation for cowardice which he had gained among his enemies from his conduct on the battle-field was now attached a deeper significance. Even the accidental cast in his vision was now interpreted as indicating a similar blemish in his morale. Among the hostile highland clans he was long known as 'Gillespie Grumach,' Gillespie the ill-favoured, and in the lowlands he was referred to disdainfully as the 'Glaed-eyed Marquis.' For the contempt of the outside world he did not find unmingled consolation in the bosom of his family. He was at feud with his own son Lord Lorne [see CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, ninth EARL OF ARGYLL], then a hot-headed royalist who, much to Argyll's disrelish, took part in the attempted rising in the highlands in 1653. 'These differences,' according to Baillie, were so real as to make 'both their lives bitter and uncomfortable to them' (*ib.* iii. 288), and, indeed, Argyll had actually to ask a garrison to be placed in his house to keep it from his son's violence. His extreme pecuniary difficulties are graphically illustrated in a passage of Nicoll's diary recording Argyll's visit to Dalkeith in November 1654 to complain of his son Lord Lorne to General Monck. 'At quhich time,' says Nicoll, 'he resaved much effrontes and disgraces of his creditors, quha, being frustrat and defraudit



be the Marques of thair just and lauchfull dettis, spaird not at all times as he walked, ather in street or in the feildis abroad, [to call him] "a fals traitour." Besyde this, his hors and hors graith, and all uther household stuff were poyndit at Dalkeith and at Newbottill and brocht into Edinburgh, and thair comprysit at the Mercat Croce for dett' (*Diary*, 140). In order to push his suit with the Protector for payment of the money promised him by acts of the Scottish parliament, Argyll in September 1655 arrived in London. While there he was in November arrested at the suite of Elizabeth Maxwell, widow of the Earl of Dirleton, for debt, connected with the supply of meal to the Scots army in 1644-5 (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1655-6, p. 7), who, however, was ordered to forbear further prosecution of him or of his bail, and to take her remedy in Scotland (*ib.* p. 34). For the payment of the moneys promised him by the Scottish parliament Argyll pleaded the engagement of Deane guaranteeing him the payment of his debts, and he did obtain a grant on the excise of wines and strong waters, not to exceed 3,000*l.* a year, till the whole sum due to him, 12,116*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, should be paid (*ib.* 1656-7, p. 107). Possibly Argyll had even more ambitious intentions in his visit to London, but if so he was unsuccessful, and indeed was always regarded by Cromwell with suspicion as a royalist at heart. On the incorporation of the Scottish parliament with that of England, he exerted himself in opposition to the council of state to get Scotsmen returned (Letter of Monck to Thurloe, 30 Sept. 1658, *Thurloe State Papers*, vii. 584). He himself sat as member for Aberdeenshire.

After the Restoration, Argyll, on 8 July 1660, presented himself in the presence chamber at Whitehall to pay his respects to the king; but on asking for an interview instructions were given by Charles II for his apprehension, and he was committed to the Tower. For once in his life he had acted precipitately, and his rashness was fatal. Early in December he was sent to Edinburgh by sea for trial, on charges of compliance with the usurpation and of treasonable acts committed since 1638. The accusation embraced fourteen counts, the most serious being that of having been accessory to the death of Charles I.; and the trial, which was presided over by his inveterate enemy, the Earl of Middleton, lord high commissioner, continued through March and April. On the main count he was declared guiltless by a large majority (*BURNER'S Own Time*, i. 124), but after the evidence had been closed and a complete acquittal seemed probable, a

despatch arrived from Monck containing private letters of Argyll (addressed to himself, his secretary (Sir) William Clarke, and Robert Lilburne in 1653-4) showing that he had been 'hearty and zealous on the side of the usurpation.' The reading of them silenced further debate, and he was condemned to death. The incriminating letters long disappeared, but now belong to the Duke of Argyll (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 616-7) and are printed in Willcock's 'Life' (pp. 378 *et seq.*) According to Burnet he attempted to escape out of the castle by pretending illness and endeavouring to pass for his wife, who took his place on the sickbed, but his heart failed as he was about to step into her chair in disguise. He was beheaded with the maiden at the cross of Edinburgh on 27 May 1661. The serenity with which he met his fate greatly surprised those who had given him credit for abject personal cowardice. While taking his last meal with his friends at twelve o'clock he comported himself with unaffected cheerfulness, and on the scaffold he addressed the crowd with dignified composure in a solemn and temperate speech about half an hour in duration. Cunningham, his physician, told Burnet that on touching his pulse he found it to 'beat at the usual rate clear and strong,' and as an evidence that his self-possession was internal and thorough it was noted on opening his body that the partridge he had eaten at dinner had been completely digested ('Anecdotes of the Marquis of Argyll,' by the Rev. Robert Wodrow, in *Argyll Papers*, 1834, p. 12). Among the royalists his bearing on the scaffold caused much perplexity, but they seem to have inclined to the opinion that it disproved his cowardice, but showed his hypocrisy. The Earl of Crawford, convinced that Argyll's conduct on the occasion of a duel arranged between them at Musselburgh in August 1648 (see BALFOUR'S *Annals*, iii. 395) could only be accounted for by his being 'naturally a very great coward,' stoutly contested the proposition of Middleton that Argyll's 'soul was in hell,' asserting that such resolution as he showed on the scaffold must have been due to 'some supernatural assistance; he was sure it was not his natural temper' (*BURNET'S Own Time*, i. 126). The day before his execution Argyll wrote a letter to the king justifying his intentions in all his conduct towards him in regard to the covenant (see copy in WODROW'S *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, i. 54), and his last words on the scaffold were, 'I am free from any accession by knowledge, contriving, counsel, or any other way to his late majesty's death.' His body was carried to St. Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate,



thence to Newbattle Abbey, and after a few weeks to the burial-place of the family on the Holy Loch. His head was exposed on the west end of the Tolbooth, on the same spike previously occupied by that of Montrose; but in May 1664 there came 'a letter from the king to the council, commanding them to take down Argyll's head that it might be buried with his body, which was done quietly in the night time' (*Life of Robert Blair*, p. 469). The public hatred with which Argyll had been regarded in his later years was, says Laing, 'converted into general commiseration at his death. His attainder was justly imputed to the enmity, his precipitate death to the impatience and the insatiable desire of Middleton to procure a gift of his title and estates; and, as it generally happens whensoever a statesman suffers, whether from natural justice or revenge, his execution served to exalt and to relieve his character from the obloquy which would have continued to attend him had he been permitted to survive' (*History of Scotland*). By his wife Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of William, second earl of Morton, he had two sons—the eldest of whom, Archibald [q. v.], succeeded him as ninth earl—and four daughters. His second son, Niel, of Ardmaddie (d. 1693), was father of Archibald Campbell (d. 1744) [q. v.] He was the author of 'Instructions to a Son,' written during his imprisonment and published at Edinburgh in 1661. To an edition published in 1743 was added 'General Maxims of Life.' His speech on 'Peace' in 1642 and his speech in London in 1646 were published shortly after they were delivered, as well as his speech at his trial and on the scaffold.

[A general narrative of the events of the period is given in Rushworth's *Historical Collections* and in Balfour's *Annals of Scotland*. Many references will be found in the Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vols. iv. v. vi. vii., and in the *Calendars of the State Papers* (Dom. Ser.) during the reign of Charles I and the Commonwealth. The narratives of contemporaries are coloured strongly by party prejudice. They are chiefly Spalding's *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland and England from 1624 to 1640* (Spalding Club); *Memoirs of Bishop Guthrie from 1637 to the Death of Charles I*; Wishart's *Life of Montrose*; Gordon's *Scots Affairs during 1637–41* (Spalding Club); *The Life of Robert Blair*; Nicoll's *Diary of Public Transactions from January 1650 to June 1667* (Bannatyne Club), and specially Robert Baillie's *Letters and Journals* (Bannatyne Club), which throw much light on Argyll's connection with the kirk. The accounts of Argyll by Burnet in *History of his own Times and Lives of the Hamiltons*, and by Clarendon in his *History of the Rebellion*, supply an accurate representation of

his reputation among the royalists of the period, which is mirrored in Sir Walter Scott's portrait of him in the *Legend of Montrose*. In Whitelocke's *Memorials* the references to him are numerous. Letters to or from him and other documents will be found in the *Argyll Papers*, 1834; *Letters to the Argyll Family*, 1839; *Thurloe State Papers*; *Strafford's Letters*; *Correspondence of the Earls of Ancrum and Lothian*; and in the various books on Montrose by Mark Napier, as well as in his *Life of Claverhouse*, Viscount Dundee. The proceedings at his trial, published first in 1661, occupy pp. 1370–1515 of vol. v. of *State Trials*, but no evidence is given. Biographies include John Willcock's *The Great Marquess*, Edinburgh, 1903, besides those in *Crawford's Scottish Peerage*, pp. 20–1; *Biographia Britannica*, ed. Kippis, iii. 178–93; *Douglas's Scottish Peerage*, i. 95–100; *Chambers's Eminent Scotsmen* (ed. Thomson), i. 277–83; *Granger's Biog. Hist.*, 2nd ed., iii. 25, 26; and *Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors*, ed. Park, v. 103–8. See also Laing's *History of Scotland*, Gardiner's *History of England*, Macaulay's *History of England*, Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, and especially, both for fullness and accuracy, Masson's *Life of Milton*.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, ninth EARL OF ARGYLL (d. 1685), was the son of the Marquis of Argyll [q. v.] executed in 1661, and of Lady Margaret Douglas, second daughter of William, second earl of Morton. After a careful education from his father (*Biog. Brit.*), and after passing through schools and colleges (DOUGLAS, *Peerage of Scotland*), he travelled in France and Italy. His letter of safe-conduct from Charles I is dated 7 Jan. 1647 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 631 b), which, if the style is English, means 1648. He remained abroad until the end of 1649. Upon his return he married, 13 May 1650, Lady Mary Stuart, the eldest daughter of the Earl of Murray (LAMONT's *Diary*, p. 20). When Charles II was invited to Scotland in 1650, Lorne was made captain of his majesty's foot life guards, appointed by parliament to attend on the king's person. The commission from Charles, without which he refused to act, though such commissions were usually given by parliament alone, is dated 6 Aug. 1650 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 491 a). He appears to have made himself especially grateful to Charles, who suffered under the restraints laid upon him by the presbyterian clergy, by bringing to him at all hours the friends he wished to see. In his zealous adherence to Charles he was in antagonism to his father, though it is supposed that this antagonism was feigned, in order that, whatever might happen, the family interests might be secured (BURNET, i. 57). Clarendon's account (*Life*, p. 499), that Lorne treated Charles with rude-

ness and barbarity, is evidently imaginary. Lorne was present with his regiment at Dunbar on 3 Sept. 1650, where he behaved with much bravery (THURLOE, *State Papers*, i. 164). On 12 Sept. he was the bearer of a letter from Charles at Perth to the committee of estates, urging the necessity of immediate recruiting (*ib.*) On 26 Sept. it was reported that Lorne had gone to raise his father's tenants, and that, finding his men would not follow him, Argyll had left the highlands (WHITELOCKE, *Mem.* pp. 546, 549). After the battle of Worcester he joined Glencairn, who was in arms in the highlands, with seven hundred foot and two hundred horse, in the winter of 1653, and with him prepared to invade the lowlands at Ruthven, with the commission of lieutenant-general (THURLOE, ii. 3, 27), and he was successful in surprising a ship laden with provisions for the English troops. His father, by whom he was 'but coarsely used' (BAILLIE, *Letters and Journals*, iii. 250), had submitted to Monck in the previous year, and we gain some information as to Lorne's action during 1653 from Argyll's letters to the English. He is not, Argyll says on 21 July, resolved to join the highlanders, but will not declare in the negative, 'though privately he says he intends not at all to join with them.' A little later Lorne has taken horse and gone to Glenurchie, to hold a meeting of his friends, and Argyll has sent him his last warning, but has not learned his resolution; finally, Lorne is reported to have gone with Kenmure and others to Menteith (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 617 a).

Between the various commanders of Glencairn's irregular force there were constant quarrels. Lorne and Glengarry 'fell out, and drew upon each other, but were prevented from fighting, yet parted great enemies' (THURLOE, i. 478). Glencairn distrusted and slighted Lorne. When Lorne and Kenmure went in joint command of a force to suppress the Kintyre remonstrants, Kenmure thought that Lorne treated them more mildly than they deserved, and left him in order to carry his complaints to Glencairn (BAILLIE, iii. 250). In March 1653-4 a quarrel took place, in which he was like to have been killed by young Montrose (WHITELOCKE, p. 566). Lorne shortly afterwards had a final dispute with his chief, as to whether the men of the district through which they were marching were subject, as his vassals, to his and to no other person's authority. Refusing to give way, or to accept orders from Glencairn, Lorne now left him with his men (1 Jan. 1653-4), and for a while there was fear of an encounter, as a stream alone separated them (THURLOE, ii. 4). The next night,

with Colonel Meyner and six horsemen, he left his troops and fled. The reason for this, according to Baillie (iii. 250), was that a letter written by Lorne to the king full of complaints of Glencairn had been intercepted, and Glencairn had ordered Glengarry to arrest him. Thurloe's correspondent gives a version more discreditable to Lorne: that the intercepted letter was written to the general of the English forces, acquainting him with the disposition of Glencairn's men, and with the best plan for attacking them (THURLOE, ii. 4). He states, too, that while he was in arms he was 'no way considerable with the enemy;' that 'he had raised a regiment of foote, and that they took away, and gave him a troop of horse, and that they took. He will not readily be brought to act again.' In May 1654 Cromwell published his 'Ordinance of Pardon and Greace to the Peopell of Scotland;' Lorne was among the numerous exceptions. On 10 June he was reported as being reconciled with his father, and as helping him to raise men for the English (WHITELOCKE, p. 574). This, however, is clearly erroneous. In September he managed to capture a vessel loaded with provisions for Argyll's men. There seems little doubt that he joined Middleton's expedition of this year, Glencairn having been 'slighted' upon his letters (BAILLIE, iii. 255). In November we find him sweeping his father's lands of cattle, and Argyll was compelled to ask for an English garrison to protect him from his son's insolence (WHITELOCKE, p. 590). In the beginning of December, however, he was in such distress that he had to retire to a small island with but four or five men (*ib.* p. 591), and on 16 Dec. Monck informed Cromwell that Lorne was to meet his father, and would probably come over to the Protector if admitted (THURLOE, iii. 28). Lorne, however, informed Argyll that he could not capitulate without the full concurrence of Middleton (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 617 a). He was suspected of having an agent with the king and of intriguing in England as well (THURLOE, iv. 49), and on 30 Dec. 1654 Charles wrote from Cologne, thanking him for his constancy to Middleton in all his distresses, acknowledging his good service upon the rebels, and promising future rewards (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 613 b). So obnoxious were he and his family to Cromwell that even Lady Lorne was on 18 Jan. 1654-5 driven out of Argyll by the English, since her presence there caused the rebels to collect (*ib.* 622 a). It has been stated, indeed (*Biog. Brit.*), that Lorne refused to make any engagements with the usurpers until he received the king's orders to capitulate, dated

31 Dec. 1655. This, however, is erroneous, and the error has arisen from a mistake in date. The instructions received through Middleton are dated Dunveaggan, 31 March. Lorne is urged to lose no time in taking such a course, by capitulation or otherwise, as he shall judge 'most fit and expedient to save his person, family, and estate.' He is spoken of as having been 'principallie engaged in the enlivening of the war, and one of the chief movers;' and his 'deportments in relation to the enemy and the last war are beyond all paralell' (*ib.*) Another letter to the same effect from Middleton reached him in April, dated from Paris, in which he is similarly praised. Both of these letters were produced in his favour at his trial in 1681. The next evidence that Lorne was treating for surrender is a letter in which he requests the Laird of Weem to be one of his sureties for 5,000*l.* This is dated 6 June 1655. The conditions, which appear to have been drawn up in May, and to have received Cromwell's approval in August, were (1) that Lorne and the heads of clans serving him should come in within three weeks; (2) that he should give good lowland security for 5,000*l.*, his officers and vassals giving proportional security; (3) that Lorne should have liberty to march with his horses and arms—the horses to be sold in three weeks; (4) that he and his party should enjoy their estates without molestation, and should be freed from all fines or forfeiture (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1655, 270). By 8 Nov. Monck had 'bound Lorne in 5,000*l.* as good security as could be had in Scotland, Lorne promising to live peaceably; and garrisons were admitted at Lochaber and Dunstaffnage to see that his promises were kept' (*THURLOE*, iii. 162; DOUGLAS).

Lorne was at this time carefully watched by Broghill, who corrupted his servants, and who sent Thurloe constant accounts of his movements. On 20 Nov. he urged Lorne's arrest, although he had done nothing to justify it, in order that enemies more dangerous at the time might think themselves secure and unobserved. On 25 Nov. the king is reported to have great confidence in him, and on 1 Jan. 1655-6 he is described as having again declared for Charles Stuart, and taken the island and garrison of Mull. On 8 Jan. notice is sent that he has had a meeting of all his friends. If such a meeting were held, however, it was nominally to take order with his debts (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 245, 372, 401), the great burden of which is emphatically noticed by Baillie (iii. 288). On 13 March other conditions were made between Argyll and the English, of

which one was that he or Lorne, whichever the parliament might direct, should repair to England whenever desired, provided they had freedom within a compass of twenty miles, and leave to have audience of the council whenever they wished. Evidently a reconciliation or arrangement had been come to between Argyll and Lorne. On 10 June it is noted that Lorne had saved his estate by capitulating (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1655-6, 222, 362). He was still, however, regarded with great suspicion. On 13 May 1656 Broghill reported that he was 'playing the roge,' and sending despatches to Charles, and declared that if ever the king made any stir it would be through him; and this warning was twice repeated in the following August, when he was charged as being appointed, with Fairfax, to head another Scottish revolt (*THURLOE*, v. 18, 319, 323). Probably in consequence of Broghill's information, a new oath was now imposed upon the Scottish nobility in the beginning of 1656-7, whereby they were compelled to swear their renunciation of the Stuarts, and their adherence to the protectorate (*BAILLIE*, iii. 430). Upon his refusal Lorne was at once imprisoned. He is mentioned on 28 Feb. as one of the considerable prisoners in Scotland (*THURLOE*, vi. 81). In August Broghill urged that he and Glencairn, as the only two persons still capable of heading a party, should be sent for to England, where they would be able to have 'less trinketing' (*ib.* p. 436). While confined in the castle of Edinburgh a strange accident befell him in March 1658, thus described by Lamont (p. 20): 'Being playing at the bullets in the castell, the lieutenant of the castell throwing the bullett, it lighted on a stone, and with such force started back on the Lord Lorne's head that he fell doune, and lay for the space of some houres dead; after that he recovered, and his head was trepanned once or twice.' From this he appears never fully to have recovered (*FOUNTAINHALL, Hist. Observes*, p. 195). The date of his release is not known—probably it was in March 1659-60, when Lauderdale and the other prisoners taken at Worcester were set free (*ib.* p. 152). We find him asking for Lauderdale's advice as to his future action at that time (*Lauderdale MSS.*)

Upon the Restoration Lorne at once came to court, and was well received by the king. He asked leave for his father to come to London, and wrote to him saying that he need not fear, as the king bore himself kindly to all men. Upon this Argyll came up secretly, but was sent to the Tower so soon as Lorne ventured to tell Charles. Lorne remained to intercede, and found, or the sight

he had found, a powerful auxiliary in Lauderdale, whose wife's niece he had married (MACKENZIE, *Mem.* p. 38), though Clarendon says that Lauderdale had in former years always written slightlying of him, calling him 'that toad's bird' (p. 500).

After his father's death Lorne busied himself about his own restoration, with Lauderdale's active assistance against the influence of Clarendon and Middleton. The latter now hoped for the forfeited Argyll estates, in which design Lauderdale was bent upon baulking him (WODROW, i. 297). The opposition of Clarendon he hoped to rid himself of through the chancellor's friend, Lord Berkshire, to whom he promised 1,000*l.* if his efforts were successful. Unfortunately, he recorded this in a letter to Lord Duffus, which was intercepted, and which, from the accusations against his enemies—the incriminating words being 'and then the king will see their tricks' (MACKENZIE, p. 70)—afforded good ground for attack. Middleton produced the letter before parliament, which was under his control, and Lorne was indicted on the capital charge of leasing-making. On 24 June information of these proceedings was sent to the king, with a request that Lorne might be given up as a prisoner. Lauderdale, however, by offering himself as bail, life for life, succeeded so far that Lorne was only ordered to go to Edinburgh on parole, so that he might have the advantage of not appearing as a prisoner (BURNET, p. 149; MACKENZIE, p. 71). On 17 July he arrived in Edinburgh, and appeared at the bar that afternoon, when he was at once committed to the castle. On 26 Aug. he knelt to receive his sentence of death with forfeiture to the king, to whom the time and place of execution were remitted, and who had previously sent positive orders that the sentence should not be carried out. At the same time an act was passed at Middleton's dictation, directed against Lauderdale, forbidding any one to move the king in favour of the children of attainted persons (*Lauderdale Papers*, Camden Society, i. 109, 113). Lorne remained in the castle until 4 June 1663, when, Middleton having in the meanwhile been disgraced, he was liberated by an order from Rothes, without any warrant from the king, from whom, however, Rothes had private instructions (MACKENZIE, p. 117). It is clear, therefore, either that his imprisonment was purely nominal, or that Burnet's statement that at the time of the Billetting plot he sent a horseman by cross roads to warn Lauderdale is incorrect, for the Billetting plot was in September 1662 (BURNET, p. 151; *Lauderdale Papers*, i. 110). At the same time, through the intercession of Lau-

derdale, the death sentence was rescinded (LAMONT, p. 204), and he was restored to his grandfather's title of Earl of Argyll, and to the estates, the patent being dated 16 Oct. (DOUGLAS). He appears from a casual notice on 12 Oct. 1663 to have been in London when this took place (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1663, 295). From the estates a provision of 15,000*l.* a year was secured; the rest was to be used for the payment of his creditors, of the justice of whose claims he and his sisters were first to be satisfied (WODROW, i. 380). This settlement was later renewed and ratified by Charles in a letter dated from Newmarket, 17 March 1682-3 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 615 b). Burnet says that the estates reserved did not pay off more than one-third of the debt. The family had been reduced almost to beggary, while by a decree of 16 April 1661 Montrose had established a claim upon him of 32,664*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* Scots for Mugdock rents, which had been given to Argyll on Montrose's forfeiture, as well as 5,000*l.*, being the price for the said lands with annual rent from Whitsun day 1655 (*ib.* 632 a). The constant litigation on these matters with Montrose intensified the natural enmity between the families. They were, however, reconciled by February 1667 (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 54; and *Argyll Correspondence*, Bannatyne Club). Montrose visited Argyll at Inverary in August (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23727, f. 211), and in March 1669 Argyll travelled all the way to Perthshire from Inverary to attend the funeral of his former enemy, to whose son he became guardian (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 609a), returning to find one of his own children dead. We may here mention that on 2 Oct. 1660 Lorne had had a lease granted to him by Charles of assyse herring of the western seas of Scotland for nineteen years, for 1,000*l.* yearly, which was renewed on 26 Jan. 1667, and it is interesting to find Charles speaking in September 1668 enthusiastically of the present of herrings and aqua vitæ which Argyll had sent him. Sir R. Moray, who wrote to tell him this, urged him to take immediate steps for supplying the London market. On 29 April 1664 Argyll was placed on the Scotch privy council (WODROW, i. 416). On the 21st Rothes speaks of him as likely to be active in support of the government against the conventiclers (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23122, f. 139). In September 1664, however, we find him complaining that he is falsely reported to be slack in the king's service, and that pains are taken to misconstrue all he does. During 1664 and 1665 he was regarded as one of Lauderdale's chief adherents (*ib.* ii. App. xxvii), Lauderdale being godfather to

one of his children (*ib.*), and is frequently consulted as to the best means of settling the country (*ib.* i. 195, 201, 210). In May 1665 he was busy disarming the covenanters in Kintyre, as he had formerly done in 1654 (*ib.* 23123, f. 38), and in October was instrumental in seizing Rallston and Hacket. He took, however, as little part as possible in public affairs; his main object was evidently to raise the fallen estate of his family, in doing which he is accused of great harshness to his creditors; and he remained for the most part quietly at Inverary, exercising his hereditary office of grand justiciar of the highlands, and composing the differences between highland chiefs (*ib.*) Many instances of his jurisdiction, especially against the McCleans, are recorded (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 624 a, b, 609 b, &c.) At this time, it may be noted, his family consisted of four boys and two girls (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23123, f. 224). As one of Lauderdale's confidants he was, with Tweeddale, Kincardine, and Moray, opposed to the oppression of Rothes, Sharp, Hamilton, Dalrymple, and the needy nobility. There was naturally violent animosity against him on the part of the majority of the council, and especially on that of James Sharp, of which Lauderdale was informed by Bellenden. Bellenden urges that Argyll should be set right with the king (*ib.* i. 247). It is somewhat surprising to find his signature appended, on 6 Aug. 1666, to the letter of the privy council to Charles, in which the iniquitous act compelling landlords to be sureties for their heritors and tenants is suggested. He had been summoned to Edinburgh by Rothes for this purpose (*ib.* ii. App. lxxv). The jealousy of Sharp and others was evidenced by an attempt to challenge his formal restoration to his hereditary offices in October 1666, and still more when the Pentland revolt took place. According to a letter to England, dated 28 Nov., he was forward in the attack (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1666, 295). As a matter of fact he was not even present. He had raised a force of 1,500 or 2,000 men (BURNET, p. 234; DOUGLAS, *Peerage of Scotland*), but Sharp, who in Rothes' absence had the direction of affairs, would not allow him to come on the scene, fearing that he and his men would join the rebels (BURNET, p. 234). On 6 Dec. 1666, however, Rothes expressed to Lauderdale his surprise at Argyll's absenting himself, 'never having been so much as heard of all this while,' and pointed out that if he had studied his own interests by bestirring himself he would have undeceived thousands who had no good opinion of him. Rothes added that he had placed Argyll on the commission

that was going west, and urged Lauderdale to write to him, if he was his friend, to bestir himself (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23125, f. 183). Argyll, however, writes to Lauderdale to contradict the reports of his lukewarmness, and to complain of the fact that he has never been sent for in spite of his readiness (*ib.* 23125, ff. 101, 177), and in another letter speaks of himself as almost killed with toil and ill weather in Kintyre (*Argyll Correspondence*, Bannatyne Club). After the rout the principal leaders of the rebels endeavoured to reach the western coast to cross over to Ireland, and on 14 Dec. Argyll received instructions from the privy council to capture them if possible (*Lauderdale Papers*, i. 261). He is reported as having done so on 25 Dec. (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Ser. 1666, 369).

In January 1667, however, he again complained of the unfair jealousy that keeps him from employment, and in February compelled Sharp to retract his charge against him of hostility to the bishops. His twin children died in June of this year. The treasurership was now taken from Rothes and placed in commission, and Argyll was made one of the commissioners; he also received from Charles a new charter of all his lands, offices, &c. On 3 Aug. he was appointed, with Atholl and Seaforth, to have the oversight of the highlands, which were in a disturbed state, with a grant of the effects of all thieves and the forfeiture of their associates, and the duty of making up to every person the value of what has been stolen from them (*ib.* 1667, 356). In 1669 he made a celebrated proposition regarding the putting down of the thieves, viz. that some private gentleman should have put into his hands a list of all the notorious freebooters, and that he should be bound to produce them dead or alive by a certain date before being able to claim a reward. Nevertheless, he more than once remonstrates against the language used of the highlanders, which is such, he says, as would be used if they did not belong to Christendom (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 136). On 10 Jan. 1667 he came forward at the convention of estates, and named 6,000*l.* a month for a year as the sum to be raised for the king's use (*ib.* i. 270), although only two years before, 11 March 1665, he had spoken against endeavouring to raise money from so impoverished a country (*ib.* i. 210). He was still on good terms with Lauderdale, and upheld him against the party headed by Rothes. In September he wrote to Lauderdale urging him to secure Rothes's resignation of the commissionership, and on 12 Dec. he exposes the designs and characters of Sharp, Hamilton, and Rothes in the most felicitous

language (*Argyll Correspondence*, Bannatyne Club).

In May 1668 Argyll's wife died, and the letter in which, on 5 June, he describes her last moments and his own desolation is extremely touching (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23129, f. 138). In October 1669 Lauderdale came down as high commissioner. The nobility went to meet him at Berwick, and the 'Earl of Argyll outwent them all in his journey and compliment, and is looked upon as a great favourite' (MACKENZIE, p. 141). Possibly this is connected with the fact that, as stated by Burnet (245), Argyll was aware that Lady Dysart, who shortly became Lauderdale's second wife, was using her influence against him. At the opening of the session he carried the sceptre (LAMONT, p. 267). On 9 Nov. he is recorded as speaking strongly against any advances being made to England in the matter of the union (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 155). It was supposed that one great object of this parliament was to ratify Argyll's gift of forfeiture. This ratification was vehemently opposed by Erroll and other creditors, but Lauderdale carried it through by high-handed action. The reasons which, through Tweeddale's jealousy, brought about the breach with Lauderdale, it is not necessary to recount (MACKENZIE, p. 180). The final cause, however, appears to have been Argyll's second marriage with that very remarkable woman, Anna Seaforth [see CAMPBELL, ANNA MACKENZIE], dowager Lady Balcarres, on Friday, 28 Jan. 1670 (LAMONT), whereby Lauderdale and Tweeddale thought that their godson, the young earl, would be injured. The enmity with Tweeddale was strengthened by the action of the latter in frustrating Argyll's desire to be made justice-general over all the isles. In May 1670 he raised a regiment of militia, and in writing to Lauderdale accidentally mentions his own slight stature thus: 'The colonel, you may be sure, is the least of the regiment' (*ib.*). The only other purely personal notice of him is that in Fountainhall (*Hist. Observes*, p. 195): 'He was so conceitly he had neir 20 several pockets, some of them very secret in his coat and breeches, and was witty in knacks.'

Both from conviction and policy Argyll was opposed to the persecution of the western covenanters, and on 7 Dec. 1671 we find him pleading for gentler methods (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 218). On 2 April Argyll received an order from the privy council to suppress the conventicles in his jurisdiction (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 622 b). In this year Lauderdale endeavoured, by means of Gilbert Burnet, to renew the friendship with Argyll; but through Lady Dysart's desire for a family

alliance with Lord Atholl, Argyll's hereditary enemy, this was partially frustrated (BURNET, p. 299). Burnet, however, is completely in error in stating that in 1673, when Hamilton led the attack upon Lauderdale, Argyll joined him (p. 362). Mackenzie (p. 256) contradicts this, and that Mackenzie is right is shown by the fact that, along with Atholl and Kincardine, Argyll spoke on 19 Nov. against Hamilton's proposals (*Lauderdale Papers*, ii. 242), and was named as one of Lauderdale's representatives in the discussions which followed. On 11 July 1674 he was made an extraordinary lord of session (DOUGLAS). He had in May been made a member of the committee for public affairs appointed to do its utmost to put down conventicles (WODROW, ii. 234), and was employed upon this work in June following, and in May 1676 (*ib.* pp. 281, 324), though he is stated as in favour of moderate measures in 1677 (*ib.* p. 349).

Very little is known of Argyll's life during the few following years. In September 1677 we find him successfully engaged in a suit against James, duke of York, who had contested his claim to a sunken ship, supposed to contain vast treasures (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 613 b), and who wrote to confess himself defeated, and to assure Argyll that their dispute would in no way be to his disfavour. In February of the same year Lauderdale had again applied for his assistance against his opponents (*ib.* 621 b). His alliance with Lauderdale was strengthened by the marriage of the daughter of the second Duchess of Lauderdale with his eldest son, Lord Lorne, in this year (WODROW, ii. 348). On 10 Oct. 1678 he received a commission to seize, with the aid of three companies, the island of Mull. For the possession of this island continued fighting, characterised by great barbarity on both sides, had been going on between Argyll and the McCleans since 1674 (DOUGLAS).

In the following November he received notice of the king's satisfaction with his prudence and moderation in carrying out the commission (WODROW, iii. 144). It was not, however, until 1680 that he possessed the island without disturbance (LAW, *Memorials*, p. 159). On 12 April 1679, in consequence of the popish terror in England, he received a special commission to secure the highlands, to disarm all papists, and to reduce several highland chiefs suspected of popery (WODROW, iii. 39; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 632 b), and in May had special armed assistance for this purpose from the sheriffs of Dumbarton and Bute (WODROW, iii. 61). From this expedition, however, he was recalled.

He was entirely opposed to the shameful measure of quartering the highland host upon the disaffected western shores, and had sent none of his men to join it. Accordingly, on 7 June 1679, he received an order from the council to leave his highland expedition and at once repair with all his forces to Linlithgow's camp. The language of this peremptory notice points to considerable suspicion on the part of the council as to his intentions (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 622 b). There is, however, no account of his being present at the fights of Drumclog, of Bothwell Brigg, or at any of the operations against the insurgents. Doubtless his slackness increased the animosity of the government. He was, however, in 1680 one of the lords of the secret committee, which was in constant communication with Lauderdale (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23247, f. 22). In 1680 James, whose sitting in the council without taking the oath of allegiance he had strongly opposed in the previous year (*ib.* 23245, ff. 3, 5), came as high commissioner to Scotland, and a parliament was held in 1681, Argyll bearing the crown at the opening on 13 Aug. He was, too, a member of the committee of religion in this parliament (WODROW, iii. 291). It seems probable that his downfall had been already determined upon. Mackenzie, writing to Lauderdale on 17 Feb., represents James as much displeased with a paper he handed in upholding Argyll's right in some 'affair of the highlands' (*Lauderdale Papers*, 23245, f. 86). James expressly states that the king thought his power too great for any one subject, his hereditary judicatories practically rendering him the real king of a large part of the west of Scotland. He had, too, but few friends among the nobles, while his arbitrary and selfish conduct in his own courts and his policy in the highlands, especially against the McCleahs, had occasioned a confederacy of principal highland chiefs against him (FOUNTAINHALL, *Hist. Notices*, p. 108). Moreover, he was the prominent representative of the staunch protestant interest, and as such was obnoxious to James. Argyll, however, assured James that he would firmly adhere to his interest, and we find his signature, on 17 Feb., to a letter of the council to Charles, in which the doctrine of the divine right is asserted in its extremest form. James also paid a solemn visit of ceremony to Argyll at Stirling in this same month (FOUNTAINHALL, *Hist. Observes*, p. 27). In his declaration to James, however, he expressly reserved his loyalty to the protestant religion, a reservation met by the duke with marked coldness. In the first two acts that were passed, to secure the observance of all

the laws against popery and the unalterable succession to the crown, Argyll eagerly concurred. In the first, however, parliament, in deference to James, omitted the clause 'and all acts against popery.' Argyll moved its restoration, and thus still further discredited himself in James's eyes. With regard to the second, a test was enacted compelling all who served in church or state to declare their firm adherence to the protestant religion. To this the court party subjoined a recognition of the supremacy, and a disavowal of all resistance without the king's authority, or attempts to change the government either in church or state. Argyll opposed this addition to the multiplicity of oaths, and especially the proposal to exempt the royal family from the action of the test, desiring that the exemption might be confined to James himself. The act passed, however, and Argyll was called upon to take the test. He was warned by Paterson, bishop of Edinburgh, that his opposing the exemption had 'fired the kiln,' and that a refusal now would insure his ruin. In the late parliament he had been significantly attacked. Erroll gave in a claim for a large sum, for which, he said, he had been cautioner in favour of Argyll's father; and an act was brought in to take from him his heritable judicatories, which had twice been confirmed, in 1663 and 1672. This failing, a special commission was proposed by parliament, having parliamentary power, to investigate Argyll's right, and to examine, or rather resume, the gift of his father's forfeiture; but the illegality was so patent that James quashed it (WODROW, iii. 313). When parliament rose it was determined to get a commission from Charles for the same purpose, but this design was again frustrated. He now wrote for leave to come to court; this was refused until he should take the test, and on 1 Nov. his name was omitted in the new list of lords of session (FOUNTAINHALL, *Hist. Observes*, p. 51). As privy councillor and commissioner of the treasury he was now forced to declare himself. He was suddenly cited by one of the clerks of council to take the oath; he remonstrated with James, as the interval allowed had not elapsed, and was abruptly informed that he must appear next council day, 3 Nov. He would have given up his employments in preference, but his various public and private engagements prevented it. He therefore took and signed the oath, which was a mass of contradictions, 'so far as consistent with itself and the protestant faith,' but refused to bind himself against 'endeavouring any alteration of advantage' to church and state not



repugnant to the protestant religion and his loyalty. To this explanation, which Lockhart, Dalrymple, and others are doubtfully credited with having informed him he was entitled to make (OMOND, *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, i. 217), he obtained James's assent on the day on which he resumed his seat in the council; he did not vote in the general explanation given by the council, as the debate was over before he arrived (Wodrow, iii. 315). The next day he had, as commissioner, to go through the same scene. This time he was required to put his reservation in writing, and to sign it. The latter, however, though at first willing, he skilfully avoided doing. He was thereupon immediately dismissed the council, as not having properly taken the test, and a few days later, 9 Nov., was committed to the castle on the charge of leasing-making, treason, perjury, and assuming the legislative power. On the 8th the council had written to Charles, who replied at once, requiring full notice before sentence was declared. A request for a private interview with James was refused, and though, through the activity of Gilbert Burnet, the intercession of Halifax, who declared that in England they would not hang a dog on such a charge, was not wanting with Charles, nothing came of it. It was clear that conviction was determined upon. The assistance of Lockhart, who, with Dalrymple, Stuart, and others, had given an opinion in Argyll's favour, was twice denied, James declaring, 'If he pleads for Argyll, he shall never plead for my brother or me,' and only granted when Argyll took the necessary legal steps to secure it. The trial, so far as the relevancy of the libel was concerned (OMOND, *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, i. 218), that is whether or no his explanation brought him in law under the acts against leasing-making, began on 12 Dec. 1681, before Queensberry and four other judges, and was marked by shameless quibbling and illegality on the part of the crown. After Lockhart's defence the court adjourned, but the judges continued sitting until midnight. They were equally divided in opinion; their president, who had the casting vote, had himself offered an explanation. To save him from voting, Nairn, a superannuated judge, was brought from his bed, and the depositions were read to him, during which he fell asleep, and was awakened for his vote. The relevancy of the libel, as to treason and leasing-making, was then pronounced, and the question of fact was next day brought before a jury composed in great measure of his enemies; Montrose, his hereditary foe, sat in court as chancellor. Before such a tribunal Argyll refused to defend himself. The jury similarly acquitted him of per-

jury in receiving the oath in a false acceptance, and agreed with the judges on the other counts. Application was made to Charles for instructions by the council, and for justice by Argyll. Charles ordered that sentence should be pronounced, but execution suspended. Upon 22 Dec. the king's letter reached the council; and, though strictly illegal, inasmuch as forfeiture could only be pronounced in absence of the offender in cases of perduellion and riotous rebellion, sentence of death as well as of forfeiture was pronounced in Argyll's absence on the 23rd. His estates were confiscated, and his hereditary jurisdictions assigned to Atholl, in order to perfect his ruin (LINDSAY'S *Mem. of Anna Mackenzie*, p. 121). Every intimation, however, was given to Argyll that execution was immediately to follow. He was lying then in daily expectation of death, when about 9 p.m. on 20 Dec. his favourite stepdaughter, Sophia Lindsay (afterwards married to his son Charles), obtained leave to visit him for one half-hour. She brought with her a countryman as a page, with a fair wig and his head bound up as if he had been engaged in a fray. He and Argyll exchanged clothes, and she left the castle in floods of tears, accompanied by Argyll. But for her extreme presence of mind they would have been twice discovered. At the gate Argyll stepped up as lackey behind Sophia Lindsay's coach. On reaching the custom-house he slipped quietly off, dived into one of the narrow wynds adjacent, and shifted for himself (*ib.* p. 116). He first went to the house of Torwoodlee, who had arranged for the escape, and by him was conducted to Mr. Veitch, in Northumberland, who in turn brought him under the name of Hope to London (M'CRIE, *Memoirs of Veitch*). From London he wrote a poetic epistle of five hundred lines to his stepdaughter, expressing himself as in safety amid noble friends and surrounded by comforts. This comfort appears to have been chiefly afforded by Mrs. Smith, wife of a rich sugar-baker. He also found refuge with Major Holmes, the officer who had arrested him when Lord Lorne in 1656-7. After a delay of some time Mrs. Smith brought him to her country house at Brentford. Wodrow states that offers were made to him on the king's part of favour if he would concur in the court measures; that he refused, and that then, in the loyal reaction before which Shaftesbury and Monmouth fled, he also went to Holland. It is certain that no real steps were taken to recapture him. Charles is said to have known that he was in London, but when a note was put into his hands naming the place of concealment, he tore it up, ex-



claiming, 'Pooh! pooh! hunt a weary partridge? Fye, for shame!' Probably this clemency may have arisen from the fact that the temper of people, and especially in London, was at that time such that any attempt to reimprison so noted a sufferer for protestantism might have caused considerable embarrassment to the government. Fountainhall expressly says that the persecution that Argyll suffered for being a protestant caused more pity than his oppression of his creditors and non-payment of his own and his father's debts caused hatred. As has been said, the moment the court was triumphant over the whigs Argyll evidently thought it unwise to reckon any longer upon its forbearance. In 1682 he was supposed to be in Switzerland, but Lord Granard, to whom he had many years before been of great assistance, received a message from him in London, and held a meeting with him, on account of which he was accused of complicity in his crimes (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 2nd Rep. 213 b). In June 1683, when Baillie of Jarviswood and others were taken on account of the Rye House plot, letters of Argyll's were found among their papers, in a cipher which at first baffled detection (*ib.* 6th Rep. 315). They were sent to Scotland, and the countess was summoned in December 1683 to decipher them. She, however, replied that she had burnt the only key she had. Both she and Lorne, however, admitted that they were in Argyll's writing (*ib.* 7th Rep. 377 b). The cipher was, however, at length read by Spence, Argyll's private secretary (*Wobrow*, iv. 97), and, according to Law (*Mem.* p. 251), by two experts, George Campbell and Gray of Crigie. Gray certainly deciphered the papers by his independent effort, and received 100*l.* Argyll, it appears, expostulated with the other conspirators upon their rejection of his proposals, viz. that he should be provided with 30,000*l.* and 1,000 English horse. They, however, offered 10,000*l.* with 600 or 700 horse, the money to be paid by the beginning of July, and Argyll was then to go at once to Scotland and begin the revolt. He gave an account of the standing forces, militia, and heritors of Scotland, who would be obliged to appear for the king, to the number of 50,000. Half of them, he said, would not fight. He represented too that his party needed only money and arms; and he desired Major Holmes to communicate fully with his messenger from Holland (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 364 a, b, 377 a). Holmes was himself taken and examined on 28 June 1683, and from his replies it would seem that Argyll was in London. In October Preston wrote from Paris, informing Halifax that Argyll had his agents in France, and added his belief

that he had, after consultation with his friends in Holland, gone back to Scotland (*ib.* 7th Rep. 342, 396-8). On 28 and 29 June 1684 William Spence was examined before the privy council, but he said nothing to Argyll's discredit (*ib.* 6th Rep. 633 b). In July he was sent to Scotland, where he was put to the torture; but no more was learnt from him then. He appears from Fountainhall's '*Hist. Notices*' to have read the cipher on 22 Aug. In September 1684 Argyll's charter chest and family papers were found concealed in a tenant's house in Argyllshire, a further stroke towards the extinction of the family (Law, p. 304).

While in Holland Argyll appears to have devoted himself to private religious exercises and preparations for the death that he anticipated, and he refused to have any connection with Shaftesbury. He speedily, however, became involved in the cabals which took place under Monmouth upon the death of Charles. He came from Friesland to Rotterdam upon the news (DOUGLAS), and was present at a meeting of Scotchmen in Amsterdam on 17 April 1685, at which an immediate invasion of Scotland was determined on, and himself appointed captain-general. He was among those who insisted that Monmouth should engage never to declare himself king. He carried on his preparations with great secrecy, and, furnished with 10,000*l.* by a rich English widow in Amsterdam, possibly the Mrs. Smith before referred to, supplemented by 1,000*l.* from Locke (BURNET, p. 629), he collected arms as if for a trader of Venice. He sailed from the Vlie on 1 or 2 May 1685 with about three hundred men in three small ships, well provisioned, accompanied by Patrick Hume, Cochran, a few more Scots, and the Englishmen Ayloffe and Rumbold. They anchored at Cariston in Orkney on 6 May, where unluckily his secretary Spence—apparently the one formerly mentioned, though this is doubtful—went ashore, was seized by the bishop, and the design discovered.

Argyll immediately sailed by the inside of the western islands to the coast of his own country, but was compelled by contrary winds to go to the Sound of Mull. At Tobermory he was delayed three days, and then with three hundred men whom he picked up there he went across to Kintyre, the stronghold then, as always, of the extreme covenanting party. At Campbeltown Argyll issued his declaration which had been drawn up by Stuart in Holland. In this declaration he intimates that James had caused the death of Charles, that Monmouth was the rightful heir, and that by him he had been restored to title and estates. He had previously sent his son Charles to raise his former vassals, who now held of the king;

but very few answered the summons of the fiery cross, the results of former insurrections having frightened the people, and all his son could do was to garrison the castle of Carnasory. Here he spent much time to no useful purpose, and then marched to Tarbet, whence he sent out a second declaration in which he combated the statements of his enemies that he had come for private advantage, and promised to pay both his father's debts and his own. Here he was joined by Sir Duncan Campbell with a large body of men. The invasion of the lowlands appears to have been settled by a council of war against his wish; and it is certain that any chance of success which he had was ruined both by his own want of mastery over his followers, and by the divided counsels in his camp. At Bute he was again detained for three days, and his forces then marched to Corval in Argyllshire. After a purposeless raid on Greenock he struck off to Inverary, but contrary winds and the appearance of two English frigates compelled him to shelter under the castle of Ellangreig. He took Ardinglass castle, and in a skirmish for its possession he had the advantage; he was, however, compelled to give up his design of taking Inverary, and to return to Ellangreig. He then proposed to attack the frigates, but this was frustrated by a mutiny among his men. The garrison of Ellangreig deserted, the king's ships took those of Argyll, with their cannon and ammunition as well as the castle of Ellangreig, and the great standard on which was written 'For God and Religion, against Poperie, Tyrannie, Arbitrary Government, and Erastianism,' and then Argyll in despair determined again on the lowland enterprise. A little above Dumbarton he encamped in an advantageous position in the face of the royal troops; but further disputes led to his proposal to fight being overruled, and to an immediate retreat without any engagement towards Glasgow (FOUNTAINHALL, *Hist. Observes*, p. 179). His force, which crossed to the south side of the Clyde at Renfrew by Kirkpatrick ford, rapidly dwindled from two thousand to five hundred men; and after one or two skirmishes with the troops commanded by Rosse and Cleland, Argyll, who appears to have previously left his men, found himself alone with his son John and three personal friends. To avoid pursuit they separated, only Major Fullarton remaining with Argyll. Having been refused admittance at the house of an old servant to whom they applied for shelter, they crossed the Clyde to Inchinnan, where, after a violent personal struggle, Argyll was taken prisoner on 18 June by the militia. He was led first to Renfrew

and thence to Glasgow. On 20 June he arrived at Edinburgh. He was brought along the long-gate to the water-gate, and from thence 'up the street, bareheaded, and his hands behind his back, the guards with cocked matches, and the hangman walking before him;' finally he was carried to the castle and put in irons (WODROW, iv. 299). It was, however, so late in the evening that the procession caused but little notice (FOUNTAINHALL, p. 185). He was now closely questioned before the council as to his associates; his replies are not preserved, but he states in papers which he left that he answered only in part, and that he did all in his power to save his friends. And Fountainhall notices that 'he pled much for his children, and especially for John, who followed him without arms.' While in prison he was visited by his sister, Lady Lothian, and by his wife, who, with Sophia Lindsay, had been placed in confinement on the first news of his landing. On the 29th a letter arrived from James ordering summary punishment. It was long debated whether he should be hanged or beheaded, and the less ignominious sentence was carried with difficulty. He behaved with the utmost fortitude, and on the morning of his execution wrote to his wife, his stepdaughter, and his sons, as well as to Mrs. Smith, who had sheltered him in London, letters of calm resignation. It should be observed that he was never brought to trial for his rising, but was beheaded on Tuesday, 30 June, upon the sentence of 1681. His head was placed on a high pin of iron on the west end of the Tolbooth; his body was taken first to Newbottle, the seat of Lord Lothian (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1st Rep. 116 b), and afterwards to Inverary. His son Charles was taken by Atholl a few days later while lying sick of fever.

Argyll's execution apparently took place on his former sentence because Mackenzie, the advocate who insisted on this course, trusted that so manifestly illegal a sentence would be afterwards removed (HAILES, *Catalogue*, note 77). Fountainhall, however (*Hist. Observes*, p. 193), states that the reason was merely that a new indictment would have reflected upon his former judges.

His children by his first wife (Lady Mary Stuart) were Archibald, first duke of Argyll [q. v.], John, father of John, fourth duke, and grandfather of Lord Frederick Campbell [q. v.], Charles, James, and three daughters.

[Authorities cited above; A Scots Earl in Covenanted Times, by John Willcock, B.D., Edinburgh, 1908.] O. A.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, first DUKE OF ARGYLL (d. 1703), was the eldest son of

Archibald, ninth earl [q. v.], by his first wife, Lady Mary Stuart, eldest daughter of James, fifth earl of Moray or Murray. During his father's lifetime he received a grant out of his forfeited estates, and on receiving intelligence of his father's descent on Scotland in 1685, he put himself in the king's hands, and offered to serve against him (Barillon to Louis XIV, 4 June 1685, in appendix to Fox's *History of James II*). But although, according to Lockhart (*Papers*, i. 63), he also endeavoured to curry favour with King James by becoming a convert to catholicism, he was unsuccessful in obtaining a reversal in his favour of the attainder of the title and estates. He had therefore special reasons for welcoming with eagerness the proposed expedition of William of Orange, whom he joined at the Hague and accompanied to England. At the convention of the Scottish estates in March 1689, only a single lord protested against his admission as earl of Argyll on account of his technical disqualification. Argyll was one of the commissioners deputed to proceed to London to offer to William and Mary the Scottish crown, and it was he who administered to them the coronation oath. On 1 May he was elected a privy councillor, and on 5 June following an act was passed rescinding his father's forfeiture. Among the highland clans the news of his restoration to his estates was received with general consternation; and when they mustered in strong force under Dundee, they were influenced more by hatred and fear of the Argylls than by loyal devotion to James II. When, through the mediation of Breadalbane [see CAMPBELL, JOHN, first earl of Breadalbane], and the threats of military execution, all the clans, with the exception of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, gave in their submission within the prescribed time, Argyll immediately informed the government of the failure of MacIan of Glencoe to comply with the letter of the law, and along with Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple [q. v.] he concerted measures for their massacre, the regiment which he had lately raised in his own territory being entrusted with its execution. Lockhart (*Papers*, i. 63) states that, though Argyll was 'in outward appearance a good-natured, civil, and modest gentleman,' his 'actions were quite otherwise, being capable of the worst things to promote his interest, and altogether addicted to a lewd, profligate life.' He adds that 'he was not cut out for business, only applying himself to it in so far as it tended to secure his court interest and politics, from whence he got great sums of money to lavish away upon his pleasures.' Once invested with his titles and property, he was regarded by the

presbyterians with the traditional respect paid to his ancestors. In the differences which occurred between the government and the Scottish estates, he took the popular side, but after matters were satisfactorily arranged he joined in the support of the ministers, the importance of securing his services being recognised by a lavish distribution of honours. In 1696 he was made one of the lords of the treasury, in 1694 an extraordinary lord of session, and in 1696 colonel of the Scots horse guards. Argyll was frequently consulted by the government in the more important matters relating to Scotland, and there are a large number of his letters in the Carstares 'State Papers.' By letters patent dated at Kensington 23 June 1701, he was created duke of Argyll, marquis of Lorne and Kintyre, earl of Campbell and Cowal, viscount of Lochoy and Glenisla, lord Inverary, Mull, Morven, and Tyree. He died on 20 Sept. 1703. By his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash, he had two sons and one daughter. Both sons, John, second duke of Argyll and duke of Greenwich, and Archibald, third duke of Argyll, have separate biographies. For several years he lived in separation from his wife, who resided chiefly at Campbelltown, and is said, on pretence of revising the charters which had been given to various members of the clan after the conquest of Kintyre, to have got the documents into her hands and destroyed them.

[Crawford's *Peerage of Scotland*, p. 22; Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 106-7; Lockhart's *Memoirs*; Carstares *State Papers*; *Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron* (Bannatyne Club, 1842); Leven and Melville *Papers* (Bannatyne Club, 1843); Burnet's *Own Time*; Macaulay's *History of England*.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD** (d. 1744), bishop of Aberdeen, was second son of Lord Niel Campbell, second son of Archibald, marquis of Argyll (1598-1661) [q. v.], and Lady Vere Ker, third daughter of the third earl of Lothian. According to Dr. Johnson, as reported by Boswell, he engaged in the rebellion attempted by his uncle, the ninth earl of Argyll, in 1685, and on its failure made his escape to Surinam. Though a violent whig in his early years, he afterwards, Johnson states, 'kept better company and became a violent tory.' On his return from Surinam he showed great zeal for episcopacy and monarchy, and at the Revolution not only adhered to the ejected church, but refused to communicate in the church of England or to be present at any place of worship where King William's name was mentioned. He was more than once apprehended in the reign of King William,

and once after the accession of George I. On 25 Aug. 1711 he was consecrated a bishop at Dundee by Bishops Rose, Douglas, and Falconer, but continued to reside in London. In 1717 he made the acquaintance of Arsenius, the metropolitan of Thebais, and with some of the nonjuring clergy entered into negotiations for a union with the Eastern church. The proposal was communicated by Arsenius to the emperor, Peter the Great, who expressed his approval of the proposition, but it was ultimately found impossible to come to an agreement in regard to certain points, and the negotiation was broken off. In a letter to the chevalier, George Lockhart thus refers to the bishop: 'Archibald Campbell (who, though adorned with none of the qualifications necessary in a bishop, and remarkable for some things inconsistent with the character of a gentleman, was most imprudently consecrated some time ago) is coming here from London with the view of forming a party' (*Lockhart Papers*, ii. 37). The result of his visit to Scotland was that on 10 May 1721 he was chosen by the clergy of Aberdeen their diocesan bishop, upon which the college wrote signifying their approval on condition that he would undertake to propagate no new doctrine or usage not sanctioned by the canons of the church. After his election Campbell still continued to reside in London, where he was of considerable service to the Scottish episcopal communion, especially in assisting to project a fund for the support of the clergy in the poorer districts. On account, however, of a divergence of views in regard to certain usages, he resigned his office in 1724. In his later years he formed a separate nonjuring communion distinct from that of the Sacerdotian line, and ventured upon the exceptional step of a consecration by himself without any assistant. The community obtained a slight footing in the west of England, but is now wholly extinct. Campbell succeeded, by means regarding which no satisfactory explanation has been given, in obtaining possession of the registers of the church of Scotland from the Reformation to 1590, which Johnston of Warriston had restored to the general assembly of 1638, and in 1737 he presented them to Sion College, London, for preservation. Endeavours were made by the general assembly of the church of Scotland at different times to obtain their restoration, but Campbell had made it a condition that they should not be given up till episcopacy should be again established, and having been borrowed by the House of Commons, they perished in the fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament in 1834. Campbell

died in London in 1744. He is described by Johnson as 'the familiar friend of Hickeys and Nelson; a man of letters, but injudicious; and very curious and inquisitive, but credulous.' His most important contribution to theology was 'The Doctrine of the Middle State between Death and the Resurrection,' 1731. He was also the author of 'Queries to the Presbyterians of Scotland,' 1702; and 'A Query turned into an Argument in favour of Episcopacy,' 1703. 'Life of John Sage, Scotch Protestant Bishop,' 1714, often ascribed to Campbell, is stated in the 'Brit. Mus. Cat.' to be by John Gillane. Many other books commonly attributed to the bishop are by his namesake, Archibald Campbell (1691-1756), professor at St. Andrews [q. v.]

[Skinner's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland; Lawson's History of the Scottish Episcopalian Church since 1688; Lockhart Papers; Boswell's Life of Johnson.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD (1691-1756), divine, was born in Edinburgh 24 July 1691. His father was a merchant, and of the Succoth family. He studied at Edinburgh and Glasgow, was licensed to preach in 1717, and in 1718 ordained minister of the united parishes of Larbert and Dunipace, Stirlingshire. In 1723 he married Christina Watson, daughter of an Edinburgh merchant. In 1726 he published an anonymous treatise on the duty of praying for the civil magistrate. The same year he travelled to London with a manuscript treatise on 'Moral Virtue.' He trusted this to his friend Alexander Innes, who had been an accomplice of the well-known Psalmanazar. Innes published this as his own in 1728, as 'Ἀρετηλογία, an Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue.' Innes not only won reputation by the work, but a good living in Essex. In August 1730 Campbell went to London, saw Innes, and says that he 'made him tremble in his shoes.' He consented, however, to an advertisement claiming his own book, but only saying that 'for some certain reasons' it had appeared under the name of Innes. Even this was delayed for a time that Innes might not lose a post which he was expecting. Stuart, physician to the queen, was a cousin of Innes, and interceded for him. Campbell was appointed professor of church history in St. Andrews in 1730, and published a 'Discourse proving that the Apostles were no Enthusiasts.' In 1733 he republished his former treatise under his own name as an 'Enquiry into the Original of Moral Virtue.' He maintains self-love to be the sole motive of virtuous actions. In the same year he published an 'Oratio de Vanitate Luminis Naturæ.' In 1735 he was

charged with Pelagianism, on account of this and other works, before the general assembly, but was acquitted in March 1735-6, with a warning for the future. 'Remarks upon some passages in books by Professor Campbell, with his Explications,' was issued in 1735 by the committee of the general assembly 'for purity of doctrine.' In 1736 Campbell issued 'Further Explications with respect to Articles . . . wherein the Committee . . . have declar'd themselves not satisfy'd.' In 1739 he published 'The Necessity of Revelation,' in answer to Tindal. He died at his estate of Boarhill, near St. Andrews, on 24 April 1756, leaving twelve children. His eldest son, Archibald (*J.* 1767) [q.v.], was author of 'Lexiphanes.' A book entitled 'The Authenticity of the Gospel History justified' was published posthumously in 1759.

[Acts of Assembly; Moncrieff's Life of Erskine; McKerrow's Secession Church; Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot. ii. 707; Irving's Scottish Writers, ii. 325-7; Judicial Testimony; information kindly supplied from family papers by Rev. H. G. Graham.] L. S.

**CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD**, third DUKE OF ARGYLL (1682-1761), brother of John, second duke [q.v.], and younger son of Archibald, first duke [q.v.], by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash, was born at Ham House, Petersham, Surrey, in June 1682. He was educated at Eton, and in his seventeenth year entered Glasgow University. His studies were continued at Utrecht, where he devoted himself especially to law, with the view of practising that profession; but after his brother succeeded to the dukedom he renounced his intention. Entering the army, he served under Marlborough, and while still very young he was appointed colonel of 36th regiment of foot (1709-10) and governor of Dumbarton Castle. He soon abandoned the military profession, to devote his chief attention to politics. In 1705 he was constituted lord high treasurer of Scotland, and in the following year one of the commissioners for treating of the union. His services were recognised by his being created, on 19 Oct., earl of Islay; and after the conclusion of the treaty he was chosen one of the sixteen peers of Scotland, and constantly elected in every parliament till his death, with the exception of that which met in 1713. In 1708 he was made an extraordinary lord of session; in 1710 was appointed justice-general of Scotland; and the following year was called to the privy council. On the accession of George I he was appointed lord register of Scotland. When the rebellion broke out in 1715, he was entrusted with the

task of raising the Argyllshire highlanders, and throwing himself into Inverary he prevented General Gordon from penetrating into the western highlands. With his troops he afterwards joined his brother, the Duke of Argyll, at Stirling, and took part in the battle of Sheriffmuir, where he was wounded. In 1721 he was appointed lord keeper of the privy seal in Scotland, and having, along with his brother, the Duke of Argyll, agreed to assist the government in carrying through the malt tax in Scotland, he was despatched to Edinburgh armed with full powers by the government, and privately instructed by Walpole to adopt the measures he deemed expedient for suppressing the serious riots caused by the imposition of the tax. It was chiefly owing to him that the combination against it was broken and tranquillity finally restored. From this time he was entrusted by Walpole with the chief management of Scotch affairs, his influence being so great that he received the name of the King of Scotland. In this position he did much to increase its trade and manufactures and improve its internal communication. As chancellor of Marischal College, Aberdeen, he took an active interest in the furtherance of the higher education of the country, and he also especially encouraged the Edinburgh school of medicine, then in its infancy. In 1733 he was appointed keeper of the great seal, which office he enjoyed till his death. After the execution of Porteous by the Edinburgh mob, he was sent by Walpole to adopt measures for bringing the offenders to justice. Throughout the whole of Walpole's administration he gave him consistent and unwavering support. Though he possessed none of the brilliant oratorical gifts of his brother, his practical shrewdness and acute and solid reasoning gave him great parliamentary influence. For many years he assisted to hold in check his brother's intractable perversity, and when his brother broke with the government still retained Walpole's special confidence. Succeeding to the dukedom of Argyll in October 1743, he continued to be much consulted in regard to Scotch affairs, his knowledge of the various parties in church and state being remarkably comprehensive and minute. Of his practical sagacity he gave proof of the very highest kind after the rebellion of 1745, when he recommended, as a means of pacifying the highlands, the formation of the highland regiments, thus affording scope for the warlike propensities of the clans in the loyal service of the crown. He possessed wide and varied accomplishments, and collected one of the most valuable private libraries in Great Britain. In his

later years he rebuilt the castle at Inverary. He died suddenly on 15 April 1761. By his wife, the daughter of Mr. Whitfield, paymaster of the forces, he left no issue, and the title descended to his cousin John, son of John Campbell of Mamore, second son of Archibald, ninth earl of Argyll [q. v.] His whole property in England was left to Mrs. Anne Williams or Shireburn, by whom he had a son, William Campbell, auditor of excise in Scotland, and a colonel in the army.

[Coxe's *Life of Walpole*, containing several of his letters; Lockhart Papers; Culloden Papers; Macpherson's *Original Papers*; MSS. Add. 19797, 23251, ff. 46, 48, 50, 58, 22627, f. 23, 22628, ff. 47-52; Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 114-5; Biog. Brit. (Kippis), iii. 208-9.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD (1726?-1780), satirist, was a son of Archibald Campbell (d. 1756) [q. v.] His works prove that he was a classical scholar, and he states that he had 'all his lifetime dabbled in books' (*Lexiphanes*, Dedn., p. v); but he became pursuer of a man-of-war, and remained at sea, leading 'a wandering and unsettled life.' In 1745 William Falconer, author of the 'Shipwreck,' was serving on board the same ship with him, became his servant, and received some educational help from him (CHALMERS, *English Poets*, xiv. 381). About 1760, being on a long voyage, Campbell read the 'Rambles,' and staying shortly after at Pensacola wrote there his 'Lexiphanes' and 'Sale of Authors;' the works remained in manuscript for some two years, till he reached England. 'Lexiphanes, a Dialogue in imitation of Lucian,' with a sub-title, saying it was 'to correct as well as expose the affected style . . . of our English Lexiphanes, the Rambler,' was issued anonymously in March 1767, and was attributed by Hawkins to Kenrick (Boswell, *Johnson*, ii. 55). The 'Sale of Authors' followed it in June of the same year. Campbell called Johnson 'the great corrupter of our taste and language,' and says, 'I have endeavour'd to . . . hunt down this great unlick'd cub' (*Lexiphanes*, preface, p. xxxix). In the 'Sale of Authors' the 'sweetly plaintive Gray' was put up to auction, with Whitefield, Hervey, Sterne, Hoyle, &c.

'Lexiphanes' itself found an imitator in 1770 in Colman, who used that signature to a philological squib (*Fugitive Pieces*, ii. 92-7); and a fourth edition of the real work, still anonymous, was issued at Dublin in 1774. Campbell died at Kingston, Jamaica, on 10 Dec. 1780, in his fifty-fourth year, and was buried in Kingston parish churchyard. 'The History of the Man after God's own Heart,' issued anonymously in 1761, generally attributed to Peter

Annet [q. v.], is asserted to have been written by Archibald Campbell (*Notes and Queries*, 1st series, xii. 204, 255), and this view has been adopted in the 1883 edition of Halkett and Laing's 'Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature,' ii. 1160. If so, the 'Letter to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Chandler, from the Writer of the History of the Man after God's own Heart,' is also Campbell's.

[Lexiphanes and Sale of Authors, Horace Walpole's copies, Grenville Coll., author's Prefaces; Walpole's Letters, Cunningham's ed. vi. 76 and 80 n.; Boswell's *Johnson*, 1823 ed., ii. 55, iv. 359; Anderson's *Life of Johnson*, 1815 ed., p. 230 text and note; Chalmers's *English Poets*, xiv. 381; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. xii. 204, 255, 3rd ser. iii. 210, 357, xii. 332, 449; Halkett and Laing's Dict. of Anon. and Pseudon. Lit. ii. 1160, where p. 255 of Notes and Queries (supra) is by error put 205, and p. 1405.] J. H.

CAMPBELL, SIR ARCHIBALD (1739-1791), of Inverneil, general and governor of Jamaica and Madras, second son of James Campbell of Inverneil, commissioner of the Western Isles of Scotland, chamberlain of Argyllshire, and hereditary usher of the white rod for Scotland, was born at Inverneil on 21 Aug. 1739. He entered the army in 1757 as a captain in the Fraser Highlanders, when Simon Fraser, the only son of Lord Lovat [q. v.], raised that regiment for service in America by special license from the king on the recommendation of Mr. Pitt. With it he served throughout the campaign in North America, and was wounded at Wolfe's taking of Quebec in 1758. On the conclusion of the war in 1764 the Fraser Highlanders were disbanded, and Campbell was transferred to the 29th regiment, and afterwards promoted major and lieutenant-colonel in the 42nd Highlanders, with which he served in India until 1773, when he returned to Scotland, and he was elected M.P. for the Stirling burghs in 1774. In 1775 Simon Fraser again raised a regiment of highlanders for service in the American war of independence, and Campbell was selected by him as lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd battalion. On his arrival in America, however, the ship which carried him took him unfortunately into Boston harbour while that city was in the hands of the rebels, and he consequently remained a prisoner until the following year, when he was exchanged for Ethan Allen. On securing his exchange he was appointed a brigadier-general, and took command of an expedition against the state of Georgia. The expedition was entirely successful, and Campbell seized Savannah, which contained forty-five guns and a large quantity of stores, with a loss of only four killed and five

wounded. He remained as commanding officer in Georgia until the following year, when he was superseded by Major-general Burton; and when the general refused to carry into effect his measures for raising a loyal militia, Campbell returned to England on leave, and married (1779) Amelia, daughter of Allan Ramsay the painter, and granddaughter of Allan Ramsay the poet (*d.* 8 July 1813). His capture of Savannah had greatly recommended him to the king's favour. He was promoted colonel on his return, and on 20 Nov. 1782 he was promoted major-general. In the previous July he was appointed governor of Jamaica. This appointment was at the time of immense importance. Matters were going badly with the British forces in America, and the French had joined the insurgents, with the express purpose of seizing the British West India islands. The Marquis de Bouillé, who commanded the French troops, succeeded in capturing Tobago, St. Eustache, St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat; but the dispositions of Campbell were so good, his measure of raising black troops was so successful, and his vigilance so unwearied, that the French did not dare to attack Jamaica without reinforcements. At the same time Campbell did all in his power, by sending good information, reinforcements, and supplies, to assist the British forces in America; and by lending his best troops to serve as marines on board the ships of Admiral Rodney's fleet, he was largely instrumental in securing that admiral's great victory over the Comte de Grasse. For his services he was invested a knight of the Bath on 30 Sept. 1785, on his return from Jamaica, and was in the same year appointed, through the influence of his friend, Henry Dundas, the president of the board of control, to be governor and commander-in-chief at Madras. He reached Madras in April 1786, and had at once to occupy himself with the difficult matter of the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, whose territories had been sequestered by Lord Macartney. The matter was extremely complicated; but eventually, through the instrumentality of Mr. Webbe, the ablest Indian civil servant of his day, a treaty was concluded with the nabob on 24 Feb. 1787, by which he was to pay nine lacs of rupees a year to the East India Company for the maintenance of a force in British pay to defend his dominions, and twelve lacs a year to his creditors, and to surrender the revenues of the Carnatic, to be collected by civil servants, as security. The advantages of this treaty were obvious, and were seen in the next war with Tippoo Sultan. Lord Cornwallis highly approved of it; but both the

court of directors and the board of control were inclined to think that sufficiently good terms had not been made for the company, and too good terms for the creditors; while the creditors, on the other hand, and the nabob himself, who had a regular party in his interest in the House of Commons, complained bitterly that they were unfairly treated. Lord Cornwallis, however, the governor-general, who had known the governor in America, supported him with all his might. 'No governor was ever more popular than Sir Archibald Campbell,' he wrote to Lord Sydney. 'I must do Sir Archibald Campbell the justice to say that he seconds me nobly,' he wrote on another occasion. 'By his good management and economy we shall be relieved of the heavy burden of paying the king's troops on the coast;' and 'his retirement from the government might be attended with fatal consequences' (*Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 218, 272, 307). After completing this business, Campbell was occupied in issuing new regulations for the discipline of the troops, and on 12 Oct. 1787 he was appointed colonel of the 74th Highlanders, one of the four new regiments raised especially for service in India. In 1789, overcome by ill-health and the abuse of the opponents of his Arcot treaty, he resigned his appointment and returned to England, and was at once re-elected M.P. for the Stirling burghs. He did not long survive his return; for he caught a severe cold in coming up hurriedly from Scotland in 1790, on being sent for to take a command in the Spanish armament, which was got ready on the occasion of the dispute about Nootka Sound; and though a journey to Bath somewhat restored him, he died at his house in Upper Grosvenor Street, on 31 March 1791. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, where a monument was erected to him in Poets' Corner. He left his fortune to his elder brother, Sir James Campbell, knt., who succeeded him as M.P. for the Stirling burghs, and whose son, Major-general James Campbell (1763-1819) [q. v.], was created a baronet in 1818.

[Stewart's Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Highlanders, with an Account of the Highland Regiments; Edwards's History of the British West Indies; Cornwallis Correspondence; Mill's History of British India; the Papers on the Arcot Treaty, &c., printed by order of the House of Commons, 1791.]

H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, SIR ARCHIBALD** (1769-1843), general, son of Captain Archibald Campbell, and grandson of Duncan Campbell of Milntown, in Glenlyon, county Perth, was born on 12 March 1769. He entered



the army on 28 Dec. 1787 as an ensign in the 77th regiment, having obtained his commission by raising twenty men, and sailed for India in the spring of 1788. He joined the army in the Bombay presidency under the command of Sir Robert Abercromby at Cannanore, and was perpetually engaged with that western division throughout the campaigns of 1790, 1791, and 1792, and was present at the first siege of Seringapatam, by Lord Cornwallis, in 1792. In 1791, in the midst of the campaign, he was promoted lieutenant and made adjutant of his regiment, in which capacity he served at the reduction of Cochin in 1795 and of the Dutch factories in Ceylon in 1796. In 1799, on the breaking out of the second Mysore war, Campbell was appointed brigade-major to the European brigade of the Bombay division, which advanced from the Malabar coast, and was present at the battle of Seedaseer and the fall of Seringapatam. For his services he was promoted captain into the 67th regiment, and at once exchanged into the 88th Connaught Rangers, in order to remain in India, but his health broke down and he had to return to England. Wellesley had, however, observed Campbell's gallant conduct at Seringapatam and his usefulness as a staff officer, and he was in consequence made brigade-major in the southern district, and on 14 Sept. 1804 promoted major into the 6th battalion of reserve, then stationed in Guernsey. On its reduction in 1805 he was transferred to the 71st Highland light infantry, and generally commanded the second battalion in Scotland and Ireland for the next three years. In June 1808 he joined the first battalion of his regiment under Pack, and served at the battles of Roliça and Vimeiro, and throughout Sir John Moore's advance into Spain and his retreat on Corunna.

In 1809 he was, on Wellesley's recommendation, one of the officers selected to accompany Marshal Beresford to Portugal to assist him in his task of reorganising the Portuguese army, and was promoted lieutenant-colonel on 16 Feb. 1809. He commanded the 6th Portuguese regiment with Beresford's high approval (*Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, vi. 346), and as colonel he was present at the battle of Busaco, and in 1811, as brigadier-general commanding the 6th and 18th Portuguese regiments, was engaged at Arroyo dos Molinos and in the battle of Albuera. In 1813 Campbell received the Portuguese order of the Tower and Sword, and his brigade was ordered to form part of an independent Portuguese division under the command of Major-general John Hamilton, attached to General Hill's corps, and under that general he was present at the battles of

Vittoria, the Pyrenees, the Nivelle, when he was mentioned in despatches, and the Nive, and was afterwards attached to Sir John Hope's corps before Bayonne, where he remained until the end of the war. On the declaration of peace he received a gold cross and one clasp for the battles of Albuera, Vittoria, the Pyrenees, the Nivelle, and the Nive, was knighted, promoted colonel in the army on 4 June 1814, and made an aide-de-camp to the prince regent, and in January 1815 he was made a K.C.B. In 1816 he was made a Portuguese major-general, and commanded the division at Lisbon. In 1820, during the absence of Lord Beresford, he offered to put down the rising at Oporto, but his services were declined; he at once threw up his Portuguese commission and returned to England.

On arriving in England he was, in 1821, appointed lieutenant-colonel of the 38th regiment, which he joined at the Cape and took to India, where he was stationed at Berhampore. He was soon after nominated to command the expedition against the Burmese. He arrived at Rangoon in May 1824 at the head of 11,500 men, including four British regiments, and at once took Rangoon. His first attack on the great Dagon Pagoda, at Kimendine, was repulsed with loss on 3 June, and he had to take the command in person; under his personal directions the Pagoda was stormed on 10 June 1824. In July he detached a force under Colonel H. F. Smith, C.B., to Pegu, which stormed the Pagoda at Syriam on 4 Aug., and the heavy rains then put an end to further operations, and caused much disease among the troops. He wrote earnestly for reinforcements during the winter months of 1824-5, for in November 1824 he was besieged in Rangoon by the ablest Burmese chief, Maha Bundoola. He was joined by the 47th regiment and two brigades of sepoys, and after storming the stockade of Kokein on 16 Dec., he left Rangoon on 11 Feb. 1825 and marched along the banks of the Irrawaddy towards Prome, accompanied by about forty gunboats under Commodore Chads and Captain Marryat. On 7 March the advanced brigades, under Brigadier-general Cotton, were utterly defeated in an attack on the stockades of Donabaw, but Campbell at once moved to the front, and directed a fresh attack on 1 April, which was entirely successful, and Maha Bundoola was killed. He entered Prome on 5 May 1825 and established his headquarters there for the rainy season, and again lost no less than one-seventh of his forces between May and September. Towards the close of the rainy season Campbell, who had been pro-



moted major-general on 27 May 1825 for his services, prepared to advance from Prome on Ava, the capital of Burma, when Burmese envoys came into Prome and asked for terms. Campbell, who had been specially entrusted by Lord Amherst with the political as well as the military conduct of the campaign, announced that peace would only be granted on terms which were rejected, and Campbell again advanced. An assault upon the stockades of Wattee-Goung failed, and Brigadier-general Macdowall was killed on 16 Nov., but Campbell was again able to make up for the failures of his subordinates by storming the stockades on 26 Nov. On his approach towards the capital the king of Burma sent envoys to his camp once more, and a truce was made on 26 Dec. But Campbell soon discovered that the negotiations were only intended to gain time, so he continued his advance on 2 Jan., and by storming Melloon, the last fortified place on the way to Ava, so frightened the king that he accepted the terms offered, and signed a treaty of peace at Yandaboo on 26 Feb. 1826. The successful termination of this war was received with enthusiasm in England and India. Campbell was made a G.C.B. on 26 Dec. 1826, voted a gold medal and an income of 1,000*l.* a year by the court of directors, and thanked by the governor-general, Lord Amherst. For three years after his success he governed the ceded provinces of Burma, and acted as civil commissioner to the courts of Burma and Siam, but in 1829 returned home in ill-health.

He was received with great distinction on his arrival; was on 30 Sept. 1831 created a baronet, and on 14 Nov. 1831 was granted special arms, and the motto 'Ava' by royal license. From 1831 to 1837 he filled the office of lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, and was in the latter year nominated to command in chief in Canada if Sir John Colborne left the colony. In 1838 he was promoted lieutenant-general, was colonel of the 95th regiment 1829-34, of the 77th regiment 1834-40, and from 1840 of the 62nd regiment; in August 1839 he was appointed commander-in-chief at Bombay, but refused the appointment from ill-health, and on 6 Oct. 1843 he died. He married Helen, daughter of Sir John Macdonald of Garth; his son was General Sir John Campbell (1816-1855) [q. v.]

[Royal Military Calendar; Wellington Despatches and Supplementary Despatches; obituary notices in Colburn's United Service Magazine. For the Burmese War: Documents illustrative of the Burmese War, compiled and edited by H. H. Wilson, Calcutta, 1827; Snodgrass's Narrative of the Burmese War, London, 1827;

Havelock's Memoir of the Three Campaigns of Major-general Sir A. Campbell's Army in Ava, Serampore, 1828; Wilson's Narrative of the Burmese War in 1824-6, London, 1852; and Doreton's Reminiscences of the Burmese War, 1824-5-6, London, 1852.] H. M. S.

CAMPBELL, COLIN, second LORD CAMPBELL and first EARL OF ARGYLL (*d.* 1493), was the son of Archibald, second, but eldest, surviving son of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, created Lord Campbell in 1445. He succeeded his grandfather in 1453. On the death of his father he was placed under the care of his uncle, Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, who concluded a match between him and Isabel Stewart, the eldest of the three daughters, and coheirresses of John, third lord of Lorne. Having acquired the principal part of the landed property of the two sisters of his wife, he exchanged certain lands in Perthshire for the lordship of Lorne with Walter, their uncle, on whom the lordship of Lorne, which stood limited to heirs male, had devolved. In 1457 he was created, by James II, Earl of Argyll. He was one of the commissioners for negotiating a truce with Edward IV of England, in 1463. In 1465 he was appointed, along with Lord Boyd, lord justiciary of Scotland on the south of the Forth, and after the flight of Lord Boyd to England he acted as sole justiciary. In 1474 he was appointed one of the commissioners to settle the treaty of alliance with Edward IV, by which James, prince of Scotland, was affianced to Cecilia, youngest daughter of Edward. Early in 1483 he received the office of lord high chancellor of Scotland. He was one of the commissioners sent to France in 1484 to renew the ancient league with the crown, which was confirmed at Paris 9 July, and also one of the commissioners who concluded the pacification at Nottingham with Richard III, 21 Sept. of the same year. In 1487 he joined the conspiracy of the nobles against James III, and at the time of the murder of the king, after the battle of Sauchieburn, he was in England on an embassy to Henry VII. After the accession of James IV he was restored to the office of lord high chancellor. He died 10 May 1493. He had two sons and seven daughters. It is from him that the greatness of the house of Argyll properly dates. Besides the lordship of Lorne he also acquired that of Campbell and Castle Campbell in the parish of Dollar, and in 1481 he received a grant of many lands in Knapdale, along with the keeping of Castle Sweyn, which had formerly been held by the lords of the Isles. In the general political transactions of Scotland he acted a leading part,

and as regards the south-western highlands he laid the foundation of that unrivalled influence which the house of Argyll has enjoyed for many centuries.

[Register of the Great Seal of Scotland; Rymer's *Fœdera*; Crawford's *Officers of State*, i. 43-7; Douglas's *Scotch Peerage*, i. 88-9.]

T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, COLIN, third EARL OF ARGYLL (*d.* 1530), eldest son of Archibald, second earl of Argyll [q. v.], and Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, first earl of Lennox, immediately after succeeding his father in 1513 was charged with the suppression of the insurrection of Lauchlan Maclean of Dowart and other highland chiefs in support of Sir Donald of Lochalsh, whom they had proclaimed Lord of the Isles. By his powerful influence Argyll succeeded, without having recourse to arms, in inducing them to submit to the regent; but though even Sir Donald himself agreed to terms of reconciliation, this was only a feint to gain time. In 1517, by giving out that the 'lieutenandry' of the Isles had been bestowed on him by the regent, he secured the assistance of a number of chiefs, with whom he proceeded to ravage the lands which, according to his statement, had been committed to his protection. The deception could not be maintained, and finding that the chiefs had determined to deliver him up to the government he made his escape. It was principally through the representations of Argyll that the designs of Sir Donald had been defeated, and he now presented a petition that 'for the honour of the realm and the commonweal in time coming' he should receive a commission of 'lieutenandry' over all the Isles and adjacent mainland, with authority to receive into the king's favour all the men of the Isles who should make their submission to him, upon proper security being given by the delivery of hostages and otherwise; the last condition being made imperative, 'because the men of the Isles are fickle of mind, and set but little value upon their oaths and written obligations.' He also received express power to pursue the rebels with fire and sword, and to possess himself of Sir Donald's castle of Strone in Lochcarron. Sir Donald for some time not only succeeded in maintaining a following in the wilder fastnesses, but in 1518 took summary vengeance on MacIain of Ardnamurchan, one of the principal supporters of the government, by defeating and slaying him and his two sons at the Silver Craig in Morvern. Argyll thereupon advised that sentence of forfeiture should be passed against him, and on this being refused he

took a solemn protest before parliament that neither he nor his heirs should be liable for any mischiefs that might in future arise from rebellions in the Isles. The death of Sir Donald not long afterwards relieved Argyll from further anxiety on his account, and he took advantage of the interval of tranquillity which followed to extend his influence among the chiefs, and to promote the aggrandisement of his family and clan. These were the motives which, rather than that of loyalty to the government, had chiefly influenced his zeal in the suppression of rebellion. The authority of Argyll in the western highlands also greatly increased his general influence in Scotland, a fact sufficiently evidenced by his appointment, in February 1525, to be one of the governors of the kingdom after the retirement of the Duke of Albany to France. Several documents in the State Papers of England indicate that special efforts were made to 'separate' Argyll from the regent (*State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. iii. pt. ii. entry 3228), and render it probable that he was won 'with a sober thing of money' (entry 3339). He was intimately concerned in the scheme for the 'erection' of King James in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh in 1526, and it was agreed that the earls of Angus, Argyll, and Erroll should each have the monarch in charge for a quarter of a year in succession. Angus had the charge for the first quarter, but at the end of it refused to give him up, 'quhilk causit great discord' (*Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 10). After the escape of King James from Falkland in May 1528, where he had been kept in close confinement by Angus, Argyll joined him in Stirling, and accompanied him to Edinburgh as one of his most trusted counsellors. On 6 Dec. he received a charter for the barony of Abernethy, in Perthshire, forfeited by Angus. The same year he was appointed lieutenant of the borders and warden of the marches, and was entrusted with the task of suppressing the insurrection raised on the borders by Angus, whom he compelled to flee into England. Afterwards he received confirmation of the hereditary sheriffship of Argyllshire, and of the offices of justiciary of Scotland and master of the household, by which these offices became hereditary in his family. On 25 Oct. 1529 he had the renewal of the commission of lord justice-general of Scotland. On account of an insurrection in the south Isles, headed by Alexander of Isla and the Macleans, he demanded extraordinary powers from the king for the reduction of the Isles under the dominion of law; but James suspecting his purposes resolved to try con-

cialitary measures, and while negotiations were in progress the Earl of Argyll died, in 1530. By his wife, Lady Jane Gordon, eldest daughter of the third earl of Huntly, he left three sons and one daughter, the latter of whom was married to James, earl of Moray, natural son of James IV. He was succeeded in the earldom by his eldest son Archibald, fourth earl (d. 1558) [q. v.]

[Register of the Great Seal of Scotland; Calendar of State Papers (Scottish Series), pp. 9, 12, 21, 23; State Papers, Reign of Henry VIII (Dom. Ser.), vol. iii. pt. ii.; Diurnal of Remarkable Occurrences (Bannatyne Club, 1833); Bishop Lesley's History of Scotland (Bannatyne Club, 1830); Donald Gregory's History of the Western Islands; Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 90-1.]

T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN**, sixth EARL OF ARGYLL (d. 1584), was the second son of Archibald, fourth earl of Argyll [q. v.], his mother being the earl's second wife, Margaret Graham, only daughter of William, third earl of Menteith. He succeeded to the estates and title on the death, in 1573, of his half-brother, Archibald, fifth earl of Argyll [q. v.], having previously to this been known as Sir Colin Campbell of Boquhan. After the death of his first wife, Janet, eldest daughter of Henry, first lord Methven, he married Agnes Keith, eldest daughter of William, fourth earl Marischal, and widow of the regent Moray. During the regency Moray had been entrusted with the custody of the queen's jewels, and his widow had thus come into possession of the famous diamond, 'the Great Harry' as it was called, which had been given to Mary as a wedding present by her father-in-law, King Henry of France, and which she, on her demission, had bequeathed to the Scottish crown as a memorial of herself. After her second marriage the lady, at the instance of Morton, had been summoned to deliver up the jewels belonging to the queen, and for not doing so the Earl and Countess of Argyll were, 3 Feb. 1573-4, 'put to the horn' (*Register of the Privy Council*, ii. 330). The countess appealed to parliament, and even sought the intervention of Elizabeth, but the result was that on 5 March 1574-5 the earl, in his own name and that of his wife, delivered up the jewels (*ib.* p. 435). The version of the story which represents the countess summoned as the fifth countess of Argyll, the half-sister of Moray, is erroneous, and had its origin in placing the death of the fifth earl in 1575 instead of in 1573. The circumstance, as was to be expected, caused a complete estrangement between Argyll and Morton, and other events soon happened to aggravate the quarrel. In virtue of his hereditary

office of justice-general of Scotland, Argyll claimed that a commission of justiciary, formerly given by Queen Mary to the Earl of Atholl over his own territory of Atholl, should be annulled. The question as to their jurisdictions had been raised by Atholl seizing a dependant of Argyll, who was charged with a crime committed on the territory of Atholl. To settle their differences the two earls were mustering their forces for an appeal to arms, when Morton interfered, and obliged them to disband, and it is also said that they learned that he meditated a charge of high treason against them for appearing in arms. In any case each had serious cause of resentment against Morton, and no sooner was their quarrel with each other suspended than they resolved to make common cause against him, and oust him from the regency. On the secret invitation of Alexander Erskine, the governor of the king and the commander of Stirling Castle, Argyll appeared suddenly at Stirling, 4 March 1577-8, and, being admitted to an interview with the young king, complained to him of the overbearing and insolent behaviour of Morton to the other nobles, and implored him to appoint a convention to examine their grievances, and, if he found them true, to take the government on himself. Afterwards he was joined by Atholl and other nobles, who, as well as George Buchanan [q. v.], the king's tutor, gave strong expression to similar views. The result was that at a convention of the nobles the king was unanimously advised to take the government on himself, and Morton, seeing resistance vain, publicly, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, resigned with seeming cheerfulness the ensigns of his authority. Argyll was then appointed one of the council to direct the king, but while he was in charge of him at Stirling Castle the Earl of Mar, at the instance of Morton, suddenly, at five of the morning of 20 April, appeared before it and surprised the garrison. An agreement was shortly afterwards come to between Argyll, Atholl, and Morton that they should repair together to Stirling and adjust their differences, but after they had reached Edinburgh together, Morton, starting before day-break, galloped to Stirling and again resumed his ascendancy over the king. At the instance of Morton a parliament was then summoned to be held in the great hall of Stirling, upon which Argyll, Atholl, and their adherents, after protesting that a parliament held within an armed fortress could not be called free, and refusing therefore to attend it, occupied Edinburgh, whence they sent out summonses to their vassals to assemble in defence of the liberties of the king. With

a force of a thousand men they marched to the rendezvous at Falkirk, where their supporters mustered nine thousand strong. By the mediation of Sir Robert Bowes [q.v.], the English ambassador, the conflict was, however, averted, and an agreement entered into which, for the time being, proved acceptable to both parties. On 10 Aug. 1579, shortly after the death of Atholl, Argyll was appointed lord high chancellor. On 26 April 1580 Argyll and Morton were reconciled (CALDERWOOD, *History*, iii. 462) by the king, but enmity still lurked between them, and Argyll was one of the jury who brought in a verdict against Morton, 1 June 1581, for the murder of Darnley. Though he took part in the raid of Ruthven, at which the person of the king was seized by the protestant nobles, Argyll also joined the plot, 24 June 1583, for his restoration to liberty. He died in October 1584. By his first wife he had no issue, but by his second he had two sons, of whom the elder, Archibald, seventh earl [q.v.], succeeded him in the earldom, and the second, Colin, was created a baronet in 1627.

[Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vols. ii. and iii.; Calendar State Papers, Scottish Series, vol. i.; Inventaires de la Roïne Descosse Douairière de France (Bannatyne Club, 1863); Registrum Honoris de Morton (Bannatyne Club, 1853); Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland (Wodrow Society), vols. iii. and iv.; Historie of King James the Sext (Bannatyne Club, 1825); Douglas's Scotch Peerage, i. 93; Crawford's Officers of State, 136-7; the Histories of Tytler and Hill Burton.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN (1644-1726)**, Scottish divine, was the younger son of Patrick Campbell of Innergeldies (called Patrick Dubh Beg, i.e. 'Little Black'), ancestor of the Barcaldine family, and descended from Sir Duncan Campbell, first baronet of Glenorchy, of the noble house of Breadalbane. He was born in 1644, studied at St. Salvator's College, St. Andrews, and afterwards accompanied his relative, John, first earl of Breadalbane [q.v.], to one of the English universities. In June 1667 he was admitted minister of the parish of Ardochattan and Muchairn. On 12 Jan. 1676 he was suspended from the ministry, on the charge of ante-nuptial intercourse; but on 8 March following a letter from the Bishop of Ross gave permission for his readmission. At the Revolution he conformed, and he continued in the active discharge of his parochial duties till his death on 13 March 1726, in the fifty-ninth year of his ministry, after he had been for some time the father of the church. Campbell had the reputation of being one of the most profound mathematicians and astronomers of his day, and

was a correspondent of Sir Isaac Newton, who said of him, in a letter to Professor Gregory, 'I see that were he among us he would make children of us all.' Several letters to Campbell from Professor Gregory, written in 1672 and 1673, annotated by Professor Wallace, have been published in vol. iii. of the 'Transactions of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland.' He wrote some Latin verses prefixed to the Rev. Daniel Campbell's 'Frequent and Devout Communicant,' 1703; and to another work by the same author, published in 1719, he contributed 'A Brief Demonstration of the Existence of God against the Atheists, and of the Immortality of Man's Soul.' This treatise, with another entitled the 'Trinity of Persons in the Unity of Essence,' was printed for private circulation at Edinburgh in 1766. In the former three chief heads and several subordinate ones are made to converge in demonstrating the necessity in the rational nature of a Being without beginning, boundless and uncompounded; the second seeks to prove the natural necessity for a Trinity in the unity of the already demonstrated Divine Being. Campbell's manuscripts and correspondence, formerly in the possession of his descendant, John Gregorson of Ardtornish, are now deposited in the library of the university of Edinburgh.

[Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot. iii. 62-5; Good Words for 1877, pp. 33-8.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN (d. 1729)**, architect, was a native of Scotland. Of his birthplace, parentage, or education, we can recover no particulars. The best of his works was Wanstead House, Essex, built about 1715-20, and pulled down in 1822. Its sumptuousness greatly impressed contemporary critics, by whom it was pronounced 'one of the noblest houses, not only in England, but in Europe.' It was of Portland stone, with a front extending 260 feet in length, in depth 70 feet, and had in the centre a Corinthian portico of six columns, 3 feet in diameter. The wings which Campbell designed were not added. Campbell also built the Rolls House in Chancery Lane, 1717-18; Mereworth in Kent, an imitation from Palladio of the celebrated Villa Capri, near Vicenza, completed in 1723; Drumlanrig Castle, Dumfriesshire, 'a poor mixture of the classic and grotesque,' and other mansions. By his patron, Lord Burlington, he was entrusted with the latter's designs for the improvement of his house in Piccadilly, and, if his own statement in the 'Vitruvius Britannicus' is worthy of credit, designed himself the centre gateway, the principal feature in the façade, in 1717. He

was appointed architect to the Prince of Wales in 1725, and in the following year surveyor of the works of Greenwich Hospital.

Campbell died at his residence in Whitehall on 13 Sept. 1729, leaving no issue (*Hist. Reg.* 1729, p. 53; *Probate Act Book*, 1729). His will, as of Whitehall in the county of Middlesex, dated 16 Jan. 1721, was proved by his relict Jane on 18 Sept. 1729 (*Reg. in P. C. C.* 243, Abbott). His widow died in the parish of St. Nicholas Cole Abbey, London, in February 1738 (*Will reg. in P. C. C.* 32, Brodrepp). Campbell's 'least pretentious designs are the best, his attempts at originality leading him into inharmonious combinations' (REDGRAVE, *Dictionary of Artists*, 1878, pp. 68-9). Acting upon a hint received from Lord Burlington, he published three useful volumes of three hundred illustrations of English buildings, with the title, 'Vitruvius Britannicus; or the British Architect; containing the plans, elevations, and sections of the regular Buildings, both publick and private, in Great Britain, with a variety of New Designs,' folio, London, 1717-25. Of this work another edition, with a continuation by John Woolfe and James Gandon, both architects of repute, was published at London in five folio volumes, 1767-71. Shortly before his death Campbell was announced (*Present State of the Republic of Letters*, iii. 229) as being engaged upon the revision of an English edition of Palladio's 'I quattro Libri dell'Architettura,' but we do not find that it ever appeared.

[Walpole's Anecdotes of Painters (Wornum), ii. 696.] G. G.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN** (d. 1782), of Kilberry, major of 100th foot, obtained an unenviable notoriety in consequence of a fatal assault committed by him on Captain John McKaarg, a brother officer, while stationed at the island of Martinico in 1762. The cause of difference is said to have originated at Jersey, where Campbell, at that time major-commandant of the 100th foot, was obliged to take the payment of McKaarg's company out of his hands, owing to the latter's pecuniary difficulties. On the arrival of the regiment at Martinico, McKaarg took every opportunity of vilifying Campbell, who demanded in writing an explanation. McKaarg replied in a curt letter. Campbell immediately proceeded to McKaarg's tent armed with a bayonet and a small-sword, and demanded satisfaction. McKaarg, having a broad sword only, endeavoured to evade a meeting. Thereupon Campbell struck him several times with his sword. McKaarg was

compelled by his antagonist to beg for his life, and immediately expired. He had received eleven wounds, two of which were mortal. Campbell was arrested, and on 6 April 1762 was tried for murder by a general court-martial held at Fort Royal. He endeavoured to prove that McKaarg had fallen in a fair duel. On 14 April the court adjudged Campbell to be cashiered, and declared him incapable of serving his majesty in any military employment whatsoever.

Pending the king's consideration of the sentence, Campbell escaped from the island. Owing to some informalities the proceedings were not confirmed, but he was immediately dismissed from the army. On his return to England Campbell presented a memorial to the secretary-at-war, charging Major-general the Hon. Robert Monckton, who commanded in the island of Martinico, 'with many wrongs and deliberate acts of oppression.' A general court-martial was, in consequence, held at the judge advocate-general's office, at the Horse Guards, in April 1764, and Monckton was honourably acquitted. The relatives of Captain McKaarg subsequently brought an action of assyhtment against Campbell, and ultimately damages to the extent of 200*l.* were awarded to them. Campbell chiefly resided in Edinburgh, where he attracted notice by his foppery, and was well known as an antiquated old beau. In the summer he visited Buxton and the other fashionable watering-places of the day. He died unmarried at Edinburgh in 1782, and his estate at Kilberry in Argyllshire descended to his nephew. An excellent portrait of Campbell will be found in Kay, ii. No. 172.

[Kay's Original Portrait and Caricature Etchings (1877), ii. 5-7; Proceedings of a General Court-martial held at Fort Royal, in the Island of Martinico, upon the Tryal of Major-commandant Colin Campbell (1763); The Case of Colin Campbell, Esq., late Major-commandant of His Majesty's 100th Regiment (1763); Proceedings of a General Court-martial held at the Judge-advocate's Office for a Trial of a Charge preferred by Colin Campbell, Esq., against the Hon. Major-general Monckton, 1764.] G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL, COLIN** (1754-1814), general, second son of John Campbell of the Citadel, deputy-keeper of the great seal of Scotland, was born in 1754. He entered the army as an ensign in the 71st regiment in March 1771, and was promoted lieutenant in 1774. He accompanied the 71st to America; was promoted captain in 1778 and major into the 6th on 19 March 1783. While stationed in New York he married Mary, eldest daughter of Colonel Guy Johnstone,

who lost most of his property by remaining a sturdy loyalist. In 1786 his regiment was ordered to Nova Scotia, and remained there until the outbreak of the war with France, when it formed part of Sir Charles Grey's expedition to the West Indies, and distinguished itself both at Martinique and Guadeloupe. Campbell was promoted lieutenant-colonel of the 6th on 29 April 1795, and returned from the West Indies in July. In February 1796 he was ordered with his regiment to Ireland, where he was actively employed till 1803, and gained his reputation. Throughout 1798 he was employed in putting down the various attempts at rebellion in his neighbourhood, in which he was uniformly successful; he made it a rule never to separate his companies. He was present at the battle of Vinegar Hill and the defeat of the French at Ballynahinch. On 1 Jan. 1798 he was promoted colonel, and on 1 Jan. 1805 he was promoted major-general and given the command of the Limerick district. In January 1811 he was appointed lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar (the Duke of Kent being the nominal governor) at the most critical period of the Peninsular war. During Soult's occupation of Andalusia he insisted on keeping Gibraltar well garrisoned, even in spite of Wellington's repeated requisitions; he insisted on regarding Tarifa as an integral part of his Gibraltar command, and thus deprived Soult of a port to which he could import supplies from Morocco; he did all in his power to help the armies in Spain with supplies, in spite of perpetual hindrances from the Spanish junta and even of Wellington himself, who at last did him full justice. Napier speaks conclusively as to the importance of his work (*Peninsular War*, book x. chap. v. and xv. chap. v.) He was colonel 5th garrison battalion 1808-12, and of 55th foot 1812 till death. Campbell was promoted lieutenant-general on 4 June 1811, but he died at Gibraltar on 2 April 1814. His son, Colonel Guy Campbell, C.B. [q. v.], who commanded the 6th, his father's old regiment, at the battle of Waterloo, was created a baronet on 22 May 1815, with remainder to the heirs male of General Colin Campbell, in recognition of his father's eminent services.

[Napier's *History of the War in the Peninsula*, in which use was made of Campbell's manuscripts; Wellington Despatches and Supplementary Despatches; Hist. Record 6th Regt.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL**, Sir COLIN (1776-1847), general, fifth son of John Campbell of Melfort, by Colina, daughter of John Campbell of Auchalader, was born in 1776. From his boyhood he gave evidence of a daring

disposition, and in 1792, at the age of sixteen, he ran away from the Perth Academy, and entered himself on a ship bound for the West Indies. He was met in the fruit market at Kingston in Jamaica by his brother (afterwards Admiral Sir) Patrick Campbell, then serving on H.M.S. Blonde, who brought him home. His parents yielded to his wishes, and in 1793 he became a midshipman on board an East Indiaman and made one or two voyages. In February 1795 he became a lieutenant in the 3rd battalion of the Breadalbane Fencibles, then commanded by his uncle; on 3 Oct. 1799 entered a West India regiment as ensign, and in 1800 acted as brigade-major in the island of St. Vincent. On 21 Aug. 1801 he was gazetted a lieutenant in the 35th regiment, and at once exchanged into the 78th or Ross-shire Buffs, which was then stationed in India. He joined his new regiment at Poona, accompanied Wellesley's advance against the Maharajah Scindia and the Rajah of Nagpore, and so greatly distinguished himself by leading the flank companies at the storming of the 'pettah' or inner fortress of Ahmednuggur on 8 Aug. 1803 that Wellesley at once appointed him brigade-major. In this capacity he served at the battles of Assaye, where he was severely wounded and had two horses killed under him, at Argaum, and at the storming of Guzzulgaum. On leaving India Wellesley strongly recommended Campbell to Lord Wellesley, who made him his aide-de-camp, and to Lake, who, on 9 Jan. 1805, gave him a company in the 75th Highlanders. He returned to England with Lord Wellesley in 1806, and Sir Arthur Wellesley at once asked that he should be appointed brigade-major to his brigade, then stationed at Hastings. As brigade-major he accompanied Wellesley to Hanover and to Denmark, when his services at the battle of Kioge were conspicuous. In 1808 Sir Arthur Wellesley appointed him his senior aide-de-camp, when he took command of the expeditionary force destined for Portugal, and sent him home with the despatches announcing the victory at Roliça on 17 Aug. Campbell, however, wind-bound and hearing the guns, disembarked, and was present at Vimeiro. Sir Harry Burrard then gave him the Vimeiro despatch, and Campbell was promoted a major in the army by brevet on 2 Sept. 1808, and major of the 70th regiment on 15 Dec. 1808. On the same day he was appointed an assistant adjutant-general to a division of the reinforcements intended for the Peninsula. He was present at the passage of the Douro, at Talavera, and at Busaco, and was promoted lieutenant-colonel by brevet on 3 May 1810. He was frequently en-

gaged during the pursuit of Masséna and was present at Fuentes de Onoro. He obtained the post of assistant quartermaster-general at the headquarters of the army in the Peninsula, at Wellington's special request, in the spring of 1812, and acted in that capacity till the end of the Peninsular war, doing much, it is said, to smooth Wellington's relations with the quartermaster-general, George Murray. He was present at the storming of Badajoz and in nine general actions, for which he received a cross and six clasps. On 4 June 1814 he was promoted colonel in the army by brevet, and on 25 July made a captain and lieutenant-colonel in the Coldstream guards. He was also appointed assistant quartermaster-general at the Horse Guards, and made a K.C.B., and a knight of the Tower and Sword of Portugal. In 1815 he was attached to the staff of the Duke of Wellington, as commandant at headquarters, and was present at the battle of Waterloo; he held the post throughout Wellington's residence at Paris, from 1815-18. He then exchanged his company in the guards for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 65th regiment, which he held until he was promoted major-general in 1825. He held the command of the southern district for some years. He was lieutenant-governor of Tobago 1828 and of Portsmouth 1828-35, and in 1833 was appointed lieutenant-governor of Nova Scotia. In November 1840 he was promoted to the governorship of Ceylon, where he remained from September 1839 to June 1847. It was during his tenure of the latter office that the Duke of Wellington, to whose faithful friendship he owed so much, wrote to him: 'We are both growing old; God knows if we shall ever meet again. Happen what may, I shall never forget our first meeting under the walls of Ahmednuggur.' He was colonel 99th foot 1834-6, and of 72nd foot 1836 till death. In June 1847 he returned to England, and on 13 June he died, being buried in the church of St. James's, Piccadilly.

[The only full memoir of Sir Colin Campbell is to be found in *A Memorial History of the Campbells of Melfort* (pp. 21-6), by M. O. C. (Margaret Olympia Campbell), London, 1882; private information.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, SIR COLIN, BARON CLYDE** (1792-1863), field-marshal, eldest son of John MacIver, a carpenter in Glasgow, and Agnes Campbell, of the family of the Campbells of Islay, was born at Glasgow on 20 Oct. 1792. He was educated at the expense of his mother's brother, Colonel John Campbell, and was by him introduced to the Duke of York, as a candidate for a commis-

sion in the army, in 1807. The commander-in-chief cried out, 'What, another of the clan!' and a note was made of his name as Colin Campbell, and when the boy was about to protest, his uncle checked him and told him that Campbell was a good name to fight under. On 26 May 1808 he was gazetted an ensign in the 9th regiment, and sailed with the 2nd battalion of that regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel John Cameron, for Portugal, with the expedition under Sir Arthur Wellesley. He was first under fire at the battle of Roliça, and was subsequently present at Vimeiro, and then served with his regiment in Sir John Moore's advance to Salamanca, and the retreat to Corunna. He served with the first battalion of the 9th regiment in the expedition to Walcheren, where he was attacked with the fever of the district, which troubled him all through his life, and in 1810 joined the 2nd battalion of his regiment at Gibraltar. He had been promoted lieutenant on 28 Jan. 1809, and commanded the two flank companies of the 9th at the battle of Barossa, where his gallantry attracted the notice of General Graham, afterwards Lord Lynedoch, who never forgot him. He was then attached by Lieutenant-general Colin Campbell to the Spanish army under Ballesteros, and served with the Spaniards until December 1811, when he rejoined the 2nd battalion of his regiment in time to share in the glorious defence of Tarifa. In January 1813 he joined the 1st battalion of the 9th, under the command of his old chief, Colonel John Cameron [q. v.] His regiment formed part of Graham's corps, in which Campbell served at the battle of Vittoria and the siege of San Sebastian. On 17 July 1813 Campbell led the right wing of his regiment in the attack on the fortified convent of San Bartholomé, and was mentioned in despatches, and on 25 July he led the forlorn hope in the unsuccessful attempt to storm the fortress itself. 'It was in vain,' says Napier, 'that Lieutenant Campbell, breaking through the tumultuous crowd with the survivors of his chosen detachment, mounted the ruins—twice he ascended, twice he was wounded, and all around him died' (*Peninsular War*, book xxi. ch. iii.) For his gallant conduct Campbell was recommended for promotion by Sir Thomas Graham, and on 9 Nov. 1813 he was gazetted to a company without purchase in the 60th rifles. Before, however, he left the 9th, Campbell again distinguished himself. He left his quarters in San Sebastian before his wounds were healed or the doctors gave him leave, and headed the night attack of his regiment

on the batteries on the French side of the Bidassoa after fording that river, and was again seriously wounded. Colonel Cameron severely reprimanded him for leaving his quarters without leave, but on account of his gallantry did not report his disobedience. His wounds and his promotion made it necessary for him to leave the army, and he reached England in December 1813, when he was awarded a pension of 100*l.* a year for his wounds, and ordered to join the 7th battalion of the 60th rifles in Nova Scotia.

Campbell had fought his way to the rank of captain in five years; it was nearly thirty before he attained that of colonel. He spent the years 1815 and 1816 on the Riviera on leave, and joined the 5th battalion 60th rifles at Gibraltar in November 1816. In 1818 he was transferred to the 21st regiment, or royal Scotch fusiliers, which he joined at Barbadoes in April 1819. In 1821 he went on the staff as aide-de-camp to General Murray, the governor of British Guiana, and as brigade-major to the troops at Demerara, and was continued in the same double capacity by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, who succeeded Murray in 1823. In 1825 an opportunity occurred for him to purchase his majority, and a generous friend in Barbadoes lent him the requisite sum. On 26 Nov. 1825 he was gazetted major, and in the following year resigned his staff appointment and returned to England. His gallantry at San Sebastian had assured him powerful friends at headquarters; his former commanders, Sir John Cameron and Lord Lynedoch, never forgot him, while Sir Henry Hardinge and Lord Fitzroy Somerset remembered his former services; and on 26 Oct. 1832 he was promoted to an unattached lieutenant-colonelcy on payment of 1,300*l.* Out of his scanty pay he contrived to support his family, but meanwhile continued to solicit the command of a regiment. In 1832 he went to the continent and watched the siege of Antwerp, of which he sent valuable reports home. At last, in 1835, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of his old regiment, the 9th, on condition that he should at once exchange to the 98th, of which he assumed the command on its return from the Cape in 1837. For some years he commanded that regiment in garrison in the north of England, and got it into such a state of efficiency as to win repeated encomiums from the general commanding the northern district, Sir Charles Napier. In 1841 Campbell was ordered to proceed to China with the 98th to reinforce the army there under Sir Hugh Gough. He reached Hong Kong on 2 June 1842, joined Sir Hugh Gough's army in North China, and was attached to Lord Saltoun's brigade. He

covered the attack on Chin-keang-foo, and co-operated in the march on Nankin. At the peace his regiment, decimated by fever, was ordered to Hong Kong, where Campbell assumed the command of the troops. He was most favourably mentioned in despatches by the general, who had known him in the Peninsula, and was appointed aide-de-camp to the queen and promoted colonel, and made a C.B. In January 1844 he was made a brigadier-general, and took over the command of the brigade in Chusan from Major-general Sir James Schoedde, K.C.B. He remained at Chusan till 25 July 1846, and reached Calcutta on 24 Oct. 1846 at the head of his regiment.

Soon after his arrival in India, in January 1847, he was appointed to the command of the brigade at Lahore, and there made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Lawrence, the commissioner, whose intimate friend he became. Upon the insurrection of Moolraj and the siege of Mooltan Campbell advocated prompt measures, and was bitterly disappointed when he was not allowed to serve in the relief of the besieged fortress. At the close of the year he was appointed to the command of a division by Lord Gough, and offered the post of adjutant-general to the forces, which he refused owing to his earnest desire to return to England on the conclusion of the war. His services in the second Sikh war were most conspicuous; he covered the rout of the cavalry at Ramnuggur, and by a forward movement prevented the Sikhs from following up their first success at Chillianwallah. He commanded the right wing and the pursuit at the crowning victory of Goojerat. He commanded a brigade in Major-general Sir Walter Gilbert's pursuit of the Afghans, and afterwards received the command of the brigade at Rawul Pindi, and of the frontier division stationed at Peshawur. His services in the second Sikh war were recognised by his being made a K.C.B. in 1849. The great wish in Campbell's mind seems at this time to have been to retire and return to England, for he was now in a situation to save his family from any privation. 'I am growing old and only fit for retirement,' he wrote in his journal on 20 Oct. 1849 (*SHADWELL, Life of Lord Clyde*, i. 239). The earnest requests of Lord Dalhousie and Sir Charles Napier, however, prevailed on him to remain, and he spent three years in the harassing work of a frontier post. In February 1850 he cleared the Kohat pass of the wild tribes which infested it, with a loss of nineteen killed and seventy-four wounded. In February 1852 he proceeded in command of a force of two guns and 260 sowars against



the Momunds, and utterly defeated Sadut Khan, their leader, at Panj Pao on 15 April. In the following month he was ordered to punish the Swat tribes, and advanced into the mountains with more than 2,500 men and seven guns, and after many able operations and several engagements defeated over six thousand of them at Iskakote on 18 May 1852. He desired to follow up his victory, but the government refused to allow him to summon up the 22nd regiment to his assistance, and he had to return to Peshawar with his object unattained on 1 June, and resigned his command on 25 July. In March 1853 he reached England after an absence of twelve years, and at once went on half-pay, and took a year's holiday in visiting his many friends, including his 'fellow-criminal,' Sir Charles Napier.

On 11 Feb. 1854 Lord Hardinge, the commander-in-chief, offered him the command of one of the two brigades which it was at that time intended to send to the East. Campbell at once accepted, but by the time he reached Turkey the intended division had grown into an army, and he was posted to the command of the 2nd or Highland brigade of the 1st division, under the command of the Duke of Cambridge, consisting of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders. On 20 June 1854, while he was at Varna, he was promoted major-general. 'This rank,' he wrote in his journal, 'has arrived at a period of life when the small additional income which it carries with it is the only circumstance connected with the promotion in which I take any interest' (SHADWELL, *Life of Lord Clyde*, i. 319). At the head of his brigade he landed in the Crimea, and rendered the highest service at the battle of the Alma. He led his brigade steadily against the redoubt which had been retaken by the enemy after being carried by the light division, and with his highlanders in line overthrew the last compact columns of the Russians. His horse had been shot under him, and he had won the victory, but the only reward he asked was leave to wear the highland bonnet instead of the cocked hat of a general officer. When the army encamped before Sebastopol, Campbell was appointed commandant at Balaclava. At home his services were recognised by his being made colonel of the 67th regiment on 24 Oct. 1854. As commandant at Balaclava he directed the famous repulse of the Russian infantry column by the 93rd Highlanders, but he was not engaged at Inkerman. In December 1854 he assumed the command of the first division, consisting of the guards and highland brigades, when the Duke of Cambridge returned to England,

and encamped them around Balaclava, and continued to command at Balaclava and to do all in his power for the comfort of the army during the trying winter season. He received continual thanks for his services from Lord Raglan, at whose request he did not press for the command of the expedition to Kertch in May 1855, and he was made a G.C.B. on 5 July 1855. On 16 June 1855 he led the 1st division up to the front, and commanded the reserve at the storming of the Redan on 8 Sept. But his position had ceased to be a pleasant one. Lord Panmure first proposed that he should undertake the government of Malta, and then that he should serve under Codrington, his junior, who had never seen a shot fired until the battle of the Alma. This was too much for the veteran, and on 3 Nov. he left the Crimea on leave. Personal interviews with the queen, however, softened his resentment, and on 4 June 1856 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and again went to the Crimea to take command of a corps d'armée under Codrington. The latter would not organise the corps, and Campbell only commanded the highland division for a month, and then returned to England. He received many tokens of recognition for his services. He was made a grand officer of the Legion of Honour, a knight grand cross of the order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and a knight of the first class of the order of the Medjidie. He received a sword of honour from Glasgow, his native city, and was made an honorary D.C.L. by the university of Oxford.

In July 1856 Campbell assumed the command of the south-eastern district, and in September was appointed inspector-general of infantry. In December 1856 he was charged with the honour of going to Berlin to invest the Prince of Prussia, afterwards the German Emperor, with the grand cross of the Bath. In March 1857 he was offered the command of the expedition then forming for China, which he refused. On 11 July arrived the news of the outbreak of the mutiny of the sepoys in India, and the death of General Anson, the commander-in-chief in India. On the same day Lord Palmerston sent for Campbell and offered him the command-in-chief. He accepted the position, and started the next day for India. He arrived at Calcutta in August, and heard at once the news of the recovery of Delhi by Major-general Archdale Wilson, of the capture of Cawnpore by Havelock, and his great preparations for the first relief of Lucknow. Campbell hurried up to Cawnpore the troops intended for the China expedition, which Lord Elgin [see BRUCE, JAMES] had wisely

sent to Calcutta, and assembled there also certain picked troops from the army which had taken Delhi, and after two months of terribly hard work in organising the troops and clearing Lower Bengal, he assumed the command of the army at the Alumbagh, and, leaving General Windham to hold Cawnpore, started with 4,700 men and 32 guns to save Lucknow on 9 Nov. The army consisted entirely of European troops, with the exception of two Sikh regiments, and fought its way step by step to the residency of Lucknow. On 14 Nov. the Dilkosha Palace was stormed, and on 16 Nov. the Secunder Bagh, and on 19 Nov. Campbell was able to concert further measures with Outram and Havelock. The operation of conveying four hundred women and children with more than a thousand sick and wounded men was one of immense difficulty, but was skilfully performed, and on 30 Nov. Campbell reached Cawnpore and was enabled to send off those whom he had rescued on steamers to Calcutta. Meanwhile his success had been endangered by the defeat of General Windham in front of Cawnpore, but he arrived in time to prevent a further disaster, and established his headquarters there. The winter months abounded in minor operations, all of which bore the trace of the guiding mind of Campbell, who, however, made up his mind that a thorough reduction of the mutineers in Oude must be the first great step towards re-establishing British ascendancy. By March 1858 he had assembled 25,000 men for this purpose, and then began a campaign second only in interest to that of the preceding November. After ten days' hard fighting he finally reduced Lucknow on 19 March, and then by a series of masterly operations in Oude and Rohilkund restored entire peace in the north of India by the month of May. He then paused in his own personal exertions from ill-health; but it was owing to his careful organisation that Sir Hugh Rose was able to muster an adequate army for the campaign in central India, and to his combinations that the campaign was finally successful. Rewards were showered upon him. On 14 May 1858 he was promoted general; on 15 Jan. 1858 he was made colonel of his favourite regiment, the 93rd Highlanders; in June 1861, on the foundation of the order, he was made a K.S.I.; and on 3 July 1858 he was elevated to the peerage as Lord Clyde of Clydesdale. But his health was failing, and he felt it impossible to remain long at his post, and on 4 June 1860 he left India, where he had won so much glory, amidst every sign of regret.

The last few years of Lord Clyde's life abounded in honours. One of the last acts

of the old East India Company was to vote him a pension of 2,000*l.* a year; in July 1860 he was appointed colonel of the Coldstream guards, in the place of Sir John Byng, Lord Strafford; and on 9 Nov. 1862 he was made a field marshal. In December 1860 he was presented with the freedom of the city of London; in 1861 he represented the Horse Guards at the Prussian manœuvres; and in April 1862 he commanded at the Easter volunteer review. Solaced in his last days by the respect of the whole people and the love of his family, the great soldier of fortune, who had saved the British empire in India, died on 14 Aug. 1863, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 22nd. A great soldier and a great general, Lord Clyde has made a reputation in the military history of England absolutely unrivalled in the records of the middle of the nineteenth century.

[Shadwell's *Life of Lord Clyde*, 1881; Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*; Kaye's and Malletson's *History of the Mutiny*; Russell's *Diary in India*, and all books treating of the history of the Indian Mutiny.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, DANIEL** (more correctly Donald) (1665–1722), Scotch divine, only son of Patrick Campbell of Quaycrook, Caithness, was born 1 Aug. 1665. On 15 July 1686 he graduated as M.A. in the university and King's College of Aberdeen, and thereafter studied divinity at Edinburgh (?). On 31 Dec. 1691 he was ordained minister of the parish of Glassary in Argyllshire. Of the forty-two who subscribed his call twenty-two were Campbells. In 1692 he married Jean, daughter of Patrick Campbell, minister of Glenary, and had issue several daughters, who all married in the county, and one son, James, afterwards minister of Kilbrandon. Campbell's father died in 1705, and he thereupon sold the Caithness property. The family had previously acquired the estate of Duchernan in Glassary, and they were henceforth designated by it till 1800, when it passed into other hands. The manse of Glassary was chiefly constructed at Campbell's expense. It was one of the first in Argyllshire, and was renowned for its 'nineteen windows.' Campbell died 28 March 1722. He was the author of several devotional works, of which one at least was very widely popular. This was '*Sacramental Meditations on the Sufferings and Death of Christ*' (Edinburgh, 1698). It is announced as 'the substance of some sermons preached before the communion in the *Irish Language in Kilmichael, of Glasrie*' (title-page). This treatise went through a great many editions during the next hundred and twenty years. A Gaelic translation by

'D. Macphairlain, A.M.,' was published at Perth in 1800.

Campbell also wrote: 1. 'The Frequent and Devout Communicant;' to this is appended 'A Dialogue between a private Christian and a Minister of the Gospel concerning preparation for the Lord's Supper,' 1703. 2. 'Meditations on Death,' 1718 (reprinted Glasgow, 1741). 3. 'Dæmonomachie, or War with the Devil, in a short treatise by way of dialogue between Philander and Theophilus,' 1718. 4. 'Man's Chief End and Rule; the substance of Catechetical Sermons on the first three questions of the Shorter Catechism,' 1719; a continuation of this was announced, but apparently never published. 5. 'Meditations on Eternity,' Edinburgh, 1721. 6. Three manuscript volumes of sermons.

[Scott's *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, iii. 8, Edinburgh, 1870; Notes and Queries, 27 Aug. 1864, pp. 171-2; Brit. Mus. Cat.] F. W.-r.

CAMPBELL, DANIEL or DONALD (1671?-1753), of Shawfield and Islay, Glasgow merchant and member of parliament, was the eldest son of Walter Campbell of Skipnish, and was born about 1671. In many books of reference he is stated to have been born in 1696 and to have died in 1777, the former date being that of his son John Campbell's birth, and the latter that of his grandson Daniel Campbell's death. He was very successful as a merchant, and in 1707 purchased the estate of Shawfield or Schawfield from Sir James Hamilton. He also became possessed of the valuable estate of Woodhall. He represented Inverary in the Scottish parliament from 1702 till the union, and was one of the commissioners who signed the treaty. He also sat in the first parliament of Great Britain, 1707-8, and represented the Glasgow burghs from 1716 to 1734. In 1711 he built, for his town residence in Glasgow, Shawfield mansion, which became famous in connection with the Shawfield riots in 1725. Campbell had voted for the imposition of the malt tax in Scotland, and on this account the mob, after taking possession of the city and preventing the officers of excise from collecting it, proceeded to the Shawfield mansion and completely demolished the interior. The provost and magistrates were arrested on the ground of having favoured the mob, and Campbell received 9,000*l.* from the city as compensation for the damages caused by the riot. Soon afterwards he purchased the island of Islay. He died 8 June 1753, aged 82. By his first marriage to Margaret Leckie he had three sons and three daughters, and by his second to Catherine, daughter of Henry, third lord Cardross,

and relict of Sir William Denham, bart., of West Shields, one daughter.

[Glasgow Past and Present, iii. 473-85; Old Country Houses of the Old Glasgow Gentry, 2nd edit. (1878), p. 233; Foster's Members of the Scottish Parliament, p. 50.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, DONALD (*d.* 1562), abbot of Cupar (Coupar) Angus, and bishop-elect of Brechin, was the fourth and youngest son of Archibald, second earl of Argyll [q. v.], by his wife, Lady Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of John, first earl of Lennox. He was appointed abbot of Cupar on 18 June 1526, and in this capacity was present at the parliaments held by James V in 1532, 1535, 1540, and 1541. On 15 March 1543 he was chosen a member of the privy council to the Earl of Arran, and on 14 Aug. 1546 one of the lords of the articles. He was again nominated a privy councillor on 18 March 1547, and elected one of the lords of the articles on 12 April 1554. He held the office of privy seal under the Earl of Arran, and it is supposed retained it till his death. On 2 July 1541 he was nominated by James V one of the senators of the College of Justice. In 1559 he was nominated to the see of Brechin, but the pope refused to confirm it on account of the abbot's inclination towards the new doctrines, and he never assumed the title. He was present at the convention of estates on 1 Aug. 1560, when acts were passed ratifying the new 'confession of faith,' annulling the authority of the pope, and prohibiting the hearing of mass, but did not accept any post under the new system of ecclesiastical government. He died shortly before 20 Dec. 1562. He is said to have left five illegitimate sons, to each of whom he gave an estate.

[Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii.; Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 165; Haig and Brunton's Senators of the College of Justice, pp. 69-70; Rogers's Rental Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Cupar Angus, i. 100-13.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, DONALD (1751-1804), of Barbreck, Indian traveller, published at London in 1795 'A Journey over land to India . . . by Donald Campbell of Barbreck, who formerly commanded a regiment of cavalry in the service of the Nabob of the Carnatic: in a series of letters to his son.' The journey was made by way of Belgium, the Tyrol, Venice, Alexandria, Aleppo, Diyarbekr, Mosul, Baghdad, Bushire, Bombay, and Goa, about all which places and others on the route the traveller has something to say. He suffered shipwreck in the Indian Ocean, and was made prisoner by Hyder Ali, but subsequently released. The book enjoyed

much popularity. A new edition appeared in 1796, in 4to, like the first, and in the same year an abridged version was published, in 8vo, with the title 'Narrative of Adventures,' &c. (London, 1796), and a preface signed 'S. J.,' of which a new edition, in 8vo, appeared in 1797, a third, in 12mo, in 1798, and a sixth was reached in 1808. The third part of the travels, relating to the shipwreck and imprisonment of the writer, was published as a chap-book, 'Shipwreck and Captivity of D. C.,' London, 1800 (?), 8vo. He also published a 'Letter to the Marquis of Lorn on the Present Times,' London, 1798, 8vo, which is a sensible protest against party factions in connection with the war with France. Campbell died at Hutton in Essex on 5 June 1804. He left a son, Frederick William Campbell [q.v.]

[Gent. Mag. 1804; Brit. Mus. Cat. of Printed Books.] S. L.-P.

CAMPBELL, DUNCAN (1680 ?–1730), a professed soothsayer, was descended from a native of Argyllshire, who, having been shipwrecked in Lapland, married a 'lady of consequence' in that country, from whom the son professed to have inherited his gift of second sight. The father, after the death of his wife, returned to Scotland, bringing with him the boy, who was deaf and dumb. He received instruction in reading from a 'learned divine of the university of Glasgow,' and having already manifested the possession of remarkable gifts, went in 1694 to London, where his predictions soon attracted wide attention in fashionable society. So expensive, however, were his habits that, notwithstanding the large sums he obtained from those who consulted him, he became deeply involved in debt, and to escape his creditors went to Rotterdam, where he enlisted as a soldier. Returning in a few years to London, he read a wealthy young widow's fortune in his own favour, and having taken a house in Monmouth Street, he found himself a greater centre of attraction than ever. 'All his visitants,' says a writer in the 'Tatler,' No. 14, 'come to him full of expectations, and pay his own rate for the interpretations they put upon his shrugs and nods;' and he is thus referred to in the 'Spectator,' No. 560: 'Every one has heard of the famous conjuror who, according to the opinion of the vulgar, has studied himself dumb. Be that as it will, the blind Tiresias was not more famous in Greece than this dumb artist has been for some years last past in the cities of London and Westminster.' Among those whom Campbell seems to have specially impressed was Daniel Defoe, who in 1720 published 'The History of the Life and Adventures of

Mr. Duncan Campbell, a gentleman who, though deaf and dumb, writes down any strange name at first sight, with their future contingencies of fortune. Now living in Exeter Court over against the Savoy in the Strand.' Like other persons of eminence, Campbell succeeded in obtaining the notice of royalty, as appears from the following in the 'Daily Post' of Wednesday, 4 May 1720: 'Last Monday Mr. Campbell, the deaf and dumb gentleman—introduced by Colonel Carr—kissed the king's hand, and presented to his majesty "The History of his Life and Adventures," which was by his majesty most graciously received.' On 18 June of the same year there appeared a pamphlet entitled 'Mr. Campbell's Pacquet for the Entertainment of Ladies and Gentlemen, containing: I. Verses to Mr. Campbell occasioned by the History of his Life and Adventures. II. The Parallel, a Poem comparing the Productions of Mr. Pope with the Prophetical Productions of Mr. Campbell, by Captain Stanhope. III. An Account of a most surprising Apparition, sent from Launceston in Cornwall. Attested by Rev. Mr. Ruddle, minister there.' The third section of the pamphlet was written by Defoe. A second edition of the 'Life of Campbell' appeared on 10 Aug. 1720; it was reissued 14 March 1721; and in 1728 the same book appeared under the title 'The Supernatural Philosopher; or the Mysteries of Magic in all its Branches clearly unfolded by Wm. Bond, Esquire.' In 1724 there was published 'A Spy upon the Conjuror; or a Collection of Surprising Stories with Names, Places, and particular Circumstances relating to Mr. Duncan Campbell, commonly known by the name of the Deaf and Dumb Man; and the astonishing Penetration and Event of his Predictions. Written to my Lord —, by a Lady, who for more than twenty years past has made it her business to observe all Transactions in the Life and Conversation of Mr. Campbell. London, sold by Mr. Campbell.' The pamphlet has been attributed to Eliza Haywood, but there is every reason to suppose that the real author was Defoe, Campbell supplying him with the necessary information. About a third of the pamphlet consists of letters—generally very amusing, sometimes of the most extraordinary character—written by Campbell's correspondents. Defoe also published in 1725 'The Dumb Projector; being a surprising account of a Trip to Holland made by Mr. Campbell, with the manner of his Reception and Behaviour there.' In 1726 Campbell appeared in the additional character of a vendor of miraculous medicines. He published 'The Friendly Demon; or the

**Generous Apparition.** Being a True Narrative of a Miraculous Cure newly performed upon that famous Deaf and Dumb Gentleman, Mr. Duncan Campbell, by a familiar spirit that appeared to him in a white surplice like a Cathedral Singing Boy.' It consists of two letters, the first by Duncan Campbell, giving an account of an illness which attacked him in 1717, and continued nearly eight years, until his good genius appeared and revealed that he could be cured by the use of the loadstone; the second on genii or familiar spirits, with an account of a marvellous sympathetic powder which had been brought from the East. A postscript informed the readers that at 'Dr. Campbell's house, in Buckingham Court, over against Old Man's Coffee House, at Charing Cross, they may be readily furnished with his "Pulvis Miraculosus," and finest sort of Egyptian loadstones.' Campbell died after a severe illness in 1730. An account of his life appeared in 1732, under the title 'Secret Memoirs of the late Mr. Duncan Campbell, the famous Deaf and Dumb Gentleman, written by himself, who ordered they should be published after his decease. To which is added an application by way of vindication of Mr. Duncan Campbell against the groundless aspersion cast upon him that he had pretended to be Deaf and Dumb.' A striking proof of the superstitious character of the times is afforded by the fact that among the subscribers to the volume were the Duke of Argyll and other members of the nobility.

[The pamphlets mentioned in the text; the Lives of Defoe by Walter Wilson and William Lee.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, LORD FREDERICK** (1729-1816), lord clerk register, was third son of John, fourth duke of Argyll, by his wife, Mary, daughter of John, second lord Bellen-den, and was M.P. for the Glasgow burghs from 1761 to 1780, and for the county of Argyll from 1780 to 1799. In 1765, being very intimate with Mr. Grenville, he was active in the arrangements for transferring the prerogatives and rights of the Duke of Atholl in the Isle of Man, then a nest of smugglers, to the crown, and in fixing the compensation to be given; but he felt and complained that the compensation was inadequate. In the same year he was for a few months lord keeper of the Scotch privy seal, and was succeeded by Lord Breadalbane. He was sworn of the privy council 29 May 1765, was secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland 1767-8, made lord clerk register for Scotland in 1768, and confirmed in that office for life in 1777. In 1778 he was colonel of the Argyll fencibles, in 1787 a vice-trea-

surer for Ireland, and in 1790 a member of the board of control for India. In 1774 he had laid the foundation-stone for a register house at Edinburgh, and procured a permanent establishment for keeping the records, and received the thanks of the court of session. He was a member of committee of council for trade 1784-1801, and treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1803. As a member of parliament he seems to have been reticent; but it was on his motion in 1796 that Mr. Addington was elected speaker of the new parliament. He married, 28 March 1769, Mary, youngest daughter of Mr. Amos Meredith of Henbury, Cheshire, and widow of Laurence, fourth Earl Ferrars, and she was burnt to death at his house, Comb Bank, Kent, in 1807. He died 8 June 1816 in Queen Street, Mayfair, and was buried in the family vault at Sandridge, Kent.

[Hely Smith's MacCallum Mores; Gent. Mag. lxxxvi. 572, lxxxvii. 214; The Scotch Compendium; The House of Argyll, Anon., Glasgow, 1871, p. 68; Collins's Peerage, iv. 102; Parl. History, xxiv. 297, xxviii.] J. A. H.

**CAMPBELL, FREDERICK WILLIAM** (1782-1846), genealogist, was eldest son of Donald Campbell (1751-1804), of Barbreck [q. v.]. He was born on 4 Jan. 1782, and entering the army became captain in the 1st regiment of guards. Some time after succeeding his father in 1804, he disposed of the estate in Argyllshire, retaining only the superiority to connect him with the county, and took up his residence at Birfield Lodge, near Ipswich, Suffolk. He was a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of the county. In 1830 he printed privately a work entitled 'A Letter to Mrs. Campbell of Barbreck, containing an Account of the Campbells of Barbreck,' Ipswich. He died in 1846.

He married, first, Jessie Aspasia (*d.* 1812), daughter of Wade Toby Caulfield of Raheen-duff, Queen's County; secondly, her half-sister, Emma Ashwell Caulfield (*d.* 1817); thirdly, on 21 Feb. 1820, Sophia, daughter of Sir Edward Winnington, bart., M.P., by whom he had one daughter.

[Burke's Landed Gentry; Cooper's Biog. Dict.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, GEORGE** (1719-1796), divine, was born on 25 Dec. 1719 in Aberdeen, where his father, Colin Campbell (*d.* 27 Aug. 1728), was a minister. Campbell was educated at the grammar school, and at Marischal College. He was articled to a writer to the signet, but in 1741 began to study divinity in Edinburgh, and afterwards at Aberdeen. He was licensed to preach in 1746, and on 2 June 1748 was ordained minister of Banchory Ternan in Aberdeenshire.

There he married Grace Farquharson, whose care prolonged his life in spite of delicate health. He became well known as a preacher, and in June 1757 was chosen one of the ministers of Aberdeen. A philosophical society was formed at the beginning of 1758, of which Campbell, Reid, Gregory, Beattie, and other well-known men were or became members. In 1759 he was appointed principal of Marischal College through the influence of his distant relation, the Duke of Argyll. In 1762 he published his 'Dissertation on Miracles,' expanded from a sermon preached before the provincial synod on 9 Oct. 1760. This was one of the chief answers to Hume's famous essay (published in 1748). Campbell's friend, Hugh Blair [q. v.], showed the sermon to Hume. Some correspondence (published in later editions of the 'Essay') passed between Campbell and Hume, who stated that he must adhere to a resolution formed in early life never to reply to an adversary, though he had never felt so 'violent an inclination to defend himself.' The courtesy shown by Campbell to Hume in the letters and in his book gave some offence to zealots (BURTON, *Hume*, i. 283, ii. 115-20). The 'Dissertation' was generally admired. The most original part is the argument that the highest anterior improbability of an alleged event is counterbalanced by slight direct evidence. Campbell became D.D. in 1764. In June 1771 he was elected professor of divinity in Marischal College. As professor he was also minister of Grey Friars, and resigned his previous charge. He lectured industriously both as principal and professor. He published his 'Philosophy of Rhetoric' in 1776, a course of lectures resembling those of Blair, and expounding the critical doctrines of the period. In 1789 he published a 'Translation of the Gospels,' with preliminary dissertations and notes, which reached a seventh edition in 1834. His 'Lectures on Ecclesiastical History' appeared posthumously in 1800. They contain a defence of presbyterianism, and were attacked by Bishop Skinner of the Scotch episcopal church in 'Primitive Truth and Order vindicated,' and by Archdeacon Daubeny in 'Eight Discourses.' Campbell also published a few sermons showing his sympathy with the moderate party. A fast sermon in 1773 on the duty of allegiance had a large circulation, but failed to rouse the American colonists to a sense of their duty.

When nearly seventy he learnt German in order to read Luther's translation of the Bible. A severe illness in 1791 impaired his strength. His wife's death (16 Feb. 1792) was hastened by her care of him in this illness. He was much shaken by the loss, and he of-

fered to resign his professorship on condition of being succeeded by one of three gentlemen named by himself. The offer was not accepted, but he soon afterwards resigned the professorship and the ministry of Grey Friars (worth 160*l.* a year) in favour of William Laurence Brown [q. v.], who had been forced to resign a professorship at Utrecht. He resigned the principalship, in which also Brown succeeded him, on receiving a pension of 300*l.* a year, but directly afterwards died of a paralytic stroke, 6 April 1796.

[Life by G. S. Keith prefixed to *Lectures on Ecclesiastical History*, 1800; *Hew Scott's Fasti*, iii. 455, 467, 522.] L. S.

**CAMPBELL, GEORGE** (1761-1817), Scotch poet, was descended from humble parents and was born at Kilmarnock in 1761. His father died when he was still very young, and he was brought up under the care of his mother, who earned her subsistence by winding yarn for the carpet works. Being apprenticed to a shoemaker, he made use of his leisure hours to educate himself with a view of entering the university of Glasgow, and while still a student there he published in 1787 a volume of 'Poems on several Occasions,' which was printed at the press of Kilmarnock, from which in the preceding year the first edition of the poems of Robert Burns had been issued. The poems, which are chiefly of a moral or didactic kind, are not written in the Scotch dialect. Though commonplace in thought, and not displaying much richness of fancy, their expression is often happy and the versification easy and flowing. He was ordained minister of the Secession church of Stockbridge, Berwickshire, on 19 Aug. 1794, and remained in that charge till his death on 23 Nov. 1817. In 1816 he published at Edinburgh a volume of 'Sermons on Interesting Subjects.'

[Contemporaries of Burns, pp. 122-34; Mackelvie's *Annals of the United Presbyterian Church*, p. 106; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, SIR GUY** (1786-1849), major-general, eldest son of Lieutenant-general Colin Campbell, lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar [q. v.], was born on 22 Jan. 1786. He joined the 6th regiment as an ensign in 1795, and was promoted lieutenant on 4 April 1796. He was present at all his father's engagements during the Irish rebellion of 1798, and then accompanied the regiment to Canada in 1803, and was promoted captain on 14 Sept. 1804. He was present at the battles of Roliça and Vimeiro, and throughout the advance of

Sir John Moore into Spain and the retreat to Corunna. On 1 April 1813 Campbell was promoted major, and again accompanied his regiment to the Peninsula, and after the battle of Vittoria, where the colonel was severely wounded, he succeeded to the command of the regiment. The 6th regiment formed part of Barnes's brigade of the 7th division, and after bearing its share in the battle of the Pyrenees or Sorauren performed its greatest feat at Echalar on 2 Aug., when it defeated Clausel's division, more than six thousand strong (NAPIER, *Peninsular War*, bk. xxi. chap. v. v. 247 of the last revised edition). Campbell was severely wounded in this combat, and strongly recommended for promotion, and was accordingly promoted lieutenant-colonel by brevet on 26 Aug. 1813. At the end of the war he received a gold medal for the battle of the Pyrenees, and was made a C.B., and on 22 May 1815 was created a baronet in recognition of the important services rendered by his father, who had died in 1814, with remainder to the heirs of Lieutenant-general Colin Campbell. He rejoined his regiment in 1815, and was attached to the staff at the battle of Waterloo, and went on half-pay in 1816. In 1830 he was appointed deputy quartermaster-general in Ireland, a post which he held until his promotion to the rank of major-general in 1841, when he received the command of the Athlone district. In 1848 Campbell was appointed colonel of the 3rd West India regiment, and he died at Kings-town on 25 Jan. 1849.

[Royal Military Calendar; Hart's Army List; Gent. Mag. March 1849.] H. M. S.

CAMPBELL, HARRIETTE (1817-1841), novelist, daughter of Robert Campbell, was born at Stirling in 1817 (*Literary Gazette*, 1841, p. 170). She is said to have known many English, French, and Italian authors by her twelfth year (*ib.*). Her first published articles were 'Legends of the Lochs and Glens,' which appeared in 'Bentley's Miscellany' (*ib.*); other papers of hers appeared in the 'Monthly Magazine.' Her first novel, 'The Only Daughter,' finished in 1837, when she was twenty, was published in 1839. It was favourably received. Another novel, 'The Cardinal Virtues, or Morals and Manners connected,' was published in 1841, 2 vols. But her health broke down; she fell ill, and was taken to the continent for the winter. A third novel, 'Katherine Randolph, or Self-Devotion,' was written by Miss Campbell during her stay abroad; but she had a fresh attack of illness there, and died on 15 Feb. 1841, aged 23.

'Katherine Randolph, or Self-Devotion,'

was published in 1842, with a preface by Mr. G. R. Gleig; and 'The Only Daughter' was reissued under the same editorship in the 'Railway Library' as late as 1859.

[Literary Gazette, 1841, p. 170; Gent. Mag. 1841, p. 544.] J. H.

CAMPBELL, HUGH, third EARL OF LOUDOUN (*d.* 1731), was grandson of John, first earl of Loudoun [q. v.], and eldest son of James, second earl, by his wife, Lady Margaret Montgomery, second daughter of Hugh, seventh earl of Eglintoun. In 1684 he succeeded his father, who died at Leyden, where he had retired in consequence of his disapproval of the government of Charles II. The third earl took his seat in parliament on 8 Sept. 1696, and was sworn a privy councillor in April 1697. Through the influence of Archibald, tenth earl, afterwards first duke of Argyll [q. v.], Loudoun was appointed extraordinary lord of session, and took his seat on 7 Feb. 1699. Argyll, in a letter to Secretary Carstairs, dated Edinburgh, 27 Sept. 1698, thus recommended Loudoun: 'Pray, let not E. Melvill's unreasonable pretending to the vacant gown make you slack as to E. Loudoun, who, though a younger man, is an older and more noted presbyterian than he. Loudoun has it in his blood, and it is a mettled young fellow, that those who recommend him will gain honour by him. He has a deal of natural parts and sharpness, a good stock of clergy, and by being in business he will daily improve' (*Carstairs State Papers*, 1774, p. 451). He retained this office until his death, 'in which post,' says Lockhart (*Memoirs of Scotland*, 1714, p. 99), 'he behaved to all men's satisfaction, studying to understand the laws and constitution of the kingdom, and determine accordingly.' After the accession of Queen Anne, he was again sworn a member of the Scotch privy council, and from 1702-4 served as one of the commissioners of the Scotch treasury. In 1704 he was appointed joint-secretary of state with William, third marquis of Annandale, and afterwards with John, sixth earl of Mar. In March 1706 he was made one of the Scotch commissioners for the union, and on 10 Aug. of the same year was invested at Windsor with the order of the Thistle. On 7 Feb. 1707 Loudoun resigned his titles into the hands of the queen, which, on the following day, were regrant to him and the heirs male of his body, with other remainders over in default. The office of secretary for state for Scotland being temporarily suspended (it was not abolished until 1746), he was appointed keeper of the great seal of Scotland during the queen's pleasure on

25 May 1708, and in the same year was sworn a member of the English privy council. The office of keeper of the great seal had been created on the abolition of the post of lord chancellor, there being no further use for the judicial part of that office after the union. In addition to his salary of 3,000*l.* the queen granted him a pension of 2,000*l.* a year. In 1713 he was deprived of this office for refusing to comply with some of the measures of the tory administration. On the accession of George I in the following year he was again sworn a privy councillor, and in 1715 appointed lord-lieutenant of Ayrshire. He served as a volunteer under John, second duke of Argyll [q. v.], at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where he behaved with great gallantry. In 1722, 1725, 1726, 1728, 1730, and 1731, he acted as lord high commissioner to the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland. In 1727 he obtained a pension of 2,000*l.* a year for his life. At the union he was elected by the Scotch parliament as one of the sixteen Scotch representative peers, and was re-elected at six following general elections. He died on 20 Nov. 1731. The earl married, on 6 April 1700, Lady Margaret Dalrymple, only daughter of John, first earl of Stair, by whom he had one son, John (1705-1782) [q. v.], who succeeded to the title, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Margaret. The countess, who was a highly accomplished woman, survived her husband for many years. She resided at Sorn Castle in Ayrshire, where she interested herself in agricultural pursuits, particularly in the planting of trees. After an illness of a few days she died, on 3 April 1777, at a very advanced age.

[Sir R. Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* (1813), ii. 149, 150; Bruntton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice* (1832), pp. 468-9; Sir H. Nicolas's *Orders of Knighthood*, 1842, iii., T. p. 32; Haydn's *Book of Dignities*.] G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL**, SIR ILAY (1734-1823), of Succoth, lord president, was born on 23 Aug. 1734. He was the eldest son of Archibald Campbell of Succoth, one of the principal clerks of session, by his wife, Helen, only daughter of John Wallace of Ellerslie, Renfrewshire, and was admitted an advocate 11 Jan. 1757. Early in his career he obtained an extensive practice at the bar, and was one of the counsel for the appellant in the great Douglas peerage case. This important case engrossed the public attention at the time, and so great was young Campbell's enthusiasm that he posted to Edinburgh immediately after the decision of the House of Lords, and was the first to announce the result to the crowds in the street, who, unharnessing the horses from his carriage, drew him in triumph

to his father's house in St. James's Court. During his last fifteen years at the bar his practice had become so great that there were few causes in which he was not engaged. In 1783 he was appointed solicitor-general, in succession to Alexander Murray of Henderland, who was raised to the bench on 6 March in that year, but upon the accession of the coalition ministry he was dismissed, and Alexander Wight appointed in his place. Upon the fall of the coalition ministry he succeeded the Hon. Henry Erskine as lord advocate, and in the month of April 1784 was elected member for the Glasgow district of burghs. In parliament he never took a very prominent position, and but few of his speeches are recorded (*Parliamentary History*, xxiv-xxvii.) In 1785 he introduced a bill for the reform of the court of session, in which it was proposed to reduce the number of the judges from fifteen to ten, and at the same time to increase their salaries. The measure met with so much opposition that it was abandoned, and in the following year the salaries of the judges were increased, but their numbers were not diminished. After holding the office of lord advocate for nearly six years, he was appointed president of the court of session on the death of Sir Thomas Miller, bart. He took his seat on the bench for the first time on 14 Nov. 1789, and assumed the judicial title of Lord Succoth. In 1794 he presided over the commission of oyer and terminer which was opened at Edinburgh on 14 Aug. for the trial of those accused of high treason in Scotland. Both Watt and Downie were found guilty, and the former was executed (*State Trials*, xxiii. 1167-1404, xxiv. 1-200).

Campbell held the post of lord president for nineteen years, and upon his resignation was succeeded by Robert Blair of Avontoun. He sat for the last time on 11 July 1808, being the final occasion on which the old court of session, consisting of fifteen judges, sat together. After the vacation the court sat for the first time in two divisions. On 17 Sept. in the same year he was created a baronet. After his retirement from the bench he presided over two different commissions appointed to inquire into the state of the courts of law in Scotland. This work occupied him nearly fifteen years, during which he prepared a series of elaborate reports which to this day are most valuable as works of reference. During the later years of his life he chiefly resided at his estate of Garscube, Dumbartonshire, where he took a principal share in the transaction of county business, and amused himself in literary and agricultural pursuits. He died on 28 March 1823,



in the eighty-ninth year of his age. He was an able and ingenious lawyer, but without any powers of forensic oratory. His written pleadings were models of clearness and brevity, but his speaking, though admirable in matter, was the reverse of attractive. As a judge he was respected, and in private he was popular. The university of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of doctor of laws in 1784, and from 1799 to 1801 he held the office of lord rector. In 1766 he married Susan Mary, the daughter of Archibald Murray of Murrayfield, by whom he had two sons and six daughters. His eldest son Archibald, who succeeded to the baronetcy, was admitted an advocate 11 June 1791. He was appointed an ordinary lord of session 17 May 1809, and took his seat on the bench as Lord Succoth. On the resignation of Lord Armadale he became a lord justiciary, 1 May 1813. He resigned both these offices at the end of 1824, and died on 23 July 1846. Sir Ilay's third daughter, Susan, married Craufurd Tait of Harviestown, Clackmannan county, whose youngest son, Archibald Campbell, afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury. The present baronet is Sir Ilay's great-grandson. His portrait, painted by John Partridge, was exhibited in the loan collection of 1867 (*Catalogue*, No. 786), and two etchings of him will be found in the second volume of Kay, Nos. 202 and 300. He wrote the following works: 1. 'Decisions of the Court of Session, from the end of the year 1756 to the end of the year 1760.' Collected by Mr. John Campbell, junr., and Mr. Ilay Campbell, advocates, Edinburgh, 1765, fol. 2. 'An Explanation of the Bill proposed in the House of Commons, 1785, respecting the Judges in Scotland' (anon. 1785?), 8vo. 3. 'Hints upon the Question of Jury Trial as applicable to the Proceedings in the Court of Session' (signed I. C.), Edinburgh, 1809, 8vo. 4. 'The Acts of Sederunt of the Lords of Council and Session, from the Institution of the College of Justice in May 1532 to January 1553.' Published under the direction of Sir Ilay Campbell, bart., LL.D., Edinburgh, 1811, fol. This contains a preface of forty-three pages written by Campbell.

[Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice* (1832), pp. 539-40, 547; Kay's *Original Portraits* (1877), i. 103, 125, 260, 302, 314, 375; ii. 89-91, 380-4, 442; Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland* (1883), ii. 65, 174-7; Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time* (1856), 99-102, 125-130, 136, 246; *Gent. Mag.* xciii. pt. i. 569; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*]

G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES** (d. 1642).

[See **CAMPBELL**.]

**CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES** (1667-1745), of Lawers, general, third son of James Campbell, second earl of Loudoun, by Lady Margaret Montgomery, second daughter of the seventh earl of Eglintoun, was, according to the obituary notice in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' born in 1667, although in Douglas's 'Peerage of Scotland' it is pointed out that this date is probably some years too early. He entered the army as lieutenant-colonel of the 2nd dragoons or Scots Greys in 1708, through the influence of his brother, Hugh Campbell, third earl of Loudoun [q. v.], who was a commissioner for accomplishing the union between England and Scotland, and one of the first sixteen representative peers for Scotland, and he greatly distinguished himself at the hard-fought battle of Malplaquet on 11 Sept. 1709. In this battle the Scots Greys were stationed in front of the right of the allied line under the command of Prince Eugène, and when the obstinate resistance of the French made the issue of the battle doubtful, Campbell, though he had been ordered not to move, suddenly charged with his dragoons right through the enemies' line and back again. The success of this charge determined the battle in that quarter, and on the following day Prince Eugène publicly thanked Campbell before the whole army for exceeding his orders. He continued to serve at the head of the Scots Greys until the peace of Utrecht, and then threw himself, with his brother, Lord Loudoun, ardently into politics as a warm supporter of the Hanoverian succession. He was made colonel of the 9th foot, 1715-7, and of the Scots Greys in 1717. When George II came to the throne, he showed his appreciation of military gallantry by appointing Campbell groom of his bed-chamber, and in 1738 he was made governor and constable of Edinburgh Castle. He was promoted brigadier-general 1735, and major-general 1739. He was M.P. for Stirlingshire in 1734-41, and Ayrshire 1741. The long period of peace maintained by Walpole prevented Campbell from seeing service for twenty-eight years, but in 1742, when war was again declared against France, he was promoted lieutenant-general and accompanied the king to Germany as general commanding the cavalry. At its head he charged the *maison du roi*, or household troops of France, at the battle of Dettingen on 16 June 1743, and was invested a knight of the Bath before the whole army on the field of battle by George II. He continued to command the cavalry after the king returned to England until the battle of Fontenoy on 30 April 1745, at which battle he headed many unsuccessful charges against the army of Marshal

Saxe, but towards the close of the day his leg was carried off by a cannon-ball, and he died while being put into a litter, and was buried at Brussels. Campbell married Lady Jean Boyle, eldest daughter of the first earl of Glasgow, and his only son, James Mure Campbell, succeeded as fifth earl of Loudoun, and was the father of Flora, countess of Loudoun and marchioness of Hastings.

[Historical Record of the Scots Greys; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland; Foster's Scotch M.P.'s, p. 55.] H. M. S.

CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES (1763-1819), lieutenant-general, eldest son of Sir James Campbell of Inverneil (1737-1805), knighted 1788, hereditary usher of the white rod for Scotland, and M.P. for Stirling burghs; 1780-9, was born in 1763. He received his commission as ensign in the 1st regiment or Royal Scots on 19 July 1780, was promoted lieutenant into the 94th regiment 5 Dec. 1781, and at once exchanged into the 60th or American regiment, with which he served the last two campaigns of the American war of independence. On the conclusion of peace he was promoted captain into the 71st regiment on 6 March 1783, and exchanged to the 73rd on 6 June 1787, which he joined in India, where he acted as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Sir Archibald Campbell (1739-91) [q. v.], and, after again exchanging into the 19th dragoons, served in the three campaigns of 1790, 1791, and 1792 of Lord Cornwallis against Tippoo Sahib. On 1 March 1794 he was promoted major, and then returned to England, where he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Cheshire Fencibles on 17 Nov. 1794. Campbell served in the Channel Islands and in Ireland until 1800, when he was appointed assistant adjutant-general at the Horse Guards; on 1 Jan. 1801 he was promoted colonel by brevet, and on 16 Jan. 1804 lieutenant-colonel of the 61st regiment. In 1805 he was appointed adjutant-general to the force destined for the Mediterranean under Sir James Craig. He acted in that capacity from 1805 to 1813, and was only absent on occasion of the battle of Maida, and won the confidence of all the generals who held the command in Sicily. On 17 Sept. 1810 General Cavaignac managed to get 3,500 men safely across the straits of Messina, and had got one battalion posted on the cliffs, while the others were fast disembarking, when Campbell, by a rapid attack with the 21st regiment, repelled the disembarking battalions, and compelled those already landed to surrender. Forty-three officers and over eight hundred men were taken prisoners, with a loss to the English regiment of only three men wounded. During his tenure

of office he had been promoted major-general on 25 April 1808, and lieutenant-general on 4 June 1813, and in 1814 he was ordered to take possession of the Ionian islands. The French governor refused to hand over the government until Campbell threatened to open fire. He remained in the Ionian islands as governor and commander of the forces till 1816, when Sir Thomas Maitland was appointed lord high commissioner. A French authority states him to have acted in a most despotic way, and to have abolished the university, the academy, and the press established by the French. He returned to England in 1816, was made G.C.H. in 1817, and baronet on 3 Oct. 1818; he did not long live to wear this distinction, but died on 5 June 1819, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. At his death, as he left no children, the baronetcy of Campbell of Inverneil became extinct.

[See the Royal Military Calendar (ed. 1815) for his services; Foster's Members of Parliament, Scotland, for his pedigree; Sir H. E. Bunbury's Narrative of some Passages in the great War with France for his services in Sicily, and especially Campbell's own Letters in the Appendix, pp. 463-71; and *Les Iles ioniennes pendant l'occupation française et le protectorat anglais—d'après des documents authentiques, la plupart inédits, tirés des papiers du général de division Comte Donzelot, gouverneur-général des Iles ioniennes sous le premier Empire; suivis de la correspondance échangée en 1814 entre le gouverneur français, le lieutenant-général James Campbell et le contre-amiral Sir John Gore pour la remise des forteresses et de l'île de Corfou.*] H. M. S.

CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES (1745-1832), author of 'Memoirs written by Himself,' was the eldest son of John Callander of Craigforth [q. v.], by his wife Mary, daughter of Sir James Livingstone of Quarter, and was born on 21 Oct. (O.S.) 1745. He was educated at the high school of Edinburgh, and afterwards under a private tutor. In 1759 he joined the 51st regiment as ensign, and served in the seven years' war. Under Sir John Acton he was inspector-general of troops at Naples, and at the request of Lord Nelson he went to the Ionian islands to confirm the inhabitants in their attachment to the English cause, remaining there till the peace of Amiens in 1802. On succeeding to the estate of his cousin-german, Sir Alexander Campbell of Ardkinglass, he adopted the name of Campbell. About this time he was resident in Paris, where he made the acquaintance of a French lady, Madame Lina Talina Sassen. Being detained by the order of Napoleon, he sent her as his commissioner to Scotland, designating her in

the power of attorney with which he furnished her as his 'beloved wife.' On his return to Scotland he declined to recognise the relationship, and in consequence she raised an action against him in the court of session, when, although the marriage was found not proven, she was awarded a sum of 300*l.* per annum. On appeal to the House of Lords the award was withheld, and the lady occupied the remainder of her life in conducting various actions against him, being allowed to sue *in formâ pauperis*. Campbell died in 1832. He was three times married after a legal form and left a large family.

[Memoirs of Sir James Campbell of Ardkingglass, written by himself, 1832; Anderson's Scottish Nation; Burke's Landed Gentry, i. 250.]  
T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JAMES** (1773?-1835), general, entered the army as an ensign in the 1st royals, and was promoted lieutenant on 20 March 1794 in the same regiment, and captain into the 42nd Highlanders or Black Watch on 6 Sept. 1794. Campbell joined the 42nd at Gibraltar, and was engaged in the capture of Minorca by Lieutenant-general the Hon. Sir Charles Stuart in 1798. On 3 Jan. 1799 he was promoted major into the Argyll Fencibles, then stationed in Ireland; but on 7 April 1802 he exchanged for a captaincy in the 94th regiment, which he joined at Madras in September 1802, and with which he remained continuously until obliged to leave on account of wounds received at the battle of Vittoria in 1813. His first services were in the Mahratta war under Major-general the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, whose force he joined at Trichinopoly in January 1803, after a forced march of 984 miles. He greatly distinguished himself throughout the war; he was specially thanked for his services at the battle of Argaum, he led the centre attack on the fortress of Gawil Ghur, and headed the stormers of the inner fort, and was again mentioned in despatches; he forced the enemy's outposts and batteries at Chandore, and for a short period towards the close of the war commanded a brigade (*Wellington Supplementary Despatches*, iv. 291, 299). He was specially rewarded by being allowed batta for the rank of major, to which he had been gazetted on 4 July 1803, though the information did not reach India until the war was over. The order was dated 29 Aug. 1804, and he was promoted lieutenant-colonel on 27 Oct. 1804. In October 1807 the men of the 94th regiment, which was then the most effective in India, were drafted into other regiments, and the officers and headquarters under Campbell returned to England, and were stationed

in Jersey, where, by vigorous recruiting, the regiment soon completed its numbers, and in January 1810 it was ordered to Portugal, and from there to Cadiz. At that place he commanded a brigade, and for some time the garrison, but was ordered again to Lisbon in September 1810, when the 94th regiment was brigaded with the 1st brigade of the 3rd or fighting division under Picton, and Campbell, as senior colonel, assumed the command of the brigade until the arrival of Major-general the Hon. Charles Colville on 14 Oct. 1810. Under him the 94th regiment served in all the engagements in the pursuit after Mas-séna and at the battle of Fuentes de Onoro, and in December 1811, when Colville took the command of the 4th division, Campbell again assumed the command of the brigade, which he held at the storming of Ciudad Rodrigo, the storming of Badajoz, when, owing to the wounds of Picton and Kempt, he commanded the 3rd division, which took the castle and thus the city, and at the battle of Salamanca, where he was wounded, and he did not again surrender the command of the brigade to General Colville until June 1813. At the battle of Vittoria he only commanded his regiment, and was very severely wounded early in the action, and he had in consequence to return to England and leave the 94th for the first time since he joined it in India in 1802. His wound prevented him from again seeing service, but he received some rewards for his long service. He was promoted colonel on 4 June 1813, and made a C.B. and K.T.S. in 1814, and received a gold cross and one clasp for Fuentes de Onoro, Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca, and Vittoria. A regulation had been made on the extension of the order of the Bath in January 1815, that only officers with a cross and two clasps should receive the K.C.B., which excluded Campbell; but both Lord Wellington and Lord Bathurst felt the hardship of this rule, which excluded such men as Campbell, and included many who had only been present and not much engaged at a greater number of battles; and in a letter dated 28 Feb. 1815 Lord Bathurst, the secretary of state, specially proposed to make five most distinguished officers, headed by Colonel Campbell, K.C.B. (*ib.* ix. 581). The project was not, however, carried out, and he was not made a K.C.B. until 3 Dec. 1822. Sir James Campbell saw no more active service. On 18 March 1817 he married Lady Dorothea Cuffe, younger daughter of the first Earl of Desart; on 12 Aug. 1819 he was promoted major-general, from 1825-33 was governor of Grenada, in 1831 was made colonel of the 94th, and in 1834 of the 74th regiment. He died at Paris on 6 May 1835.

[Royal Military Calendar; Wellington Despatches and Supplementary Despatches; Gent. Mag. July 1835.] H. M. S.

CAMPBELL, SIR JOHN (*d.* 1563), of Lundy, Scotch judge, was, according to Crawford (*Officers of State*, p. 370), the son of John Campbell of Lundy (who was nominated lord high treasurer of Scotland in 1515, and was succeeded by the Master of Glencairn in 1526), by Isabel, daughter of Patrick, lord Gray, and widow of Sir Adam Crichton of Ruthven; but Haig and Brunton (*Senators of the College of Justice*, p. 25) are of opinion that the treasurer and judge are one and the same person. From an entry in the records of the court, 20 July 1532, it would appear that Campbell of Lundy, the judge, had been treasurer. On account of his wide knowledge of the laws, Campbell of Lundy was appointed one of the first lords of session when the College of Justice was instituted by James V in 1532. He was also a member of the privy council from 1540. When an alliance was proposed between King James and the Queen of Hungary, Campbell was sent to Flanders to 'inquire of her manners and wesy her persoun, and to assay how the marriage might be concluded, but without any commission to conclude until the king had taken counsel' (*Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII, vol. iv. pt. iii. app., entry 239). He was also employed on various diplomatic services—among others, that of concluding a peace ratifying the privileges of the Scots in the countries under the dominion of the emperor in 1531, and in 1541 as ambassador from James V to Henry VIII (*Cal. State Papers*, Scottish Series, pp. 39, 42). On 16 May 1533 he was appointed captain-general of 'all the fute-bands in Scotland.' In February 1548 he arrived with troops at Dundee, which, however, immediately beat a retreat (*ib.* 81). In the books of sederunt of the court of session, 25 Feb. 1560, there is a letter to him from Queen Mary, regarding 'a pretendit testament of the queen-regent, our mother, whom God assolzie, wherein ye are executer, the nullity of which is evidently known, as we made evidently appear by the letters we despatch instantly away to our realm for that effect.' On 11 Feb. 1563 he was succeeded as justice by Henry Balnaves of Halhill, who had previously held the same office between 1538 and 1546.

[Crawford's *Officers of State*, 370; Haig and Brunton's *Senators of the College of Justice*, 21-3; *Cal. State Papers*, Scottish Series, vol. i.; Brewer's *Cal. State Papers*, Reign of Henry VIII; Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, vol. i.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, first EARL OF LOUDOUN (1598-1663), was the eldest son of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, by his wife, Jean, daughter of James, first lord Colvill of Culross. He was born in 1598, and on his return from travelling abroad was knighted by James VI. In 1620 he married Margaret, the eldest daughter of George Campbell, master of Loudoun. Upon the death of her grandfather, Hugh Campbell, first baron Loudoun, in December 1622, she became baroness Loudoun, and her husband took his seat in the Scotch parliament in her right. He was created earl of Loudoun, lord Farinryeane and Mauchline by patent dated at Theobalds on 12 May 1633, but in consequence of his joining with the Earl of Rothes and others in parliament in their opposition to the court with regard to the act for empowering the king to prescribe the apparel of churchmen (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, v. 20-1), the patent was by a special order stopped at the chancery, and the title superseded. Soon after the passing of this act, the Scotch bishops resumed their episcopal costume, and in 1636 the Book of Canons Ecclesiastical and the order for using the new service-book were issued upon the sole authority of the king without consulting the general assembly. By his opposition to the policy of the court Loudoun became a favourite of the adherents of the popular cause; and on 21 Dec. 1637, at the meeting of the privy council at Dalkeith, in an eloquent speech, he detailed the grievances of the 'Supplicants,' and presented a petition on their behalf. In 1638 the 'tables' were formed and the covenant renewed. In these proceedings he took a very prominent part, and being elected elder for the burgh of Irvine in the general assembly, which met at Glasgow in November 1638, he was appointed one of the assessors to the moderator. In the following year, with the assistance of his friends, he seized the castles of Strathaven, Douglas, and Tantallon, and garrisoned them for the popular party. He marched with the Scotch army, under General Leslie, to the border, and acted as one of the Scotch commissioners at the short-lived pacification of Berwick, which was concluded on 18 June 1639. On 3 March 1640 Loudoun and the Earl of Dunfermline, as commissioners from the estates, had an interview with Charles I at Whitehall, and remonstrated against the prorogation of the Scotch parliament by the king's commissioner (the Earl of Traquair) before the business which had been brought before them had been disposed of. No answer was given to the remonstrance, but a few days after Loudoun was committed to the

Tower upon acknowledging that a letter produced by the Earl of Traquair was in his own handwriting. This letter was addressed 'Au Roy,' and requested assistance from the French king. It was signed by the Earls of Montrose, Rothes, and Mar, Lords Loudoun, Montgomery, and Forester, and General Leslie, but was not dated. Loudoun protested without avail that it had been written before the pacification of Berwick, that it had never been sent, and that if he had committed any offence, he ought to be questioned for it in Scotland and not in England. According to Dr. Birch, a warrant was made out for Loudoun's execution without trial, but this has not been sufficiently corroborated, and after some months' confinement in the Tower he was liberated upon the intercession of the Marquis of Hamilton, and returned to Scotland. On 21 Aug. in the same year the Scotch army entered England, and Loudoun with it. He took part in the battle of Newburn on the 28th, and was one of the Scotch commissioners at Ripon in the following October. Having come to an agreement for the cessation of hostilities on the 25th of the same month, the further discussion of the treaty was adjourned to London, where the Scotch commissioners 'were highly caressed by the parliament.' In August 1641 the king opened the Scotch parliament in person, the treaty with England was ratified, and offices and titles of honour were conferred on the 'prime covenanters who were thought most capable to do him service.' Accordingly Loudoun, 'the principal manager of the rebellion,' as Clarendon calls him, was appointed lord chancellor of Scotland on 30 Sept. 1641, and on 2 Oct. took the oath of office, and received from the king the great seal, which, since the resignation of Spotiswood, the archbishop of St. Andrews, had been kept by the Marquis of Hamilton. A pension of 1,000*l.* a year was also granted him, and his title of Earl of Loudoun was allowed him, with precedence from the date of the original grant. When the king found that the estates would not give their consent to the nomination either of the Earl of Morton or of Lord Almond, as lord high treasurer, the treasury was put into commission, and Loudoun appointed the first commissioner. In 1642 Loudoun was sent by the conservators of the peace to offer mediation between the king and the English parliament. He had several conferences with Charles at York, but, failing in the object of his mission, returned to Scotland. After the outbreak of the civil war, Loudoun was sent to Oxford as one of the commission to mediate for peace. Charles, however, would not admit that the

act of pacification gave the Scotch council any authority to mediate, and refused to allow the commissioners to proceed to London for that purpose. In 1643 Loudoun was again chosen elder for the burgh of Irvine to the general assembly, but this time declined the nomination. In the same year he was with the other Scotch commissioners invited to attend the discussions of the assembly of divines at Westminster. In 1645 he was appointed one of the Scotch commissioners to the treaty of Uxbridge, and though he did his best to convince the king of the impolicy of holding out any further against the parliamentary demands, his efforts were unavailing. At Newcastle he again unsuccessfully attempted to persuade the king, then virtually a prisoner of the Scotch army. In 1647 Loudoun, with the Earls of Lauderdale and Lanerick, was sent to treat with Charles at Carisbrook. On his return from England he was chosen president of the parliament which met on 2 March 1648. Persuaded by the more violent party of the covenanters, who denounced the 'engagement' as 'an unlawful confederacy with the enemies of God,' he changed sides and opposed the measure. He was, however, obliged to do public penance in the high church of Edinburgh for the part which he had originally taken. When Montrose was brought to the bar to receive sentence, Loudoun commented with severity upon his conduct. As lord chancellor he assisted at the coronation of Charles II at Seone on 1 Jan. 1650, and was present at the battle of Dunbar, where some of his letters to the king fell into Cromwell's hands. These letters were afterwards published by the order of parliament.

After the battle of Worcester Loudoun retired into the highlands, and in 1653 joined the Earl of Glencairn and other royalists who had risen in the king's favour. Divisions arising among the leaders, Loudoun left them and retired further north. He at length surrendered to Monk, whose brilliant success had demonstrated the uselessness of further resistance on the part of the royalists. Loudoun and his eldest son, Lord Mauchline, were both excepted out of Cromwell's act of indemnity, by which 400*l.* was settled on the Countess Loudoun and her heirs out of her husband's estates. Upon the Restoration, notwithstanding all that Loudoun had suffered for the royal cause, he was deprived of the chancellorship, which had been granted to him 'ad vitam aut culpam;' his pension, however, was still continued to him.

In the first session of parliament in 1661 he spoke strongly in defence of his friend, the Marquis of Argyll, who was then under an

impeachment for high treason. Argyll was executed, and Loudoun became apprehensive lest he too might share the same fate. In the following year, by an act 'containing some exceptions from the Act of Indemnity,' he was fined 12,000*l.* Scots. He died at Edinburgh on 15 March 1663, and was buried in the church of Loudoun, Ayrshire. Several of his speeches were printed in the form of pamphlets, and will be found among the political tracts in the British Museum. By his wife, Margaret, who survived him, he had two sons and two daughters. His eldest son, James, succeeded to the title, and died at Leyden. On the death of James, the fifth earl (a grandson of the second earl), the title descended to his only daughter, Flora, who married Francis, second earl of Moira, afterwards first marquis of Hastings. Upon the death of Henry, fourth marquis of Hastings, in 1868, his eldest sister became the Countess of Loudoun, and the title is now held by her son Charles, eleventh earl of Loudoun.

[George Crawford's *Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and State in Scotland* (1726), i. 195-216; Sir R. Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* (1813), ii. 148-9; Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice* (1832), pp. 300-5; Clarendon's *History* (1826); Sir James Balfour's *Historical Works* (1825), vols. ii. iii. iv.; *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie* (Bannatyne Club Publications, No. 71), 3 vols.] G. F. R. B.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, first **EARL OF BREADALBANE** (1635-1716), was descended from the Glenorchy branch of the Campbell family, and was the only son of Sir John Campbell, tenth laird of Glenorchy, and Lady Mary Graham, daughter of William, earl of Strathearn. He actively assisted the rising under Glencairn for Charles II, which was suppressed by General Monck in 1654. Afterwards he entered into communications with General Monck, and strongly urged him to declare for a free parliament in order to obtain formal assent to the king's restoration. In the first parliament after the Restoration he sat as member for Argyllshire. His abilities at an early period won him considerable influence in the highlands, but he owed the chief rise in his fortunes to his pecuniary relations with George, sixth earl of Caithness. Being principal creditor of that nobleman, who had become hopelessly involved in debt, he obtained from him on 8 Oct. 1672 a deposition of his whole estates and earldom, with heritable jurisdictions and titles of honour, on condition that he took on himself the burden of the earl's debts. He was in consequence duly infeoffed in the lands and earldom on 27 Feb. 1678, the earl of

Caithness reserving his life-rent of the title. On the death of the earl, Sir John Campbell obtained a patent creating him earl of Caithness, dated at Whitehall 25 June 1677. His right to the title and estates was, however, disputed by George Sinclair of Keiss, the earl's nephew and heir male, who also took forcible possession of his paternal lands of Keiss, Tester, and Northfield, which had been included in the deposition. The sheriff decided, as regards these estates, in favour of Campbell, and on Sinclair declining to remove, Campbell obtained on 7 June 1680 an order from the privy council against him, and defeated his followers at Wick with great slaughter. In July of the following year the privy council, under the authority of a reference from parliament, declared Sinclair entitled to the dignity of earl of Caithness, and in September following it was also found that he had been unwarrantably deprived of his paternal lands. The claims to the earldom of Caithness being thus decided in favour of Sinclair, Sir John Campbell on 13 Aug. 1681 obtained another patent creating him, instead, earl of Breadalbane and Holland, viscount of Tay and Pentland, lord Glenurchy, Benederaloch, Ormelie and Wick, with the precedence of the former patent. On the accession of James II in 1685 he was created a privy councillor.

At the time of the revolution Breadalbane was, next to his kinsman, the Earl of Argyll, the most powerful of the highland nobles, while he was not regarded by the other clans with the same uncompromising hostility as Argyll. His greed was indeed notorious, and his double-faced cunning made him feared and distrusted by many of the chiefs, but his actions were not like those of the Argylls, regulated by lowland opinion, and he was not the recognised representative of lowland authority. He was not therefore regarded by the chiefs as an alien, and his remarkable talents had gained him a great ascendancy throughout all the northern regions. According to the Master of Sinclair, he was 'reckoned the best headpiece in Scotland' (*Memoirs*, p. 260), and no one had a more thorough understanding both of the characters of the different chiefs and of the various springs by which to influence their conduct. He is described by Macky (*Memorials*, p. 199) as 'of fair complexion, of the gravity of a Spaniard, cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and supple as an eel,' and as knowing 'neither honour nor religion but where they are mixed with interest.' Of this last characteristic there is striking illustration in the fact that, though a presbyterian by profession, he marched in 1678 into the

lowlands with 1,700 claymores for the purpose of supporting the prelatical tyranny (BURNET, *Own Time*, ii. 88). His course at the revolution was of a very tortuous character. There is undoubted evidence that he was in constant communication with Dundee, although he was too wary to commit himself openly and irrevocably to the cause of James II. As early as 23 July 1689, or only six days after the battle of Killiecrankie, he seems, however, to have recognised the irretrievable character of the disaster that had befallen that cause in Dundee's death, and was expressing through Sir John Dalrymple his anxiety to serve King William. This was met by Dalrymple with the advice 'that the best way to show his sincerity was to cause the clans to come in, take the allegiance, and give the first example himself' (*Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 256). In the September following he began to act on this advice, and along with other highland noblemen took advantage of the act of indemnity. His adhesion was a matter of prime importance to the government, for a rising in the highlands, unsupported by him, could not be regarded as formidable. The government were well aware that his sincere co-operation in their purposes could be secured only by a powerful appeal to his self-interest. When, therefore, a large sum of money, according to some accounts 20,000*l.*, was placed in his hands in order to bribe the clans to submission, it must have been understood that a considerable proportion of the plunder would fall to his share. At any rate, he had decided objections to enter into details as to how he had disposed of the money, answering, in reply to the inquiry of the Earl of Nottingham, 'The money is spent, the highlands are quiet, and this is the only way of accounting among friends.' As early as March 1690 King William mooted to Lord Melville the advisability of gaining Breadalbane, even at a high price, in order to secure the submission of the highlands (*ib.* p. 421). In accordance with these instructions Breadalbane received from Melville an order to treat with the highlanders on 24 April 1690, but negotiations hung fire over a year, although on 17 Sept. 1690 Breadalbane wrote a letter expressing his anxiety to have the highlands quiet, on the ground that he had been 'a very great sufferer by the present dissolute condition it is in' (*ib.* 530). Even at the conference which he held with the chiefs in June 1691 his proposals were received with much distrust, most of them believing that, if he possessed the money, 'he would find a way to keep a good part of it to himself' (*ib.* 623), but

by signing certain 'Private Articles' (*Papers illustrative of the Condition of the Highlands*, p. 22), making the agreement null if an invasion happened from abroad or a rising occurred in other parts of the kingdom, he succeeded in inducing them to suspend hostilities till the following October. Matters having been brought so far, a proclamation was issued on 27 Aug. offering indemnity to all who had been in arms, but requiring them to swear the oath in presence of a civil judge before 1 Jan. 1692, if they would escape the penalties of treason and of military execution (proclamation in *Papers illustrative of Condition of the Highlands*, pp. 35-7). The proclamation enabled Breadalbane to extort the submission of the chiefs at a smaller pecuniary cost than would otherwise have been possible. By the influence of mingled cajolery, bribes, and threats, their resistance to his proposals was at last overcome, and all of them submitted within the prescribed time, with the exception of MacIain, chief of the Macdonalds of Glencoe, who had private reasons of his own for objecting to any settlement with the government. Until 31 Dec. MacIain manifested no signs of yielding, and when he at last saw the hopelessness of his resolve, and went to tender the oath at Fort William, he found no one there to administer it, the nearest magistrate being the sheriff at Inverary. He set out thither with all haste, and by vehement entreaties, backed up by a letter from Colonel Hill, the governor of Fort William, induced the sheriff to accept his oath. Breadalbane had now an opportunity of reaping exemplary vengeance on the wild robber clan which in its barren fastnesses had for generations subsisted chiefly by depredations on his own and the neighbouring estates. Sir John Dalrymple, master of Stair [q. v.], was equally eager to destroy the band of mountain robbers, and the atrocious scheme contrived was in all probability his suggestion, although Breadalbane must have given advice, while Argyll [see CAMPBELL, ARCHIBALD, tenth earl and first duke] also lent it his hearty support. The infamy of the massacre of Glencoe on 13 Feb. 1692 must be shared by all the three noblemen, and if Dalrymple was chiefly responsible, his motives were undoubtedly the purest, while Argyll had had less provocation than Breadalbane. Breadalbane had acted with such circumspection that when in 1695 a commission was issued to inquire into the massacre, no tangible evidence was discovered against him, beyond the deposition that a person professing to be an emissary of his chamberlain, Campbell of Balcaden, had waited on MacIain's sons to obtain

their signatures to a paper declaring that Breadalbane was guiltless of the massacre, with the promise that if they did so the earl would use all his influence to procure their pardon. In the course of their inquiries the commission discovered the existence of Breadalbane's 'Private Articles' of agreement with the highland chiefs, and in consequence he was on 10 Sept. committed to Edinburgh castle, but King William's privity being proved, he shortly afterwards received his liberty. He held himself aloof from the negotiations regarding the treaty of union in 1706-7, and did not even attend parliament. Notwithstanding the part that he had taken in obtaining the submission of the highlands, he gave secret encouragement to the French descent in regard to which Colonel Hooke was at this time sounding the highland chiefs. Hooke reported, 'I am well satisfied with my negotiation, for though Lord Broadalbin would not sign any paper, I found him as hearty in the cause as can be wished. He promises to do everything that can be expected from a man of his weight, is truly zealous for the service of his majesty, as he will show as soon as he shall hear of his being landed' (*Hooke's Negotiations* (1760), p. 66). He was a representative peer in parliament in 1713. On the news of the intended rising in behalf of the Pretender in 1714, Breadalbane retired to one of his most inaccessible fortresses, from which his escape was prevented by stationing guards over the passes. On being charged to appear between 1 Sept. and 23 Jan. 1715 at Edinburgh or elsewhere, to find security for his conduct, he sent a pathetic certificate signed by a physician and the clergyman of Kenmore, dated Taymouth Castle 1 Sept. 1715, testifying that on account of the infirmities of old age he was unable to travel without danger to health and life. Next day he appeared at Mar's camp at Logierait. According to the Master of Sinclair, Lord Drummond, who was entrusted with the undertaking, had orders to communicate all to Breadalbane and take his advice (*Memoirs*, p. 260). Breadalbane was quite willing to give the best advice he could, provided he did not compromise himself, and at any rate had no objection to reap what pecuniary advantage might be offered him by the court of St. Germain. 'His business, as the Master of Sinclair expressed it, 'was to trick others, not to be trickt.' He had engaged to raise twelve hundred men to join the clans, but although his memory was refreshed by sending him money to raise them, he only sent three hundred. Afterwards he paid a visit to the camp at Perth, seeking more money. 'His extraordinary character and dress,' says

the Master of Sinclair, 'made everybody run to see him, as if he had been a spectacle. Among others my curiosity led me. He was the meriest grave man I ever saw, and no sooner was told anybody's name, than he had some pleasant thing to say of him, mocked the whole, and had a way of laughing inwardly that was very perceptible' (*ib.* p. 185). After the battle of Sheriffmuir 'his three hundred men went home,' and 'his lordship too cunning not to see through the whole affair; we never could promise much on his friendship' (*ib.* p. 260). The lukewarmness of his support of the Pretender and his early withdrawal of the small force delivered the government from the necessity of inquiring into his conduct. He died in 1716, in his eighty-first year. He married first on 17 Dec. 1657 Lady Mary Rich, third daughter of Henry, first earl of Holland. By this lady he had two sons: Duncan, styled Lord Ormelie, who survived his father, but was passed over in the succession, and John, in his father's lifetime styled Lord Glenurchy, who became second earl of Breadalbane. Of this nobleman, born 1662, died 1752, known by the nickname of 'Old Rag,' Sir Walter Scott, in a note to the Master of Sinclair's 'Memoirs,' p. 185, states that there were many anecdotes current of too indelicate a kind for publication. His son, John (1696-1782) [q. v.], became third earl. The second wife of John, first earl of Breadalbane, was Lady Mary Campbell, third daughter of Archibald, marquis of Argyll, dowager of George, sixth earl of Caithness, by whom he had a son, Honourable Colin Campbell of Ardmaddie. By a third wife he had a daughter, Lady Mary, married to Archibald Campbell of Langton.

[Crawford's Peerage of Scotland, 46-7; Douglas's Peerage of Scotland, i. 238-9; Papers illustrative of the Highlands of Scotland (Maitland Club, 1845); Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs; Sinclair Memoirs (Abbotsford Club, 1858); Leven and Melville Papers (Bannatyne Club, 1843); Lockhart Papers, 1817; Macky's Memorials of Secret Services; Culloden Papers; Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron (Abbotsford Club, 1842); Gallienus Redivivus; or, Murder will out, 1692; The Massacre of Glenco: being a true narrative of the barbarous murder of the Glencomen in the Highlands of Scotland, by way of Military Execution, on 13 Feb. 1692: containing the Commission under the Great Seal of Scotland for making an Enquiry into the Horrid Murder, the Proceedings of the Parliament of Scotland upon it, the Report of the Commissioners upon the Enquiry laid before the King and Parliament, and the Address of the Parliament to King William for Justice on the Murderers: faithfully extracted from the Records of Parliament, 1703; An Impartial Account of



some of the Transactions in Scotland concerning the Earl of Breadalbin, Viscount and Master of Stair, Glenco-men, Bishop of Galloway, and Mr. Duncan Robertson, in a letter to a friend, 1695; State Trials, xiii. 879-915; Fountainhall's Historical Notices of Scottish Affairs (Bannatyne Club, 1848); Rep. of Hist. MSS. Comm. iv. 511-5, 524; MSS. Add. 23125, 23138, 23242, 23246-8, 23250, containing his letters to the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale and to Charles II.; Hill Burton's Hist. of Scotland; Macaulay's History.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, second **DUKE OF ARGYLL** and **DUKE OF GREENWICH** (1678-1743), eldest son of Archibald, first duke [q. v.], and Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Lionel Talmash, was born 10 Oct. 1678. It is stated that on the very day his grandfather was executed, 30 June 1685, he fell from a window in the upper floor of Lethington, near Haddington, without receiving any injury. He was educated by private tutors, studying the classics and philosophy under Mr. Walter Campbell, afterwards minister of Dunoon; but the fascination of a military career laid such hold on his fancy that in 1694 he prevailed on his father to introduce him to King William, who gave him command of the 10th regiment of foot (1702-3). In the campaign of 1702 he distinguished himself at the siege of Keyzerswaert. He was colonel 4th horse guards 1703-15, 5th foot 1706-7, 1st horse guards 1715-17, 3rd horse guards 1726-33, and 1st horse guards again 1733-40. On succeeding his father as Duke of Argyll in 1703 he was sworn a privy councillor, invested with the order of the Thistle, and made colonel of the Scotch horse guards. The opinion formed at this time, by Macky (*Secret Memoirs*) of his character and abilities was not belied by his after career. 'His family,' says Macky, 'will not lose in his person the great figure they have made for so many ages in that kingdom, having all the free spirits and good sense natural to the family. Few of his years have a better understanding, nor a more manly behaviour. He hath seen most of the courts of Europe, is very handsome in appearance, fair complexioned, about 25 years old.' His biographer also remarks that 'his want of application in his youth, when he came to riper years his grace soon retrieved by diligently reading the best authors; with which, and the knowledge of mankind he had acquired by being early engaged in affairs of the greatest importance, he was enabled to give that lustre to his natural parts which others could not acquire by ages of the most severe study' (CAMPBELL, *Life of John, Duke of Argyll*, p. 31). In 1705 he was nominated lord high commissioner to the Scottish parliament, which he opened on 25 June with a speech,

strongly recommending the succession in the protestant line, and a union with England. In a great degree owing to his influence an act was passed on 1 Sept. for a treaty with England, by which the nomination of the Scottish commissioners to treat with the English commissioners regarding the union was placed in the hands of the queen. Though the Duke of Argyll had supported this arrangement, he declined to act as a commissioner, because the Duke of Hamilton, whom he had engaged to get appointed, was not among the number. For his services in promoting the union he was on his return to London created a peer, by the titles Baron Chatham and Earl of Greenwich. In the campaign of 1706 as brigadier-general with Marlborough he showed signal valour at the battle of Ramillies, commanded in the trenches at Ostend till its surrender, and took possession of Menin with a detachment when it capitulated. At Oudenarde, 11 July 1708, the battalions under his command were the first to engage the enemy, and the firmness with which they maintained their position against superior numbers had an important influence in determining the issue of the conflict. He took part in the siege of Lille, which surrendered on 8 Dec., and commanded as major-general at the siege of Ghent, taking possession of the town and citadel 3 Jan. 1709. In April following he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in this capacity he commanded in the attacks on Tournay, which surrendered on 10 July after an assault of three days. At the battle of Malplaquet, 11 Sept. 1709, he accomplished the critical enterprise of dislodging the enemy from the woods of Sart, displaying in the attack extraordinary valour and resolution. In the struggle he had various narrow escapes, several musket-balls having passed through his coat, hat, and periwig. Marlborough having during the course of the campaign written to the queen, proposing his own appointment as captain-general for life, the question was referred to certain persons, including Argyll, who expressed his strong indignation at the proposal. According to Swift, Argyll, on being questioned by the queen as to whether any danger would be incurred by refusing to accede to Marlborough's request, replied that he would undertake to seize him at the head of his troops, and bring him away dead or alive. The cause of Argyll's implacable enmity against Marlborough is something of a mystery. There is no evidence that Marlborough had treated him unfairly, or that Argyll entertained any grudge against him on this account. That the whole estrangement grew out of the proposal regarding the captain-

generalship for life is not probable, although this possibly brought it to a head. It is not unlikely that its source was Argyll's personal ambition. After the battle of Malplaquet his reputation in the army ranked very high, and he had also the advantage of a strong personal ascendancy over the troops, won by his headstrong valour and the *bonhomie* with which he shared their perils and hardships. It would seem that Argyll's vanity thus strongly flattered led him to regard Marlborough in the light of a rival. At any rate, from this time he set himself to work Marlborough's overthrow with a pertinacity which led Marlborough to write of him, in a letter of 25 March: 'I cannot have a worse opinion of anybody than of the Duke of Argyll.' After the fall of the whig ministry Argyll did not fail to express even in the camp very strong sentiments regarding the efforts of Marlborough to prolong the war (Marlborough's letter to Godolphin, 12 June 1710), and when a vote of thanks was proposed to him in parliament started objections, which led to the abandonment of the motion. This procedure so commended Argyll to Harley and the Tories that on 20 Dec. 1710 he was installed a knight of the Garter. An opportunity was also granted him for gratifying his military ambition by his appointment, 11 Jan. 1711, as ambassador extraordinary to Spain and commander-in-chief of the English forces in that kingdom. Circumstances were not, however, favourable for displaying his military capacities to advantage. Not obtaining the means of restoring his forces to a satisfactory condition, after the losses in previous campaigns, he was scarcely able to do more than hold his ground, and ventured on no enterprise of moment. After the peace of Utrecht in 1712 he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of Scotland and governor of Edinburgh castle. He was also named governor of Minorca, 1712-14 and 1714-16. For the treatment he had experienced from the government during the Spanish campaign he sought opportunity of manifesting his resentment. In the debate on the question as to whether the protestant succession was in danger 'under the present administration,' he openly charged the ministry with remitting money to the highland chiefs, and with removing from the army officers 'merely on account of their known affection for the house of Hanover.' Soon afterwards he adopted a course of procedure which might have laid him open to the charge of furthering the schemes of the Jacobites, although he was undoubtedly actuated by entirely opposite motives. When a malt tax was imposed on Scotland, he became one of the most marked supporters of the motion in June 1713

for the dissolution of the union, not only on the ground that the imposition of the tax was in violation of the union, but because 'he believed in his conscience' that the dissolution of the union 'was as much for the interests of England' as of Scotland. The motion was lost by a majority of only four votes. The agitation led Swift in his pamphlet on the 'Public Spirit of the Whigs' to refer to the Scots in such contemptuous terms, that the whole Scottish peers, with the Duke of Argyll at their head, went in a body to petition the crown for redress. A proclamation was thereupon issued, offering a reward of 300*l.* for information as to the author. The matter caused an irrevocable breach in the relations between Swift and Argyll, who had for many years been on a footing of warm friendship. It also sufficiently explains the terms in which Swift expressed himself regarding Argyll in a manuscript note in Macky's 'Memoirs,' as an 'ambitious, covetous, cunning Scot, who has no principle but his own interest and greatness. A true Scot in his whole conduct.' His previous impressions of Argyll were entirely the opposite of this. In the 'Journal to Stella,' 10 April 1710, he writes: 'I love that duke mightily,' and in a congratulatory letter to him, 16 April 1711, on his appointment to Spain, he says: 'You have ruined the reputation of my pride, being the first great man for whose acquaintance I made any great advances, and you have need to be what you are, and what you will be, to make me easy after such a condescension.'

The course which the Duke of Argyll had taken in regard to the union, and the pamphlet on the 'Public Spirit of the Whigs,' was at least instrumental in completely restoring his character in Scotland as a patriotic statesman. That he had not been actuated in the course which he took by any hostility to the Hanoverian cause was also soon afterwards manifested, when Queen Anne was struck by her mortal illness. Suddenly presenting himself along with the Duke of Somerset at the privy council, previously summoned to meet that morning at Kensington Palace, he stated that, although not summoned thither, he had felt himself bound to hasten to the meeting to afford advice and assistance in the critical circumstances. Taking advantage of the perturbation caused by their arrival, Argyll and Somerset suggested that the Duke of Shrewsbury should be recommended to the queen as lord high treasurer, a proposition which the Jacobites were not in a position to resist. This prompt action practically annihilated the Stuart cause at the very moment when its prospects seemed most hopeful, and finding themselves

checkmated on every point, the Jacobites acquiesced without even a murmur in the accession of George I. Argyll was made groom of the stole, nominated one of the members of the regency, and appointed general and commander-in-chief of the king's forces in Scotland. In this capacity he was entrusted with the difficult task of crushing the Jacobite rising in Scotland in the following year. In view of this event, the choice of him was a most fortunate one, for probably no one else could have dealt with the crisis so successfully. His military reputation was second only to that of Marlborough, but of as much importance as this was his general popularity in Scotland, and the large personal following from his own clans. In the measures which he took for coping with dangers threatening him on all sides, he displayed an energy which created confidence almost out of despair. Leaving London on 9 Sept., he reached Edinburgh on the 14th, and, having taken measures for its defence, set out for Stirling, where the government forces, numbering only about 1,800, had taken up their position under General Wightman. The rapid concentration of reinforcements from Glasgow and other towns at Stirling caused the Earl of Mar, with the Jacobite followers he had raised in the highlands, to hesitate in marching southwards, and in order to reinforce the body of insurgents who were gathering in the southern lowlands, he deemed it advisable to send a portion of his large force across the Forth from Fife. After concentrating at Haddington, they resolved to make a dash at Edinburgh, but an urgent messenger having informed Argyll, at Stirling, of the critical condition of affairs, he immediately set out with three hundred dragoons and two hundred foot soldiers mounted on horses, lent them for the occasion, and entered the West Port just as the insurgents were nearing the eastern gate. Foiled in their attempt on Edinburgh, the insurgents marched southwards to Leith, where they seized on the citadel, but recognising the desperate character of the enterprise, they evacuated it during the night, and, after various irresolute movements in the south of Scotland, crossed into England. Thus, so far as Scotland was concerned, the only result of Mar's stratagem was to weaken his own forces in the highlands. Scarcely had the insurgents taken their midnight flight from Leith, when news reached Argyll that Mar had broken up his camp at Perth, and was on the march to force the passage at Stirling. The movement proved, however, to be a mere feint, to attract Argyll away from the Jacobite movements in the south. Mar, after making a demonstration, retreated

to Auchterarder, and finally again fell back on Perth. After remaining there for some months, seemingly awaiting the development of events in the south, he finally began a southward movement in earnest, whereupon Argyll, who had kept himself fully informed of all his procedure, crossed over Stirling bridge, and marching northwards anticipated him by arriving on the heights above Dunblane just as the insurgent army was nearing Sheriffmuir, an elevated plateau formed by a spur of the Ochils. The two armies remained on the opposite eminences under arms during the night, and in the grey dawn of Sunday morning, 13 Nov., the wild followers of Mar, numbering about twelve thousand to the four thousand under Argyll, swept down from the heights across the morass, in front of the moor, threatening to engulf the small army of Argyll, which now began to ascend the acclivity of the moor on the opposite side. The conformation of the ground concealed the two armies for a time from each other, and thus it happened that as they came to close quarters, it was found that they had partly missed each other, the left of each army being outflanked. Argyll's left, hopelessly outnumbered, fled in confusion to Dunblane, but the right and centre resisted the impetuous but partial attack of the highlanders with great steadiness, and as the highlanders recoiled from the first shock of resistance, Argyll, not giving them time to recover, charged them so opportunely with his cavalry that their hesitation was at once changed into headlong flight. Thus the right of both armies was completely victorious, but in neither case could they bring assistance to the left, so as to turn the fortune of the fight into decided victory. Mar's want of success could only be attributed to incompetent generalship, while Argyll was saved from overwhelming disaster rather by a happy accident than by special skill in his dispositions. As it was, he reaped from his partial defeat all the practical benefits of a brilliant victory. Technically he was indeed victorious, for Mar was present with the insurgents who were defeated, and those of the insurgents who were victorious having lost communication with their general, made no effort to prevent Argyll from enjoying the victor's privilege of occupying the field of battle. Notwithstanding his boastful proclamations, Mar also gradually realised that he had been completely checkmated, and ultimately sent a message to Argyll as to his power to grant terms. Desirous of ending the insurrection without further bloodshed, Argyll asked the government for powers to treat, but no notice was taken of his

communication. The discourtesy probably tended to cool the zeal of Argyll in behalf of the government, and in any case he did not think it urgent to precipitate matters, especially as, although the Pretender had at last reached the camp at Perth, the highlanders were already beginning to desert their leader. The arrival of General Cadogan with six thousand Dutch auxiliaries removed, however, all further excuse for delay, and on 21 Jan. he began his march northwards. To render it more difficult the enemy had desolated all the villages between them and Perth. Provisions for twelve days had, therefore, to be carried along with them, in addition to which the country was enveloped in a deep coating of snow, which had to be cleared by gangs of labourers as they proceeded. On the approach of Argyll the Pretender abandoned Perth, throwing his artillery into the Tay, which he crossed on the ice. The dispersion of the insurgents had, in fact, already begun, and the pursuit of Argyll was scarcely necessary to persuade the leaders of the movement to evacuate the country with all possible speed. Though still accompanied by a large body of troops who began to make preparations for defending Montrose, the Chevalier, Mar, and the principal leaders suddenly embarked at Montrose for France, leaving the troops under the command of General Gordon, who with about a thousand men reached Aberdeen, whence they dispersed in various directions. Argyll shortly afterwards proceeded to Edinburgh, where he was entertained at a public banquet. On arriving in London he was also graciously received by the king, but although he spoke in parliament in defence of the Septennial Act, he was in June 1716 suddenly, without any known cause, deprived of all his offices. (He had been lord-lieutenant of Surrey 1715-16.) The event caused much dissatisfaction in Scotland, and led Lockhart of Carnwath, as he records in his 'Memoirs,' to make an effort to win him over to the Jacobite cause. There is no evidence that Argyll gave him any substantial encouragement, and his efforts were discontinued as soon as Argyll was again (6 Feb. 1718-19) restored to favour and made lord-steward of the household. Soon after this the great services of Argyll during the rebellion were tardily recognised by his being advanced to the dignity of Duke of Greenwich. His subsequent political career was so strikingly and glaringly inconsistent as to suggest that, so far at least as England was concerned, it was regulated solely by his relation to the parties in power. The one merit he however possessed, as admitted even by his political opponents, that 'what he aimed and

designed, he owned and promoted above board, being altogether free of the least share of dissimulation, and his word so sacred that one might assuredly depend on it' (*Lockhart Papers*, ii. 10). Pride and passion, rather than cold ambition, were the motives by which he was chiefly controlled, and he never could set himself persistently to the pursuit of one purpose. He therefore never won a position commensurate with his seeming abilities, or with the great oratorical gifts which he wielded with such disastrous effect against those who had wounded directly or indirectly his self-esteem. Regarding the extraordinary power of his oratory, we have the testimony of Pope in well-known lines, of Thomson and other poets, and the verdict seems to have been unanimous. At the same time much of this effect was momentary, and in the opinion of Glover was traceable to his 'happy and imposing manner,' where 'a certain dignity and vivacity, joined to a most captivating air of openness and sincerity, generally gave his arguments a weight which in themselves they frequently wanted' (GLOVER, *Memoirs*, p. 9). Lockhart writes in similar terms: 'He was not, strictly speaking, a man of understanding and judgment; for all his natural endowments were sullied with too much impetuosity, passion, and positiveness; and his sense rather lay in a sudden flash of wit than in a solid conception and reflection' (*Lockhart Papers*, ii. 10). Chiefly owing to faults of temper, he played in politics a part not only comparatively subordinate, but glaringly mean and contemptible. Although he had moved the dissolution of the Union on account of the proposal to impose the malt-tax on Scotland, he in 1725, in order to oust the *Squadron* party from power in Scotland, came under obligations, along with his brother Lord Islay, to carry it through. In the debate on the Mutiny Bill in February 1717-18, he argued that 'a standing army in the time of peace was ever fatal either to the prince or the nation;' but in 1733 he made a vigorous speech against any reduction of the army. His course was equally eccentric over the Peerage Bills, in connection with which he in 1721 entered into communication with Lockhart of Carnwath and the Jacobites. He was master-general of ordnance 1725-30, and governor of Portsmouth 1730-7. He was made field-marshal January 1735-6. His defence of the city of Edinburgh in 1737 from the Porteous mob did much to strengthen his reputation in Scotland as an independent patriot, although his conduct was no doubt in a great degree regulated by personal dissatisfaction with the government. When the nation in 1738 was excited

into frenzy by the story of 'Jenkins' ears,' he won temporary popularity by his speeches in opposition to the ministry against Spain; and during the discontent prevailing in the country in 1740 on account of the failure of the harvest, he attacked the ministry with such virulence, as chiefly responsible for the wretched condition of things, that he was immediately deprived of all his offices. General Keith, brother of the Earl Marischal and a zealous Jacobite, was with him when he received his dismissal. 'Mr. Keith,' exclaimed the duke, 'fall flat, fall edge, we must get rid of those people.' 'Which,' says Keith, 'might imply both man and master, or only the man' (Letter of the Earl Marischal, 15 June 1740, in *Stuart Papers*). The factious and persistent opposition which from this time he continued to manifest against Walpole's administration contributed in no small degree to hasten its fall. On the accession of the new ministry he was again made master-general of the ordnance, colonel of the royal regiment of horse guards, and commander-in-chief of all the forces, but in a few weeks he resigned all his offices, the cause being probably that he was not satisfied with the honours he had received. It was said that his ambition was to have the sole command of the army. In reference to this Orford is said to have exclaimed, 'Two men wish to have the command of the army, the king and Argyll, but by God neither of them shall have it.' From this time Argyll ceased to take an active part in politics. The Pretender, supposing that probably he might not be disinclined at last to favour his cause, sent him a letter written with his own hand, but he immediately communicated it to the government. Already a paralytic disorder had begun to incapacitate him for public duties, and he died on 4 Oct. 1743. An elaborate monument in marble was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. He was twice married. By his first wife, Mary, daughter of John Brown, and niece of Sir Charles Duncombe, lord mayor of London, he had no issue. By his second wife, Jane, daughter of Thomas Warburton of Winnington, Cheshire, one of the maids of honour of Queen Anne, he had five daughters, the eldest of whom was in 1767 created baroness of Greenwich, but the title became extinct with her death in 1794. To his fifth daughter, Lady Mary Campbell, widow of Edward, viscount Coke, Lord Orford dedicated his romance of the 'Castle of Otranto.' The duke having died without male issue, his English titles of duke and earl of Greenwich and viscount Chatham became extinct, while

his Scottish titles devolved on his brother, Archibald Campbell, third duke [q. v.]

[Robert Campbell's *Life of the Most Illustrious Prince, John, Duke of Argyll and Greenwich*, 1745; *Coxe's Life of Walpole*; *Lockhart Papers*; *Marchmont Papers*; *Marlborough's Letters*; *Swift's Works*; *Macky's Secret Memoirs*; *Glover's Memoirs*; *Stuart Papers*; *Sinclair Memoirs*; *Douglas's Scottish Peerage*, i. 107-13; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); *Tindal's History of England*; *Add. MSS.* 22253 ff. 96-105, 22267 ff. 172-9, 28055; there is a very flattering description of the Duke of Argyll in *Scott's Heart of Midlothian*.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN, LL.D.** (1708-1775), miscellaneous writer, was the son of a Campbell of Glenlyon, captain in a regiment of horse, and born at Edinburgh on 8 March 1708. At the age of five he was taken to Windsor by his mother, originally of that town, and educated under the direction of an uncle, who placed him as a clerk in an attorney's office. Deserting law for literature, he produced at the age of twenty-eight a 'Military History of the late Prince Eugene of Savoy and the late John, Duke of Marlborough . . . illustrated with variety of copper-plates of battles, sieges, plans, &c., carefully engraved by Claude Du Bose,' who issued it without the compiler's name in 1736. In compiling it Campbell availed himself largely of the Marquis de Quincy's 'Histoire Militaire du règne de Louis Quatorze,' and of the works of Dumont and Rousset on Prince Eugene. In 1734 appeared, with Campbell's name, 'A View of the Changes to which the Trade of Great Britain to Turkey and Italy will be exposed if Naples and Sicily fall into the hands of the Spaniards.' Campbell suggested that the Two Sicilies should be handed over to the elector of Bavaria. His first original work of any pretension was 'The Travels and Adventures of Edward Bevan, Esq., formerly a merchant in London,' &c., 1739. Here a thread of fictitious autobiography, in Defoe's manner, connects a mass of information respecting the topography, history, natural products, political conditions, and manners and customs of the countries supposed to be visited. The description given in it by three Arab brothers (pp. 327-8) of a strayed camel, which they had never seen, may have suggested to Voltaire the similarly constructive description of the dog and horse of the queen and king of Babylon in 'Zadig,' which was written in 1746. In 1739, too, appeared Campbell's 'Memoirs of the Bashaw Duke de Ripperda' (second edition 1750). About the same time he began to contribute to the (Ancient) 'Universal History' (1740-1744), in which the 'Cosmogony' alone is

assigned to him by the 'Biographia Britannica,' though in the list of the writers communicated by Swinton to Dr. Johnson (BOSWELL, *Life*, edition of 1860, p. 794) the 'Cosmogony' is attributed to Sale, and the 'History of the Persians and the Constantinopolitan Empire' to Campbell. To the 'Modern Universal History' he contributed the histories of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, Swedish, Danish, and Ostend settlements in the East Indies, and histories of Spain, Portugal, Algarves, Navarre, and that of France from Clovis to the year 1656. In 1741 appeared his 'Concise History of Spanish America' (second edition 1755), and in 1742 'A Letter to a Friend in the Country on the Publication of Thurloe's State Papers,' a lively piece in which Thurloe's then newly issued folios are dealt with somewhat after the manner of a modern review article. In the same year were issued vols. i. and ii. of 'The Lives of the Admirals and other Eminent British Seamen,' &c. The two remaining volumes appeared in 1744. The work was translated into German, and three other editions of it were published in Campbell's lifetime. After his death there were several editions of it, with continuations to the dates of issue, an abridgement of it appearing so recently as 1870. It was a great improvement on previous compilations of the kind. Campbell's ignorance of seamanship led him, however, into many nautical blunders, some of which are exposed in the 'United Service Magazine' for October 1842. In 1743 appeared anonymously his English version, with copious annotations, of the Latin work of Cöhausen, 'Hermippus Redivivus; or, the Sage's Triumph over Old Age and the Grave.' Dr. Johnson (BOSWELL, *Life*, p. 142) pronounced the volume 'very entertaining as an account of the hermetic philosophy and as furnishing a curious history of the extravagancies of the human mind;' adding, 'if it were merely imaginary it would be nothing at all.' It reached a third edition in 1771. In 1743 also appeared his translation from the Dutch, 'The True Interest and Political Maxims of the Republic of Holland.' The original is ascribed wrongly to John de Witt; Campbell added to his translation memoirs of Cornelius and John de Witt. In 1744 was published Campbell's much enlarged edition of Harris's 'Collection of Voyages and Travels' (1702-5), 'Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca.' In the 'Account of the European Settlements in America,' attributed to Burke, the author expresses his obligations to this colossal work. A new edition was soon called for, the publication of which, in numbers, was completed in 1749. To Campbell has been generally

ascribed the recast (1744) of 'The Shepherd of Banbury's Rules to judge of the Changes of the Weather, by John Claridge, shepherd,' first issued in 1670, and very popular in rural districts. Little more than a few words of the original title remained in the recast, which was frequently reprinted, and that so late as 1827. It is somewhat noticeable as an attempt to base on quasi-scientific principles the weather forecasts of the alleged Banbury shepherd (*Notes and Queries*, 1st ser. vii. 373).

To the first 'Biographia Britannica,' the issue of which in weekly numbers began in 1745, Campbell's contributions, signed E. and X., were copious, continuous, and varied, but they ceased with the publication of vol. iv. Among them were biographies of members of noble British families. John, the fifth Earl of Orrery, thanked him 'in the name of the Boyles for the honour he had done to them,' and Horace Walpole assigns as a reason for not portraying the characters of the Campbells in his 'Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors' (edition of 1806, v. 103), that the task had been 'so fully performed by one who bears the honour of their name, and who it is no compliment to say is one of the ablest and most beautiful writers of his country.' Campbell's patriotic feeling and highland origin prompted him to write 'A Full and Particular Description of the Highlands of Scotland, its Situation and Produce, the Manners and Customs of the Natives,' &c. (1752). It contained a highly-coloured account of the virtues of the highlanders and of the resources of the highlands, with a protest against English ignorance of both.

In 1750 had appeared, mainly reprinted from a periodical, 'The Museum,' 'The Political State of Europe,' which went through six editions in his lifetime, and procured him a continental reputation. It consisted of summaries of the history of the most prominent European states, with remarks on their international relations, and on the policy of their rulers and governments, sometimes displaying considerable acumen. In 1754 the university of Glasgow conferred on him the degree of LL.D. After the peace of Paris, 1763, he wrote, at Lord Bute's request, a 'Description and History of the new Sugar Islands in the West Indies,' in order to show the value of those which had been ceded by the French at the close of the war. In March 1765 he was appointed his majesty's agent for the province of Georgia, and held the office until his death. In 1774 appeared his last work, one on which he had expended years of labour, 'A Political Survey of Great Britain, being a series of reflections on the

situation, lands, inhabitants, revenues, colonies, and commerce of the island,' &c., 2 vols. quarto, London, 1774. The work is specially remarkable for its affluence of practical suggestion. It teems with projects for the construction of harbours, the opening up of new communications by road and canal, and the introduction of new industries. Campbell even proposed that the state should buy up all the waste lands of the country and develop their latent resources, arable and pastoral. The 'Political Survey' excited some attention, but as a publishing speculation of the author it does not seem to have been very successful. So many years had been spent in its preparation that numbers of the original subscribers were dead before it appeared. Dr. Johnson believed that Campbell's disappointment on account of the indifferent success of the work killed him (BOSWELL, *Life*, p. 484). He died on 28 Dec. 1775, having received in the preceding year from the Empress Catherine of Russia a present of her portrait. The memoir of Campbell in Kippis's 'Biographia Britannica' gives an ample list of the many writings acknowledged by and ascribed to him. The library of the British Museum is without several of them. Among these is one published in 1751, which professes to give a 'full and particular description' of the 'character' of Frederick, prince of Wales, from his juvenile years until his death.

A man of untiring industry and considerable accomplishment, Campbell is described as gentle in manner and of kindly disposition. There are several interesting references to him in Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' to both of whom he was known personally, Johnson being in the habit of going to the literary gatherings on Sunday evenings at Campbell's house in Queen Square, Bloomsbury, until 'I began,' he said, 'to consider that the shoals of Scotchmen who flocked about him might probably say, when anything of mine was well done, "Ay, ay, he has learnt this of CAMPBELL." Campbell is a good man, a pious man.' Johnson said of him on the same occasion: 'I am afraid he has not been in the inside of a church for many years; but he never passes a church without pulling off his hat.' This shows that he has good principles.' Campbell told Boswell that he once drank thirteen bottles of port at a sitting. According to Boswell, Johnson spoke of Campbell to Joseph Warton as 'the richest author that ever grazed the common of literature.' There is nothing extravagant in the terms for which, according to the agreement preserved in the Egerton MSS. 738-40, he contracted to write for Dodsley the publisher, prefixing his name to the work, a quarto volume on the geogra-

phy, natural history, and antiquities of England, at the rate of two guineas per sheet.

[Campbell's Writings; Memoir in Biographia Britannica (Kippis); authorities cited.]

F. E.

CAMPBELL, JOHN, third EARL OF BREADALBANE (1696-1782), was the son of John, second earl (1662-1752), generally known by the nickname of 'Old Rag,' and noted for his extraordinary eccentricities (note by Sir WALTER SCOTT in the *Sinclair Memoirs*, p. 185). His mother was Henrietta, second daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, knight, sister of the first earl of Jersey, and Elizabeth, countess of Orkney, mistress of King William III. He was born in 1696, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where he manifested considerable talents and zeal for study. In 1718 he was appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Denmark. He was invested with the order of the Bath at its revival in 1725. In December 1731 he was appointed ambassador to Russia. In 1727 and 1734 he was chosen to represent the borough of Saltash in parliament, and in 1741 he became member for Orford. He gave his support to Sir Robert Walpole's administration, and in May 1741 his abilities were recognised by his appointment to be one of the lords of the admiralty, an office which he held till the dissolution of Walpole's administration, 19 March 1742. In 1745 he was nominated master of his majesty's jewel office. Having in January 1752 succeeded his father as earl of Breadalbane, he was in the following July chosen a representative peer for Scotland, and sat 1752-68 and again 1774-1780. On 29 Jan. 1756 he was created D.C.L. of Oxford. In 1756 he was appointed lord chief justice in eyre of royal forests south of the Trent, and he held that office till October 1765. He was appointed vice-admiral of Scotland 26 Oct. 1776. He died at Holyrood House 26 Jan. 1782. He married, first, in 1721, Lady Arabella Grey, eldest daughter and coheirress of Henry, duke of Kent, K.G., by whom he had a son, Henry, who died in infancy, and a daughter, Jemima, who married Philip, second earl of Hardwicke. His first wife dying in 1727, Breadalbane married, 23 Jan. 1730, Arabella, third daughter and heiress of John Pershall, by whom he had two sons, George, who died in his twelfth year, and John, lord Glenurchy, who married Willielma, second and posthumous daughter and coheirress of William Maxwell of Preston [see CAMPBELL, WILLIELMA], and had a son who died in infancy. Lord Glenurchy died in the lifetime of his father in



1771, and the male line having thus become extinct, the peerage and estates passed to the Campbells of Carwhin.

[Douglas's Peerage, i. 240.]

T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, fourth **EARL OF LOUDOUN** (1705-1782), military commander, only son of Hugh, third earl of Loudoun [q. v.], and Lady Margaret Dalrymple, only daughter of the first earl of Stair, was born on 5 May 1705. He succeeded his father in 1731, and from 1734 till his death was a representative peer of Scotland. He entered the army in 1727, was appointed governor of Stirling Castle in April 1741, and became aide-de-camp to the king in July 1743. On the outbreak of the rebellion in 1745 he raised a regiment of highlanders (the 54th) on behalf of the government, of which he was colonel; and joining Sir John Cope, he acted with him as adjutant-general. After the battle of Preston, where almost the whole of his regiment was killed, he went north in the Saltash sloop of war, with arms, ammunition, and money, arriving at Inverness on 14 Oct. Within six weeks he had raised over two thousand men, and shortly afterwards relieved Fort Augustus, blockaded by the Frasers under the Master of Lovat. He then returned to Inverness, and marched to Castle Downie, the seat of Lord Lovat, whom he brought to Inverness as a hostage till the arms of the clan Fraser should be delivered up. Lord Lovat, however, made his escape during the night. In February 1746 Loudoun formed the design of surprising Prince Charles at Moy Castle, the seat of the Mackintoshes. The rebels, however, took possession of Inverness, and on their receiving large reinforcements Loudoun marched into Sutherlandshire, and, retreating to the sea-coast, embarked with eight hundred men for the Isle of Skye. From 1749, when his old regiment, the 54th, was disbanded, he held till 1770 the colonelcy of the 30th foot. From 1755 to 1757 he was also colonel-in-chief 60th foot (rifles). On 17 Feb. 1756 Loudoun was appointed captain-general and governor-in-chief of the province of Virginia, and on 20 March commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. He arrived at New York on 23 July, and assumed command of the forces assembled in Albany. Affairs were in great confusion, and the home authorities were slow. The French had made themselves masters of Forts Oswego and Ontario. To conceal his plans for a siege of Louisburg, Loudoun, on 3 Jan. 1757, laid an embargo on all outward-bound ships, a measure which was reprobated both in America and Eng-

land. Afterwards, when he had collected a force deemed amply sufficient, he wasted his time at Halifax, apparently unable to decide on a definite course of action, and was therefore recalled to England, General Amherst [q. v.] being named his successor. It was said of him by a Philadelphian that he 'was like Saint George upon the signposts, always on horseback but never advancing.' On the declaration of war with Spain in 1762, he was appointed second in command, under Lord Tyrawley, of the British troops sent to Portugal. He was colonel 3rd foot guards 1770 till death, and governor of Stirling and of Edinburgh (1763 till death). He died at Loudoun Castle on 27 April 1782. He was unmarried, and the title passed to his cousin, James Mure Campbell, only son of Sir James Campbell of Lawers (1667-1745) [q. v.], third and youngest son of the second earl of Loudoun. The fourth earl improved the grounds round Loudoun Castle, Ayrshire, and sent home a large number of trees from foreign countries. He more especially devoted his attention to willows.

[Douglas's Peerage, ii. 151-3; Hill Burton's Hist. of Scotland; Mahon's Hist. of England; Bancroft's United States.]

T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN** (1753-1784), lieutenant-colonel, the defender of Mangalore, second son of John Campbell of Stonefield, lord Stonefield, a lord of session and of justiciary in Scotland, by Lady Grace Stuart, sister of John, earl of Bute, the favourite of George III, was born at Levenside House, near Dumbarton, on 7 Dec. 1753. He entered the army as an ensign in the 37th regiment on 25 June 1771, and was promoted lieutenant into the 7th fusiliers on 9 May 1774. He was at once ordered to America, where he served in the war of independence, and was soon taken prisoner, but exchanged and promoted captain into the 71st regiment, or Fraser's Highlanders, on 2 Dec. 1775. He continued to serve in America, and was promoted major into the 74th Highlanders on 30 Dec. 1777. In 1780 he returned to England, and in the following year exchanged into the 100th regiment, or Seaforth Highlanders, in command of which regiment, 1,000 strong, he landed at Bombay on 26 Jan. 1782. After leaving England his exchange had been effected into the 42nd Highlanders, or Black Watch; and on hearing the news he proceeded to Calicut and assumed the command of the second battalion there in time to co-operate in the second war against Hyder Ali. The British forces on the Malabar coast were at first successful: Bednore was occupied, and the fort at Annantpore stormed by the 42nd under the



command of Campbell. But the gross misconduct of Brigadier-general Mathews, who commanded in chief, prevented the British from taking any advantage of these successes. Hyder Ali was able to defeat the English armies on his eastern frontier, and to capture the division of Colonel William Baillie [q.v.]; while Tippoo Sultan, his son, cut off and destroyed the various British detachments which had been carelessly left about by General Mathews on the Malabar coast, and drove the remnant of the army there into Mangalore. General Mathews was recalled to answer for his conduct, and Colonel Norman Macleod went sick to Bombay, so that the command of the small garrison devolved on Campbell, who had been promoted lieutenant-colonel on 7 Feb. 1781. The siege of Mangalore was one of the most protracted, and its defence one of the most famous, in the history of the eighteenth century. Tippoo Sultan, who was accompanied by several experienced French officers, regularly invested the place on 19 May 1783. The defence lasted, with the most terrible privations and continual hard fighting, until 23 Jan. 1784, when Campbell surrendered with all the honours of war, and on the condition that the small remnant of his garrison, 856 men, should be allowed to proceed to Bombay. The defence of Mangalore was justly praised in every quarter, and formed the only bright spot in the disastrous war against Hyder Ali. Campbell was quite prostrated by his exertions. He left his army on 9 Feb., and died at Bombay on 23 Feb. 1784.

[Memoir of the Life and Character of the late Lieutenant-colonel John Campbell, Major 2nd Battalion 42nd Highlanders, by a Retired Officer, who served under him in the attack on Annantpore and the defence of Mangalore, Edinburgh, 1836 (by Captain J. Spens, who wrote a short notice of him for Chambers's Dictionary of Eminent and Distinguished Scotsmen).]

H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN** (1720?-1790), vice-admiral, the son of John Campbell (*d.* 1733), minister of Kirkbean in Kirkcudbrightshire, was born in that parish about, but probably before, the year 1720. At an early age he was bound apprentice to the master of a coasting vessel, and is said to have entered the navy by offering himself in exchange for the mate of this vessel, who had been pressed. After serving three years in the *Blenheim*, *Torbay*, and *Russell*, he was, in 1740, appointed to the *Centurion*, and sailed in her round the world with Commodore Anson, as midshipman, master's mate, and master. On his return home he passed the examination for

lieutenant, and his certificate, dated 8 Jan. 1744-5, says that he 'appears to be more than twenty-four years of age.' Through Anson's interest he was very shortly afterwards made a lieutenant, then commander, and was advanced to post rank on 23 Nov. 1747, and appointed to the *Bellona* frigate, which he commanded with some success till the peace. He afterwards commanded the *Mermaid*, in 1755 the *Prince* of 90 guns, and in 1757 the *Essex* of 64 guns, in the fleet in the Bay of Biscay, under Sir Edward Hawke. In the following year he was second captain of the *Royal George*, when Lord Anson took command of the fleet off Brest, Sir Peircy Brett, his old shipmate in the *Centurion*, being first captain. He afterwards returned to the *Essex*, which he commanded in the long blockade of Brest by Sir Edward Hawke, through the summer and autumn of 1759; but when, in November, Hawke moved his flag into the *Royal George*, Campbell was appointed his flag-captain, and served in that capacity in the decisive battle of Quiberon Bay, 20 Nov. 1759. Campbell was sent home with the despatches, and was taken by Anson to be presented to the king. According to the received story, Anson told him on the way that the king would knight him if he wished. 'Troth, my lord,' answered Campbell, 'I ken nae use that will be to me.' 'But,' said Anson, 'your lady may like it.' 'Aweel,' replied Campbell, 'his majesty may knight her if he pleases.' He was in fact not knighted.

In 1760 he was appointed to the *Dorsetshire* of 70 guns, which he commanded, on the home station or in the Mediterranean, till the peace. He was then appointed to the *Mary* yacht, and moved in 1770 to the *Royal Charlotte*, in which he remained till promoted to his flag, 23 Jan. 1778. In the following spring he was chosen by Admiral Keppel as first captain of the *Victory*, or what is now known as captain of the fleet. He held that office through the rest of the year, and had thus a very important share in the conduct of the fleet on 27 July, as well as on the previous days [see **KEPPEL**, **AUGUSTUS**, **VISCOUNT**; **PALLISER**, **SIR HUGH**]. His loyalty to Keppel, and the rancour which the subsequent courts-martial excited, effectually prevented his having any further employment as long as Lord Sandwich was in office, though he attained, in course of seniority, the rank of vice-admiral on 19 March 1779. In April 1782, when his friend Keppel was installed as first lord of the admiralty, Campbell was appointed governor of Newfoundland and commander-in-chief on that station. He held this office

for four years, and ended his service in 1786. He died in London on 16 Dec. 1790.

The writer of the notice in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' who seems to have been familiarly acquainted with him, has given us the following portraiture: 'He preserved his original simplicity of manners till his death, notwithstanding he lived among and mixed with the first people in the kingdom; but he had withal a dry sarcastic mode of expression as well as manner, which approached so near to that in which Mr. Macklin played the character of Sir Archy McSarcasm, that I have often thought that excellent actor must have seen and copied him.'

[Gent. Mag. 1791, lxi. i. 100; Charnock's memoir (Biog. Navalis, vi. 34) is little more than a repetition of that in the Gent. Mag.; Beatson's Nav. and Mil. Memoirs.] J. K. L.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN** (1766-1840), philanthropist and traveller, was born at Edinburgh and educated at the high school, where he was a classfellow of Sir Walter Scott. From an early period of life he showed very deep religious convictions. Though engaged in business, he threw himself with great ardour into works of christian philanthropy, and led the way in many undertakings that have since attained remarkable dimensions. He became in 1793 one of the founders of the Religious Tract Society of Scotland, six years before the London society was formed. The Scotch society still exists, but on a wider basis, employing about two hundred colporteurs for the circulation and sale of religious and useful literature in Scotland and part of England. He was one of the founders of Sunday schools, sometimes itinerating over the country in order to promote them, and with such success that on one occasion he and his friend Mr. J. A. Haldane made arrangements in one week for the establishment of not less than sixty. Lay preaching in neglected villages and hamlets was another mode of activity in which he took part. He was one of the first to show compassion practically for fallen women, being among the originators of the Magdalene Society of Edinburgh, and a similar society in Glasgow. The condition of slaves excited his profound interest; and through the liberality of Mr. Haldane he made arrangements for bringing to this country and educating thirty or forty African children, who were to be sent back to their own country. In furtherance of this object he corresponded with his friend Mr. Zachary Macaulay, then at Sierra Leone, with whose family he was on intimate terms; but after the first batch of children were

brought to this country, the arrangement was changed and they were kept in London. In 1802 Campbell became minister of Kingsland independent chapel in London, and there, among other labours of love, helped to found the Bible Society. Occasionally he still continued his peripatetic work in Scotland. Having always shown a profound interest in foreign missions, he was asked by the London Missionary Society to go to South Africa and inspect their missions there. He spent two years, 1812-14, in this work, travelling upwards of two thousand miles in Africa, and a second time, 1819-21, he went out on the same mission. Few Englishmen at that time had performed such a feat, and on his return his appearances on missionary platforms in London and throughout the country were received with enthusiasm. He died 4 April 1840, at the age of 74.

Besides some books of less mark, Campbell was the author of two works giving an account of his two African journeys, the first in one vol. 8vo, published in 1814, the second in two vols. 8vo, published in 1822. A little volume entitled 'African Light' was intended to elucidate passages of scripture from what he had seen in travelling. For many years he was editor of a religious magazine entitled 'The Youth's Magazine.' He had a large acquaintance and correspondence, including the Countess of Leven, the Rev. John Newton, Mr. Wilberforce, and others. His books were among those that exercised an influence on the mind of David Livingstone, and turned his thoughts to Africa.

[Philip's Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell; Biographical Sketch of the author prefixed to second edition of African Light; Anderson's Scottish Nation, art. 'John Campbell;' recollections of personal friends.] W. G. B.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JOHN** (1807-1855), general, only son of Lieutenant-general Sir Archibald Campbell of Ava (1769-1843) [q. v.], by Helen, daughter of John Macdonald, of Garth, co. Perth, was born on 14 April 1807. He entered the army as an ensign in the 38th regiment, which his father then commanded, in 1821, and joined it in India. He served as aide-de-camp to his father throughout the first Burmese war, and on 1 July 1824 he was promoted a lieutenant, without purchase, and in 1826 thanked by the governor-general in council for his services. On 11 July 1826 he was promoted to a company and remained in Burmah in a civil capacity till 1829, when he returned to England and joined the dépôt of his regi-

ment. From 1831 to 1837 Campbell acted as aide-de-camp to his father when lieutenant-governor of New Brunswick, and in the latter year he purchased the majority of his regiment. In 1840 he purchased the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 38th, and commanded it continuously in the Mediterranean, the West Indies, and Nova Scotia, until he was selected, as an ardent and successful regimental officer, for the command of a brigade in the expeditionary force intended for the East in 1854. In 1843 he had succeeded to the baronetcy, on 11 Nov. 1851 he had been promoted colonel by brevet, and on 24 March 1854 he was posted to the command of the 2nd brigade of the 3rd division under Major-general Sir Richard England, with the rank of brigadier-general. With that command he was present at the battles of the Alma and Inkerman, and on 12 Dec. 1854 he was promoted major-general. After the battle of Inkerman as the senior brigadier-general with the army, he was posted to the temporary command of the 4th division. On 7 June 1855 he was superseded by Lieutenant-general Bentinck, and on hearing of the intended assault upon the Great Redan he volunteered to lead the detachments of the 4th division to the attack. On 18 June he displayed 'a courage amounting to rashness,' and after sending away his aides-de-camp, Captain Hume and Captain Snodgrass, the latter the son of the historian of his father's war, he rushed out of the trenches with a few followers, and fell at once in the act of cheering on his men. Had he survived, Campbell would have been rewarded for his services in the winter, for in the 'Gazette' of 5 July it was announced that he would have been made a K.C.B. He was buried on Cathcart's Hill. He married, 21 July 1841, Helen Margaret, daughter of Colonel John Crowe. His eldest son, Archibald Ava, became third baronet.

[See Gent. Mag. and Colburn's United Service Journal for August 1855; Nolan's Illustrated History of the War in the East, 2 vols. 1855-7; and W. H. Russell's British Expedition to the Crimea.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, first **BARON CAMPBELL** (1779-1861), legal biographer, lord chief justice, and lord chancellor, traced his descent on his father's side from Archibald, the second earl of Argyll [q. v.], who fell at Flodden, and through his mother, who was a Hallyburton, from Robert, duke of Albany, the regent of Scotland. As a Hallyburton he could thus claim a remote kinship with Sir Walter Scott. His father was the Rev. George Campbell, for more than fifty years

parish minister of Cupar in Fifeshire, a friend of Robertson and Blair, a popular preacher, and the writer of the article on Cupar in the old 'Statistical Account of Scotland.' There John Campbell was born on 15 Sept. 1779. With his elder brother, George, afterwards Sir George Campbell of Edenwood, he was educated at the Cupar grammar school, and in 1790, when he was only eleven years old, they went together to St. Andrews University. It was an early age even for a Scotch university, but the case was not unique, Dr. Chalmers, for instance, becoming a student at St. Andrews in 1791 before he was twelve years old (*HANNA, Life of Chalmers*, i. 9). At fifteen Campbell had finished the arts curriculum, though he did not take the degree of M.A. until some years afterwards, when he discovered that it would be of use to him in England. As a boy his health was weak, and he grew up an eager and miscellaneous reader with little love of games. Golf, of course, he played occasionally, but without any enthusiasm, though he considered it 'superior to the English cricket, which is too violent and gives no opportunity for conversation.' Being destined for the ministry, he entered St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, where he remained for three years, studying theology and Hebrew, writing exercise sermons, and looking forward to life in a parish kirk. Gradually, however, he became convinced that he would never be famous as a divine, and he eagerly accepted a tutorship in London. Thither he went in 1798, not yet abandoning thoughts of the church, but with the possibility of some more brilliant career dimly present to his mind. He held the post for nearly two years, employing his leisure time in casual literary work, writing a few of the historical passages in the 'Annual Register,' and reviewing books and translating French newspapers for the 'Oracle.' Towards the end of 1799 he wrung from his father an unwilling consent that he should exchange the church for the bar. 'I have little doubt,' he wrote to his sister before the final decision, 'that I myself should pass my days much more happily as a parish parson than as an eminent lawyer; but I think that when the path to wealth and fame is open for any man he is bound for his own sake, but much more for the sake of his friends, to enter it without hesitation, although it should be steep, rugged, and strewn with thorns. I declare to you most seriously that I have scarcely a doubt that I should rise at the English bar'—even to the chancellorship, he added with equal seriousness. He entered Lincoln's Inn on

3 Nov. 1800, and maintained himself by reporting in the House of Commons and in the law courts for the 'Morning Chronicle.' The reporting was done without a knowledge of shorthand, which he had no desire to learn, having convinced himself that by rewriting a speech from notes its spoken effect can be more truthfully reproduced than by setting down the exact words. With his dramatic criticism he took great pains. 'I not only read carefully,' he said, 'all the pieces usually acted, but I made myself master of the history of our stage from Shakespeare downwards, and became fairly acquainted with French, German, and Spanish literature.' For a year or two his time was fully occupied with this work, varied by the reading of law and by his experiences as an energetic volunteer during the Bonaparte scare. He did not give himself up seriously to law till the beginning of 1804, when he entered the chambers of Tidd, the great special pleader. He remained with Tidd nearly three years, taking up rather the position of an assistant than of a pupil, and was called to the bar on 15 Nov. 1806. From the first he started with a clear lead. He had by zealous work acquired more than a beginner's knowledge of law; he had a wider store of experience, gathered from variety of occupation and miscellaneous reading, than most men of his years; and he had a sturdy faith in himself, which hardly ever drooped, and a firm belief in his own ultimate success. Immediately after his call he was engaged for several months in preparing the second edition of Watson's 'Treatise on the Law of Partnership,' which he seems to have in great part rewritten (published 1807; his name does not appear in the book). The ample leisure that was now forced upon him made him try a venture of his own. In 1807 he began his reports of cases at nisi prius. 'Although the judgment of the courts in banco,' he says in his 'Autobiography' (i. 214), 'had been regularly reported from the time of Edward II, with the exception of a few rulings of C. J. Holt and C. J. Lee to be found in Lord Raymond and Strange, nisi prius reporting was not attempted till the time of Lord Kenyon, when nisi prius cases were published by Peake and by Espinasse.' The reports of Espinasse were very inaccurate, and as Peake, who was held in higher esteem, had almost given up the work by Campbell's time, the field was practically unoccupied, while the period of the Napoleonic war, with novel commercial questions daily cropping up, was rich in legal interest. Campbell reported Lord Ellenborough's decisions with great

care and tact, revising them and publishing only such as he considered sound on authority and principle. 'When I arrived,' he said afterwards, 'at the end of my fourth and last volume, I had a whole drawer full of "bad Ellenborough law."' The reports accordingly have since been treated as of high authority. 'On all occasions,' said Lord Cranworth, 'I have found . . . that they really do, in the fewest possible words, lay down the law, very often more distinctly and more accurately than it is to be found in many lengthened reports' (Williams v. Bayley, L. R. 1 H. L. 213). An innovation which attracted attention, criticism, and a recognition of Campbell's shrewdness, and which subsequent reporters have adopted, consisted in appending to the report of each case the names of the attorneys engaged in it, in order that any one who doubted the accuracy of a report might at once know where he could inspect the briefs in the case (see note to first case, i. 4). For some years Campbell's life was that of a struggling barrister who had to make his own way, and whose chief advantages were his power of work and his alertness to push his way through every opening. His reputation, especially in matters of mercantile law, grew very rapidly. In his fourth year he made over 500*l.*, and in his fifth double that sum. In 1816 his business had increased so greatly that he had to give up his reports. In 1819 he was in a position to justify him in applying for a silk gown, though not till 1827, when Copley became chancellor, was the dignity granted to him. In 1821 he married Miss Scarlett, daughter of the future Lord Abinger.

His thoughts had already turned towards parliament, though he showed no great eagerness to enter it. 'It is amazing,' he said, 'how little parliamentary distinction does for a man nowadays at the bar.' He made his first attempt in 1826 at Stafford, a borough of singular corruption even in those corrupt days; and though unsuccessful, he proved so popular a candidate, that at the general election after George IV's death his supporters invited him to stand again, and he was returned in time to take part in the reform debates. At no period in his life did he have politics much at heart, nor were his opinions very decided. He cast in his lot with the liberal party, and on the great questions of catholic emancipation, the repeal of the Test Act, the suppression of slavery, and parliamentary reform he was on the side of freedom; but his strong conservative instincts, and his comparatively slight interest in such matters, prevented him from taking a leading part. The advice which

he gave to his brother is a perfect summary of his opinions: 'For God's sake do not become radical.' The Reform Bill of 1831 astounded him at first. 'I was prepared,' he said, 'to support any moderate measure, but this really is a revolution *ipso facto*.' Upon consideration, however, he came to regard it as a safe and prudent reform, a restoration of the constitution, not an innovation, and he voted for the second reading, which was thus carried by a majority of one. His real interest was in law reform. In 1828, as a consequence of Brougham's famous speech, two commissions were appointed, one to inquire into common law procedure, the other to inquire into the law of real property 'and the various interests therein, and the methods and forms of alienating, conveying, and transferring the same, and of assuring the titles thereto,' and to suggest means of improvement. Sugden having declined to serve, Campbell was put at the head of the Real Property Commission. He was the only common lawyer who sat on it, and hitherto he had not been familiar with the subject of inquiry; indeed, it was said at the time that there were not half a dozen men in England who understood the law of real property. The general conclusion of the commission was that very few essential alterations were required; the law relating to the transfer of land was exceedingly defective; but in other respects 'the law of England, except in a few comparatively unimportant particulars, appears to come almost as near to perfection as can be expected in any human institutions' (1st Rep. p. 6). In the first report, which appeared in 1829, Campbell wrote the introduction and the section on prescription, and the statutes of limitation. Over the second report (1830), proposing a scheme for a general register of deeds and instruments relating to land, the third (1832) dealing with tenures, &c., and the fourth (1833) on amendments in the law of wills, he exercised only a general superintendence (*Life*, i. 457-9). The first speech which he delivered in parliament (1830) was in moving for leave to bring in a bill for the establishment of a general register of deeds affecting real property (reprinted, *Speeches*, p. 430). The bill was introduced again in the following session, but although a select committee reported in favour of it, the opposition was so strong that it had to be abandoned. Twenty years later he succeeded in carrying a similar bill through the lords, but there it ended. The other recommendations of the commission had a better fortune. In 1833 Campbell, who had been made solicitor-general in the previous year, helped to carry through

several measures of such importance as to mark a distinct period in the history of the law of real property: the statutes of limitation (3 & 4 Wm. IV. cc. 27 and 42); the Fines and Recoveries Act (c. 74)—almost entirely the work of Mr. Brodie, the conveyancer, and described by Sugden as 'a masterly performance' (HAYES, *Conveyancing*, i. 155 n, and 216); an act to render freehold and copyhold estates assets for the payment of simple contract debts (c. 104); the Dower Act (c. 105); and an act for the amendment of the law of inheritance (c. 106). Never had so clean a sweep been made of worn-out rules of law as was done by this group of statutes. 'They quietly passed through both houses of parliament,' says Campbell, 'without one single syllable being altered in any of them. This is the only way of legislating on such a subject. They had been drawn by the real property commissioners, printed and extensively circulated, and repeatedly revised, with the advantage of the observations of skilful men studying them in their closet. A mixed and numerous deliberative assembly is wholly unfit for such work' (*Life*, ii. 29). A further step on the lines of the commission was taken four years later in the Wills Amendment Act (1 Vict. c. 26), which placed real property and personal property in the same position as regards the formalities necessary for the validity of wills. Campbell became attorney-general in 1834, but he failed to be re-elected at Dudley, and remained for three months without a seat, finding refuge at last in Edinburgh, where he was returned by a large majority. It was in a speech to his new constituents that he characteristically described himself as 'plain John Campbell,' a happy designation which he has never lost. With two brief intervals of opposition, in 1834-5 and in 1839, he remained attorney-general till 1841. He was felt at the time to be invaluable to the whigs in parliament, as indeed the government testified by refusing to make him a judge, though he pressed his claims with a good deal of pertinacity (see *Life of Brougham*, iii. 341-53). Twice he asked in vain to be made master of the rolls, first on the death of Leach in 1834 (see correspondence in *Life of Brougham*, iii. 422-30), and next when Peypys became lord chancellor in 1836. On the second occasion Campbell felt that his dignity was compromised, for though not an equity lawyer, he considered himself entitled to the office almost as a matter of right. He resolved to resign, and in fact carried his letter of resignation to Lord Melbourne; but he was induced to give way by a promise that in recognition of the value

of his services his wife should be raised to the peerage. She was created Baroness Stratheden. In 1838 and in 1839, when vacancies occurred in the court of common pleas, he had still serious thoughts of accepting a puisne judgeship, but he was again dissuaded from abandoning the government. After the Real Property Acts, his chief legislative work during this period was the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, in the preparation of which he had a chief part, and which he carried through the House of Commons. He had much at heart the carrying of a measure for abolishing imprisonment for debt, except in certain cases of fraud, and for giving creditors greater powers over their debtors' property, but he was only partially successful. An act of 1836 (1 & 2 Vict. c. 110) extended the remedies of judgment creditors, and abolished imprisonment for debt on mesne process; but imprisonment for ordinary debts after judgment was not done away with till 1869. Yet another abuse he swept away by the Prisoners' Counsel Act (6 & 7 Wm. IV, c. 114), which gave to a person charged with felony, or to his counsel, the same rights of addressing the jury on the merits of the case as if he were charged with treason or misdemeanor, and allowed all persons on trial to have copies of, and to inspect, depositions taken against them. Strange to say, nearly all the judges were opposed to this change, Mr. Justice Allan Park, in fact, threatening to resign if the bill were carried. Among the famous cases in which Campbell took part while he was at the head of the bar were the trial of Lord Melbourne in 1836, the second action of Stockdale v. Hansard in 1839, the trial of Frost the chartist in 1840, and the trial of Lord Cardigan in 1841 for wounding Captain Tuckett in a duel. In 1842 he published a selection of his speeches delivered at the bar and in the House of Commons; and with a lack of good feeling, for which he was very justly condemned, he included his defence of Lord Melbourne. The only part of the volume that has any permanent value is his argument in Stockdale v. Hansard. He had devoted a great part of two long vacations to preparing it. 'I had read everything,' he says, 'that had the smallest bearing on the subject, from the earliest year-book to the latest pamphlet—not confining myself to mere legal authorities, but diligently examining historians, antiquaries, and general jurists, both English and foreign' (see also SUMNER's *Life*, ii. 13). He printed much in later years, but nothing that showed more careful labour than the full account which this speech contains of the history and the

reason of parliamentary privilege. The court, over which Lord Denman presided, decided against him (9 A. & E. 1; see Bradlaugh v. Gossett, *L. R.* 12 Q. B. D. 271); and the excitement and the difficulties caused by their 'ill-considered and intemperate judgment,' as Campbell unreasonably calls it in his 'Autobiography,' were ended only by the passing of an act to give summary protection to persons employed in the publication of parliamentary papers (3 Vict. c. 9. See his *Life*, ch. xxiii.; *Speeches*, p. 406; and BROOM's *Constitutional Law*, where the case is reported with a summary of Campbell's argument). Another elaborate argument was delivered by him in the great Sergeant's case, but he did not include it in his published speeches (see MANNING's *Sergeant's Case*, p. 114. In FORSYTH's *Cases and Opinions on Constitutional Law* will be found a considerable number of Campbell's opinions written while he was a law officer).

In 1841, when the dissolution was resolved on which ended in the fall of the whigs, it was felt that Campbell's services should receive recognition. Pressure was brought to bear on Lord Plunket, the Irish lord chancellor, to induce him to resign, which he did unwillingly, protesting against the arrangement, and Campbell was appointed and raised to the peerage. As the appointment was so unpopular in Dublin, and as it had been freely called a job, he publicly declared that he would forego the usual pension of 4,000*l.* a year which attached to the Irish chancellorship. When the subject had been first mooted, he appears to have thought that Lord Plunket's consent had been obtained, and when he learned the real state of matters, the delay had put in danger his Edinburgh seat. His own account of the transaction shows that he himself saw nothing discreditable in the part which he played. He held the office only for six weeks, and sat in court only a few days. His lack of experience as an equity lawyer did not prevent him from forming large schemes for the reform of equity procedure, which he sketched out in an address to the Irish bar (*Speeches*, p. 516); but they were cut short by the resignation of the Melbourne ministry, and he was replaced in the chancellorship by Sugden (*Life of Plunket*, ii. 329; O'FLANAGAN, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland*, ii. 595).

He returned to England, and, according to his bargain, without a pension. Judicial business in the House of Lords (where he took part in the O'Connell case) and on the judicial committee of the privy council left him plenty of leisure, which his ambitious indus-

try speedily found means of turning to account. He published his speeches; he wrote his autobiography (completed at various times in later years); and in his sixty-third year he set himself to write the lives of the chancellors from the earliest times downwards. The difficulty and magnitude of the task discouraged him at first, and for a time he abandoned it; but he returned to it with such vigour, that in one year and ten months he had in print the first three volumes, down to the revolution of 1688. 'Assuming it,' he wrote afterwards with no misgivings, 'to be a "standard work," as it is at present denominated, I doubt whether any other of the same bulk was ever finished off more rapidly.' The first series of 'Lives' appeared in 1845, the second (to Lord Thurlow's death) in 1846, and the third (to Lord Eldon's death) in 1847. The work had great success. Within a month a second edition of the first series was called for, and 2,050 copies of the second series were sold on the day of publication. The literary honours which were showered upon him inspired him to seek another subject. His ambition was 'to produce a specimen of just historical composition.' He thought, it seems, of writing the 'History of the Long Parliament,' but eventually decided to continue working on his old field. His first intention was to take up the Irish chancellors. He was afraid, however, that in spite of some interesting names, 'as a body they would appear very dull,' so he determined to postpone them till he had completed the 'Lives of the Chief Justices.' Working as rapidly as ever, by 1849 he had brought down his narrative to the death of Lord Mansfield, and published the first two volumes. The third volume, containing the lives of Kenyon, Ellenborough, and Tenterden, appeared in 1857.

The merits of his 'Lives' are very considerable. They are eminently readable. The style is lively, though rough, careless, and incorrect; every incident is presented effectively; they are full of good stories, and they contain a great deal of information about the history of law and lawyers which is not easily to be found elsewhere. The later volumes, moreover, both of the 'Chancellors' and the 'Chief Justices,' have the freshness and interest of personal memoirs. For all these qualities Campbell has received due and sufficient recognition. Nor has time worn away the merits of his books; they still find many readers, and there is little probability that they will be displaced by anything more entertaining written on the same subject. None the less are they among the most censurable publications in

our literature. 'As an historical production,' says a careful critic, speaking of the 'Chancellors,' 'the whole work is wanting in a due sense of the obligations imposed by such a task, is disfigured by unblushing plagiarisms, and, as the writer approaches his own times, by much unscrupulous misrepresentation' (GARDINER and MULLINGER, *Introd. to English History*, p. 229). This judgment is not too severe. The tone of laborious research which pervades every volume is delusive. No writer ever owed so much to the labours of others who acknowledged so little (for some examples of his method see 'Law Magazine,' xxxv. 119). Literary morality in its other form, the love of historical truth and accuracy, he hardly understood. No one who has ever followed him to the sources of his information will trust him more; for not only was he too hurried and careless to sift such evidence as he gathered, but even plain statements of fact are perverted, and his authorities are constantly misquoted (see CHRISTIE's *Shaftesbury Papers*, containing a 'minute dissection' of the first chapter of Campbell's life of Shaftesbury; G. T. KENYON's *Life of Lord Kenyon*, written because Lord Campbell's life of Kenyon was unsatisfactory; FOSYTH's *Essays*, 127-132; PULLING's *Order of the Coif*).

The concluding volume of the 'Chancellors,' published after his death, and containing the lives of Lyndhurst and Brougham, is even more lamentable, and has done more than anything else to lower the reputation of Campbell. Lyndhurst's prediction came true. 'I predict,' so he is reported to have said to Brougham, with reference to a judicial appointment of which Campbell was disappointed, 'that he will take his revenge on you by describing you with all the gall of his nature. He will write of you, and perhaps of me too, with envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, for such is his nature' (*Life of Brougham*, iii. 435. The conversation, which is said to have taken place in 1835, is obviously misreported, for there is a reference in it to the 'Lives of the Chancellors' and to Wetherell's remark that they had added a new sting to death; but if the prediction was not Lyndhurst's it was Brougham's). The book is a marvel of inaccuracy and misrepresentation, and, if not written with actual malice, it exhibits a discreditable absence of generosity and good feeling. The only possible excuse for such a work is one suggested by Lyndhurst himself, that Campbell was not always aware of the effect of the expressions which he used; 'he has been so accustomed to relate degrading

anecdotes of his predecessors in office, that I am afraid his feelings upon these subjects have become somewhat blunted' (*Hansard*, 13 July 1857). No sooner had it appeared than Lord St. Leonards, who incidentally suffered from the biographer's inaccuracy, published an indignant pamphlet in his own defence, 'Misrepresentations in Campbell's Lives of Lyndhurst and Brougham, corrected by St. Leonards.' Brougham's story, as told by himself, has since been published (1871); and the life of Lyndhurst has been rewritten by Sir Theodore Martin (1883) (see also 2nd edition of SIDNEY GIBSON's *Memoir of Lord Lyndhurst*).

In 1846, when the whigs returned, Campbell had hopes of being restored to the Irish chancellorship; but in deference to Irish feeling it was decided that the office should be held, as it has ever since been held, by an Irishman, and Campbell was made instead chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet. He had meanwhile been playing a leading part in the House of Lords. 'Edinburgh,' said Brougham, with his usual exaggeration, 'is now celebrated for having given us the two greatest bores that have ever yet been known in London, for Jack Campbell in the House of Lords is just what Tom Macaulay is in private society.' He had certainly very little oratorical fervour, and, as one may judge from 'Hansard,' he was often tedious; but the opinions of a man so shrewd and experienced always commanded attention. The passing of several important measures during this period was greatly owing to his exertions, the most important of them being the Copyright Act of 1842 (5 & 6 Vict. c. 45); the Libel Act of 1843 (6 & 7 Vict. c. 96), known as Lord Campbell's Act, and drafted by himself with the assistance of Starkie, the well-known text writer on the law of libel and slander; and an act of 1846 (9 & 10 Vict. c. 93), also known as Lord Campbell's Act, which did away with the rule that where a person was killed by the wrongful act, neglect or default of another, no action for damages could be brought by his representatives. Lord Denman's health breaking down in 1849, Campbell received assurances that he would be made chief justice, and he applied himself to the study of the recent changes in legal procedure. Much delay occurred; Denman, resenting several uncomplimentary references to himself in Campbell's 'Lives,' was unwilling to resign in his favour (ARNOLD, *Life of Denman*, ii. 288); and it was not till March 1850 that the appointment was actually made. His judicial labours mainly filled up his subsequent life; but he still took a share in legal

debates and in legislation. In 1851 he succeeded at length in passing the Registration Bill through the lords, a measure which, he says in his journal, 'ought to immortalise me,' but it came to grief in the commons. He joined in the opposition to the Wensleydale life peerage, preparing himself for the debate as usual by reading 'all that had been written on the subject.' He presided over the committee to inquire into the question of divorce, and saw their recommendations carried into effect by the Divorce and Matrimonial Act of 1857. And he left yet another Lord Campbell's Act on the statute-book, the Obscene Publications Act of 1857 (20 & 21 Vict. c. 83). His literary schemes had to be abandoned; but he spent the autumn of 1858 at Hartrigge, an estate in Roxburghshire, which he had purchased some years before, in reading through Shakespeare to see 'whether the bard of Avon, before he left Stratford, had not been an attorney's clerk.' The pamphlet in which he discusses the question (published in the form of a letter to J. Payne Collier) convinced Macaulay that Shakespeare had some legal training, Campbell himself inclining to the same belief, though he declined to give a decided opinion.

Lord Campbell the judge is a more pleasing figure than Lord Campbell the author. He had his failings, it would seem, even on the bench, showing, for example, somewhat too openly an unworthy love of applause. But he did not debase his talents by hurried work. He was ambitious to leave behind him the reputation of a sound lawyer, and by aid of his wide knowledge, his long experience, his untiring industry, and his natural strength of intellect, he succeeded. Though changes in procedure have rendered obsolete many of the cases in which he took part, there remains a solid body of law connected with his name. His decisions, some of them in 'leading cases' (such as *Humphries v. Brogden*), are constantly cited, and his opinion still carries weight. For his House of Lords cases see Cl. & F. from vol. viii.; and his privy council cases, Moore from vol. iii.; his civil cases as chief justice are reported in 1-9 E. & B., E. B. & E., 1 & 2 E. & E., and 12-18 Q. B.; his criminal cases in 3-8 Cox, and in Bell's, Dearsly's, and Dearsly and Bell's Crown Cases. Among his *causes célèbres* were Achilli's action against Newman (1852), and the trials of Palmer (1856) and Bernard (1858).

When the liberal party regained power in 1859, great difficulty was experienced in deciding who should be chancellor. There were several rivals for the honour, each with



strong supporters; and, unable to decide between their claims, Lord Palmerston gave the great seal to Campbell, acting, it is said, on the advice of Lord Lyndhurst (MARTIN, *Life of Lyndhurst*, 480). Campbell was now in his eightieth year, and no one, as he took pains to find out, had ever been appointed to, or had even held, the office at so advanced an age. About two years of life remained to him, which were marked by little that is noteworthy. He made a respectable equity judge, and prided himself on his rapid despatch of business; but his rather overbearing nature caused some friction with the other judges (see his remarks on V.-c. Page Wood in the case of *Burch v. Bright*, and the protests of the other vice-chancellors; *Life of Lord Hatherley*, i. 88. His equity decisions are reported in De G. F. & J.) The chief political incident of the time was the outbreak of the American war, and it was by Campbell's advice that the government agreed to recognise the belligerent rights of the Southern states (RUSSELL, *Recollections and Suggestions*, 286). Had he lived a few weeks longer, his chancellorship would have been distinguished by the passing of the Criminal Law Consolidation Acts, in the preparation of which he had taken a great interest (see introduction to Greaves's edition of the acts). He died on the night of 22 June 1861, having sat in court and attended a cabinet council during the day.

Lord Campbell possessed in a supreme degree the art of getting on. 'If Campbell,' said Perry of the 'Morning Chronicle,' 'had engaged as an opera-dancer, I do not say he would have danced as well as Deshayes, but I feel confident he would have got a higher salary.' He was full of ambition, and though he did not lack public spirit, he judged most things by their bearing on his personal fortunes. Perhaps nothing paints his mind more clearly than a phrase which he lets drop in a letter to his brother in recommending the study of the best English classics; 'they bear reading very well,' he writes, 'and you can always make them tell.' He had no false modesty, rather an exalted self-confidence, which he concealed neither from himself nor from others; he had patience to wait for his opportunities, yet he never let himself be forgotten; and his enormous industry and power of getting rapidly through work stood him in stead of abilities of the highest kind. He fell far short of greatness, intellectual or moral. Not even as the term is applied to the great rivals of his later life, Brougham and Lyndhurst, can he be described as a man of genius. On its moral side his nature was lowered by ambition. His private life, indeed, was rich in fine traits. In no

man was the sense of family union more strong, and few have won for themselves and maintained through a busy life a deeper devotion and affection. His public career is less attractive. While his abilities compelled admiration, he did not in any high degree inspire feelings of enthusiasm or confidence. Some of his contemporaries have even represented him as essentially ungrateful and ungenerous. But this is exaggeration. His were simply the defects of a man of pushing character, whose eagerness to succeed made itself too plainly felt. But whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the spirit in which he served his country, there is none as to the value of the services themselves. As a legislator and a judge he left a name which can never be passed over when the history of our law is written.

The following is a list of his works: 1. 'Reports of Cases determined at Nisi Prius in the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, and on the Home Circuit,' 4 vols. 1809-16; vols. i. and ii. were reprinted in New York in 1810-11; vols. iii. and iv., with notes by Howe, in 1821. 2. 'Letter to a Member of the present Parliament on the Articles of a Charge against Marquis Wellesley which have been laid before the House of Commons,' 1808 (see WATT's *Bibl. Brit.*) 3. 'Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Stanley on the Law of Church Rates,' 1837; at least five editions were published during the year; reprinted in his 'Speeches.' It was written to show that the assent of the vestry was required before a valid church rate could be levied, and that no legal means existed of compelling the vestry to impose a rate. 4. 'Speeches of Lord Campbell at the Bar and in the House of Commons; with an address to the Irish Bar as Lord Chancellor of Ireland,' 1842. 5. 'The Lives of the Lord Chancellors and Keepers of the Great Seal of England from the earliest times till the reign of King George IV.' In 3 series, 7 vols., 1846-7; 4th ed., 10 vols., 1856-7. The life of Lord Bacon was reprinted in Murray's 'Railway Library.' An American work has the following title: 'Atrocious Judges. Lives of Judges infamous as tools of tyrants and instruments of oppression. Compiled from the judicial biographies of John, Lord Campbell, Lord Chief Justice of England,' with notes by R. Hildrath, New York and Auburn, 1856. 6. 'The Lives of the Chief Justices of England from the Norman Conquest till the death of Lord Mansfield,' 3 vols. 1849 and 1857. 7. 'Shakespeare's Legal Acquirements considered, in a Letter to J. Payne Collier, Esq., F.S.A.,' 1859. 8. 'Lives of Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Brougham,'

1869; the eighth volume of the 'Chancellors, uniform with first edition. The 'Chancellors,' the 'Chief Justices,' and the pamphlet on Shakespeare have appeared in American editions.

[Life of Lord Campbell, consisting of a selection from his autobiography, diary, and letters, edited by his daughter, the Hon. Mrs. Hardcastle; Foss's Judges; Law Magazine, August 1853 and August 1861; Martin's Life of Lord Lyndhurst; Brougham's Life and Times; Bennet's Biographical Sketches from the Note-books of a Law Reporter; Annual Register, 1861; Times, 24 June 1861; Sol. Journ. 29 June 1861; Hansard from 1830 onwards; Lord Campbell's works contain frequent references to passages in his own life.] G. P. M.

**CAMPBELL, JOHN**, second MARQUIS OF BREADALBANE (1796-1862), known in his younger days as Lord Glenorchy, and, after his father's elevation to the marquissate in 1831, as Earl of Ormelie, was born at Dundee in 1796. He was son of John, fourth earl and first marquis of Breadalbane (1762-1834), by Mary, daughter of David Gavin. He represented Okehampton from 1820 to 1826. In 1832, after the passing of the Reform Bill, he contested the representation of the important county of Perth with Sir George Murray, and conducted the campaign with such spirit and ability that he carried the election by the large majority of nearly six hundred votes. In 1834, on the death of his father, he became a member of the House of Lords. He held the office of lord chamberlain from 1848 to 1852, and again from 1853 to 1858. From 1840-2 he was lord rector of the university of Glasgow. During the controversy between the church of Scotland and the civil courts Breadalbane was conspicuous for his earnest advocacy of the 'non-intrusion' cause. In that connection he was by far the most outstanding man among the laity. Though not a great speaker he advocated the cause in the House of Lords, as well as in public meetings, and when the Free church was set up he cordially adhered to it, and was one of its most munificent supporters. In 1840 he led the opposition in the House of Lords to the Earl of Aberdeen's bill on the church question, and, though defeated, contributed an important element towards the withdrawal of the bill by its author a short time subsequently. His character, abilities, and public spirit, as well as his position as one of the largest proprietors in Scotland, procured for him an unusual measure of respect in his native country. In 1842 the queen paid a visit to his seat, Taymouth Castle, one of the first she paid in Scotland. He was a warm supporter of the volunteer movement and in

1860, when her majesty held a grand review of the volunteer forces in Scotland, one of the most distinguished corps was the five hundred men from Breadalbane, headed by their noble chief. He died at Lausanne 8 Nov. 1862. He married in 1821 Eliza, eldest daughter of the late George Baillie of Jerviswood, and a descendant of the Robert Baillie [q. v.] who suffered at the cross of Edinburgh in 1684, and, as she believed, of John Knox himself. She died 28 Aug. 1861. Lord Breadalbane was K.T., F.S.A. Scot., and F.R.S.

[Dod's Peerage; Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands, by her Majesty the Queen; 'In Memoriam'—the Marquis of Breadalbane, by William Chalmers, D.D.; Carlyle's Reminiscences, vol. i.; Disruption Worthies; Buchanan's Ten Years' Conflict; Witness newspaper, October 1862; Foster's Scotch M.P.'s, 60; Gent. Mag. 1862, pt. ii. 779.] W. G. B.

**CAMPBELL, SIR JOHN** (1780-1863), knight, major-general in the Portuguese service, son of William Campbell, commissioner of the navy board, by his wife, the daughter of Major Pitcairn, of the marines, who fell at Bunker's Hill, was born at his father's official residence in Chatham dockyard in 1780, and was educated at Harrow School. In 1800 he obtained a cornetcy in the 7th light dragoons (hussars), in which he became lieutenant in 1801, and captain in 1806. He served as brigade-major on the staff of General Crauford's force in South America in 1807, and was with his regiment in Spain in 1808, where he was present in the affairs at Sahagun and Benevente, under Lord Paget. Returning to Portugal on the cavalry staff in 1809, he was appointed to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the Portuguese cavalry, under Marshal Beresford, with which he served to the end of the war, frequently distinguishing himself by his talents and intrepidity. At the peace of 1814 he accepted an offer to remain in Portugal, and for the next six years was actively engaged in the organisation of the Portuguese forces. In 1815 he was created a knight-bachelor in the United Kingdom. In 1816 he married Doña Maria Brigida de Faria e Lacerda of Lisbon. In 1820 he obtained the rank of major-general in the Portuguese army, and was colonel of the 4th cavalry, deputy quartermaster general, and K.T.S. When the agitation for a constitutional government commenced, he quitted the Portuguese service and returned to England, and having retained his rank of brevet lieutenant-colonel in the British army, to which he had been advanced in 1812, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel 75th foot, which rank he held from 1820 to 1824, when he retired by the sale of his

commission. Though absent from Portugal, Campbell had kept up his relations with the absolute party in that country, and when Dom Miguel seized on the throne, he was summoned to his aid and invested with the rank of major-general. He worked as zealously for his patron as did the late Admiral Sir Charles Napier for the opposing party of Doña Maria de Gloria, but not with like success. His efforts to raise a naval force in the United Kingdom were defeated, although the opposite party had successfully evaded the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and when he actually took the field against the constitutionalists at Oporto, he accomplished nothing worthy of his old reputation as a dashing cavalry officer. When Dom Miguel withdrew from the contest, Campbell returned to England and retired from public life. He lived quietly and almost forgotten in London, where he married, in 1842, his second wife, Harriet Maria, widow of Major-general Sir Alexander Dickson, adjutant-general royal artillery. He died at his residence in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, on 19 Dec. 1863, in his eighty-fourth year.

[Annual Army Lists; Dod's Knightage; *Gent. Mag.* 3rd ser. (xvi.), p. 389.] H. M. C.

CAMPBELL, JOHN (1794-1867), minister of the congregational church, was born in Forfar on 5 Oct. 1794. He was educated at the parochial school, after which he for some time followed the occupation of a blacksmith. In 1818 he entered the university of St. Andrews, and after completing his university career at Glasgow, and attending the divinity hall of the congregational church, was ordained to a pastoral charge in Ayrshire. Thence he was shortly removed to the charge of the Tabernacle, Moorfields, London, which, after a ministry of twenty years, he relinquished in order to devote himself wholly to literature. In 1844 he established the 'Christian Witness' and two years later the 'Christian Penny Magazine.' At the close of 1849 he started 'The British Banner,' a weekly newspaper, which he carried on for nine years, after which he originated 'The British Standard.' Two years later he established 'The British Ensign,' a penny paper. He was also the author of a large number of separate publications, the principal of which were: 1. 'Jethro,' 1839. 2. 'Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions,' 1840. 3. 'Pastoral Visitation,' 1841. 4. 'The Martyr of Erromanga, or Philosophy of Missions,' 1842. 5. 'Life of David Nasmyth, founder of City Missions,' 1844. 6. 'Wesleyan Methodism,' 1847. 7. 'A Review of

the Life and Character of J. Angell James,' 1860. In 1839 he was engaged in a newspaper controversy with the queen's printers in regard to Bible monopoly, and the letters were published in a separate volume. He was also a keen opponent of Roman catholicism, ritualism, and rational theology. In 1851 he published a volume on 'Popery and Puseyism,' and in 1865 a volume on 'Popery.' At the close of 1866 he retired from the 'British Standard,' in order to obtain more leisure to prepare his 'Life of George Whitefield.' He died on 26 March 1867.

[*Gent. Mag.* vol. iii., 4th ser. p. 676; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*]

CAMPBELL, SIR JOHN (1802-1878), Indian official, was the eldest son of John Campbell of Lochend, by Annabella, daughter of John Campbell of Melfort, and was born at Kingsburgh in the island of Skye in 1802. He was gazetted an ensign in the 19th regiment in 1819, but he entered the East India Company's service in 1820, and on 5 April was appointed a lieutenant in the 41st Madras native infantry, and was stationed in various cantonments in the Madras presidency until his promotion to the rank of captain in 1830. In 1834 his regiment was ordered to quell an insurrection among the hill tribes in the province of Kimerdy in Orissa, and on the death of Major Barclay, Campbell commanded the regiment with great success. His knowledge of Orissa caused him to be again employed in the Goomsoor war of 1836-7, and at the end of this war he was placed in civil charge of the Khonds, or hill tribes of Orissa, with special instructions to suppress the practices of human sacrifice and female infanticide. Campbell soon obtained a marvellous control over them, and, without resorting once to the use of troops, managed to save the lives of hundreds of destined victims by a consistent policy of expelling from the hills all refractory village headmen, and by refusing to trust to native agents. In 1842 he accompanied his old regiment, the 41st M.N.I., to China as senior major, and for his services there he was promoted lieutenant-colonel and made a C.B. in December 1842. After his return to Madras he commanded his regiment in cantonments for five years. Meanwhile the Khonds were not prospering under his successor in Orissa, Captain Macpherson, who had entirely changed Campbell's policy, and preferred to rely upon the influence of their headmen, whom he recalled to their villages, and in one of them, named Sam Bye, an especial foe of Campbell's, he placed particular confidence. Disturbances

broke out, and in 1847 Campbell was ordered to supersede Captain Macpherson and to take up his old appointment. He at once resumed his old system of government, the headmen and Sam Bye were again expelled, and he ruled the Khonds in his old absolute fashion. In 1849 he had to go to the Cape for his health for two years; in 1853 he was promoted colonel, and in 1855, when he was on the eve of obtaining his colonel's allowances, he finally resigned his appointment, and returned to Scotland after an absence of thirty-six years. Campbell took up his residence at Edinburgh, and on 28 Nov. 1859 he was promoted major-general. In 1861 he published, for private circulation only, a narrative of his operations in Orissa, which was so greatly appreciated that in 1864 he published his 'Personal Narrative,' in which he deplored Macpherson's 'mistakes in judgment.' His book was immediately followed by one by Macpherson's brother, who warmly contested many of Campbell's statements. The controversy created some excitement, and drew such attention to Campbell's undoubted services that after the enlargement of the order of the Star of India and its division into three classes in 1866, he was made a K.C.S.I. in 1869. In 1867 he was promoted lieutenant-general, and in 1872 general, and on 21 April 1878 he died at Edinburgh.

[See The Campbells of Melfort, by M. O. C., London, 1882; for his Indian services see Narrative of Major-general John Campbell, C.B., of his Operations in the Hill Tracts of Orissa for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice and Infanticide, printed for private circulation, 1861; a Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan, for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice, by Major-general John Campbell, C.B., 1864; Memorials of Service in India, from the correspondence of the late Major Samuel Charters Macpherson, C.B., edited by his brother, William Macpherson; and Orissa, by W. W. Hunter, M.D.] H. M. S.

CAMPBELL, JOHN FRANCIS (1822-1885), of Islay, writer on highland folklore, geology, and meteorology, eldest son of Walter Frederick Campbell of Islay, by his first wife, Lady Eleanor Charteris, eldest daughter of Francis, seventh earl of Wemyss, was born on 29 Dec. 1822. He was educated at Eton and the university of Edinburgh. For some time he was a groom-in-waiting, and he occupied various posts connected with the government—among others, those of secretary to the lighthouse commission and secretary to the coal commission. He died at Cannes on 17 Feb. 1885. Campbell devoted a great portion of his

leisure to the collection of folklore tales in the western highlands. For this purpose he was in the habit of mixing with the natives in free and easy intercourse, so as to gain their complete confidence, and thus induce them to relate to him stories which the uneducated are so diffident in telling to strangers. In this manner he collected a large number of the traditional *mährchen* of the district, which he published under the title, 'Popular Tales of the West Highlands orally collected, with a Translation, 4 vols. 1860-2. Campbell was also a keen observer of nature, and devoted much attention to geology and meteorology, his studies in which gained much benefit by his foreign travel. In 1865 he published 'Frost and Fire, Natural Engines, Toolmarks and Chips, with Sketches taken at home and abroad by a Traveller.' He was the inventor of the sunshine recorder for indicating the varying intensity of the sun's rays, and in 1883 he published a book on 'Thermography.' In 1863 he published anonymously a work by his father, entitled 'Life in Normandy: Sketches of French Fishing, Farming, Cooking, Natural History, and Politics, drawn from Nature,' and in 1865 'A Short American Tramp in the Fall of 1864, by the Editor of "Life in Normandy."' In 1872 he began to issue a series of Gaelic texts under the title, 'Leabhair na Fenine.' He left behind him a large number of volumes dealing with Celtic folklore.

[Burke's Landed Gentry, i. 257; W. S. Ralston, in Athenæum, 1885, i. 250; Academy, 1885, xxvii. 151.] T. F. H.

CAMPBELL, JOHN McLEOD (1800-1872), Scotch divine, son of the Rev. Donald Campbell, was born at Kilninver, Argyllshire in 1800. Most of his early education was derived from his father, and before he went to Glasgow University at the age of eleven he was a good Latin scholar. He remained at Glasgow from 1811 to 1820, during the last three years being a student at the divinity hall, and gaining the prize for an essay on Hebrew poetry. He completed his divinity course at Edinburgh, and in 1821 was licensed as a preacher in the Scotch church by the presbytery of Lorne. The next four years were spent partly in Edinburgh, where he continued his studies, and partly at Kilninver, where he often preached for his father; and in 1825 he was appointed to the important parish of Row, near Cardross. For some years he worked unostentatiously but zealously. During the second year of his ministry at Row he became impressed with the doctrine of 'assurance of faith,' and this

led him to teach the 'universality of the atonement.' This gave great dissatisfaction to some of his parishioners, who in 1829 petitioned the presbytery about it. This petition was, however, withdrawn. The nature of his views may be gathered from his 'Sermons and Lectures,' published at Greenock in 1832. About this time he became a warm friend of Edward Irving. As Campbell did not modify his views, in March 1830 a petition from twelve of his parishioners became the foundation for a presbyterial visitation and ultimately of a 'libel' for heresy. The 'libel' was duly considered and found relevant. The case now went up to the synod, and thence to the general assembly, which, after a hasty examination, found Campbell guilty of teaching heretical doctrines concerning 'assurance' and 'universal atonement and pardon,' and deprived him of his living. The effect of the sentence being to close the pulpits of the national church against him, Campbell spent two years in the highlands as an evangelist. His friend Edward Irving had at this time founded the catholic apostolic church, and some of his followers made considerable efforts to persuade Campbell to join it. His refusal to do so did not break his friendship with their leader, and Irving's last days were soothed by his intercourse with Campbell. From 1833 to 1859 he ministered to a fixed congregation in Glasgow with such success that a large chapel had to be erected for his use in 1843. He was, however, careful to avoid any attempt to found a sect. In 1838 he married Mary, daughter of Mr. John Campbell of Kilninver, and in 1851 he published a small volume on the eucharist, entitled 'Christ the Bread of Life,' and five years later a work called 'The Nature of the Atonement,' a theological treatise of great value which passed through five editions, and has had considerable influence on religious thought in Scotland. In 1859 his health gave way, and he was compelled to give up all ministerial work, many of his congregation by his advice joining the Barony church, of which Dr. Norman McLeod was pastor. From the time Campbell left Row he never received any remuneration for his labours. In 1862 he published 'Thoughts on Revelation.' His health compelled a retired life, varied by occasional intercourse with such friends as Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, Dr. Norman McLeod, Bishop Ewing, the Rev. F. D. Maurice, and Mr. D. J. Vaughan. In 1868 he received unsought the degree of D.D. from the university of Glasgow. In 1870 he removed to Roseneath to live, and in the following year commenced 'Reminiscences and Reflections,' an unfinished work which was

published after his death (1873) under the editorship of his son, the Rev. Donald Campbell. In 1871 a testimonial and address were presented to him by representatives of most of the religious bodies in Scotland. Dr. Campbell died on 27 Feb. 1872, and was buried in Roseneath churchyard. Long before his death he had come to be looked up to as one of the intellectual leaders of the time, and in religious questions his opinion carried more weight than that of any other man in Scotland. Besides the works before mentioned, Dr. Campbell published 'The whole Proceedings in the Case of the Rev. John McLeod Campbell,' 1831, and various single sermons.

[J. McL. Campbell's *Reminiscences and Reflections*; Donald Campbell's *Memorials of John McLeod Campbell, D.D.*; Oliphant's *Life of Edward Irving*; Hanna's *Letters &c. of T. Erskine*; Life of Bishop Ewing; St. Giles' *Lectures on Scottish Divines*; Story's *Life of R. Story of Roseneath*; information kindly communicated by the Rev. Donald Campbell, M.A., vicar of Eye. An admirable account of Dr. Campbell's views is given in *Scottish Influence upon English Theological Thought*, by Dr. J. Vaughan (*Contemporary Review*, June 1878).] A. C. B.

**CAMPBELL, NEIL** (d. 1627), bishop of Argyll, was parson at Kilmartin and chanter of the diocese in 1574. He was a member of the assembly in 1590, and one of the assessors appointed by the moderator. In 1606 he was promoted to the bishopric of Argyll, but held it for only two years, resigning it in favour of his son in 1608. He had a very high reputation personally and as a pastor, and when other bishops were lampooned he alone was not. 'Solus in Ergadiis præsul meritissimus oris.' He was a member of the assembly 8 June 1610, having continued to discharge his duties as pastor. He died in 1627. Two of his sons were promoted to bishoprics, John to Argyll and Neil to the Isles.

[Keith's *Scottish Bishops*, p. 290; Hew Scott's *Fasti*, iii. 11.] T. F. H.

**CAMPBELL, SIR NEIL** (1776-1827), general, second son of Captain Neil Campbell of Duntroon, was born on 1 May 1776. He was gazetted an ensign in the 6th West India regiment on 2 April 1797, and exchanged into the 67th regiment on 29 Oct. 1798. He was for a time the commanding officer in the Caicos or Turks Islands, and was publicly thanked by the inhabitants. On 23 Aug. 1799 he purchased a lieutenantancy in the 57th regiment, and in 1800 returned to England and volunteered to join the

95th regiment, afterwards the rifle brigade, on its first formation. He purchased his company on 4 June 1801, and proved himself an admirable officer of light troops. His fleetness of foot was especially remarkable, and a story is told by Sir William Napier of his beating even Sir John Moore, with whom he was a great favourite, in a race at Shorncliffe. From February 1802 to September 1803 he was at the Royal Military College at Great Marlow, and on leaving it was appointed assistant quartermaster-general for the southern district. He purchased a majority in the 43rd regiment on 24 Jan. 1805, which he exchanged for a majority in the 54th on 20 Feb. 1806. After two years in Jamaica with his regiment he returned to England, became lieutenant-colonel on 20 Aug. 1808, and was sent to the West Indies as deputy adjutant-general. In this capacity he was present at the capture of Martinique in January 1809, of the Saintes Islands in April 1809, and of Guadeloupe in January 1810. In 1810 he came to England and was at once sent to Portugal with strong letters of recommendation to Marshal Beresford, who appointed him colonel of the 16th Portuguese infantry, one of the regiments of Pack's brigade, in April 1811. In January 1813, after doing good service at Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca, he returned to England on sick leave, and was then sent to join Lord Cathcart, who was British minister at the Russian court, and military commissioner with the Russian army in Poland. Campbell was attached by him to Wittgenstein's column, with which he remained, almost uninterruptedly, until the entry of the allies into Paris on 31 March 1814. Campbell was not satisfied to act as British representative only, but took every opportunity of fighting, and in the battle of Fère-Champenoise, fought on 24 March 1814, he headed a charge of Russian cavalry, and during the *mêlée* was mistaken for a French officer and severely wounded by a Cossack. He was strongly recommended by Lord Cathcart to Lord Castlereagh, and selected to be the British commissioner to accompany Napoleon to Elba. He was gazetted a colonel in the army 4 June 1814, made a knight of three Russian orders, C.B. 1815, and knighted by patent on 2 Oct. He accompanied Napoleon to Elba with the express orders from Lord Castlereagh that he was in no way to act as his gaoler, but rather to put the late French emperor in possession of the little island of which he was to be the sovereign prince. Campbell had further instructions as to the settlement of Italy, which clearly showed Lord Castlereagh's intention that he should not remain in Elba longer than

he thought necessary. At Napoleon's request, however, Campbell promised to make Elba his headquarters until the termination of the congress of Vienna, and it was the supposed residence of the English colonel there which put the English naval captains off their guard, and enabled Napoleon to escape so easily. It was, however, during one of Campbell's frequent visits to Italy, from 17 to 28 Feb. 1815, that Napoleon effected his escape. Many people at the time believed that the English colonel was bribed, but the ministry at once declared that Campbell's behaviour had been quite satisfactory, and even continued his powers in Italy. But in this capacity he met with an unexpected rebuff from Lord Exmouth, came home, and joined the 54th regiment, in which he still held the regimental rank of major, in Belgium. With it he served at the battle of Waterloo, and he afterwards headed the column of attack on the Valenciennes gate of Cambray. During the occupation of France, from 1815 to 1818, he commanded the Hanseatic Legion, which consisted of 3,000 volunteers from the free cities of Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, and afterwards paid a short visit to Africa to see if it were possible to discover any traces of Mungo Park. On 29 May 1825 he was promoted major-general, and applied for a staff appointment. The first which fell vacant was the governorship of Sierra Leone; he was begged not to take it by his family, but he laughed at their fears, and reached the colony in May 1826. The climate, however, proved too much for him, and on 14 Aug. 1827 he died at Sierra Leone.

[Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba, being a Journal of Occurrences in 1814-15, with Notes of Conversations, by the late Major-general Sir Neil Campbell, Kt., C.B., with a Memoir by his nephew, Archibald Neil Campbell MacLachlan, London, 1869.] H. M. S.

**CAMPBELL, SIR PATRICK** (1773-1841), vice-admiral, was a son of Colonel John Campbell of Melfort in Argyllshire, and elder brother of Lieutenant-general Sir Colin Campbell (1776-1847) [q. v.] He was made lieutenant 25 Sept. 1794, and commander 4 Sept. 1797. In 1799 he was appointed to the Dart sloop, a vessel of an experimental character, designed by Sir Samuel Bentham, and carrying a very remarkable and formidable armament, of thirty 32-pounder carronades. On the night of 7 July 1800 the Dart, with two gun-brigs and four fireships in company, was sent into Dunkirk, to attempt the destruction of four large French frigates. The Dart ran close alongside of one, the *Désirée*

of 38 guns, fired a double-shotted broadside into her, carried her by boarding, and brought her out over the shoals. The other frigates succeeded in evading the freshships by running themselves ashore, and were afloat again the next day; but the capture of the 38-gun frigate was a tangible witness of the success, which seemed the more brilliant as the Dart was rated as a sloop, and the extraordinary nature of her armament was not generally known. The achievement won for Campbell his post rank, 11 July, and his immediate appointment to the *Ariadne* frigate. In September 1803 he was appointed to the *Doris*, which on 12 Jan. 1805 struck on a rock in Quiberon Bay, and had to be abandoned and burnt a few days later, the officers and men being received on board the *Tonnant* of 80 guns, commanded by Captain W. H. Jervis. On joining the admiral off Brest, 26 Jan., the boat in which the two captains were going on board the flagship was swamped; Captain Jervis was drowned, but Campbell was fortunately rescued.

In 1807 and following years Campbell commanded the *Unité* frigate in the Adriatic, and in 1811 was moved into the *Leviathan* of 74 guns, also in the Mediterranean. He was nominated a C.B. at the peace, but had no further service till 1824, when he commanded the *Ganges* on the home station. In March 1827 he commissioned the *Ocean* for the Mediterranean, but manning a ship was at that time a work of many months, and he had not joined the fleet when the battle of Navarino was fought. The *Ocean* was paid off in the spring of 1830, and on 22 July Campbell attained the rank of rear-admiral. From 1834 to 1837 he was commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope, with his flag in the *Thalia* frigate. He was made a K.C.B. on 12 April 1836, became a vice-admiral 28 June 1838, and died 13 Oct. 1841. He married in 1825 Margaret, daughter of Captain Andrew Wauchope of Niddrie, by whom he had two sons: the elder, Patrick John, now (August 1886) major-general in R.H.A.; the younger, Colin, as a lieutenant in the navy, commanded the *Opossum* gunboat in China 1857-1859, was captain of the *Bombay* when she was burnt at Monté Video, 14 Dec. 1864, and died at sea on board of the *Ariadne* in 1869.

[Marshall's Roy. Nav. Biog. iii. (vol. ii.) 290; Notes communicated by General P. J. Campbell.]  
J. K. L.

**CAMPBELL, ROBERT** (*d.* 1722), presbyterian minister, was a native of Scotland. He went over to Ireland and settled at Ray,

co. Donegal, where he was ordained in 1671 by a presbytery then known as the 'Laggan meeting.' Its members got into trouble by proclaiming a 'publike fast' for 17 Feb. 1681. Campbell and three others were examined at Raphoe and Dublin, and, having been tried at Lifford assizes, were fined 20*l.* each and required to give a written engagement not to offend again. In default, they were detained in custody at Lifford, but after eight months' confinement were released (20 April 1682) on paying a reduced fine. While thus detained they were allowed to preach every Sunday in turn, and were occasionally let out surreptitiously by their keepers to hold services in the country. During the troubles of 1689 Campbell went back to Scotland, where he was called to Roseneath, Dumbar-tonshire, on 27 Aug. He accepted on 3 Dec., and officiated till Whitsunday 1691, after which he went back to Ray. He was called to Donaghmore on 21 Dec. 1692, but the Laggan meeting on 8 Feb. 1693 decided that he should remain at Ray. He was moderator of the general synod in 1694 at Antrim. On 2 July 1695 the Laggan presbytery placed his name first among three, one of whom was to act as a commissioner to William III in Flanders, to ask for 'legal liberty' and redress of grievances. It is not certain that this commission was ever carried out. Early next year his only publication appeared in London. An assistant and successor to him was ordained at Ray on 23 Dec. 1719. Campbell died on 5 Oct. 1722. He married Margaret Kelso, and had a son, Hugh, and a daughter, Agnes. He published 'A Directory of Prayer for a gracious King, &c.', 1696, 18mo (eight sermons at fasts and thanksgivings during William's continental wars, and a funeral sermon for Queen Mary; preface, dated 13 Oct. 1695, by N. Bl., i.e. Nicholas Blakey, minister of the Scots church, London Wall).

[Hew Scott's *Fasti Eccl. Scotie*. ii. 369; Witherow's *Hist. and Lit. Mem. of Presb. in Ireland*, 1st ser. 1879, p. 102 sq.] A. G.

**CAMPBELL, ROBERT CALDER** (1798-1857), major, H.E.I.C.S., miscellaneous writer, son of a presbyterian minister, was born in Scotland in 1798. In 1817 he obtained a cadetship in the East India Company's service, and became a lieutenant on the Madras establishment on 2 Oct. 1818 and captain on 3 Oct. 1826. He served with the 43rd Madras native infantry in the Burmese war of 1826-7, for which he received the Indian war-medal. He was invalided in 1831, and subsequently was promoted to a majority in 1836. Campbell, who

was described by the 'Athenæum' as 'a graceful writer of the minor prose and poetry of his time, and a kind-hearted scholar and gentleman,' was author of: 1. 'Lays from the East,' London, 1831. 2. 'Rough Recollections of Rambles at Home and Abroad,' London, 1847. 3. 'The Palmer's Last Lesson, and other Poems,' London, 1848. 4. 'Winter Nights,' London, 1850. 5. 'The Three Trials of Loide,' London, 1851. 6. 'Episodes in the War-life of a Soldier, with Sketches in Prose and Verse,' London, 1857, some of these containing reprints from magazines, to which Campbell was a frequent contributor. He died at his residence in University Street, London, on 13 May 1857.

[Dodwell and Miles's Lists Indian Army; Athenæum, 23 May 1857, p. 664, also literary notices in preceding vols.; English Cat. of Books, 1835-60; Gent. Mag. 3rd series (ii.) p. 742.] H. M. C.

**CAMPBELL, THOMAS** (1733-1795), miscellaneous writer, was born at Glack in the county of Tyrone on 4 May 1733. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin (B.A. 1756, M.A. 1761), and took orders in 1761. He was curate of Clogher till 1772, when he was collated to the prebend of Tyholland, and in 1773 he was made chancellor of St. Macartin's, Clogher. He was in high repute as a preacher, and also obtained some fame as a writer. In 1778 he published 'A Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland in a series of letters to John Watkinson, M.D.' There is not much philosophy in this book, which is supposed to record the tour of an Englishman in the south of Ireland, and gives a description of the chief towns. Sundry remarks on the trade of the country are thrown in, and Campbell advocates 'a political and commercial union' with England. Boswell styles the 'Survey' 'a very entertaining book, which has, however, one fault—that it assumes the fictitious character of an Englishman.' In the 'Survey' Johnson's epitaph on Goldsmith appeared for the first time in print. In 1789 Campbell published 'Strictures on the Ecclesiastical and Literary History of Ireland till the Introduction of the Roman Ritual, and the Establishment of Papal Supremacy by Henry II.' To this was added a 'Sketch of the Constitution and Government of Ireland down to 1783.' The book is controversial in tone, and is little better than a big pamphlet directed against O'Connor, Colonel Vallancey, and other antiquaries. Regarding the early history of Ireland, Campbell displayed a certain amount of scepticism, but it was too unmethodical to be of value. He, however,

looked upon the volume as but a fragment of a large work he meditated, and for which he obtained help from Burke, whom he visited at Beaconsfield. Burke, he says, lent him four volumes of manuscripts, and advised him to be 'as brief as possible upon everything antecedent to Henry II.' Besides these books, Campbell wrote a portion of the memoir of Goldsmith which appeared in Bishop Percy's edition of the poet published in 1801. Campbell's books have, however, done far less to preserve his memory than the mention of him in Boswell, and a little diary he kept during his visits to London. It was discovered behind an old press in the offices of the supreme court at Sydney, N.S.W., having been carried to the antipodes by a nephew of the writer at the beginning of this century. It was printed at Sydney in 1854. It contains notes of seven visits to England (in 1775, 1776-7, 1781, 1786, 1787, 1789, and 1792). The second appears to have been much the longest visit, but the first is the only one of which there is a detailed account. Through the Thrales the diarist became acquainted with Johnson, Boswell, Reynolds, and others of the Johnsonian set. He was a shrewd, somewhat contemptuous observer, but he pays 'Ursa Major' the compliment of giving full and dramatic accounts of his encounters with him. To a student of Boswell the diary is highly interesting, as it affords striking confirmation of Boswell's accuracy. Being a popular preacher himself, Campbell went to hear Dr. Dodd and other pulpit orators of the day, and his remarks are very uncomplimentary. Campbell was in London again in 1795, where he died on 20 June. Campbell's diary was printed at Sydney, N.S.W., in 1854, and reprinted, with some omissions, by Dr. Napier in his 'Johnsoniana,' pp. 219-61.

[Boswell's Life of Johnson (ed. Napier), ii. 169 and 179 (pp. 310 and 318 of smaller edition); Nichols's Literary Illustrations, vii. 759-809; Edinburgh Review for October 1859 (an article on the Diary written, it is understood, by Mr. Reeve at the suggestion of Lord Macaulay); Napier's Appendix to his edition of Boswell, ii. 545, 551; Forster's Life of Goldsmith.]

N. McC.

**CAMPBELL, THOMAS** (1777-1844), poet, was born 27 July 1777, in High Street, Glasgow, in a house long since removed. He was the youngest of a family of eleven, and was born when his father was sixty-seven years of age. Alexander Campbell, the father, was third son of Archibald Campbell, the last of a long line to occupy the family mansion of Kirman in Argyll. Alexander Campbell being trained to commerce,



and having gained a valuable experience in Virginia, settled in business in Glasgow with a partner named Daniel Campbell, whose sister Margaret he married. Thus the poet's father and mother were both Campbells, and belonged to the same district of Argyll, though their families were not related. The firm of Alexander & Daniel Campbell did a prosperous Virginia trade, till heavy losses, consequent on the American war, brought the business to an end, and well-nigh ruined both families. The affairs of the firm being honourably settled, it was found that Alexander and Margaret Campbell had a little remaining from their handsome competency, and that this, together with a small annual income from the Merchants' Society and a provident institution, would enable them to make a living. Thomas Campbell was born after this disaster, and was naturally an object of special care to both parents. His father impressed him by his manly self-dependence and his sterling integrity, while his mother by her songs and legends gave him a taste for literature and a bias towards her beloved west highlands.

Campbell went to the Glasgow grammar school in his eighth year, and became both a good classical scholar and a promising poet, under the fostering care of his teacher, David Alison, who prophesied distinction for his pupil. On going to the university in October 1791, he studied very hard, and quickly excelled as a classical scholar, debater, and poetical translator from Greek. Genial and witty, he was liked and admired by professors and fellow-students. He won numerous prizes for his scholarship, as well as for poems (such as the 'Origin of Evil') cleverly turned after Pope. A visit to Edinburgh in 1794, when he attended the trial of Muir, Gerald, and others for high treason, deeply impressed him, and helped to form his characteristic decisive views on liberty. At this time, thinking of studying for the church, Campbell read Hebrew and gave some attention to theological subjects, one literary result of which was his hymn on 'The Advent.' His future, however, became clouded when, in his fourth year at college (1794-5), his father lost a lingering chancery suit, and Campbell, forced to earn money, went as a tutor to Sunipol in Mull. His fellow-student, Hamilton Paul, sent him a playful letter here, enclosing a few lines entitled 'Pleasures of Solitude,' and, after a jocular reference to Akenside and Rogers, bade Campbell cherish the 'Pleasures of Hope' 'that they would soon meet in Alma Mater.' This probably was the germ of the poem that

was completed within a few years. Campbell returned to the university for the winter, finally leaving it in the spring of 1796. During this year he had attended the class of Professor Miller, whose lectures on Roman law had given him new and lasting impressions of social relations and progress. He was engaged as tutor at Downie, near Lochgilphead, till the beginning of 1797, when he returned to Glasgow. His twofold experience of the west highlands had given him his first love (consecrated in 'Caroline'), and deep sympathies with highland character, scenery, and incident. Many of the strong buoyant lines and exquisite touches of descriptive reminiscence in the poems of after years (e.g. stanzas 5 and 6 of 'Gertrude of Wyoming') are in large measure due to the comparatively lonely and reflective time he spent in these tutorships. His 'Parrot,' 'Love and Madness,' 'Glenara,' and first sketch of 'Lord Ullin's Daughter,' belong to this time.

With the influence of Professor Miller strong upon him, Campbell now resolved to study law; with that intention he settled in Edinburgh and worked for a few weeks as a copying clerk. An introduction to Dr. Anderson, editor of 'The British Poets,' was the means of his becoming acquainted with the publishers Mundell & Co., for whom he began to do some miscellaneous literary work. This occupation, together with private teaching, enabled him to live, and helped to raise him above the mental depression which Leyden, with an offensiveness that produced a lasting estrangement between Campbell and himself, spoke of as projected suicide. A good deal of Campbell's leisure time during his early days in Edinburgh was spent with Mr. Stirling of Courdale, and it was Miss Stirling's singing that prompted him to write the 'Wounded Hussar.' Other minor poems of this time were the 'Dirge of Wallace,' 'Epistle to Three Ladies,' and 'Lines on revisiting the River Cart.'

Meanwhile Campbell had been busy completing the 'Pleasures of Hope,' which, published by Mundell & Co., 27 April 1799, was instantly popular, owing both to its matter and its style. Its brilliant detached passages surprised readers into overlooking its structural defects. The poem was charged with direct and emphatic interest for thinking men; the attractive touches of description came straight from the writer's own experience, and preserved the resonant metrical neatness expected in the heroic couplet. The striking passage on Poland marks the beginning of an enthusiasm that remained through life, gaining for him many friends

among suffering patriots. His 'Harper' and 'Gilderoy' close this first great literary period of his life.

Campbell meditated following up his success with a national poem to be called 'The Queen of the North,' but though he long had the subject in his mind, he never produced more than unimportant fragments. Meanwhile he went (June 1800) to the continent, settling first at Hamburg. After making the acquaintance of Klopstock here, he went to Ratisbon, where he stayed, in a time of military stress and danger, under the protection of Arbutnot, president of the Benedictine College, to whom he pays a tribute in his impressive ballad the 'Ritter Bann.' A skirmish witnessed from this retreat was Campbell's only experience of active warfare. His letters to his Edinburgh friends at this time are striking pictures of his own state of mind and the political situation. During a short truce he got as far as Munich, returning thence by the Valley of the Iser to Ratisbon, and thereafter, late in the autumn, to Leipzig, Hamburg, and Altona, where he was staying when the battle of Hohenlinden was fought (December 1800). Wintering here he studied hard, and produced a number of his best-known minor poems, several of which he sent for publication to Perry of the 'Morning Chronicle.' Among Irish refugees at Hamburg he had met and deeply sympathised with Anthony MacCann, whose troubles suggested 'The Exile of Erin.' During this sojourn also were produced 'Ye Mariners of England,' written to the tune of 'Ye Gentlemen of England,' a song which he was fond of singing, and 'The Soldier's Dream,' besides several less known but meritorious poems, such as 'Judith,' 'Lines on visiting a Scene in Argyllshire' (in reference to Kirnan), 'The Beech Tree's Petition,' and 'The Name Unknown,' in imitation of Klopstock. A desire to go down the Danube may have suggested (as Dr. Beattie pleasantly fancies) the ballad of 'The Turkish Lady.' The sudden appearance of the English fleet off the Sound (March 1801), indicating the intention of punishing Denmark for her French bias, caused Campbell and other English residents to make an abrupt departure from Altona. The view he had of the Danish batteries as he sailed past in the Royal George suggested to him his strenuous war-song, 'The Battle of the Baltic.'

Landing at Yarmouth, 7 April 1801, Campbell proceeded to London, where through Perry he came to know Lord Holland, and so speedily began to mingle in the best literary society of the metropolis. The death

of his father soon took him to Edinburgh, and we find him (after satisfying the sheriff of Edinburgh that he was not a revolutionary spy) alternating between England and Scotland for about a year. After his mother and sisters were comfortably settled he undertook work for the booksellers in their interests. He spent a good deal of time at the town and country residences of Lord Minto, to whom Dugald Stewart had introduced him, and through Lord Minto his circle of London acquaintance was widened, the Kembles in particular proving very attractive to Campbell. It was during this unsettled time that he undertook a continuation of Hume and Smollett's 'England' (which is of no importance in an estimate of his work), and published together, with a dedication to the Rev. Archibald Alison, his 'Lochiel' and 'Hohenlinden.' The latter (rejected, it is said, by the 'Greenock Advertiser' as 'not up to the editor's standard') he himself was inclined to depreciate, as a mere 'drum and trumpet thing,' but it appealed to Scott's sense of martial dignity, and he was fond of repeating it. Scott says (*Life*, vi. 326) that when he declaimed it to Leyden, he received this criticism:—'Dash it, man, tell the fellow that I hate him, but, dash him, he has written the finest verses that have been published these fifty years.' Campbell's reply, when Scott reported this, was, 'Tell Leyden that I detest him; but I know the value of his critical approbation.'

Satisfied with the success of a reissue of 'The Pleasures of Hope and other Poems,' Campbell married (10 Oct. 1803, misdated September by Dr. Beattie and Campbell himself) Miss Matilda Sinclair, daughter of his mother's cousin, Robert Sinclair, then resident in London, and formerly a wealthy and influential man in Greenock. Declining the offer of a chair at Wilna, Campbell gave himself up to literary work in London, where he remained for the rest of his days. His first child, whom he named Thomas Telford, after his friend the famous engineer, was born in July 1804, and shortly afterwards the family settled at Sydenham, the poet working steadily for his own household as well as for his mother and sisters. His critical and translated work soon marked him out as no ordinary judge of poets and poetry, and when it occurred to him that 'Specimens of the British Poets' was a likely title for a successful book, Sir Walter Scott and others to whom he mentioned it were charmed with the idea. It took some time, however, before the publication of such a work could be arranged for, and then the author's laborious method delayed its appearance after it was expected.

Meanwhile, Campbell began to rise above adverse circumstances. In 1805 his second son, Alison, was born, and in the same year, with Fox and Lords Holland and Minto as prime movers, he received a crown pension of 200*l*. The same year was marked by a very profitable subscription edition of his poems, suggested by Francis Horner. In 1809 'Gertrude of Wyoming' appeared, and, despite manifest shortcomings, its gentle pathos and its general elegance and finish of style obtained for it a warm welcome. It was in a conversation with Washington Irving that Scott (*Life*, iv. 93), speaking of the beauties of 'Gertrude,' gave his famous explanation of Campbell's limited poetical achievement in proportion to his undoubted powers and promise. 'He is afraid,' said he, 'of the shadow that his own fame casts before him.' A new edition of the poem was speedily called for, and appeared, together with the sweet and touching 'O'Connor's Child,' which is probably the most artistic of Campbell's works. In 1810 his son Alison died of scarlet fever, and the poet's correspondence for some time gives evidence of overwhelming grief. After he had rallied, he prepared a course of lectures for the Royal Institution. These lectures on poetry, notwithstanding their technical and archaic character, were a decided success. The scheme was a splendid and comprehensive one, but too vast for one man to complete. It is not surprising, therefore, that a whimsical genius like Campbell should have suddenly broken away from the subject, after having done little more than make a vigorous beginning. Still, detached portions of what he says on Hebrew and Greek verse (in the lectures as rewritten for the 'New Monthly Magazine') have special value, and will always attract students of the art of poetry.

On the fall of Napoleon in 1814, Campbell spent two months in Paris, where he was much affected by what he saw, and made new friends in the elder Schlegel, Baron Cuvier, and others. In 1815 a legacy of over 4,000*l*. fell to him, on the death of Mr. MacArthur Stewart of Ascog, and the legal business connected with the bequest took him to Edinburgh and Glasgow, where he spent a pleasant holiday among old friends. The next two years found him busy with his 'Specimens of the British Poets,' at length in a fair way to be published by Murray. The work, in seven volumes, actually appeared in 1819, when Campbell, by the invitation of Roscoe, was delivering his revised Royal Institution lectures at Liverpool and Birmingham. The essay on poetry which precedes the 'Specimens' is a notable contribution to

criticism, and the lives are succinct, pithy, and fairly accurate, though such a writer is inevitably weak in minor details. He is specially hard on Euphuism, and it is curious that one of his most severe thrusts is made at Vaughan, to whom he probably owes the charming vision of 'the world's grey fathers' in his own 'Rainbow.' The most valuable portions of the essay are those on Milton and Pope, which, together with such concise and lucid writing as the critical sections of the lives of Goldsmith and Cowper, show that Campbell was master of controversial and expository prose. Despite Miss Mitford's merry-making, in one of her letters, over the length of time spent in preparing the 'Specimens,' students cannot but be grateful for them as they stand. The illustrative extracts are not always fortunate, but this is due to the editor's desire for freshness rather than to any lack of taste or judgment.

Subsequently Campbell's literary work was of inferior quality. Colburn (24 May 1820) engaged him to edit the 'New Monthly Magazine,' at a salary of 500*l*. Previous to entering on his duties he spent about six months on the continent. He was at Rotterdam, Bonn (where he was entertained by the Schlegels and others), Ratisbon, and Vienna, and was back in London in November. To be nearer his work he left Sydenham with regret, and settled in London. The insanity of his surviving child, which suddenly became manifest at this time, was a grievous blow to him. His 'Theodric,' an unequal and extravagant domestic tale, appeared in November 1824, and about the same time he began to agitate for a London university, the conception of which had occurred to him on his late continental tour. To forward this scheme he paid (September 1825) a special visit to the university of Berlin. His plans were taken up and matured by Brougham, Hume, and others, and he was fond of recurring to the accomplished fact of the London University as 'the only important event in his life's little history.' His interest in education and his eminence as an author were recognised by the students of Glasgow University, who elected him lord rector three times in succession (1826-9), the third time over no less formidable a rival than Sir Walter Scott. Mrs. Campbell's death, in 1828, was an incalculable loss to an unmethodical man like Campbell, who was never quite himself afterwards. As an editor of a periodical he was not a success (although he secured the assistance of eminent writers), and but for the strenuous action of his coadjutor, Cyrus Redding, and the gentle, orderly assistance of Mrs. Campbell, it is possible that he would not have

retained the position nearly so long as he did. As it was, he resigned in 1830, having notably proved, as Mr. S. C. Hall says ('Retrospect,' i. 314), that 'though a great man he was utterly unfit to be an editor.' His own contributions to the 'New Monthly Magazine' during his editorship, besides the re-written 'Lectures on Poetry,' included some minor poems of merit, such as the 'Rain-bow,' 'The Brave Roland,' 'The Last Man' (a weird and impressive fancy well sustained), 'Reullura,' 'Ritter Bann,' 'Navarino,' the 'Heligoland Death-Boat,' &c. There were also papers on the proposed London University, letters to the Glasgow students, very suggestive remarks on Shakespeare's sonnets, and a review of Moore's 'Life of Byron' with a chivalrous defence of Lady Byron.

In 1831-2 Campbell edited the 'Metropolitan Magazine,' which was a failure. It was in 1832 that he founded the Polish Association, designed to keep the British mind alive to Polish interests. In 1834 he revisited Paris, and with love of travel strongly on him passed to Algiers, whence he sent to the 'New Monthly Magazine' his 'Letters from the South,' issued in two volumes by Colburn in 1837. Campbell returned to London in 1835, and for several years did work that did not add to his reputation. Between 1834 and 1842 he wrote his 'Life of Mrs. Siddons,' which lacks symmetry, though containing some acute and judicious remarks on several of Shakespeare's plays; the 'Life of Petrarch,' devoid of research and freshness; and a slender life of Shakespeare prefixed to an edition of the works published by Moxon. In 1840 Campbell took the house 8 Victoria Square, Pimlico, where he meant to spend the remainder of his days with his niece, Miss Mary Campbell, for companion. In 1842 he published the 'Pilgrim of Glencoe,' together with some minor pieces, notably the 'Child and Hind,' 'Song of the Colonists,' and 'Moonlight.' The latter were favourably received, but the cold reception of the 'Pilgrim' disappointed and vexed the poet. A work on Frederick the Great, in four volumes, published about this time, is ostensibly edited by Campbell, whose name is also associated with an anonymous 'History of our own Times' (1843). His health was rapidly failing, and in June 1843 he gave a farewell party to his friends in town, having resolved to go to Boulogne for change. He paid a short visit to London in the autumn to look after his affairs, and then, returning to Boulogne, passed a weary and painful time till he died, 15 June 1844. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, near the tombs of

Addison, Goldsmith, and Sheridan, and a Polish noble in the funeral cortège scattered upon his coffin a handful of earth from the grave of Kosciusko.

[Beattie's Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell; Redding's Literary Reminiscences and Memoirs of Thomas Campbell, and Fifty Years' Recollections, ii. iv-viii, iii. i-vi; Rev. W. A. Hill's Campbell's Poetical Works with Biographical Sketch; Chambers's Eminent Scotsmen (supplementary volume); Lockhart's Life of Scott, i. 341, ii. 45, 307, 352, iii. 396, iv. 87, 93, vi. 325, 396; Moore's Life and Works of Byron, ii. 293, iii. 9, 109, iv. 311, v. 69, vii. 271, xv. 87, xvi. 123; Bates's Maclise Portrait Gallery, p. 4; Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, 8 and 15 Feb. 1845; Leigh Hunt's Autobiography; Hazlitt's Spirit of the Age.] T. B.

**CAMPBELL, THOMAS** (1790-1858), sculptor, was born in Edinburgh on 1 May 1790. His parents were in humble circumstances, and he had no education; but on being apprenticed to a marble-cutter he displayed intelligence and skill, and was enabled to come to London to study at the Royal Academy. In 1818 he received assistance which enabled him to visit Rome, and there he devoted himself to sculpture, associating chiefly with Italian and German artists. One of his first productions was a seated statue of the Princess Pauline Borghese (now at Chatsworth). In 1827 he sent from Rome his first work for exhibition in the Royal Academy—a bust of a lady; and in 1828, a group representing 'Cupid instructed by Venus to assume the form of Ascanius.' In 1830 he returned to England, having large commissions to execute there, but he still frequently visited Rome, where he retained his studio. During the last twenty-five years of his life he resided in London, and exhibited various works at the Academy (among others, a marble statue of Psyche) up to 1857, though his exhibitions were less frequent during the latter part of this period. He died in London on 4 Feb. 1858, having gained a considerable reputation and acquired a large property by his labours.

Campbell was a painstaking and careful sculptor. He worked both in bronze and marble, devoting himself chiefly to busts (some of which were colossal) and to portrait statues, though he also executed imaginative statues and groups. In addition to his works already referred to may be mentioned: (1) A marble bust of Lord George Bentinck, preserved in the National Portrait Gallery at South Kensington; (2) the monument to the Duchess of Buccleuch at Boughton; (3) a statue of Queen Victoria, at Windsor Castle;

(4) the monument of Sir William Hoste in St. Paul's Cathedral; (5) a marble statue of the Duke of Wellington, made for Dalkeith Palace, the seat of the Duke of Buccleuch, near Edinburgh; and (6) a statue of a Shepherd Boy in a Phrygian Cap (probably Gany-mede): this statue was executed at Rome in 1821, and was deposited at Rossie Priory, the seat of Lord Kinnaird, near Dundee.

[Redgrave's Dictionary of Artists; Nagler's Künstler-Lexikon; Annual Register, 1858, c. 389; G. Scharf's Cat. of Nat. Portrait Gall.; Waagen's Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain (1857), pp. 435, 445.] W. W.

**CAMPBELL, WILLIAM, D.D.** (d. 1805), Irish presbyterian minister, was the son of Robert Campbell, merchant, of Newry. In 1819 it is said that there were about fifteen hundred living descendants of his grandmother, who died in 1727. Campbell was educated at Glasgow, where he matriculated in November 1744, and was licensed by Armagh presbytery in 1750. He became tutor in the Bagwell family of Clonmel, and in this capacity spent seven years in France. He got into prison in Paris, through refusing to genuflect while the host was passing. Returning to Ireland in 1758 he married his cousin, Jane Carlile of Newry, and in 1759 was ordained minister of the non-subscribing presbyterians at Antrim. In November 1764 he became minister of First Armagh, in connection with the general synod, his successor at Antrim being William Bryson [q. v.] He was moderator of synod in 1773 at Lurgan. In 1782 the rule of 1705, requiring subscription before ordination, was practically repealed on his motion. An unpublished pamphlet, addressed to Hussey Burgh in the same year, proposed a scheme for a northern university which, though considered by several governments, ultimately failed through Grattan's disapproval. In 1783 he exerted himself to procure an addition to the *regium donum* (then yielding only 9l. a year to each minister), and obtained an increase of 1,000l. a year to the grant. But the influence of Lord Hillsborough went strongly against the general synod, for political reasons; by his advice a grant of *regium donum* (500l. a year) was for the first time given to the secession church. However, the synod acknowledged Campbell's efforts by a presentation of plate in 1784. His *alma mater* gave him the degree of D.D. in the same year. In 1786 he entered into controversy with Richard Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, who had maintained that none but episcopalians could be loyal to the constitution. Woodward answered Campbell, omitting to answer a stronger attack by Samuel

Barber [q. v.] Campbell wrote against the reply with calmness and learning. Meanwhile, his eyesight had failed, and he was nearly blind. He had earned the gratitude of his denomination, but was paid this time only with addresses of congratulation. Applying in 1788 for the post of synod's agent for the *regium donum*, he was defeated by a large majority in favour of Robert Black [q. v.] Campbell, much mortified, determined to leave the north of Ireland. On 14 Sept. 1789 he resigned Armagh, and spent the remainder of his days in charge of the small flock at Clonmel, Tipperary. He is said to have shone more in conversation than in the pulpit, and to have possessed much scientific knowledge and a remarkable memory. He was probably an Arian, certainly a strong opponent of subscription. He died on 17 Nov. 1805, leaving three surviving children out of a family of eleven. His successor at Clonmel was James Worrall. Campbell published: 1. 'The Presence of Christ with his church,' &c., Belfast, 1774, 8vo (synodical sermon at Antrim on 28 June, from Matt. xxviii. 20). 2. 'A Vindication of the Principles and Character of the Presbyterians in Ireland; addressed to the Bishop of Cloyne, &c., Dublin, 1787, 12mo (four editions). 3. 'An Examination of the Bishop of Cloyne's Defence,' &c. Belfast, 1788, 12mo. He left a manuscript history of presbyterianism in Ireland of some value. It refers for further particulars to other manuscripts not preserved.

[Glasgow Matriculation Book; Reid's Hist. Presb. Church in Ireland (Killen) (1867), iii. 353 seq., 362 seq.; Witherow's Hist. and Lit. Mem. of Presb. in Ireland (2nd ser. 1880), 173 seq.] A. G.

**CAMPBELL, WILLIELMA, VISCOUNTESS GLENORCHY** (1741-1786), was the younger daughter of William Maxwell of Preston in the stewardry of Kirkcudbright, and his wife, Elizabeth Hairstones of Craig in the same county. Some years after the death of Mr. Maxwell, which took place in 1741, her mother married Lord Alva, a senator of the College of Justice, and afterwards lord justice clerk, under whose roof Willielma Campbell grew up. In the spring of 1761 her elder sister was married to William, seventeenth earl of Sutherland, and in the autumn of the same year she herself was married to John, lord viscount Glenorchy, eldest son of the third earl of Breadalbane. Both sisters were celebrated for their beauty and accomplishments, and their mother's ambition for high marriages was successful; but both her sons-in-law died early, Lord and Lady Sutherland dying at Bath at the

same time, leaving but one child, a daughter, while Lady Glenorchy, who became a widow in 1771, was childless. About her twenty-third year Lady Glenorchy came under religious impressions of the deepest kind, in a large degree through the instrumentality of the family of Sir Rowland Hill of Hawkstone in Shropshire, in whose neighbourhood Lord Glenorchy's maternal estate of Sugnal was situated. She carried out her convictions with great consistency and earnestness. From her high rank Lady Glenorchy's name naturally became a household word and a centre of encouragement among all like-minded persons in Scotland, and was perpetuated by her building a chapel in Edinburgh, which was called after her, for religious worship such as she approved. Other chapels were built by her in Carlisle, Matlock, and at Strathfillan, on the Breadalbane property. By her will she left large sums to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, chiefly for the maintenance of schools. Lady Glenorchy was so absorbed with the spiritual bearings of life that its more human aspects were somewhat overlooked. Her intense sincerity and consistency won the admiration, though hardly the sympathy, both of her husband, Lord Glenorchy, and her father-in-law, Lord Breadalbane.

[Life of Viscountess Glenorchy, by T. S. Jones, D.D., minister of her chapel, Edinburgh; Gardner's Christian Females.] W. G. B.

**CAMPDEN, VISCOUNTS.** [See HICKS, BAPTISTE, first Viscount, 1551-1629; NOEL, EDWARD, second Viscount, 1582-1643; NOEL, BAPTIST, third Viscount, 1611-1682.]

**CAMPEGGIO, LORENZO** (1472-1539), cardinal, and, although a foreigner, bishop of Salisbury, occupied on his second mission to this country the utterly unprecedented position of a judge, before whom a king of England consented to sue in person. He was born in 1472 of a noble Bolognese family, and at nineteen years of age devoted himself to the study of imperial law at Pavia and Bologna, along with his own father, Giovanni Campeggio, whose works upon that subject were long held in considerable repute. Early in life he married, and had a son born in 1504, who was made a cardinal by Julius III in 1551. But after his wife's death he took holy orders, and became bishop of Feltri and auditor of the rota at Rome. He was sent by Leo X on a mission to the Emperor Maximilian, and while so engaged was created a cardinal, in his absence, in 1517. Next year he was sent to England as legate to incite Henry VIII to unite with other princes in a crusade against the Turks. He was detained some time at Calais before being allowed to cross,

Henry VIII having insisted with the pope that his favourite, Cardinal Wolsey, should be invested with equal legatine functions before he landed. He was, however, very well received, and a few years later (1524) Henry VIII gave him, or allowed him to obtain by papal bull, the bishopric of Salisbury. About the same time he was made archbishop of Bologna. He held also at various times several other Italian bishoprics. He was also sent to Germany in 1524, and presided at the diet at Ratisbon, where a vain attempt was made to check the Lutheran movement. In 1527 he was besieged with Pope Clement VII at Rome, in the castle of St. Angelo. Next year he was sent into England on his most celebrated mission, in which Wolsey was again joined with him as legate, to hear the divorce suit of Henry VIII against Catherine of Arragon. On this occasion he suffered much, both physically and mentally. He was severely afflicted with gout, and had to be carried about in a litter; and while he was pledged to the pope in private not to deliver judgment without referring the matter to Rome, he was pressed by Wolsey to proceed without delay. Some of his ciphered despatches from London at this time have been deciphered within the last few years, and show a very creditable determination on his part not to be made the instrument of injustice, whatever might be the cost to himself. The cause, as is well known, was revoked to Rome, and so his mission terminated. On leaving the kingdom he was treated with singular discourtesy by the officers of customs, who insisted on searching his baggage, and on his complaining to the king, it was clear that the insult was premeditated, and was really a petty-minded indication of the royal displeasure. Five years later, in 1534, he was deprived of the bishopric of Salisbury by act of parliament, on the ground that he was an alien and non-resident, though the king had certainly never expected him to keep residence when he gave him the bishopric. He died at Rome in 1539.

[Ciacconi Vitæ Pontificum; Brewer's Reign of Henry VIII.] J. G.

**CAMPION, EDMUND** (1540-1581), jesuit, son of a citizen and bookseller of London, was born there on 25 Jan. 1539-1540. When he was nine or ten years old, his parents wished to apprentice him to a merchant, but some members of one of the London companies—probably that of the Grocers—having become acquainted with the 'sharp and pregnant wit' which he had shown from his childhood, induced their guild to

undertake to maintain him at their common charges 'to the study of learning.' He was sent first to some London grammar school, and afterwards to Christ's Hospital. He always 'bore away the game in all contentions of learning proposed by the schools of London,' among which there appears to have been, at that period, a common *concursus*, as if they had formed a university. His 'championship' was acknowledged, and when Queen Mary, on her solemn entry into London, had to pass by St. Paul's School, Campion, as the representative of London scholarship, was brought from Newgate Street to make the requisite harangue. When Sir Thomas White founded St. John's College, Oxford, the Grocers' Company arranged with him to admit Campion as a scholar, 'which he did most willingly, after he was informed of his towardliness and virtue.' The company gave him an exhibition for his maintenance at the university. In 1557, when St. John's College was increased, Campion became junior fellow, for the founder had conceived a special affection for him. He was admitted to the degree of B.A. on 20 Nov. 1561 (BOASE, *Register of the Univ. of Oxford*, i. 244). So greatly admired was he at Oxford for his grace of eloquence that young men imitated not only his phrases but his gait, and revered him as a second Cicero. He was chosen to deliver the oration at the reinterment at Oxford of Amy Robsart, the murdered wife of Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, and the funeral discourse on Sir Thomas White, the founder of St. John's College, Oxford, and of Merchant Taylors' School, London (FOLEY, *Records*, vii. 112).

The change of religion effected soon after the accession of Queen Elizabeth was not immediately felt at Oxford, and no oath was required of Campion till he graduated as M.A. Wood relates that he 'took the degree of master of arts in 1564, and was junior of the act celebrated on the 19 of Feb. the same year; at which time speaking one or more admirable orations, to the envy of his contemporaries, caused one of them [Tobie Mathew], who was afterwards an archbishop, to say that, rather than he would omit an opportunity to show his parts, and "dominare in una atque altera coniunctura," did take the oath against the pope's supremacy, and against his conscience' (*Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 473). The precise date of his inception as M.A. is 19 Feb. 1564-5 (BOASE, *Register of the Univ. of Oxford*, i. 144). Father Parsons says that Campion 'was always a sound catholic in his heart, and utterly condemned all the form and substance of the queen and council's new religion; and yet the sugared words

of the great folks, especially of the queen, joined with pregnant hopes of speedy and great preferments, so enticed him that he knew not which way to turn.'

In 1566 Queen Elizabeth visited Oxford, and Campion welcomed her in the name of the university. He was also respondent in a Latin disputation held before her majesty. The queen expressed her admiration of Campion's eloquence, and commended him particularly to Dudley, who willingly undertook to patronise the scholar. For four years from this time the Earl of Leicester showed him no little kindness, and Cecil also took great interest in him. Campion did not reside at Oxford long enough to take his doctor's degree, but he was made junior proctor (1568), and he supplicated for the degree of B.D. on 23 March 1568-9 (BOASE, *Register*, i. 244). The problem of his life now was how he could remain in the established church and yet hold all the catholic doctrines. Edward Cheyney, bishop of Gloucester [q. v.], who had retained a good deal of the old faith, sympathised with Campion's aspirations and perplexities. Campion yielded to the bishop's persuasions and suffered himself to be ordained deacon, but almost immediately afterwards 'he took a remorse of conscience and detestation of mind.' On the termination of his proctorial office he left Oxford (1 Aug. 1569) and proceeded to Ireland. A project was then afoot for restoring the old Dublin University founded by Pope John XXI, but for some years extinct. The chief mover in this restoration was the recorder of Dublin and speaker of the House of Commons, James Stanihurst, the father of one of Campion's most distinguished pupils. In his house Campion remained for sometime, leading a kind of monastic life, and waiting for the opening of the new university. The scheme fell through, however, and the chief cause of its failure was the secret hostility of the government to Stanihurst and the lord deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, who were most actively concerned in it, and to Campion, who was to have the principal share in its direction. Campion was distrusted as a papist and orders were given for his arrest, but for two or three months he eluded the pursuit of the pursuivants, lurking in the houses of his friends, and working at a 'History of Ireland,' which is hardly so much a serious history as a pamphlet written to prove that education is the only means of taming the Irish. At last he escaped to England, disguised as a lacquey, and reached London in time to witness the trial of Dr. Storey, who was executed in June 1571. What he heard at this trial made him resolve to repair to the English college at Douay, where he made an

open recantation of protestantism, completed his course of scholastic theology, was ordained sub-deacon, and eventually was promoted to the degree of B.D. (*Diaries of the English College, Douay*, 10). After the lapse of little more than a year he resolved to go on foot to Rome as a pilgrim, and to become a jesuit. He arrived there in the autumn of 1572, a few days before the death of St. Francis Borgia, third general of the Society of Jesus. A successor to the saint was not chosen till April 1573, and meanwhile Campion had to wait. He was the first postulant admitted by the new general, Father Mercurianus, and soon afterwards he was sent to Prague in Bohemia and Brünn in Moravia to pass his novitiate. In 1578 he was ordained deacon and priest by the archbishop of Prague.

After considerable hesitation the Society of Jesus, at the instance of Dr. Allen, determined to take part in the English mission. Campion and Parsons were the two jesuits first chosen for this perilous undertaking, and various indulgences and faculties were granted to them by the pope. The band of missionaries that assembled in Rome comprised Dr. Goldwell, bishop of St. Asaph, several secular priests, a few laymen, the two jesuits Campion and Parsons, and a lay brother of the society named Ralph Emerson. To assist them in their labours a catholic association had been organised in England by George Gilbert, a young man of property, who had been converted by Father Parsons in Rome in 1579. At Rheims Dr. Goldwell was taken ill, and he was afterwards recalled by the pope. It was at this city that the rest of the party broke up, to find their way across to England by different routes. Campion, Parsons, and Emerson were to go by way of St. Omer, Calais, and Dover. Parsons crossed first, disguised as a captain returning from the Low Countries, and reached London without trouble. Campion and Emerson followed. They were arrested on landing at Dover (25 June 1580), and taken before the mayor, but they were dismissed after a short detention, and the next day were welcomed by the association in London, where Gilbert and the rest clothed and armed Campion like a gentleman and furnished him with a horse.

His preaching in the secret assemblies of catholics produced such an effect that the faithful and the wavering soon rushed to him in crowds. The government were informed of what was going on, and made every effort to entrap him. Several priests were captured and many catholics were thrown into prison. The danger of remaining in London soon became too pressing to be disregarded; and so,

after a council had been held, the priests who were still at liberty went away to different parts of the kingdom.

At this period the catholics of England had been gradually divided into two bands: the temporisers or schismatics who kept the faith but frequented the churches, and the avowed catholics who braved fine and imprisonment and refused to go to church. The jesuits were sent to bid the former class to separate themselves from the communion of the protestants and to forbear going to their churches. They came to separate what the queen wanted to unite, and accordingly she issued her proclamations warning the people against them as enemies of herself and of church and state. The pursuit was much hotter after Campion than after any of his brethren. Once when the pursuivants came upon him suddenly at the house of a gentleman in Lancashire, a maid-servant, to make them think he was merely one of the retainers, affected to be angry with him and pushed him into a pond. All this while he was engaged in writing his book against the protestants known as the '*Decem Rationes*'. It was finished about Easter 1581, and sent to London for the approval of Parsons, who had a private printing-press. A number of copies were got ready for the commencement at Oxford in June; and when the audience assembled in St. Mary's Church, they found the benches strewn with the books. The title-page of the treatise bore the imprint of Douay, but the government were not long in ascertaining, by the examination of experts, that the work had been done in England.

Campion had come to London while his book was passing through the press to superintend the correction of the sheets, but the danger was now so imminent that Parsons ordered him away into Norfolk in company with Brother Ralph Emerson. The two fathers rode out of the city together at daylight on 12 July, and after an affectionate farewell parted company, the one going to the north and the other back into the town.

Through the treachery of George Eliot, formerly steward to Mr. Roper in Kent, and latterly a servant of the widow of Sir William Petre, Campion and two other priests were captured in a gentleman's house at Lyford in Berkshire (17 July 1581). Seven laymen were arrested at the same time. Campion and his companions were brought to London and committed to the Tower, making their entry into the city through a hooting mob, Campion leading the procession with his elbows tied behind him, his hands tied in front, his feet fastened under his horse's belly, and a



paper stuck in his hat, inscribed 'Campion, the seditious jesuit.' The governor of the Tower, Sir Owen Hopton, at first put Campion in the narrow dungeon known as 'Little Ease.' He remained there until the fourth day (25 July), when, with great secrecy, he was conducted to the house of the Earl of Leicester. There he was received by Leicester, the Earl of Bedford, and two secretaries of state, with all honour and courtesy. They told him they had sent for him to know the plain truth, why he and Parsons had come into England, and what commission they brought from Rome. He gave them a truthful account of all passages, and then answered their questions, one by one, with such readiness that he seemed to have convinced them his only purpose was the propagation of the catholic faith and the salvation of souls; so that, seeing, as they said, he had done ill with good intentions, they pitied him, especially the two earls, who had known and admired him in his youth in London and in Oxford. They told him that they found no fault with him, except that he was a papist—"which," he replied, 'is my greatest glory;' but he spoke with such modesty and generosity that Dudley sent word to Hopton to give him better accommodation, and to treat him more amiably. Nothing more was known at the time concerning this interview; but at the trial it came out that the queen herself was present, that she asked Campion whether he thought her really queen of England; to which he replied that he acknowledged her highness not only as his queen, but also as his most lawful governess. Whereupon her majesty with great courtesy offered him his life, his liberty, riches, and honours; but under conditions which he could not in conscience accept (SIMPSON, *Biography of Campion*, 240, 296).

After this Hopton treated his prisoner less harshly, as he hoped to be able to induce him to recant, and reports were circulated among the public that the jesuit would shortly make a solemn retraction at St. Paul's Cross and burn his own book with his own hands. But Campion disdainfully rejected the proposal that he should go over to the protestant church, and when he had been a week in the Tower Hopton reverted to the severe method of treatment, with the consent of the privy council, who gave orders that Campion should be examined under torture. There is no authentic account of what he said on the first two occasions when he was placed upon the rack (30 July and 6 Aug.) It seems that he really revealed nothing of moment, and his biographer, Mr. Simpson, after a very minute examination of all the

facts, arrives at the conclusion that Campion's confessions were merely his acknowledgment of the truth of matters which he perceived were already known to his examiners (*Biography*, 250). However, it was given out that he had betrayed his friends and divulged the names of the gentlemen who harboured him. A great many catholic gentlemen were arrested in various parts of the country, in consequence, it was alleged, of Campion's confessions. For a considerable time the report of Campion's weakness and even treachery was universally credited among catholics as well as protestants, but ultimately the suspicion that Campion's 'confessions' were forgeries was turned almost into a certainty by the constant refusal of the council to confront him with those whom he was said to have accused. On 29 Oct. the council gave instructions that Campion and others should again be 'put into the rack,' and this order was executed with all severity.

To make Campion appear intellectually contemptible, and to counteract the effect produced by his 'Decem Rationes,' the government deemed it expedient to grant his demand for a public disputation. Accordingly a number of the most able protestant divines, including Nowel, dean of St. Paul's, Dr. William Fulke, Roger Goaden, Dr. Walker, and William Charke, were appointed to meet him and discuss the chief points of controversy. They had all the time they wanted for preparation and free access to libraries, whereas Campion was not informed of the arrangement until an hour or two before the conference began. Then he was placed in the middle of the chapel in the Tower, without books, and without even a table to lean upon. The disputation was afterwards resumed in Hopton's hall, and four conferences were held altogether. Each day's conference began at eight and continued till eleven, and was renewed in the afternoon from two till five. A catholic who was present at the first conference has recorded that he noticed Campion's sickly face and his mental weariness—"worn with the rack, his memory destroyed, and his force of mind almost extinguished." 'Yet,' he adds, 'I heard Father Edmund reply to the subtleties of the adversaries so easily and readily, and bear so patiently all their contumely, abuse, derision, and jokes, that the greatest part of the audience, even the heretics who had persecuted him, admired him exceedingly.' After the fourth discussion the council ordered the conferences to be discontinued. One of the converts made by Campion at the conferences was Philip Howard, earl of Arundel.

Walsingham and the other members of

the privy council who wished to put him to death now resolved to exhibit him as a traitor. On 31 Oct. he was for the third time placed upon the rack, and tortured more cruelly than ever, but not a single incriminating word could be extorted from him. It was then proposed to indict him for having on a certain day in Oxfordshire traitorously pretended to have power to absolve her majesty's subjects from their allegiance, and endeavoured to attach them to the obedience of the pope and the religion of the Roman church. It was seen, however, that this would be too plainly a religious prosecution. A plot was therefore forged, and a new indictment drawn up in which it was pretended that Campion, Allen, Morton, Parsons, and thirteen priests and others then in custody, had conspired together at Rome and Rheims to raise a sedition in the realm and dethrone the queen. On this charge Campion, Sherwin, and six others were arraigned at Westminster Hall on 12 Nov. When Campion was called upon, according to custom, to hold up his hand in pleading, his arms were so cruelly wounded by the rack that he could not do so without assistance. The trial was held on the 20th. The principal witnesses for the crown were George Eliot and three hired witnesses named Munday, Sledd, and Caddy, who pretended to have observed the meetings of the conspirators at Rome; but their testimony was so weak, and the answers of Campion were so admirable, that when the jury retired it was generally believed that the verdict must be one of acquittal. However, the prisoners were all found guilty. Hallam says that 'the prosecution was as unfairly conducted, and supported by as slender evidence, as any, perhaps, that can be found in our books' (*Constitutional Hist.* i. 146).

The lord chief justice Wray, addressing the prisoners, asked them what they could say why they should not die. Campion answered: 'It is not our death that ever we feared. But we knew that we were not lords of our own lives, and therefore for want of answer would not be guilty of our own deaths. The only thing that we have now to say is that if our religion do make us traitors we are worthy to be condemned; but otherwise are and have been true subjects as ever the queen had. In condemning us you condemn all your own ancestors—all the ancient priests, bishops, and kings—all that was once the glory of England, the island of saints and the most devoted child of the see of Peter. For what have we taught, however you may qualify it with the odious name of treason, that they did not uniformly teach? To be condemned with these old lights—not of

England only, but of the world—by their degenerate descendants is both gladness and glory to us. God lives; posterity will live; their judgment is not so liable to corruption as that of those who are now going to sentence us to death.' The prisoners were sentenced to be drawn, hanged, and quartered. Then Campion broke forth in a loud hymn of praise, 'Te Deum laudamus,' and Sherwin and others took up the song, 'Hæc est dies quam fecit Dominus; exultemus et lætemur in illâ,' and the rest expressed their contentment and joy, some in one phrase of scripture, some in another; whereby the multitudes in the hall were visibly astonished and affected. The few days that intervened between conviction and death were passed by the prisoners in fasting and other mortifications. The execution was appointed for 1 Dec. 1581. Campion, Sherwin, and Briant were to suffer together at Tyburn. At the place of execution Campion was subjected to a great deal of questioning respecting his alleged treason. Somebody asked him to pray for the queen. While he was doing so the cart was drawn away. Two of the prisoners, Bosgrave andorton, were not executed.

'All writers,' observes Wood, 'whether protestant or popish, say that he was a man of admirable parts, an eloquent orator, a subtle philosopher and disputant, and an exact preacher, whether in English or Latin tongue, of a sweet disposition, and a well-polished man. A certain writer (Dr. Thomas Fuller) saith, he was of a sweet nature, constantly carrying about him the charms of a plausible behaviour, of a fluent tongue, and good parts. And another (Richard Stanishurst), who was his most beloved friend, saith that he was upright in conscience, deep in judgment, and ripe in eloquence' (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, i. 475).

A minute bibliographical account of his works and of the numerous replies to them is given in the appendix to 'Edmund Campion. A biography. By Richard Simpson' (London, 1867, 8vo), an admirable and exhaustive work. The most ample and correct edition of the 'Decem Rationes, et alia opuscula ejus selecta' was published by P. Silvester Petrasancta at Antwerp, 1631, 12mo, pp. 460. Of the 'History of Ireland,' written in 1569, a manuscript copy, dated 1571, was given by Henry, duke of Norfolk, in 1678, to the library of the College of Arms, London. This work was first printed by Richard Stanishurst in Holinshed's 'Chronicles,' 1587; then by Sir James Ware in his 'History of Ireland,' 1633.

Campion's portrait has been engraved.

[Life by Richard Simpson; and the authorities quoted above.]

T. C.

**CAMPION, GEORGE B.** (1796-1870), water-colour painter, born in 1796, was one of the original members of the New Society (now the Royal Institute) of Painters in Water Colours (1834), and contributed landscapes to the exhibitions of that society and to those of the Society of Artists. Many of his views have been published. He was the author of 'The Adventures of a Chamois Hunter,' and of some papers on German art in the 'Art Journal.' He was for some time drawing-master at the Military Academy, Woolwich. He resided at Munich for some years before his death in 1870. There is a drawing by him of a 'Boy with Rabbits' in the South Kensington Museum.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Bryan's Dict. of Painters (Graves); Graves's Dict. of Artists.] C. M.

**CAMPION, MARIA** (1777-1803). [See POPE.]

**CAMPION, THOMAS** (d. 1620), physician, poet, and musician, has been wrongly stated to be second son of Thomas Campion of Witham, Essex, gent., by Anastace, daughter of John Spittey of Chelmsford. This couple only married in 1597, when the poet and musician was about thirty. Edmund Campion, the jesuit [q. v.], was connected with the Witham family, and one member of it at least fell under suspicion of harbouring the Roman 'missioner,' and suffered in consequence. Campion's connexion with the Witham family is not clear. He certainly was not the Thomas Campion mentioned by Wood as incorporated at Oxford in 1624. That Thomas Campion was of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and he graduated B.A. of that university in 1621. Thomas Campion the musician was, however, educated at Cambridge (cf. CLERKE, *Polimanteia*, 1595). He may have obtained his M.D. degree in some foreign university. It was by no means unusual at this time for young men who abhorred the new oath of supremacy to give themselves to the study of medicine. Campion does not appear to have practised as a physician till somewhat late in his life. He was entered at Gray's Inn in 1586, although before 1595 he withdrew from the society. He was writing English verse in 1593, but appealed first to the public as a poet in 1595, when he printed a small volume entitled 'Thomæ Campiani Poemata,' containing Latin elegiacs and epigrams, which were issued from the press of Richard Field in octavo. No copy seems now accessible. It contained among other trifles a very pretty song which was sung at the elaborate masque performed in Gray's Inn, February 1594-5. The little collection

of 'Poemata' was reprinted in 1619. In 1602 he put forth his 'Observations on the Art of English Poesie,' in which, among other things, he set himself to disparage 'the childish titillation of riming.' The book was answered at once by Daniel in his 'Panegyrike Congratulatory . . . With a Defence of Ryme against a Pamphlet entituled Observations on the Art of English Poesie.' Daniel's answer seems to have been well received, and reached a second edition within the year. In January 1606-7 Campion appears first as 'doctor of phisicke,' and as the 'inventor' of a masque presented before James I at Whitehall on the occasion of Lord Hay's marriage. The merit of the performance evidently consisted in the care taken with the musical part of the performance. Campion had now become an authority in music. Already in 1601 he published 'A Booke of Ayres,' with lyrics by himself of the finest quality. There followed without date, probably in 1613, 'Two Bookes of Ayres,' which were followed about 1617 by 'The Third and Fourth Books of Ayres.' In 1612 Prince Henry died, and Campion thereupon published a collection of 'Songs of Mourning bewailing the untimely death of Prince Henry.' They were issued in folio, the accompaniments being written by a certain 'John Coprario,' whose real name was plain John Cooper. On 14 Feb. 1612-13 the Princess Elizabeth was married to the elector, and Campion was chosen to bring out his curious entertainment known as 'The Lord's Masque,' which was followed in April by the performance of another masque at Caversham House—the seat of Lord Knollys—exhibited before the queen, who was the guest of honour. This masque too seems to have been conspicuous for its elaborate musical apparatus. In December 1613 Campion was once more employed to bring out a masque on the occasion of Lord Somerset's marriage with the divorced Countess of Essex. It was performed on 26 Dec., and was followed next day by Ben Jonson's 'Challenge at the Tilt.' About 1617 Campion brought out 'A new Way of making foure parts in Counterpoint, by a most familiar and infallible rule, with some other Discourses on the Theory of Music.' This work was dedicated to Prince Charles. It is hardly possible that while so much of his time was given up to music and literature (and it is evident that he had become a recognised authority on musical matters), Campion can have devoted himself much to practising in physic. Nevertheless we meet with him once in that capacity when Sir Thomas Monson was in the Tower on a

charge of complicity in the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and 'Dr. Campion, physician,' was allowed to have access to the prisoner 'on matters relating to his health.' This was in January 1616. Next year the Earl of Cumberland, writing to his son, Lord Clifford, suggests that Dr. Campion should be consulted on the subject of a masque which was then preparing. After this we hear no more of him till we find his burial entered in the register of St. Dunstan-in-the-West, London, on 1 March 1619-20. Campion's works (save the treatise on Counterpoint) were collected by Mr. A. H. Bullen in 1889; he seems to have enjoyed a high reputation in his lifetime, and Camden speaks of him in terms of perhaps exaggerated praise. All his books are regarded as very precious by collectors. His lyric gift gives him all but the highest rank among song writers of his time.

[Mr. Bullen's *Introd. to the works of Dr. Thomas Campion*, 1889; *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Early English Books*; Hazlitt's *Handbook of Poetical and Dramatic Literature*; Nichols's *Progresses of Eliz. iii.* 310, 349 et seq.; *Progresses of James I.* ii. 105, 505, 558, 629, 707; Wood's *Fasti*, i. 417; *Visit. of London* (Harl. Soc. 1880), i. 134; *Cal. of State Papers*, Dom. 1611-18, p. 321; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 671; *Grove's Dict. of Music*, sub nom.] A. J.

**CAMPION**, alias **WIGMORE**, **WILLIAM** (1599-1665), jesuit, a native of Herefordshire, entered the Society of Jesus at Watten, near St. Omer, in 1624, and became a professed father in 1640. He was employed on the mission in this country for many years, was rector of St. Francis Xavier's 'college' or district (comprising the Welsh missions) in 1655, and afterwards was appointed rector of the House of Tertiaries, at Ghent, where he died on 28 Sept. 1665. He published anonymously an octavo volume, without place or date, 'On the Catholic Doctrine of Transubstantiation, against Dr. John Cosin,' afterwards bishop of Durham.

[Foley's *Records*, vii. 843; Southwell's *Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu*, 313; Oliver's *Jesuit Collections*, 65; Bucke's *Bibl. des Ecrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1869), i. 1031.] T. C.

**CAMVILLE**, **GERARD DE** (d. 1215?), judge, was son of Richard de Camville, who is mentioned among the leaders and constables of Richard I's fleet in 1190, was appointed joint governor of Cyprus with Robert de Turnham in 1191, and died at the siege of Acre in the same year. The name Camville occurs in the 'Battle Abbey Roll.' By his wife Nicholaa, daughter of Richard de Haia, Gerard de Camville acquired estates in

Normandy and Lincolnshire, and the wardship of Lincoln Castle and the shrievalty of the county, which were hereditary in Nicholaa's family. The marriage probably took place about 1190, as he then obtained a charter from the king in confirmation of his title. During Richard's absence in Palestine he became a decided adherent of John. Longchamp in 1191 removed him from the shrievalty, and attempted to reduce Lincoln Castle; but it was stoutly defended by Nicholaa, Camville himself being with John until the fall of Nottingham and Tickill compelled Longchamp to raise the siege. Camville was excommunicated the same year. On Richard's return in 1194 he was deprived of the wardenship of Lincoln Castle and the shrievalty of the county, and was arraigned by Longchamp at Nottingham on a charge of harbouring robbers and treating the king's writ with contempt. His estates were forfeited, but he recovered them on payment of a fine of 2,000 marks. His wife also paid a fine of 200 marks for liberty to marry her daughter to whomsoever she pleased, provided he was not an enemy to the king. On the accession of John, Camville was reappointed warden of Lincoln Castle and sheriff of the county, and purchased from the king for 1,000 marks the lands of Thomas de Verdun and the wardship of his widow, with liberty to marry her to his son Richard. He was present at Lincoln in 1200 when John received the homage of William of Scotland. In 1205 he was employed in measuring the marsh between Spalding and Tid in Lincolnshire. In 1208-9 he acted as a justice itinerant for Cambridge-shire. He was in attendance on the king in Ireland in 1210. He appears to have died in 1215. His wife survived him, was sheriff of Lincolnshire under John, and, having defended Lincoln Castle against the barons in 1216, was rewarded with a grant of the lands in Lincolnshire which had belonged to the rebel William de Huntingfield, and with the wardenship of Torkeley and Frampton Castle. She was warden of Lincoln Castle and sheriff of the county under Henry III in 1218.

[*Memoriale Walteri de Coventria* (Rolls Ser.); *Hoveden* (Rolls Ser.); *Archæologia*, xxvii. 112; *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen*, Hen. II, and Ric. I (Rolls Ser.); *Dugdale's Baronage*, i. 598, 627; *Rot. Pat.* i. 57, 127; *Rot. de Obl. et Fin.* (Hardy), p. 64; *Ric. Div.* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), p. 30; *Fines* (Hunter), i. 321; *Rot. de Lib. Mis. et Præst.* (Hardy), pp. 145, 153, 203; *Foss's Judges of England*.] J. M. R.

**CAMVILLE**, **THOMAS DE** (d. 1235), judge, third son of William, brother of Gerard de Camville [q. v.], by Albreda, daughter of Geoffrey Marmion, held the manors of Wes-

terham in Kent, and Senefield and Fobbing in Essex. Having taken the side of the barons in the civil war, he was deprived of his estates in 1215, but obtained restitution of them in 1217 on doing homage to Henry III. He acted as a justice in 1229. He died in 1235, leaving a widow named Agnes, and a son Robert, who married a daughter of Hamo de Crevequer.

[Rot. Cane. p. 220; Rot. Claus. i. 243, 325; Dugdale's Orig. p. 43; Dugdale's Baronage, i. 628; Morant's Essex, i. 243; Foss's Judges of England; Royal Letters (Rolls Ser.), ii. 61.]

J. M. R.

CANADA, VISCOUNT. [See ALEXANDER, SIR WILLIAM (1567?-1640).]

CANCELLAR, JAMES (*n.* 1564), theological writer, describes himself as 'one of the Queen's Majesty's most hon. chapel' at the beginning of Mary's reign. Probably he was the James Cancellor who, on 27 July 1554, was admitted as proctor for Hugh Barret, priest, to the mastership of the Hospital of Poor Priests at Canterbury (SOMNER, *Antiq. of Canterbury*, ed. Battely, i. 73). His works are: 1. 'The Pathe of Obedience, righte necessarye for all the King and Queenes Majesties subjectes to reade learne and use their due obediences to the hyghe powers according to thys godlye Treatise,' London [1553], 8vo; dedicated to Queen Mary. 2. 'A Treatise, wherein is declared the pernicious opinions of those obstinate people of Kent,' London, 1553, 8vo. 3. 'Of the Life active and contemplative, entitled The Pearle of Perfection,' London, 1553, 8vo. 4. 'Meditations set forth after the alphabet of the Queens name.' Dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. Printed at the end of the translation by Queen Elizabeth of the 'Meditation' of Margaret, queen of Navarre, London (H. Denham), 24mo. 5. 'An Alphabet of Prayers,' London, 1564, 1576, 16mo. In this alphabet 'many prayers have the first letter of them in alphabetical order; and the initial letter of others form his patron's name, Robert Dudley.'

[Maunsell's Cat. of English Printed Bookes, 28, 84; Addit. MS. 5865, f. 113; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 149; Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 566, 850, 948, 1572; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 365.] T. C.

CANDIDUS, HUGH. [See HUGH, *n.* 1180.]

CANDISH. [See CAVENDISH.]

CANDLER, ANN (1740-1814), poetess, 'The Suffolk Cottager,' born at Yoxford, Suffolk, 18 Nov. 1740, was one of the children

of William More, a working glover of Yoxford. Her mother was a daughter of Thomas Holder of Woodbridge, the surveyor of the window-lights for that part of the county. In 1750 her father removed to Ipswich, where his wife died in 1751. Ann taught herself to read and write, and studied all accessible travels, plays, and romances. In 1762 she married Candler, a cottager of Sproughton, a village about three miles out of Ipswich. From 1763 to 1766 Candler served in the militia (*Poetical Attempts*, p. 5), and this service, combined with the man's drinking habits, kept Ann and her growing family poor. In 1777 Candler enlisted in the line; Ann was forced to put four of her six children into the workhouse, and was herself upon a sick bed for eleven weeks. In 1780, after a brief visit to her husband in London (*ib.* p. 10), she took refuge in Tattingstone workhouse, where she gave birth to twin sons on 20 March 1781; she wrote one of her poems on their deaths a few weeks after. In 1783, when Candler came back discharged, she joined him for a time; but illness made them both return to the workhouse, whence Candler dismissed himself in six months, and Ann never saw him again. Staying in the workhouse she set to work upon the little poems by which she is known. The 'Ipswich Journal' published one in March 1785, 'On the Death of a Most Benevolent Gentleman' (Metcalf Russell of Sproughton); she wrote one in 1787, 'To the Inhabitants of Yoxford'; one in 1788 to a lady who had befriended her, with the title 'An Invitation to Spring,' and another spring song to the same lady in 1789. The 'Ipswich Journal' (17 Sept. 1814) ascribes the following poems also to her: 'A Paraphrase of the 5th chap. of the 2nd Book of Kings;' the 'History of Joseph, in an Address to a Young Man;' and the 'Life of Elijah the Prophet,' which probably appeared in that journal from 1790 onward, and remain uncollected. By 1800 it was proposed to publish a little volume of Ann Candler's work by subscription; and by 24 May 1802 she was under a roof of her own at Copdock, just by Sproughton, near a married daughter. Her book was published at Ipswich in 1803, 8vo. She died on 6 Sept. 1814, at Holton, Suffolk, aged 74 (*Ipswich Journal*, 17 Sept. 1814).

[Short Narrative preceding her *Poetical Attempts*, pp. 2-6, 8, 9, 11, 13; *Ipswich Journal*, 17 Sept. 1814.] J. H.

CANDLISH, ROBERT SMITH, D.D. (1806-1873), preacher and theologian, was born in 1806 at Edinburgh, where his father, James Candlish, M.A., was a medical teacher.

The family was connected with Ayrshire, and James Candlish, who was born in the same year with Robert Burns, was an intimate friend of the poet. Writing of him to Peter Hill, bookseller, Edinburgh, Burns called him 'Candlish, the earliest friend, except my only brother, whom I have on earth, and one of the worthiest fellows that ever any man called by the name of friend.' The wife of James Candlish was Jane Smith, one of the six belles of Mauchline celebrated in 1784 in one of Burns's earliest poems. Robert Candlish's father died when he was but five weeks old, and the care of the family was thrown on his mother, a woman of great excellence and force of character, who, though in the narrowest circumstances, contrived to give her two sons a university education, and have them trained, the elder for the medical profession and the younger for the ministry. James Candlish, the elder brother, a young man of the highest talent and character, died in 1829, just as he had been appointed to the chair of surgery in Anderson's College, Glasgow. Robert Candlish was never sent to school, receiving all his early instruction from his mother, sister, and brother. At the university of Glasgow he was a distinguished student, and among his intimate friends was known for his general scholarship, his subtlety in argument, and his generosity and straightforwardness of character. He was fond of open-air life, indulging in many rambles with his friends.

His first appointment, as tutor at Eton to Sir Hugh H. Campbell of Marchmont, was the result of an application to some of the professors for 'the most able young man they could recommend.' After nearly two years he returned to Glasgow, was licensed as a probationer, and served for about four or five years as assistant first in a Glasgow church, then in the beautiful parish of Bonhill, near Loch Lomond. About the end of 1833, his great gift as a preacher having become known to a select few, he was appointed assistant to the minister of St. George's, Edinburgh, the most influential congregation in that city. On the death of the former incumbent, within a very short time of his becoming assistant, he was appointed minister, his remarkable ability as a preacher being now most cordially recognised. For four or five years he confined himself to the work of his congregation and parish, with such occasional services as so distinguished a preacher was invited to give.

In 1839 he was led to throw himself into the momentous conflict with the civil courts which had sprung out of the passing of the veto law by the general assembly in 1834,

recognising a right on the part of the people to have an influential voice in the appointment of their ministers, which law of the church the civil courts declared to be *ultra vires*. Candlish was a member of the general assembly of 1839, and towards the close of a long discussion, when three motions were before the house, rose from an obscure place and delivered a speech of such eloquence as placed him at once in the front rank of debaters. A few months later it fell to him, at the request of his friends, to propose a motion in the commission of assembly for suspending seven ministers of the presbytery of Strathbogie, who in the case of Marnoch had disregarded the injunction of the church and obeyed that of the civil courts. The occasion was one of supreme importance; it was throwing down the gauntlet to the court of session, and proclaiming a war in which one or other of the parties must be defeated. Even among those who were most opposed to the policy advocated by Candlish there was no difference of opinion as to the profound ability with which he supported his motion. The majority of the general assembly persistently adhered to the policy thus initiated in all the subsequent stages of the controversy. In 1843 that party, finding itself unable to longer maintain the position of an established church, withdrew from its connection with the state, and formed the Free church of Scotland.

The principles on which Candlish took his stand and which he sought to elucidate and maintain were two—the right of the people of Scotland, confirmed by ancient statutes, to an effective voice in the appointment of their ministers; and the independent jurisdiction of the church in matters spiritual—both of which principles, it was held, the civil courts had set aside. In regard to the latter, it has been pointed out by Sir Henry W. Moncreiff, in his sketch of his friend in 'Disruption Worthies,' that in reply to the common charge against the church that she claimed to be the sole judge of what was civil and what was spiritual, Candlish maintained, first, that whoever should make such a claim would trample under foot all liberties, civil and ecclesiastical, and establish an intolerable despotism; second, if such a claim should be made by a church, that church would necessarily be assuming an authority in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical; third, that the case was the same when the claim was made by the court of session; the claim would extinguish all liberty. The view of what should be done in cases of conflicting jurisdiction, enunciated by Candlish and maintained by his friends during the con-

troversy, was, that in such a case the civil courts should deal exclusively with the civil bearings of the question, and the spiritual courts with the spiritual; that neither should coerce the other in its own sphere; and that therefore it was utterly wrong for the court of session to attempt, as it was doing, to control the spiritual proceedings of the church; it ought to confine itself wholly to civil effects.

Candlish had just begun to distinguish himself in debate, when, at his suggestion, a very important step was taken, which ultimately had a great effect in consolidating and extending the movement. It had been resolved to establish an Edinburgh newspaper (the 'Witness'), devoted to the interests of the church, and when an editor came to be proposed, Candlish recommended Hugh Miller of Cromarty, of whom he had formed a high opinion from a pamphlet ('Letter to Lord Brougham') on the church question recently published. Miller had but recently ceased to be a working mason, and as he was a highlander, and quite unpractised in newspaper work, his appointment was a somewhat perilous experiment, but with his strong intuitive perception and his usual daring Candlish was willing to commit the paper to his hands. The arrangement was no sooner made than its success appeared. The 'Witness' was for many years one of the most powerful engines the press ever supplied for any cause.

Candlish for the next few years was always more or less engrossed with the great controversy, constantly aiding in counsel at its several stages, expounding and enforcing his views at many public meetings, and contributing in a great degree to the popularity of the cause. He at the same time carried on the work of his congregation and parish, interested himself in church work generally, and sometimes devised new schemes of philanthropy or ways of conducting them. During this period it was agreed by the government to institute a chair of biblical criticism in the university of Edinburgh, and the office was given, by the home secretary, Lord Normanby, to Candlish. His nomination to the chair was commented on with great severity in the House of Lords, chiefly by Lord Aberdeen, who denounced in the bitterest terms the conferring of such an honour on one who was in open opposition to the civil courts and the law of the land. The government yielded; the presentation was cancelled, and, some years after, the appointment was given to Dr. Robert Lee.

Next to Chalmers, Candlish was now the most prominent leader of the 'non-intrusion'

party, and though still very young his leadership was accepted with great confidence and admiration by his brethren. He was an influential member of a meeting of clergy called 'the convocation,' in November 1842, when it was virtually agreed, in the event of no relief being procured from parliament, to dissolve connection with the state. This step was actually taken on 18 May 1843, 470 ministers, with a corresponding proportion of lay-elders and of the people, forming themselves into the Free church. In the organisation of this body Candlish had the leading share.

From this time, or at least from the death of Chalmers, till close on his own death in 1873, Candlish may be said to have been the ruling spirit in the Free church. His remarkable activity and versatility enabled him to take a share in every department of work, and his readiness of resource, great power of speech, and ability to influence others, made him *facile princeps* in conducting the business of the general assembly and other church courts. With a kind of instinct he seemed to perceive very readily, as a discussion went on, in what manner the convictions of the assembly might be most suitably embodied, and his proposals were almost always sustained by very large majorities. Perhaps out of this there sprang the readiness which marked his later years to be guided by the prevailing sentiment rather than to control and direct it. While having his hands full of every kind of church work, he continued to minister to the people of St. George's and build up one of the most influential, earnest, and, in point of contributions, liberal congregations in Scotland.

Candlish took a special interest in education. The old tradition of the Scottish church respecting the connection of church and school had strongly impressed him, as well as the desire to see the work of education elevated and the famous plan of John Knôx more thoroughly carried out. For many years he laboured very earnestly to promote an education scheme of the church, and was highly successful in raising the status and improving the equipment of the normal colleges. In other respects, the plan of having a school connected with every congregation did not prove very popular, especially among the laity. And when, by act of parliament, the test which confined the office of parish schoolmaster to members of the established church was abolished, a strong feeling sprang up in favour of a national system of education that should absorb the existing schools. Candlish at first did not look with much favour on this proposal, but gradually he

came to support it. He was desirous of seeing some security provided for religious teaching, but was satisfied when it was proposed to leave this matter in the hands of school boards, elected by the people. On the passing of the act to this effect, he advocated the abandonment of the Free church schools as such, and the transference of the buildings as free gifts to the school boards of the parishes where they were situated. The normal schools were retained in their church connection.

On the death of Dr. Chalmers in 1847, and the readjustment of the chairs in the New College (the theological institution of the Free church at Edinburgh), Candlish was appointed to a chair of divinity, but on consideration he declined the appointment. He continued minister of St. George's Free church to the end of his life. In 1862 he was appointed principal of the New College, without a professor's chair, the duties being chiefly honorary, and the appointment being conferred partly in consideration of his eminent abilities and partly in the expectation that new life would be thrown into the college by his vigour. In 1841 Candlish received the degree of D.D. from the college of New Jersey, commonly called Princeton College, in the United States, and in 1865 the university of Edinburgh gave him the same degree. In 1861 he was moderator of the general assembly.

Among movements outside his own church in which he took an active share was that for the formation of the Evangelical Alliance in 1845. Another was directed towards the union of four presbyterian churches, the Free, United Presbyterian, and Reformed Presbyterian of Scotland, and the Presbyterian church of England. This scheme was defeated through the opposition of Dr. Begg and his friends. The union of the Free church with the Reformed Presbyterian was subsequently carried into effect.

Candlish made his last appearance in the general assembly in May 1873. Occasional flashes of his former fire could not conceal from his friends his failure of strength. Some weeks spent in England in the autumn produced no favourable result. On returning to Edinburgh he took to his bed, and after a brief illness, in which his mind continued clear and unimpaired, and many tokens were given of his serene trust in God and tender regard for his friends and brethren, he passed away on the evening of Sunday, 19 Oct.

The following is a list of Candlish's publications (many pamphlets, speeches, sermons, &c., being omitted): 1. 'Contribu-

tions towards the Exposition of Genesis,' 3 vols. 1842. 2. 'The Atonement,' 2nd edit. 1845. 3. 'Letters to Rev. E. B. Elliott on his "Horæ Apocalyptice,"' 1846. 4. 'Letter to the Marquess of Lansdowne on Schools in Scotland,' 1846. 5. 'Scripture Characters and Miscellanies,' 1850. 6. 'Examination of Mr. Maurice's Theological Essays,' 1854. 7. 'Life in a Risen Saviour,' 1858. 8. 'Reason and Revelation,' 1859. 9. 'The Two great Commandments,' 1860. 10. 'The Fatherhood of God' (Cunningham Lectures), 1865. 11. 'Relative Duties of Home Life,' 1871. 12. 'John Knox and his Devout Imagination,' 1872. 13. 'Discourses on the Sonship and Brotherhood of Believers,' 1872. 14. 'The Gospel of Forgiveness.' 15. 'Expository Discourses on 1 John.' 16. Sermons (posthumous), 1874. 17. 'Discourses on the Epistle to the Ephesians' (posthumous), 1875. With regard to Candlish's theological views, it has been shown by Principal Rainy, in his very able chapter on 'Dr. Candlish as a Theologian,' that while he was thoroughly attached to the theology of the reformers, it was not as a mere theology or logical system that he had regard to it, but as something given from above to meet the exigencies of the human soul. In opposing Mr. Maurice, he found himself called to vindicate the forensic aspect of the gospel, as founded on law, and demanding that that law be maintained, but he delighted to show its application also to the whole sphere of human life, to show that contact with Christ meant not only pardon, but life, joy, strength, and purity. In life and in death he showed how he not only held but was held and moved by his theology, and derived from it the courage and hope with which he seemed to be inspired.

[Memorials of Robert S. Candlish, D.D., by William Wilson, D.D., with concluding chapter by Robert Rainy, D.D.; Buchanan's Ten Years' Conflict; Disruption Worthies; Memoir by James S. Candlish, D.D., prefixed to Posthumous Sermons; Sunday Magazine, December 1873; Scotsman newspaper, 20 Oct. 1873.] W. G. B.

CANE, ROBERT, M.D. (1807-1858), Irish naturalist, was born at Kilkenny in 1807. After acting for some time as a pharmaceutical assistant, he found the means of attending the College of Surgeons, Dublin, and during a severe cholera epidemic distinguished himself by his devoted attendance on the patients in the cholera hospitals. He was also equally known for his patriotic zeal, and acted as chairman at democratic meetings of the medical students and alumni of Trinity College. He graduated M.D. in 1836, and,



having settled in his native city, soon acquired a lucrative practice. He took a prominent part in public and political matters. He organised a banquet for O'Connell in Kilkenny in 1840, acted as steward on the occasion, and also was the chief promoter of the repeal movement in the city. In 1844 he was elected mayor of Kilkenny. He never altogether sympathised with the aims of the Young Ireland party. He had no share in the insurrection of 1848, but was arrested on 29 July, and for some time remained in prison. In 1853 he originated the Celtic Union, a semi-political and semi-literary society, one of the purposes of which was the publication of works relating to the history of Ireland. In connection with the society he edited a magazine, the 'Celt,' the first number of which appeared on 1 Aug. 1857. He also wrote in the series of works published by the society, 'History of the Williamite and Jacobite Wars of Ireland from their origin to the capture of Athlone,' 1859. He died of consumption on 16 Aug. 1858.

[Irish Quarterly Review, viii. 1004-96.]

T. F. H.

CANES, VINCENT (*d.* 1672), a Franciscan friar who, on entering into religion, took the name of JOHN-BAPTIST, was born on the borders of Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and brought up in the protestant religion. When he arrived at the age of eighteen he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and remained there for two years. Then he removed to London, and after travelling in Holland, Germany, France, and Flanders, returned to this country 'to participate of the miseries which our civil wars then commenced.' Having been converted to the catholic religion, he entered the Franciscan convent at Douay. In 1648 he was employed on the English mission. He lived sometimes in Lancashire, but for the most part in London, and was remarkable for the plainness of his dress and the simplicity of his conversation. Canes was selected by the catholic body to defend their cause against Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, afterwards bishop of Worcester, and he performed the task to their satisfaction. He died at Somerset House, in the Strand, in June 1672, and was buried in the chapel belonging to that palace.

His works, which appeared under the initials J. V. C., are: 1. 'The reclaim'd Papist: or a dialogue between a Popish knight, a Protestant lady, a parson, and his wife,' 1655, 8vo. Dedicated to John Compton, esq., to whom, it seems, he was chaplain.

Dr. John Owen published an answer to this work under the title of 'The Triumph of Rome over despised Protestancy,' London, 1655, 4to. 2. 'Fiat Lux, or, a general conduct to a right understanding in the great Combustions and Broils about Religion here in England betwixt Papist and Protestant, Presbyterian & Independent. To the end that moderation and quietnes may at length haply ensue after so various Tumults in the Kingdom. By Mr. J. V. C., a friend to men of all Religions' [Douay?], 1661, 8vo; [London], 1662, 8vo. Dedicated to Elizabeth, countess of Arundel and Surrey, the mother of Cardinal Howard. Dr. John Owen also answered this work in a volume of 'Animadversions;' and Samuel Mather published a reply to it, entitled 'A Defence of the Protestant Religion,' Dublin, 1671, 4to. 3. 'An Epistle to the Authour of the Animadversions upon Fiat Lux. In excuse and justification of Fiat Lux against the said Animadversions' [Douay?], 1663, 8vo, and reprinted in 'Diaphanta.' This elicited from Dr. Owen 'A Vindication of the Animadversions,' 1664. 4. 'Diaphanta: or Three Attendants on Fiat Lux. Wherin Catholick Religion is further excused against the opposition of severall Adversaries. (1) Epistola ad Odoenum, against Dr. Owen. (2) Epistola ad Cresum, against Mr. Whitby. (3) Epistola ad Amphibolum, against Dr. Taylor. And by the way an Answer is given to Mr. Moulin, Denton, and Stillingfleet' [Douay], 1665, 8vo. These letters were reissued under the title of 'Three Letters declaring the strange odd proceedings of Protestant Divines, when they write against Catholicks: by the example of Dr. Taylor's Dissuasive against Popery; Mr. Whitbys Reply in the behalf of Dr. Pierce against Cressy; and Dr. Owens Animadversions on Fiat Lux' [Douay?], 1671. 5. 'Τὴ Καθολικῇ Stillingfleeton. Or, an account given to a Catholick friend, of Dr. Stillingfleets late book against the Roman Church. Together with a short Postil upon his Text. In three letters,' Bruges, 1672, 8vo.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iv. 107; Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 315; Fiat Lux (1662), 261-71; Cal. State Papers (Dom.), Car. II (1666-7), 291; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 546; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.] T. C.

CANFIELD, BENEDICT (1563-1611), Capuchin friar, whose real name was WILLIAM FITCH, was the second son of William Fitch, owner of the manor of Little Canfield in Essex, by his second wife, Anne, daughter of John Wiseman of Felstead, and

was born at Little Canfield in 1563. He studied law in the Middle Temple, but on being converted to the catholic religion he went to Douay and afterwards to Paris, where he entered the convent of the Capuchins on 23 March 1586, taking the name of Benedict or Benet. In July 1589 he returned to England with Father John Chrysostom, a Scotchman. They set sail from Calais, and landed between Sandwich and Dover. As they were known to be priests, they were carried before the mayor, who committed them to prison, whence they were removed to London and brought before Lord Cobham. They were then sent to Nonsuch, where the queen was residing, and examined by Sir Francis Walsingham, who committed them to the Tower. The Scotch friar was released at the request of the French king, but Father Benedict was conveyed to Wisbech Castle, where he appeared in his Franciscan habit. On his way thither he was led through the streets of Cambridge, and created an extraordinary sensation, such a garb not having been seen in that town since Queen Mary's days. After remaining at Wisbech for eighteen months he was removed to Framlingham Castle in Suffolk. In both these prisons he held controversial conferences with various protestant divines. After three years' imprisonment he was released at the request of Henry IV of France. He was master of the novices for a long time both at Orleans and Rouen, and in the latter city he was also guardian of his convent. His death occurred in the convent of the Capuchins in the Rue St.-Honoré, in Paris, on 21 Nov. 1611. A curious biography of him, partly autobiographical, was published, with his portrait prefixed, under the title of 'The miraculous life, conversion, and conversation of the Reuerend Father Bennett of Cäfield,' Douay, 1623, 8vo, pp. 145, together with 'The Life of the Reverend Fa. Angel of Ioyevse, Capvein Preacher,' and the life of 'Father Archangell, Scotchman, of the same Ordere.' These three biographies had previously appeared in French at Paris in 1621.

Father Benedict, who was a celebrated preacher both in English and French, wrote: 1. 'The Christian Knight.' 2. 'Tabulæ quædam de bene orando.' 3. 'The Rule of Perfection, contayning a breif and perspicuous abridgement of all the wholle spirituall life, reduced to this only point of the (will of God). Divided into three Partes,' Rouen, 1609, 8vo. A Latin translation appeared at Cologne, 1610, 12mo. A little treatise by Canfield was published at London in 1878 under the title of 'The Holy Will of God: a short rule of perfection.'

[Addit. MSS. 5825, f. 150 b, 5865, f. 111; Harl. MS. 7035, p. 187; Bibl. Grenvilliana; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Dodd's Church Hist. ii. 144, 393; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 547; Morant's Essex, ii. 463; Berry's Essex Genealogies, 146; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), ii. 81.] T. C.

CANICUS or KENNY, SAINT. [See CAINNECH.]

CANN, ABRAHAM (1794-1864), wrestler, the son of Robert Cann, a farmer and a wrestler in Devonshire, and his wife, Mary, was baptised at Colebrooke, near Crediton, on 2 Dec. 1794, and, inheriting from his father a love of play, soon defeated John Jordan, Flower, Wreyford, Simon Webber, and the other best wrestlers in Devonshire, and carried off the prizes at all the places where he became a competitor. In these matches he wrestled in the Devonshire fashion, namely, wearing shoes and endeavouring to disable his adversary by violently kicking him on the legs. On 21 Sept. 1826, at the Eagle tavern, City Road, London, he contended without shoes for the first prize with James Warren of Redruth (conspicuous for his bravery at the time of the loss of the Kent, Indianman, in 1825), and although the latter made a gallant struggle, Cann was declared the victor. He had long been known as the champion of Devonshire, and he now challenged James Polkinghorne, the champion of Cornwall. Polkinghorne was 6 ft. 2 in. high, weighed 320lbs., and had not wrestled for some years, being the landlord of the Red Lion inn at St. Columb Major. Cann was but 5 ft. 8½ in. in height, and weighed 175lbs. This match, which was for 200*l.* a side for the best of three back falls, took place at Tamar Green, Morice Town, near Devonport, on 23 Oct. 1826, in the presence of upwards of 12,000 spectators. After a long struggle the Cornishman won a fair back fall. Cann next threw Polkinghorne, but a dispute arising, a toss gave it in favour of the latter. After several other falls, Polkinghorne threw Cann, but the triers were divided in opinion as to the fall. Polkinghorne left the ring, and after much wrangling, the match was declared to be drawn. The Devonshire man, with the toes and heels of his shoes, kicked his adversary in the most frightful manner, while the Cornishman neither wore shoes nor practised kicking. In 1861 Lord Palmerston headed a subscription among the west-country gentlemen, by which the sum of 200*l.* was presented to the former champion of Devonshire.

Cann was for many years the proprietor of an inn, and died in his native place, Colebrooke, on 7 April 1864. He had four bro-

thers, James, Robert, George, and William, all of whom were wrestlers. Messrs. Sparkes & Pope, solicitors, Crediton, are said to possess a manuscript biography of Cann.

[Times, 23 Sept. 1826, p. 3; Englishman, 29 Oct. 1826, p. 1, cols. 3-4; Sporting Mag. lxxvii. 165 (1826), lxxix. 55, 215, 314, 344 (1827); Cornwall Gazette, 28 Oct. 1826, pp. 2-3, and 4 Nov. p. 2; London Mag. 1 Oct. 1826, pp. 160-3; Annual Register, 1826, pp. 157-8; Hone's Everyday Book (1826), ii. 1009, 1337, and Table Book, ii. 415, 499; Illustrated Sporting News, 7 May 1864, pp. 100, 101, 111, with two portraits.] G. C. B.

CANNE, JOHN (*d.* 1667?), divine and printer, may have been connected with the important family of the name at Bristol, where Sir Thomas Canne was knighted by James I, his son William was mayor, and his grandson Robert was made a knight and baronet by Charles II, and was complained of as a 'favourer of sectaries.' That John had some tie with Bristol is probable from his connection with the Broadmead baptists. He has been supposed to have received episcopal ordination, but this is not certain. There was a congregation of independents and pædo-baptists meeting in Deadman's Place, London, the majority of whom, in consequence of persecution, followed their minister, John Hubbard, to Ireland, about 1621. On his death the church returned to London and chose Canne as teacher. After a year or two he went to Amsterdam, and there became the successor of Henry Ainsworth as pastor of the congregation of English independents there. At one time some of Ainsworth's posthumous manuscripts were in his hands. Canne retained his position for seventeen years, and to his pulpit labours added those of an author and printer. An allusion to the troubles of the church is found in the title of his first book, 'The Way to Peace, or Good Counsel for it; preached upon the 15th day of the second month 1632, at the reconciliation of certain brethren between whom there had been former differences,' Amsterdam, 1632. His most important book appeared two years later, and is called 'A Necessitie of Separation from the Church of England, proved by the Non-conformists' Principles. Specially opposed unto Dr. Ames, his Fresh Suit against humane ceremonies in the point of Separation only. . . . By John Canne, pastor of the ancient English Church in Amsterdam. Printed in the yeare 1634.' This was reprinted in 1849 by the Hansard Knollys Society, under the editorship of the Rev. Charles Stovel. It is a work of ability. In 1639 Canne published at Amsterdam 'A

Stay against Straying; wherein, in opposition to Mr. John Robinson, is proved the unlawfulness of hearing the Ministers of the Church of England.' These two treatises were answered in 1642 by John Ball, who styles Canne 'the leader of the English Brownists in Amsterdam.' Richard Baxter said: 'Till Mr. Ball wrote for the Liturgy and against Can, and Allen, &c., and Mr. Buxton published his "Protestation Protested," I never thought' (he was then twenty-five years old, and minister at Kidderminster), 'I never thought what presbytery or independency were, nor ever spake with a man that seemed to know it. And that was in 1641, when the war was brewing' (DEXTER, p. 651).

In 1640 Canne visited England, and the Broadmead congregation of baptists having been formed he was called upon to preach to them. The Broadmead records contain very curious particulars as to his services. In the morning he had 'liberty to preach in the public place' (called a church), 'but in the afternoon a godly honourable woman,' learning that Canne was 'a baptized man by them called an anabaptist,' had the church closed against him, and he preached on the green, and debated with Mr. Fowler, a sympathetic minister, who was ejected at the Restoration, and was the father of Edward Fowler, bishop of Gloucester (1691-1715). Canne returned to Amsterdam in the same year and issued his 'Congregational Discipline.' This year appeared 'Syon's Prerogative Royal; or a Treatise tending to prove that every particular congregation . . . is an independent body. By a Well-wisher of the Truth.' This is attributed to Canne by John Paget in his 'Defence of Presbyterian Government.' It has, however, been thought that Ainsworth was the author [see AINSWORTH, HENRY]. It is supposed that Canne remained at Amsterdam until 1647, when his reference Bible with notes appeared. This was the best work of its kind that had then appeared. It was dedicated to the English parliament. It has been thought that Canne was the author of three sets of notes on the Bible, and that there was one earlier issue than that of 1647, since he there refers to additions 'to the former notes in the margin,' but no copy appears to be known. In 1653 he had an exclusive license for seven years 'to print a Bible with annotations, being his own work, and that no man, unless appointed by him, may print his said notes, either already printed or to be printed' (*Calendar of State Papers*, 9 June 1653). In the edition of 1664 he speaks of an edition with larger annotations which he proposed to publish,

and on which he had spent many years. This does not appear to have been published. Canne again turned homeward, and in 1649 and 1650 five of his books were published in London: 1. 'The Improvement of Time.' 2. 'The Golden Rule, or Justice advanced in justification of the legal proceedings of the High Court of Justice against Charles Steward, late king of England.' 3. 'The Snare is Broken. Wherein is proved, by Scripture, Law, and Reason, that the National Covenant and Oath was unlawfully given and taken. Published by authority,' 1649, 4to. The dedication, to the Rt. Hon. the Commons assembled in parliament, is dated from Bowe, 21 April 1649. 4. 'Emanuel, or God with us,' 4to (this is a jubilation over the victory at Dunbar). 5. 'The Discoverer . . . the Second Part,' is a vindication of Fairfax and Cromwell, to whom it is jointly dedicated. The terms of a reference to Overton on page 70 rather militate against its being written by Canne, but it is attributed to him in a pamphlet, 'The Same Hand again,' 1649 (E 5<sup>67</sup>). The first part is said to have appeared in 1643. In 1650 he was at Hull as chaplain to the governor, Colonel Robert Overton [q. v.], not to be confounded with the pamphleteer Richard Overton [q. v.], whose curious book, 'Man's Mortalitie,' Canne had printed at Amsterdam in 1643. Canne was in such favour with the soldiers that they obtained leave from the council of state to have the chancel of the parish church for their meeting-place, and they walled up the arches between it and the church, where John Shawe, another famous puritan, had, as he boasts, 'constantly above 3,000 hearers.' Canne's friends obtained a grant for him from the council of state of 65*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for his chaplain's salary for 196 days; 'and for his future subsistence two soldiers are to be reduced out of each of the four companies of that garrison, which will retrench 6*s.* 8*d.*, in lieu of which a chaplain is to be added.' His stay in Hull was not long, but in 1653, when he published at London 'A Voice from the Temple to the Higher Powers,' the remembrance was rankling in his mind, and he denounces Shawe as 'a most corrupt man and hitherto countenanced by men as corrupt and rotten as himself.' The book is dedicated to Cromwell, with a second dedication or epistle to Overton, from 'your christian brother to serve you in the Gospel, John Canne,' who mentions the desire expressed by some for his notes on Daniel. These do not appear to have been published. In relation to their controversies Shawe, on the other hand, says: 'I had many contests with him before Oliver the Protector, to whom he

appealed, and elsewhere. At last he printed a little pamphlet against me where are some few truths but most part lyes. I drew up an answer to it, but was over persuaded by divers discreet and learned men to let it alone and sleight it.' Like other controversialists Shawe had a mean opinion of his adversary. He quotes a biting epigram:—

Is John departed? is Canne dead and gone?  
Farewell to both, to Canne and eke to John;  
Yet being dead, take this advice from me,  
Let them not both in one grave buried be;  
But lay John here, and lay Canne thereabout,  
For if they both should meet, they would fall out.

In 1653 also appeared 'A Second Voice from the Temple to the Higher Powers.' He was at this time credited with the possession of great influence with the council of state. His next work, 'Time with Truth,' is dated from Hull in 1656. His daughter, whose name was Deliverance, was buried on 18 Dec. 1656, and his wife, 'Agnees,' was buried on 20 Jan. 1656-7, at the same place, Holy Trinity Church, Hull. He now appears to have imbibed some of the principles of the fifth-monarchy men, and in 1657 he published at London 'The Time of the End . . . Christopher Feake and John Rogers both supplied prefaces. These persons with others were denounced to the government as meeting at Mr. Daforme's house in Bartholomew Lane, near the Royal Exchange, and professing themselves ready for insurrection. This was only two months after the crushing of Vener's attempted rising in the interest of the fifth monarchy. Canne complains bitterly of his banishment from Hull 'after seventeen years' banishment before.' On 2 April 1658, when 'old brother Canne' was in the pulpit of the meeting-place in Swan Alley, Coleman Street, the marshal of the city entered and arrested him and seven of the brethren who had protested against their rough treatment of the old man. Canne was brought before the lord mayor, and acknowledged that he was not satisfied with the government, and would like an opportunity to tell the Protector so, but declined to enter upon the question with the magistrate. One of the accused, Wentworth Day, was fined 500*l.* and sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment. John Clark, who had been acquitted by the jury, was condemned to pay 200 marks and to be imprisoned six months. Canne and the remainder were released on 25 April 1658. A narrative of the transaction was published. This year he published 'The Time of Finding,' in which he describes himself as 'an old man,' and expecting 'every day to lay down this earthly tabernacle,' and

complaints of the persecutions he had endured, and to which he attributed the death of his wife and daughter. In 1659 he published 'A Seasonable Word to the Parliament Men,' and 'A Twofold Shaking of the Earth.' A tract upon tithes, entitled 'A Query to William Prynn,' was printed at the end of an 'Indictment against Tythes,' by John Osborn, London, 1659. Canne was resident in August of this year at his house 'without Bishopsgate,' and the date of his final retreat from England is not known.

... old Father Canne,  
That reverend man,

is mentioned in the 'Psalm of Mercy,' a gross satire against the fifth-monarchy men, which is dated by Thomas Wright 8 Jan. 1660. It is partially printed in his 'Political Ballads published during the Commonwealth' (Percy Society, 1841, p. 259). He is also the object of some satirical writings of Samuel Butler, who published 'The Acts and Monuments of our late Parliament,' 1659, under the pseudonym of John Canne (B. M. E. 1999). A John Cann, of London, gentleman, is mentioned as the husband of Elizabeth Stubbs in the Cambridgeshire pedigrees (*Genealogist*, iii. 311), but whether this indicates a second marriage is not known. We find him at Amsterdam in 1664, where he issued again his 'Bible with Marginal Notes.' This is his most laborious and useful work, and has gone through several editions. His book was used in the preparation of Bagster's 'Comprehensive Bible,' of which it is indeed the basis. Canne is believed to have died in Amsterdam in 1667. In the library of the British Museum, which contains many of Canne's books, the catalogue discriminates between John Canne 'the elder' and 'the younger.' Under the latter name there is only one entry: 'A New Evangelical History of the Holy Bible contained in the Old and New Testament, digested in a plain, regular, and easy narrative with twenty-four curious copper-plate cuts, by John Canne. London: P. & J. Bradshaw, in Paternoster Row, and J. Goodwin, in the Strand, 1766.' Whether this is a pseudonym assumed by some writer desirous of profiting by a name so well known in connection with the Bible, or whether it is a genuine name, is unknown. A copy of the 'Wicked Bible' mentioned in Mr. Henry Stevens's 'Recollections of James Lennox' is said to have come from a library in Holland founded by Canne, but details are wanting.

[Dexter's Congregationalism of last Three Hundred Years, 1880; Memoirs of Master John Shawe, written by himself, edited by the Rev.

VOL. III.

J. R. Boyle, Hull, 1882, pp. 43-6, 199-215; Some of the Life and Opinions of a Fifth-Monarchy Man, chiefly extracted from the writings of John Rogers, preacher, by the Rev. Edward Rogers, M.A., London, 1867, pp. 156, 312, 316; Calendars of State Papers (from about 1613 to 1660); Canne's Necessitie, &c. ed. Stovel, 1849; Wilson's History of Dissenting Churches, iv. 125-36; Brook's Lives of the Puritans, iii. 332; Hanbury's Memorials, i. 515; Worthington's Diary, i. 266.] W. E. A. A.

CANNERA or CAINNER, SAINT (*d.* 530?), appears in the martyrology of Tam-lacht and other ancient lists of Irish saints on 28 Jan. (O'HANLON, *Lives of Irish Saints*, i. 464). According to Colgan she was born of noble parents in the district of Bentraighe (Bantry) in S. Munster. Her father's name was Cruithnechan (*Martyr. Taml.*, quoted by COLGAN), her mother's, Cumania. Refusing all offers of marriage, she lived many years in a solitary cell, till seized with a sudden desire to form one of the company gathered round St. Senan in his island home of Inis-cathey, in the mouth of the Shannon, off the coast of Clare. The saint, however, was obdurate to her prayers, and refused to admit a woman to his monastic settlement. However, it was in vain that he urged her to go back into the world. Repulsed in her first entreaties she at last persuaded St. Senan to promise that he would administer the sacrament to her as she lay dying, and grant her the privilege of burial in his island. Her tomb there was still pointed out when the ancient life of this saint was drawn up, and sailors were wont to visit it to offer up vows for a prosperous voyage (*Vita S. Senani*, ap. COLGAN, c. 30). This story of St. Cannera and St. Senan forms the groundwork of one of Moore's Irish melodies. As St. Senan seems to have flourished in the sixth century, a similar date must be assigned to St. Cannera, who died about 530, according to Colgan. The last-mentioned authority tells us that she was venerated at Kill-chuilinn, in Carberry (Leinster), and at other churches in Ireland.

For the Scotch saint Kennera or Cainner (29 Oct.), whose name is preserved in the parish of Kirk-kinner, opposite Wigton, and elsewhere in Galloway, see 'Bollandi Acta SS.' 12 Oct., 904-5, and Forbes's 'Calendar of Scottish Saints,' 361. This saint is said to have been confused in later martyrologies with St. Cunnera, the Batavian martyr, one of the legendary followers of St. Ursula.

[Colgan's Acta SS. in *Vita S. Cannerae*, 174, &c., and *Vita S. Senani*, 8 March, 502-44; Colgan's *Vita S. Senani* is probably historical to some extent, as it is known that this saint's life was written by his contemporary, St. Columas

MacLennan, and its substance has been worked up into Colgan's account; Bollandi Acta SS. (8 March), 760-79; O'Hanlon's Lives of Irish Saints, i. 464, &c.] T. A. A.

**CANNING, CHARLES JOHN, EARL CANNING** (1812-1862), governor-general of India, was the third son of the celebrated statesman, George Canning [q. v.] He was born on 14 Dec. 1812, at Gloucester Lodge, an Italian villa, at one time the property of the Duchess of Gloucester, situated in what was then an almost rural tract between Brompton and Kensington. His education was commenced at a private school at Putney, and continued at Eton, which he left at the end of 1827, carrying away with him 'a reputation rather for intelligence, accuracy, and painstaking, than for refined scholarship or any remarkable powers of composition.' After spending nearly a year under private tuition in the house of the Rev. John Shore, of Pottton in Bedfordshire, where he contracted a lasting friendship with the third Lord Harris, one of his fellow-pupils, and afterwards governor of Madras, he entered Christ Church, Oxford, in December 1828. At Oxford he was the contemporary of Gladstone, Dalhousie, and Elgin. In 1832 he took his degree with a first class in classics and a second in mathematics. In 1835 he married the Honourable Charlotte Stuart, eldest daughter and coheirress of Lord Stuart de Rothesay, and in 1836 entered parliament as member for Warwick. In 1837, both his elder brothers having died some years previously, he succeeded, on the death of his mother, to the peerage, which had been created in her favour after her husband's death, and became Viscount Canning of Kilbrahan in the county of Kilkenny. On the formation of Sir Robert Peel's government in 1841, he was appointed under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, and held that office for nearly five years, becoming chief commissioner for woods and forests shortly before the downfall of Peel's government in 1846. He continued to be a follower of Peel during the remainder of that statesman's life, and, adhering, after Peel's death, to the Peelite party, he declined an offer of the post of foreign secretary which was made to him by Lord Derby on the occasion of the latter being invited to form an administration, when Lord Russell's cabinet resigned office in February 1852. In 1853 he joined Lord Aberdeen's cabinet as postmaster-general, holding the same office for a short time under Lord Palmerston, by whom he was selected in 1855 to succeed Lord Dalhousie as governor-general of India. In his management of the postal department, Canning established a reputation for administra-

tive ability, evincing in a marked degree some of the qualities which distinguished him in his after career. The unremitting industry, the habit of careful inquiry into facts, and the caution, sometimes perhaps carried to excess, which were exhibited by the governor-general during the terrible events of the Indian mutiny, all characterised his performance of the far less responsible duties which devolved upon the postmaster-general. He introduced several beneficial changes in the organisation of the department, establishing, among other reforms, the practice of annually submitting to parliament a report of the work achieved by the post office. Sir Rowland Hill, whose appointment as sole secretary to the post office in 1854 was made on the advice of Canning, described the period during which he served under him as 'the most satisfactory period of his whole official career, that in which the course of improvement was steadiest, most rapid, and least chequered.'

Canning assumed the government of India on the last day of February 1856, having visited en route Bombay and Madras, at the latter of which places he spent some days with his old friend and fellow-student, Lord Harris, who was then governor of Madras. India at that time was at peace. During Lord Dalhousie's government large additions had been made to British territory; the Punjab, Pegu, Nagpur, Satara, Jhansi, and Oudh had been annexed; the Berar territories of the Nizam of the Dekhan had been placed under British administration; the mediatised courts of Arcot and Tanjore had ceased to exist; and the recognition of the grandson of the king of Delhi, then an elderly man, as the future successor of the latter, had been granted, subject, among other stipulations, to the condition that he should as king 'receive the governor-general at all times on terms of perfect equality.' By the recent annexations of territory four millions sterling had been added to the revenues of British India. Great progress, both moral and material, had been made in the various branches of the administration. In an elaborate minute recorded by the retiring governor-general on the eve of his departure, emphatic stress was laid on the prosperous and peaceful condition of affairs, qualified only by the remark that 'no prudent man, who has any knowledge of eastern affairs, would ever venture to predict the maintenance of continued peace within our eastern possessions.' Canning was not less desirous than the majority of his predecessors for a peaceful administration. In his speech at the banquet given by the court of directors in his honour before his departure from England, he gave expression to his desire for a peaceful time of

office, and to his recognition of 'the large arena of peaceful usefulness' which lay before him; adding, however, with prophetic apprehension, that he could not forget that 'in our Indian empire that greatest of all blessings depends upon a greater variety of chances and a more precarious tenure than in any other quarter of the globe,' and that 'in the sky of India, serene as it is, a small cloud may arise, at first no bigger than a man's hand, but which, growing larger and larger, may at last threaten to burst and overwhelm us with ruin.' He had not been long at Calcutta when it became apparent that a war was impending, which, though not affecting Indian territory, nor the actual frontier of India, would involve the employment of a portion of the Indian army. Persia, in defiance of an existing treaty, had taken Herat, and, negotiations failing to bring about the evacuation of the place by the Persian forces, the English government in the autumn of 1856 declared war against the shah. The arrangements for the expedition, which was carried to a successful issue early in 1857, under the command of Sir James Outram, were made by Canning, and occupied a good deal of his attention in the latter part of his first year of office. Closely connected with this matter was the question of subsidising the amir of Cabul, and enabling him by grants of money and arms to aid in driving the Persians from Herat. This policy, urged by Herbert Edwardes, was adopted by Canning, at first with some reluctance, but afterwards with a conviction of its wisdom. He showed this conviction by cordial acknowledgments to Edwardes.

Another very difficult question, handed down to Canning by his predecessor, with which he was called upon to deal very shortly after his arrival, was that of an alteration of the conditions of service upon which the sepoys in the native army of Bengal were enlisted—a change which involved the obligation of service beyond the sea. In deciding upon this military reform, which had been pressed upon the attention of the government by the difficulty of providing British Burma with a sufficient force of native troops, but which has since been regarded as one of the causes of the mutiny of 1857, Canning was supported by the commander-in-chief and by his other constituted advisers. His own view on the subject, as stated in his letters to the president of the board of control, was that the system of enlistment for limited service, which had never been adopted in Madras or Bombay, ought not to have been tolerated so long in Bengal; and although there were some persons who were apprehensive of 'risk in meddling with the fundamental conditions upon which the

bargain between the army and the government has hitherto rested,' there was no real cause for fear on this ground. His only apprehension had been—and that he said had vanished—that 'the sepoys already enlisted on the old terms might suspect that the change was a first step towards breaking faith with them, and that on the first necessity they might be compelled to cross the sea;' but there had been 'no sign of any such false alarm on their part.'

The administration of the recently annexed province of Oudh, which had fallen into incompetent hands, occasioned much anxiety to Canning at that time. The difficulty was met by the supersession of the officiating chief commissioner, and by the transfer to that post of Sir Henry Lawrence, then in charge of our relations with the native states in Rajputána. During this first year of his government, the amount of work which pressed upon Canning was very great; for, while he had to deal with several new and difficult questions of the nature of those just referred to, he had also, like all newly appointed governors-general, to wade through heavy masses of previous correspondence bearing upon the innumerable matters which called for decision. At that time the duty of initiating orders in the business of all the departments devolved upon the governor-general. It was not until a later period, when the work was enormously increased by the events of the mutiny, that Canning, at the instance of Sir Henry Ricketts, introduced the quasi-cabinet arrangement, under which each member of council takes charge of a department, disposing of all details, and only referring to the governor-general matters of real importance, and questions involving principles or the adoption of a new policy.

It would be foreign to the scope of this brief memoir to enter upon any detailed review of the causes or of the incidents of the appalling catastrophe, the mutiny of the Bengal army, which strained to the utmost the energies and resources of the government of India during the second and third years of Canning's administration. Whether the issue of the greased cartridges was the chief cause of the discontent, or panic, or whatever the sentiment may be called, which clearly existed (and this was Lord Lawrence's view), or whether, as was held by many persons well qualified to form an opinion, the mutiny originated in a number of concurrent causes, which are summed up in a single sentence in Sir John Kaye's preface to his 'History of the Sepoy War:—' 'Because we were too English the crisis arose,' to which he added, 'it was only because we were English that when it

arose it did not utterly overwhelm us'—these are questions upon which difference of opinion will always exist. The first open indication of the approaching catastrophe was given in February 1857 by the 19th Bengal native infantry at Berhampore refusing to receive the new cartridges. Previous to and subsequent to this affair, reports were received of a mysterious circulation of 'chupatties,' small cakes of unleavened meal, which were passed from village to village in the north-western provinces, and of lotus flowers sent from regiment to regiment. There were also numerous acts of incendiarism in the military cantonments. On 29 March the first act of violence took place, when a sepoy of the 34th regiment at Barrackpur, in a state of intoxication, attacked and wounded the adjutant of the regiment, many hundred men of the regiment looking on quietly, while a native officer refused to take the assailant into custody, and forbade his men to render any assistance to the English officer, who narrowly escaped with his life. The extent of the native disaffection was not seen, however, until 10 May, when the mutiny at Meerut, accompanied by the murder of several English officers and other English men and women, followed the next day by the rising of the native troops and massacre of Europeans at Delhi, and in the course of a few weeks by the rising of nearly the whole of the Bengal army, by the rebellion in Oudh, by the massacre at Cawnpore, and by the murder of Europeans at many other places in the Bengal presidency and in Central India, showed that British rule in India was confronted by the gravest peril to which it had been exposed since the days of Clive. Canning was much blamed, especially by the English residents of Calcutta, for having failed in the first instance to realise the gravity of the crisis. His refusal at an early period of the mutiny to take advantage of an offer which was made by the English at Calcutta to form a regiment of volunteers, an offer which he afterwards accepted; the delay of the government in ordering a general disarming of the sepoys until the course of events had rendered such a measure impossible; the inclusion of English newspapers in an act restricting the liberty of the press; the application to Englishmen, as well as to natives, of a general disarming act; Canning's efforts to moderate the fierceness of the retribution, which, involving in some cases the sacrifice of innocent men, was being exacted by British officers, both civil and military, for the outrages committed by the mutineers and by others who had participated in those outrages—all these things were severely censured

in certain quarters, and for a time brought much unpopularity upon the governor-general among a section of his countrymen in India. 'Clemency Canning' was the nickname which was applied to him, and on one occasion it was remarked that his policy was best described by two stamps in use in the Indian post-office, 'too late' and 'insufficient.' Canning's unpopularity at that time was much fostered by the natural reserve and apparent coldness of his disposition. It is probable that in some cases the tendency to a very deliberate weighing of evidence, when dealing with difficult questions, caused undesirable delays in cases in which promptitude of action was essential. The failure at the early stages of the revolt to realise the magnitude of the danger which had arisen was shared more or less by every Englishman in India, by men of the ripest Indian experience, as well as by men who, like the governor-general and the commander-in-chief, were comparative novices in Indian affairs. Of Canning's undaunted courage and firmness there never was a shadow of a doubt. Lord Elgin and Lord Clyde, like all who were brought into direct official relations with him, were much impressed by the calm courage and firmness evinced by the governor-general at that dark time. Two qualities, always important in a ruler, but exceptionally important in dealing with a perilous crisis, the faculty of reposing confidence in able subordinates, and the prompt and generous recognition of good service, Canning evinced in a remarkable degree. His immediate compliance with Sir Henry Lawrence's application to be invested with full military authority in Oudh enabled the latter to take precautions which, although they failed to stem the tide of rebellion or to prevent the sacrifice of many lives, including that of the gallant and able man who devised them, averted what would have been the far graver disaster of the fall of the Lucknow residency and the massacre of its illustrious garrison. His confidence in John Lawrence was amply justified by the sagacity and courage with which the chief commissioner, discerning the enormous importance of the recapture of Delhi, strained every effort to send to that place all the troops that could possibly be spared from the Punjab. But while Canning thus trusted the ablest of his lieutenants, he by no means surrendered the exercise of his own judgment when on difficult questions his views differed from theirs. Thus, when John Lawrence recommended the abandonment of the trans-Indus territory, in opposition to the advice of Sydney Cotton and Herbert Edwards, the governor-general decided against the proposal, and at a later



period he overruled Outram's objections to his own policy in dealing with the Taluqdárs in Oudh.

The last-mentioned affair, which might have cut short Canning's tenure of office, and which actually led to the retirement of a cabinet minister, was one of the most embarrassing incidents in Canning's career. It arose out of a proclamation which Canning deemed it advisable in the spring of 1858 to issue, as soon as the reconquest of Oudh should have been completed, regarding the treatment to be meted out to those who had been guilty of rebellion in that province. The proclamation declared among other things that with a few exceptions 'the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated by the British government, which would dispose of that right in such a manner as it might deem fitting.' Canning regarded the proclamation as an indulgent one, seeing that it promised an exemption almost general from the penalties of death and imprisonment to Oudh chieftains and others who had joined in the rebellion. Lord Ellenborough, then president of the board of control, took a different view, and transmitted through the secret committee of the court of directors a despatch condemning the proclamation in language of unusual severity, as involving an unjustifiable departure from the course generally followed in dealing with a recently conquered nation. The language of the despatch, which had been issued without the knowledge of the cabinet, was generally disapproved in England, and provoked in both houses of parliament animated discussions, which would have led to the downfall of Lord Derby's government, had not Ellenborough, taking upon himself the entire responsibility of his act, retired from the cabinet. Canning, after having vindicated his policy in a dignified and masterly reply, in the course of which he observed that 'no taunts or sarcasms, come from what quarter they might, would turn him from the path which he believed to be that of public duty,' consented at the earnest request of the prime minister to retain his office.

In the course of the same year, 1858, Canning was called upon to give effect to the act of parliament which transferred the government of India from the East India Company to the crown. He thus became the first viceroy of India. In 1859 he was raised to an earldom. During the remaining years of his government, his duties, if less anxious, were scarcely less arduous than those which had weighed upon him during the mutiny. The reorganisation of the Indian army, the re-establishment of Indian finance, which had been seriously disarranged by the enormous expen-

diture entailed by the mutiny, the restoration of confidence in the minds of native chiefs, and reforms in the legislative and administrative system, which were embodied in the Indian Council's Act of 1861, were among the matters which chiefly engaged his attention during the last three years. He cordially supported Bishop Cotton's plans for educating the children of Eurasians and poor Europeans. He objected to the military policy of the home government. He deprecated the abolition of the system of raising British regiments for employment exclusively in India, holding that it was essential that the British force in India should be largely composed of regiments and batteries which could not be removed to meet an exigency in Europe. Regarding the native states, Canning attached great importance to the policy of securing and confirming the allegiance of the great chiefs. With this view he deemed it essential that the princes and people of India should be assured that the annexation policy was abandoned, and that the traditional custom of adoption would not in future be interfered with, and he caused 'sunnuds,' i.e. grants, to be issued to all the chiefs of a certain rank, sanctioning the right of adoption in terms which could not be misunderstood. One of the measures taken to restore the financial equilibrium—the imposition of an income-tax—was strenuously opposed by the governments of Madras and Bombay, and produced an official controversy, which was followed by the removal from office of the governor of Madras, Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had taken the extraordinary step, while the correspondence was in progress, of publishing in the local newspapers a minute condemning the policy of the government of India. Canning's action in this matter was mainly confined to supporting the policy of his financial advisers. Finance was not a subject with which he was specially conversant; but it is believed that while he condemned Trevelyan's insubordination, Canning did not consider his objections to the income-tax to be altogether destitute of force. The last months of Canning's stay in India were clouded by in the death of his noble and singularly gifted wife, who was carried off by an attack of jungle fever in the latter part of 1861. His intense grief is vividly described by Bishop Cotton. Lady Canning's death was mourned throughout India by all who had been brought into contact with her. Canning retired in March 1862, much broken in health, and died in London on 17 June following. He had been made K.S.I. on the institution of the order in 1861, and K.G. a few weeks before his death. He left no issue, and his title consequently lapsed.

Of Canning's character as a public man some idea will have been formed from the preceding remarks. His defects were a cold and reserved manner and an over-anxious temperament, which frequently occasioned delay in the despatch of business. In the elaborate care which he bestowed upon the composition of his official minutes, despatches, and speeches, he was painstaking almost to a fault. He was strictly just and conscientious in the disposal of his patronage, but even here his anxiety to select the best man for a vacant post sometimes caused undue delay in filling up appointments. He appears to have possessed in an eminent degree the great, and at all times rare, virtue of magnanimity. No amount of personal obloquy could induce him to clear his own character, as he might have done on more than one occasion, at the expense of the reputation of his countrymen. And if he was cold and reserved in manner, his coldness was not that of an unfeeling heart. It was related of him by a member of his personal staff that on the night on which he heard of the Cawnpore massacre, he spent the whole of it walking up and down the marble hall of Government House. Cotton described him as 'a very mirror of honour, the pattern of a just, high-minded, and fearless statesman, kind and considerate . . . without any personal bias against opponents.' His name will have a high rank among great Indian statesmen.

[Ann. Reg. 1862; Life of Sir Rowland Hill, by George Birkbeck Hill, London, 1880, p. 263; Kaye's History of the Sepoy War; Malleson's History of the Indian Mutiny, 1878; Chambers's History of the Indian Revolt, 1859; Parliamentary Paper relating to the Oudh Proclamation, 1859; Men whom India has known, Madras, 1871; Memoir of Bishop Cotton, 1871; personal information. Lord Canning's correspondence, which is said to have been preserved in a very complete form, is in the possession of his heir, the present Marquis of Clanricarde. It was placed at the disposal of the late Sir John Kaye when he was writing his 'History of the Sepoy War,' but in consequence of an incident which occurred in connection with the restoration of the papers after Sir John Kaye's death, an application made by the writer of this article for permission to consult them has been declined.] A. J. A.

**CANNING, ELIZABETH (1734-1773)**, malefactor, was born on 17 Sept. 1734. When she first attracted public notice, her father, who had been a sawyer, was dead, leaving behind him a widow and five children, of whom Elizabeth was the eldest. In December 1752 she was a domestic servant in the family of one Edward Lyon, a carpenter in Aldermanbury. Previous to this she had been

two years in a neighbouring alehouse, and had borne a good character. On New-year's day 1753 she went to visit an uncle and aunt of the name of Colley, who lived at Saltpetre Bank, near Wellclose Square. They saw her on her way home about nine p.m. as far as Houndsditch, where they parted with her. As she did not return to her mother's or master's house, she was circumstantially advertised for as follows: 'Lost, a girl about eighteen years of age, dressed in a purple masquerade stuff gown, a white handkerchief and apron, a black quilted petticoat, a green under coat, black shoes, blue stockings, a white shaving hat, with green ribbons, and had a *very fresh colour*. She was left on *Monday* last near *Houndsditch*, and has not been heard of since. Whoever informs Mrs. *Cannons* [Canning], a *Scowrer* [sawyer] at *Aldermanbury Postern*, concerning her shall be handsomely rewarded for their trouble' (*Daily Advertiser*, 4 Jan. 1753). Rumours being circulated that she had been heard to shriek out of a hackney-coach in Bishopsgate Street, this advertisement was repeated on 6 Jan. with her name in full, and some additional particulars. Prayers were besides offered up for her 'in churches, meeting-houses, and even at Mr. Westley's.' Also that infallible eighteenth-century oracle, a fortune-teller or cunning-man, was consulted. All inquiries were, however, in vain, and it was not until Monday, 29 Jan. 1753, a little after ten at night, that Elizabeth Canning returned to her mother's house in Aldermanbury Postern. She had been absent four weeks, and she came back in a most miserable condition, ill, half-starved, and half-clad. Her story, as it gradually took shape under the questions of sympathising neighbours, amounted in brief to this: That after leaving her uncle and aunt on 1 Jan. she had been attacked in Moorfields by two men in great coats, who robbed her, partially stripped her, stunned her by a blow on the temple, and finally dragged her away to a house on the Hertfordshire road. Here an old woman, after fruitlessly soliciting her 'to go their way' (i.e. lead an immoral life), cut off her stays, and thrust her a few steps upstairs into a room, where she had been confined ever since, subsisting on bread and water and a mince pie that her first assailants had overlooked in her pocket. Ultimately, she said, she had escaped through the window, tearing her ear in doing so. The mention of the Hertfordshire road seems immediately to have attracted suspicion to one Susannah, or 'Mother' Wells, who kept an establishment of doubtful reputation at Enfield Wash; and when, two days after her return, Canning repeated her story to Alderman Chitty, a war-

rant was issued for the apprehension of Wells. On 1 Feb. Canning, her mother, and a group of friends, went with an officer to Wells's house. Canning, who was still very weak, was taken from room to room. She identified (with certain discrepancies) a loft as the one in which she had been placed, and passing by Mrs. Wells, she selected one Mary Squires, an old gipsy of surpassing ugliness (there is a portrait of her in the 'Newgate Calendar') as the person who had cut off her stays and thrust her upstairs. The gipsy promptly declared that at the time of the occurrence she was a hundred and twenty miles away at Abbotsbury in Dorsetshire. The whole Wells household, however, including Squires's son George, a young woman named Virtue Hall, and a married couple, rejoicing in the extraordinary names of Fortune and Judith Natus, were taken before a neighbouring justice, Mr. Teshmaker of Ford's Grove. Squires and Wells were committed for trial for assault and felony; the rest of the party were discharged.

This, it has been said, took place on 1 Feb. On the 6th Canning's case was handed by Mr. Salt, a solicitor, to Henry Fielding, the novelist, then a Bow Street magistrate, for his opinion. Fielding, after giving this, was persuaded into allowing Canning to swear an information before him, and also into examining Virtue Hall. Next day Canning was brought to him, and repeated, with some variations, the tale she had already told to Alderman Chitty. The result of this was that another warrant was issued against the rest of the Wells household, and Judith Natus and Virtue Hall were brought before Fielding. Virtue Hall, after much apparent prevarication and contradictory evidence, finally told a story closely resembling that of Canning. This, with the aid of Mr. Salt, the solicitor for the prosecution (!), was embodied in an information which she signed. The curious laxity which permitted these proceedings was commented upon at the time, and would be unintelligible now (STEPHEN, *History of the Criminal Law of England*, 1883, i. 423).

On 21 Feb. Squires and Wells were tried at the Old Bailey. Canning retold her tale; Hall corroborated it. Three witnesses, Gibbons, Clarke, and Greville, were called to prove an *alibi* for Squires; but they were contradicted by a fourth named Iniser, and, in her statement before receiving sentence, by Squires herself. Squires was condemned to death; Wells to be burned in the hand, a sentence which was executed forthwith, to the delight of the excited crowd in the Old Bailey sessions-house.

Then began a new phase in the story. The lord mayor, Sir Crisp Gascoyne, who had presided at the trial *ex officio*, was not satisfied with the verdict. He made further and searching inquiries. He found that other witnesses were ready to prove the *alibi* of Squires. Virtue Hall, moreover, upon re-examination recanted her evidence. A respite was consequently obtained for Squires, and her case was referred to the law officers of the crown. They reported that the weight of the evidence was in her favour, and the king thereupon granted her a free pardon.

Meanwhile Fielding had published his 'Clear State of the Case of Elizabeth Canning,' which was immediately answered by Dr. Hill of 'The Inspector' in the 'Story of Elizabeth Canning consider'd.' Other pamphlets by authors less illustrious began to multiply rapidly. Portraits of Canning and Squires appeared in all the print-shops, and the caricaturists entered eagerly into the controversy. The fine gentlemen of White's chocolate-house made collections for the heroine of the hour, and the rabble attacked Sir Crisp Gascoyne in his coach. 'The town was divided between the "Canningites" and "Egyptians," or "Gipsytes," and "Betty Canning,"' says Churchill in the 'Ghost,'

was at least,

With Gascoyne's help, a six months' feast.

Churchill might have extended the time still further, for it was not until 29 April 1754 that Canning was summoned again to the Old Bailey to take her trial for wilful and corrupt perjury. Her different and differing statements were carefully dissected by counsel, and (rather after date) evidence was now tendered by Fortune and Judith Natus, to the effect that they slept in the loft during the whole of the time that Canning was said to have been confined there. As regards the Squires *alibi*, thirty-eight witnesses swore that the gipsy had been seen in Dorsetshire; twenty-seven, on the other hand, as pertinaciously asserted that she had been in Middlesex. The trial lasted eight days. The bewildered jury first put in a squinting verdict—they found Canning 'guilty of perjury, but not wilful and corrupt.' This qualified deliverance the recorder refused to receive, and they then found her guilty with a recommendation to mercy, though subsequently two of their number made affidavits that the verdict was not according to their consciences. When, on 30 May 1754, she came up to receive judgment, eight members of the court, led by the humane Sir John Barnard, were for six months' imprisonment, while nine were for transportation for seven years. She

was consequently transported in August, 'at the request of her friends, to New England.' According to the 'Annual Register' for 1761, p. 179, she came back to this country at the expiration of her sentence to receive a legacy of 500*l.*, left to her three years before by an old lady of Newington Green. According to later accounts, however (*Gent. Mag.* xliii. 413), she never returned, but died 22 July 1773 at Weathersfield in Connecticut. In 'Notes and Queries' for 24 March 1855 it is further stated, upon the authority of contemporary American newspapers (which give the month of death as June), that she had married abroad, her husband's name being Treat. Caulfield, in his sketch of her (*Remarkable Persons*, iii. 148), says that Mr. Treat was 'an opulent quaker,' and adds that 'for some time she [Canning] followed the occupation of a schoolmistress.' But how from 1 Jan. 1753 to the 29th of that month she did really spend her time is a secret that has never to this day been divulged. 'Notwithstanding the many strange circumstances of her story, none is so strange as that it should not be discovered in so many years where she had concealed herself during the time she had invariably declared she was at the house of Mother Wells' (*Gent. Mag.* ut supra).

[A full account of the above case is to be found in Howell's State Trials, 1813, xix. 262-275, 285-691, and 1418. The *Gent. Mag.* for 1753 and 1754 also contains much information, and a plan (xxiii. 306-7) of Wells's house at Enfield. Cf. also *Genuine and Impartial Memoirs of Elizabeth Canning, 1754*; Caulfield's *Remarkable Persons*, 1820, iii. 108-48 (which includes a portrait); Paget's *Paradoxes and Puzzles*, 1874, pp. 317-36; and *Notes and Queries*, ut supra. There are also innumerable pamphlets in the case besides Fielding's and Hill's. Sir Crisp Gascoyne published an *Enquiry into the Cases of Canning and Squires, 1754*; Allan Ramsay, the painter, in a *Letter from a Clergyman to a Nobleman, 1753*, wrote ably on the subject, and a surgeon named Dodd issued a *Physical Account*. Many other tracts, however, such as Canning's *Farthing Post*, Canning's *Magazine*, and the like, are eagerly sought after by collectors.] A. D.

**CANNING, GEORGE (1770-1827)**, statesman, was born in London on 11 April 1770. His family, which claimed descent from William Canynages of Bristol [q. v.], was at one time seated at Bishops Canning in Wiltshire, and afterwards at Foxcote in Warwickshire. A cadet of the family obtained the manor of Garvagh in Londonderry from Elizabeth, and died there in 1646. The statesman's father, George Canning, was the eldest of three brothers, sons of Stratford Canning

of Garvagh (1703-1775), and, according to one report, was disinherited by his father in consequence, it seems, of some early attachment of which the family disapproved. He came to London in 1757 with an allowance of 150*l.* a year, was called to the bar in 1764, wrote for the papers, published a translation of the 'Anti-Lucretius' (1766) and a collection of poems (1767). In 1768 he married Mary Anne Costello, a young lady of great beauty, but without any fortune, and, sinking under the burden of supporting himself and his family, died of a broken heart 11 April 1771. His second brother, Paul, had a son George (1778-1840), created baron Garvagh of Londonderry in the Irish peerage in 1818. The youngest, Stratford, was a banker in London, and the father of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe [see CANNING, STRATFORD].

After her husband's death his widow went upon the stage, and was twice married, her second husband being Redditch, an actor, and her third a Mr. Hunn, a linendraper of Plymouth, whom she also outlived for many years. She never achieved any great success in her profession, and finally quitted it in 1801, when Canning, who had then been under-secretary of state for five years, arranged to have his pension of 500*l.* a year settled on his mother and sisters.

Mrs. Canning had two children, a boy and a girl, and when the former was eight years old her brother-in-law, the banker, took him into his own house, and educated him as his own son. He was sent to school in London, and afterwards to the Rev. Mr. Richards, at Hyde Abbey, near Winchester, and finally to Eton, where he soon distinguished himself for his wit, his scholarship, and his precocious powers of composition. In concert with his friends John and Robert Smith, Hookham Frere, and Charles Ellis, he brought out a school magazine, called the 'Microcosm,' which attracted sufficient attention to induce Knight, the publisher, to pay the young editor fifty pounds for the copyright—in all probability the first copy money ever yet paid to a schoolboy. Canning always loved Eton, and in 1824 was 'sitter' in the Eton ten-oar, the post of honour reserved for distinguished old Etonians. In October 1788 he went up to Christ Church, where he made the acquaintance of Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool), Sturges Bourne, Lord Granville, Lord Morley (then Lord Boringdon), Lord Holland, and Lord Carlisle, and extended his classical reputation by gaining the chancellor's prize for Latin verse, the subject for that year, 1789, being the 'Pilgrimage to Mecca.' In the following year he took his bachelor's degree, and entered himself at Lin-

coln's Inn, though his residence chambers were at 2 Paper Buildings, in the Inner Temple.

His uncle, the banker, was a staunch whig, and his house was a favourite resort of the whig leaders. Here the young Oxonian made the acquaintance of Fox and Sheridan, who introduced him to Devonshire House at a grand supper party given by the duchess to all the wit, rank, and beauty of the whig party. There can be no doubt that at this time Canning called himself a whig, and his intimate friend, George Ellis, his colleague in the 'Anti-Jacobin,' and one of the founders of the 'Quarterly Review,' was even now writing in the 'Rolliad.' But the French revolution exercised the same influence on Canning as it did on many older men, hitherto the most distinguished ornaments of the whig party—Burke, Windham, Spencer, Lord Fitzwilliam—and brought them over in a body to the tory camp. Sir Walter Scott says that Canning's conversion was due to a visit from Godwin, who came to him in Paper Buildings, and told him that the English Jacobins, in the event of a revolution, had determined on making him their leader. Canning, according to this account, took time to consider the proposal, and, coming to the conclusion that he had better at once make his plunge in the opposite direction, instantly hurried off to Pitt. Scott seems to have heard this story at Murray's, but he does not say from whom, though he adds that Sir W. Knighton was the person to whom Canning told it. Godwin's visit, however, was only one out of many causes all converging to the same result. Moore declares that the treatment of Burke and Sheridan by the whigs had some effect in leading Canning to unite himself with the tories. A long letter of 13 Dec. 1792, written to his friend, Lord Boringdon, at Vienna, gives Canning's own explanation of his views and inclinations at the period, and shows that he already regarded Mr. Pitt as the man of the age. Whether, however, Canning went to Pitt, or Pitt sent for Canning, the result was the same. In 1793 he finally enrolled himself under that statesman's banner, and took his seat in the House of Commons as member for Newtown in January 1794. His maiden speech was delivered on the 31st of that month, the subject being the proposed grant of a subsidy to the king of Sardinia. Canning himself wrote an account of it to Lord Boringdon, in which he describes his own sensations at the moment of rising, and his annoyance towards the middle of his speech by seeing some members on the front opposition bench laughing, as he thought, at

himself. The cheers of his friends, however, soon restored him.

In 1796, when he exchanged Newtown for Wendover, Canning was made under-secretary of state for foreign affairs, a position which he held till 1799, when he was made commissioner of the board of control. From 1800–1 he was paymaster-general. He was M.P. for Tralee 1802–6, Newtown again 1806–7, and Hastings 1807–12. From September 1797 to July 1798 he contributed to the 'Anti-Jacobin or Weekly Examiner,' with Ellis, Frere, the Smiths, Lord Wellesley, Lord Carlisle, and even Pitt. Canning himself, it is said, never directly acknowledged the authorship of any of the pieces attributed to him. But we may safely assert that the 'Needy Knife-grinder,' the lines on Mrs. Brownrigg, the 'New Morality,' the song on Captain Jean Bon André, the lament of Rogero, and Erskine's speech to the Whig Club, were almost exclusively his. The paper was perhaps the most brilliant success of its kind on record. The intention of it was to make the revolutionary party ridiculous. Previously it had been the upholders of law and order, the 'Dons,' the 'Bigwigs,' who had been favourite objects of popular satire. The success of the experiment was great. The 'Anti-Jacobin or Weekly Examiner' was continued after July 1798 as the 'Anti-Jacobin Review,' a monthly magazine, which lasted till 1821.

On 8 July 1800 Canning married Joan, daughter of Major-general John Scott, a young lady with 100,000*l.* (her sister married in 1795 William Henry Cavendish Scott Bentinck, Marquis of Titchfield, who became Duke of Portland in 1809). This made him independent. Canning could follow Pitt into retirement on the Roman catholic question without pecuniary misgivings.

During the administration of Addington, who succeeded Pitt at the treasury, Canning seems to have represented that kind of irregular opposition which, coming from below the gangway on the ministerial side of the house, is more familiar to us than to our grandfathers. He was in favour of the Roman catholic claims and for a vigorous prosecution of the war, and Addington was inclined to neither. Pitt, however, held him in check for the first two or three years, though he could not prevent him from indulging in those flights of humour at the expense of the Addingtonian party, which greatly irritated the minister's own friends, and laid the foundation of that bitter and widespread animosity which pursued him to his grave. In May 1804, however, Pitt returned to power, and Canning with him as treasurer of the navy, an office which he held till Pitt's

death in 1806. He was offered high office by Lord Grenville in the cabinet of All the Talents, but declined it on what Lord Malmesbury allows to have been honourable and honest grounds—that is to say, on grounds which showed how complete a tory Canning had now become. His reason was that in the formation of the government the king's wishes had not been sufficiently consulted. In the spring of 1807, however, the new government was dismissed, and the tories again returned to power under Canning's near relative, the Duke of Portland, even then, however, in declining health and unequal to the duties of his position. In this cabinet Canning, at the age of thirty-seven, took his seat as foreign minister.

The ministry lasted two years and a half, and during its existence occurred the seizure of the Danish fleet by Lord Cathcart, the campaign of Sir John Moore, the Walcheren expedition, and the orders in council of November 1807, which, however, were not the beginning of that series of retaliatory measures. The capture of the Danish fleet was planned by Canning, and it was certainly one of the boldest and most successful operations of the whole war. It entirely disabled the northern confederacy against England, which Napoleon had formed with so much care, and put the finishing stroke to the work of Nelson at Trafalgar. The expeditions to Spain and to the Scheldt were less fortunate. Castlereagh was secretary for war and the colonies, and though the cabinet decided on the policy to be pursued, on him devolved the duty of superintending and carrying out the details. Canning thought that Moore's expedition had been greatly mismanaged, and that reinforcements which arrived 'too late' to alter the course of the campaign might easily have been despatched in time to convert defeat into victory. The following year, when, principally owing to Canning's energetic remonstrances, it was decided once more to renew the war in the Peninsula, Lord Wellesley accepted the Spanish embassy on the distinct understanding that his brother, Lord Wellington, should be vigorously supported from home. Canning was much mortified and disappointed on finding that the troops which were originally destined for Portugal had been diverted by Lord Castlereagh to an expedition against Flushing. That it was expedient to protect this country against the possible consequences of a French occupation of Antwerp will hardly be denied. The question was whether, if we had not troops enough for both purposes, Portugal or Holland was to have the preference. To Canning it seemed that the despatch of these

forces against Antwerp was a distinct breach of faith with Lord Wellesley, and this was his second ground of complaint against Lord Castlereagh. A third was that when the convention of Cintra was under the consideration of the cabinet, a resolution approving it was adopted in Canning's absence, who, as foreign secretary, had a pre-eminent right to be consulted. The result was that in April 1809 he told the Duke of Portland that either Lord Castlereagh must be removed to some other office, or that he (Canning) must resign. Canning's resignation, as the duke well knew, would break up the ministry. To propose to Castlereagh that he should retire from the management of the war required an amount of moral courage of which the duke was not possessed. But he undertook, nevertheless, that it should be done, and at once placed himself in communication with the principal friends of Lord Castlereagh in the cabinet, Eldon, Bathurst, and Camden.

Of what followed—of the long train of consultations, negotiations, stipulations, entreaties, and remonstrances with which the next five months were taken up, during the whole of which time Lord Castlereagh was left in ignorance of what was hanging over his head—such conflicting and complicated accounts have been given to the world that to extract the precise truth from them seems almost impossible. The charge brought against Canning was this, that after having declared to the prime minister his want of confidence in Lord Castlereagh, and having consented to retain office only on condition that his lordship should be removed from the war department, he continued all through the summer to meet him as if nothing had occurred, to transact public business with him as usual, to allow him to go on with the Scheldt expedition, though all the time he disapproved of it, and daily and hourly therefore to practise towards him a species of deception which no consideration for the ministry or anxiety for the public welfare could justify. Canning's answer was that he was more sinned against than sinning; that the deception of which Castlereagh complained had been first practised on himself, who had been distinctly assured that Lord Camden had undertaken to make the necessary communications; that, on finding himself deceived, he repeatedly urged on the Duke of Portland the immediate fulfilment of his promise, and that on each of these occasions he was begged by Lord Castlereagh's own friends to acquiesce in a further suspension of it; first till the end of the session, then till the Flushing expedition had set sail, then till the result of

it was known; and that finally, when no further pretext for delay remained, and no steps had yet been taken for informing Castlereagh of the resolution arrived at by the cabinet, he fulfilled his own part of the understanding by the immediate resignation of his office.

To these counter statements we have to add Lord Camden's denial that he had ever 'undertaken' to tell Lord Castlereagh what had been determined on, though he had not positively refused; and there is no difficulty, perhaps, in supposing that the Duke of Portland may have understood him to mean more than he did himself. That, however, is between the Duke of Portland and Lord Camden, and does not affect Canning. We can only refer our readers to the account of these transactions to be found in the diary of Lord Colchester, in Twiss's life of Eldon, in the memoir of Canning by Therry, in Stapleton's life of Canning, in Alison's life of Lord Castlereagh, and in the 'Annual Register' for 1809. At the last moment Lord Castlereagh only became acquainted with the truth by an accident. Dining with Lord Camden one evening, after a meeting of the cabinet, he commented on Canning's absence from it, when his host, it seems, at length mustered up courage to deliver himself of his message. In those days there was only one thing to be done. A challenge was at once sent, and the two statesmen met on Putney Heath on 21 Sept. Lord Yarmouth was Lord Castlereagh's second, and Charles Ellis (Lord Seaford) Canning's. Neither party fired in the air, but each missed his first shot; at the second fire Canning's bullet hit the button of Lord Castlereagh's coat, and Lord Castlereagh's wounded Canning in the thigh. The hurt, however, was but slight, and he was able to walk off the ground.

Thus ended the first part of Canning's ministerial career. The Duke of Portland resigned in October and was succeeded by Mr. Perceval, to whom Canning gave an independent support, though he declined to serve under him in the cabinet. Canning has been blamed for the part which he played at this conjuncture, as if he had been 'intriguing' against Perceval. We see no signs of any intrigue. He told Perceval fairly that he thought he had the better right of the two to the first place, and that he should try to secure it, but that if he failed himself he would give all his interest to his friend. Perceval and Canning, however, like Adington and Canning, and like the Duke of Wellington and Canning, represented two rival sections of the tory party, of which

neither did justice to the other, but of which the less numerous of the two has necessarily suffered the most from misrepresentation and calumny.

Canning had made the acquaintance of Sir Walter Scott in 1806 through the introduction of George Ellis, and an intimacy was at once formed which lasted their lives. Scott dined with Canning at Montagu House, the residence of the Princess of Wales, and found him a charming companion. Canning in his turn was delighted with Scott, and especially with his song on the acquittal of Lord Melville. In 1808 he interested himself greatly in the foundation of the 'Quarterly Review,' of which Scott, George Ellis, and himself may be said to have been the principal projectors. It does not seem, however, that Canning contributed anything to its pages, except a humorous article on the bullion question, the joint work of himself and Ellis, which appeared in October 1811. Scott was in town in the spring of 1809, and seems to have gathered from Canning's conversation that a break-up of the ministry was at hand. Accordingly, when he heard of the quarrel with Lord Castlereagh, it did not take him by surprise. Scott, who was the soul of honour and had access to the best information, did not think that Canning was to blame, and hoped now, he said, that he 'would take his own ground in parliament, and hoist his own standard,' as 'sooner or later it must be successful.' This tribute to Canning from the old Scotch tory, who had no idea of any coquetting with liberalism, is important, as it indicates the extent of Canning's hold upon the abler section of the tories, unbending conservatives though they were.

Canning had now some leisure for literature, and in the following year he wrote a letter to Scott on English versification. He was 'more and more delighted' with the 'Lady of the Lake,' he said, every time he read it. But still he did not altogether approve of the metre. He wished Scott to try his hand at Dryden's style, and seems to have contemplated at one time clothing some parts of the 'Lady of the Lake' 'in a Drydenic habit' with a view of showing Scott of what that measure was capable. Scott himself was so far influenced by Canning as to write a poem in imitation of Crabbe called the 'Poacher,' and an heroic epistle from Zetland to the Duke of Buccleuch. But when Canning read them he must have seen at once that Scott's strength did not lie in heroics.

In the Perceval administration Lord Wellesley was foreign secretary, and he in office

and Canning out of office combined to urge on the ministry to a vigorous prosecution of the Peninsular war and a cordial support of Lord Wellington. Sir Archibald Alison is mistaken in asserting that the whole burden of defending the Peninsular war in the House of Commons during the ministry of Mr. Perceval devolved on Lord Castlereagh, because Canning had gone abroad. Canning was in his place in parliament and spoke brilliantly in support of the war in 1810, 1811, and 1812. But in spite of all that he could do the war was not conducted to the satisfaction of Lord Wellesley, who, early in 1812, retired from the ministry. The assassination of Perceval followed soon afterwards, and then came another interregnum, during which fruitless efforts were made to form a united administration in which Wellesley and Canning and Lords Grey and Grenville should all have places. The failure of the negotiations was really owing to the fact that the prince regent reserved to himself the right of naming the prime minister, thus violating one of the cardinal doctrines of the whig creed; and in the end he was obliged to fall back upon Lord Liverpool, who offered the foreign office to Canning, coupled, however, with the condition that Lord Castlereagh must lead the House of Commons. On these terms Canning refused the offer, though it is hardly to be doubted that he regretted his refusal afterwards. He used to say himself that two years of the foreign office at that time would have been worth ten years of life. However, the die was cast, and his rival was installed for life.

Canning's article on the bullion question in the 'Quarterly Review' has been noticed, and such was the readiness with which he mastered questions not naturally congenial to him that in the great currency debates of 1811 he showed to no disadvantage by the side of Huskisson and Horner. These gentlemen represented the views of the 'bullion committee' of which Horner had been chairman, recommending that the Bank of England should be compelled to resume cash payment within two years. The government opposed the resolutions embodying the views of the committee, partly on the anti-bullionist theory in favour of an inconvertible paper currency, partly on the ground that the time was ill chosen. Canning took a middle course, agreeing with one half of the government argument, and dissenting from the other. He was in theory a decided bullionist. But he thought cash payments could not be resumed till the restoration of peace and on that understanding the ques-

tion rested for the moment. When in 1814 it was resumed, Canning was out of England, and took no part in the further postponements, which eventually reached to 1819.

At the general election of 1812 Canning was returned for Liverpool, on which occasion he made the memorable declaration that his political allegiance was buried in the grave of Pitt. Seeing no probability of any immediate return to office, he in the following year disbanded the small party of friends who had followed his fortunes in the House of Commons, and in 1814 left England for Lisbon. The journey was undertaken in the first instance for the benefit of his son's health, but Lord Liverpool as soon as he heard of it pressed on him the post of ambassador extraordinary at Lisbon. After remaining there for nine months Canning repaired with his family to the south of France, where he spent about a year, and returned to England in the summer of 1816, when he became president of the board of control. The circumstances of his appointment to Lisbon gave rise to a vote of censure in the House of Commons, to which Canning's reply is one of the greatest monuments of his genius which he has left behind him. A message had been sent home from Lord Strangford, the English ambassador at Brazil, to the effect that the king of Portugal would like to return to Europe under British protection. The ministers determined to appoint an ambassador extraordinary to receive him at Lisbon, and Canning was selected for the post. It turned out, after Canning's arrival at his post, that the king had changed his mind. But it was urged by Mr. Lambton, the mover of a vote of censure on the appointment, that it had been known all along that he never intended to come; that the appointment therefore was a simple job, and the salary (14,000*l.* a year) under any circumstances excessive. Canning made mincemeat of his assailant, and no more was ever heard about the Lisbon 'job.'

Between 1817 and 1820 the English ministry had to deal with two separate conspiracies of which the avowed objects were the plunder of society and the overthrow of the constitution. That the means at the disposal of the conspirators were ridiculously disproportioned to their ends, that they themselves were men of no ability, and that, after their schemes were discomfited, they appeared to be contemptible, may readily be granted. But the swell of the great revolutionary storm was still agitating Europe. The English conspirators were known to be in communication with foreigners; if despicable, they were still desperate; and though they might be incapable



of effecting a revolution, it was not obviously beyond their power to excite an insurrection, or riots at all events on so large a scale as to plunge the country into confusion, and expose many ignorant and credulous persons to death or ruin. The detected plot for assassinating all the ministers in Lord Harrowby's dining-room shows of what these men were capable. Canning accordingly supported the precautionary measures adopted by the government, and had the satisfaction of seeing the old liberal Tories, who had hitherto stood aloof under Lord Grenville, once more reunited with their former associates in defence of the public safety. Canning's speech on the subject is the best explanation of his conduct. Lord Liverpool's government has frequently been blamed, and Canning as a member of it, for the unnecessary severity of the Six Acts. But whether the return of tranquillity which follows the introduction of repressive measures would equally have succeeded without them is one of those unpractical questions to which no satisfactory answer can by any possibility be given.

In 1820 occurred the affair of Queen Caroline, when the ministry were overpersuaded by the king to introduce a divorce clause into the bill which they wished to confine to the exclusion of her majesty from England; the agreement to be that she was to be paid 50,000*l.* a year as long as she resided abroad. To a bill so limited Canning was not opposed, but as he had been on very friendly terms with the queen he wished to take no part in the proceedings against her, and therefore tendered his resignation. The king, however, declined to accept it, and in August 1820 Canning, who had been much distressed by the death of his eldest son in the previous March, again went abroad for the autumn. The queen's trial lasted from 17 Aug. to 10 Nov., when the bill being carried in the House of Lords by the small majority of nine only, Lord Liverpool at once withdrew it. Immediately afterwards Canning returned to England, but it was only to retire from the government on the ground that he could not be absent from parliament any longer, and that he could not be a party even to the unobjectionable measures which the government had still to carry out in connection with the queen. On the queen's death in August 1821 Lord Liverpool wished to bring him back, but the king, offended not so much with Canning as with the part taken by his friends in the House of Commons, declined to receive him, and after another brief trip to the continent he in 1822 accepted the governor-generalship of India. Before he

could set sail, however, Lord Castlereagh, now Lord Londonderry, destroyed himself, and this time both Lord Liverpool and the Duke of Wellington told George IV that Canning must fill his place at the foreign office. Early in the autumn of 1822 accordingly he returned to that long-regretted post, and at the same time exchanged his seat at Liverpool for Harwich. In 1826-7 he was M.P. for Newport, and in 1827 for Seaford.

When, after thirteen years' absence, Canning again took his seat at the foreign office, the aspect of affairs in Europe had entirely changed. Napoleon was dead. The reign of conquest and aggression was over. Yet it seemed to the European monarchies that they had only exchanged one enemy for another, and that the Jacobinism which on the removal of Napoleon's iron hand had sprung to life again, could be combatted only by the same means which had overthrown imperialism. The English statesmen who had stood side by side with the kings and emperors of the continent in their life-and-death struggle naturally fell in with this train of ideas. They had not deposed a European dictator to enthrone a European democracy. And though Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington refused to be parties either to the Holy alliance or to the much more practical and formidable understanding which eventually grew out of it, they did not, perhaps they felt they could not, express any marked disapproval of its measures.

In the settlement of Europe effected by the treaty of Vienna (9 June 1815) Canning had no part. He is said to have condemned it; but how far the end justified the means is too long a question to examine in these pages. The object in view was such a reconstruction of Europe as should offer the strongest barrier to the revival of the Napoleonic system. The means adopted were the incorporation of minor states with larger ones, and the partition of the two countries which had alone joined the standard of Napoleon, Saxony and Poland. This last arrangement was concerted between Russia and Prussia, the latter receiving a large slice of Saxony in return for handing over to Russia the duchy of Warsaw, which had been formed out of Prussian Poland after the treaty of Tilsit in 1809. England, France, and Austria were extremely indignant at the transaction, but ultimately accepted it rather than run the risk of another European war. The disregard of national feeling, and in some cases of actual pledges, which attended this great pacification, gave a handle to the opponents of the English ministry, of which they freely

availed themselves. But Canning of course accepted it as a *fait accompli* on his return to office, and upheld it on all occasions as the international law of Europe.

It was on the nature of the obligations entailed by the congress of Vienna on the contracting powers that England differed from her allies, partially during the lifetime of Lord Castlereagh, and more widely on the accession of Canning. While president of the board of control he had attended the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, which provided for the evacuation of France by the allied troops, and had consented to the pledge given by England to join in resisting any fresh efforts of the French Jacobins to disturb the Restoration government. But this was an exceptional case, and by no means committed us to a similar co-operation against insurrectionary movements in general. Lord Castlereagh was as strong on this point as Canning. In a circular addressed to our ambassador while the congress was sitting at Laybach in 1821, Castlereagh pointed out that the congress of Vienna bound us to support, if necessary by force of arms, the territorial arrangements concluded in 1815, but nothing more. As Canning said afterwards, our guarantees were territorial, not political. But then arose the further question, whether the treaty of Vienna not only did not enjoin political intervention, but actually forbade it, and entitled neutral powers, if they chose, to interfere to prevent it. Castlereagh and Wellington seem to have answered this question in the negative, Canning in the affirmative. The letter of the treaty is certainly in favour of the former interpretation; for, while it distinctly prohibits aggressive intervention, it is altogether silent on protective. But Canning may have rightly judged that it was difficult to draw any abiding line between the two; that the one was very likely to run into the other; and that, if the treaty was not to become a dead letter, intervention must be forbidden altogether, and the right of nations to do as they liked inside the boundaries allotted to them by the public law be unreservedly recognised. It is to be added, however, that resistance to political intervention was, in Canning's opinion, a right merely and not a duty, and a question to be determined entirely by our own interests at the moment.

We shall now be able to understand the new point of departure taken by English foreign policy on the return of Canning to the foreign office in 1822. The new revolution, which had begun originally in Spain in 1820, had spread to Portugal and Naples. The Austrians had already intervened, and in

1821 stamped out the movement in Naples. In Spain the people themselves, then under the influence of the priesthood, had rebelled against the new constitution, and kept up a species of guerilla warfare on its adherents. In Portugal something of the same kind had occurred. The king, John VI, hurried back from Brazil in 1821, and, having at first accepted the constitution, afterwards revoked it, promising at the same time to give his subjects a better one. There was at this time in Portugal what there was not either in Spain or Naples, a moderate constitutional party which, while utterly hostile to the absurd scheme of government put forward by the Spanish revolutionaries, and known to history as 'the constitution of 1812,' were still of opinion that the people must be admitted to some share in the government, and that the old system of purely paternal absolutism could no longer be maintained. Of this party the king himself and the Marquis Palmella were at the head, and it was to this party that Canning gave his own support.

In 1823, the revolutionary party in Spain still holding their ground, the king of France marched an army into the Peninsula under the command of the Duc d'Angoulême, which speedily reduced the rebels to submission. Canning protested, but protested in vain; and, not thinking it for the interest of this country to exercise her right of going to war in order to drive the French away, he retaliated in another fashion by acknowledging the independence of the Spanish American colonies. If French influence was henceforth to predominate in Spain, it should not be 'Spain with the Indies.' He called the new world into existence to redress the balance of the old. These words have been supposed to shed immortal lustre on both the eloquence and the principles of Canning. But it is only due to Lord Castlereagh to say that in the instructions which he drew up for the Duke of Wellington on his setting out for the congress of Verona in 1822, occurs the following passage: 'But the case of the revolted colonies is different. It is evident from the course which events have taken that their recognition as independent states has become merely a question of time.'

On the Portuguese absolutists the presence of the French army in Spain produced the worst possible effect. At their head were the queen and her second son Don Miguel, the eldest, Don Pedro, preferring to remain at Brazil, half as emperor, half as regent for his father, his daughter, Donna Maria, being the direct heiress to the throne. In 1824, encouraged by French emissaries, the absolutists began gradually to assume a very

alarming attitude, and the king applied to England for assistance. Canning was unwilling to go to the length of sending troops to Lisbon, as that would have the appearance of doing exactly what he himself had condemned when it was done by France. But he thought that a squadron might be sent to the Tagus without exposing us to the same criticism, and by these means a *coup d'état* attempted by Don Miguel was frustrated, and he himself obliged to take refuge at Vienna. In March 1826 John VI died, having appointed his daughter Isabella regent, and Don Pedro sent over a decree establishing a constitutional form of government. The absolutist party, however, were still strong in Portugal. They had the queen dowager on their side, and the presence of a French army in Spain to encourage them. In the course of the following year a regular rebellion broke out, fomented by the Spanish authorities, and their participation in the war brought the circumstances within the scope of our original treaties with Portugal, which bound us in such case to assist her. British troops were despatched to Lisbon in January 1827, the insurrection was soon crushed, and the government of the regency experienced no further disturbance down to the death of the great English minister in the following August.

The Austrian intervention in Naples, the French intervention in Spain, and the virtual intervention of Spain in Portugal were the three great exemplifications of the policy of the Holy alliance during Canning's administration of the foreign office. The only occasion on which he interfered, it will be observed, was one on which we were bound by previous treaties long antecedent to the treaty of Vienna to afford the assistance which we rendered.

In the summer of 1824 Canning paid a visit to Lord Wellesley, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and had promised to take Abbotsford on his way home, but was called back to town in a hurry by the death of Louis XVIII. In September of the following year, however, Scott and he met for the last time on the banks of Windermere, at the house of Mr. Bolton, where Scott found Southey and Wordsworth, as well as the foreign minister. Canning, whom Scott thought even then looking very ill, was the life of the circle. Many pretty women were of the party, and as they rode through the woods by day, or paddled in the lake by moonlight, there was 'high discourse,' says Lockhart, 'mingled with as gay flashings of courtly wit as ever Canning displayed.' From this brilliant scene Canning

returned to London and to all the gloomy mysteries of a great commercial crisis. This had been produced by a variety of causes which the reader will find carefully explained in McCulloch's 'Commercial Dictionary' and Tooke's 'History of Prices,' as well as by Mr. Walpole and Mr. Stapleton. The business did not belong to Canning's department, but he took a great interest in it notwithstanding, and warmly supported Lord Liverpool in resisting the importunities of the bank directors who begged the government to issue exchequer bills and suspend cash payments. One of their bitterest assailants was Mr. Manning, the father of the present cardinal; but the government stood firm, and by so doing saved the country from great financial calamities. In the session of 1826 government introduced a bill for putting an end to the circulation of notes under five pounds in value. The measure was adopted for England, but not for Scotland, principally owing to Scott's 'Letters of Sir Malachi Malagrowther,' at which it is said Canning was considerably annoyed.

In 1826 Canning went to Paris to see the king and his ministers in person, and seems to have had reason to congratulate himself on the success of his visit. He had been able, he said, 'to assure himself to absolute conviction that had the English government been rightly understood at the Tuileries in 1822-3, no invasion of Spain would ever have taken place.' Sir Walter Scott was in France at the same time, and was detained on the road between Calais and Paris by Canning having engaged all the post-horses. It is mentioned that on this occasion he was invited to dine with Charles X in the great saloon of the Tuileries, to which all the public were admitted, an honour which that sovereign had never conferred on any one not of royal blood except the Duke of Wellington and Prince Metternich.

When Canning became foreign minister the Greek rebellion had broken out for some time, and the chronic misunderstanding between Turkey and Russia was in its usual festering condition. Canning, like every other English statesman, addressed himself to the maintenance of peace between these two powers, which he succeeded in preserving during his own lifetime, but he failed in his efforts to mediate between the Porte and its insurgent subjects. Neither, in fact, would listen to a compromise till the successes of Ibrahim Pasha, in 1825, brought the Greeks into a more tractable mood, and induced them to solicit the good offices of England. These were the more readily granted that

Ibrahim was staining his victories in the Morea by gross excesses which Canning more than once declared to the Porte it was impossible for the western powers to endure. In April 1826 the Duke of Wellington signed a protocol at St. Petersburg, according to which England and Russia agreed to offer their mediation to Turkey on the condition that Greece should remain a tributary but otherwise independent state, acknowledging only the suzerainty of the Sultan (much like Egypt); the Porte being informed at the same time that, in case of its refusal, the christian powers would withdraw their ambassadors from Constantinople, and would 'look to Greece with an eye of favour, and with a disposition to seize the first occasion of recognising, as an independent state, such portion of her territory as should have freed itself from Turkish dominion, provided that such state should have shown itself substantially capable of maintaining an independent existence, of carrying on a government of its own, of controlling its own military and naval forces, and of being responsible to other nations for the observance of international laws and the discharge of international duties.'

The refusal of Austria and Prussia, however, to concur in the protocol rendered the first menace unavailing, while the failure of any part of Greece to comply with the conditions essential to the acknowledgment of its independence equally neutralised the second. Turkey rejected the proposals altogether, the result being that the protocol was converted into the treaty of London, signed by England, France, and Russia on 27 July 1827, the terms of which were nearly the same as those of the protocol, with the exception of a secret article, on the right interpretation of which a great deal of controversy has hung. It was resolved by the signatory powers that the Porte should be required to agree to an armistice in order to give time for the quarrel to be composed by amicable negotiation. The secret article provided that, if within a month's time the Porte did not accede to this proposal, the allies should take the necessary measures for establishing an armistice of themselves, and putting an end to the barbarities and also the piracies by which the contest was disfigured, but in such a manner, nevertheless, as might not amount to a breach of their friendly relations with the Porte. Canning had always been careful to repudiate any intention of using force. As late as 4 Sept. 1826 he wrote to Prince Lieven that the 'continuance of a contest so ferocious, and leading to excesses of piracy and plun-

der so intolerable to civilised Europe . . . did justify extraordinary intervention and render lawful any expedients short of positive hostility.' It is clear then that Canning saw in his own mind some plain distinction between the use of force to prevent one country from making war upon another, and making war upon either of them ourselves. The 'high powers' were to use all the means 'which circumstances should suggest to their prudence, to obtain the immediate effects of the armistice,' but 'without taking part in the hostilities between the contending parties.' It is certain that from first to last Canning had no idea of going to war with Turkey to compel her to acknowledge the independence of Greece. It is equally certain that he must have contemplated the possibility of firing on her ships and soldiers if she persisted in her efforts to put down the insurrection. How he could have done the one without doing the other it is not very easy to understand, nor shall we now ever learn. To the great misfortune of this country he died little more than four weeks after the signature of the treaty.

We must now retrace our steps for a short distance to the time when it became known that Lord Liverpool would be unable to resume his duties at the treasury. On 5 Jan. 1827 the Duke of York died, and was buried by night in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The members of the cabinet who attended dined at Canon Long's, and afterwards proceeded to the chapel, where they were kept waiting for two hours standing on the cold flagstones in very bitter weather. Canning made Lord Eldon stand upon his cocked hat, but he took no such precaution himself, and the result was a cold, from which he never entirely recovered. A few days afterwards he went with his private secretary to Bath on a visit to Lord Liverpool, who was there for the benefit of his health, and Stapleton records the delightful dinners they used to have when, on the pretext of amusing the youngster, the two old college friends told stories of their own youth which were evidently, he says, quite as entertaining to the old as to the young. From Bath, Canning went to stay with Huskisson at Eastham, where he was obliged to pass a day in bed, and on arriving at Brighton became so seriously ill that Stapleton thought it his duty at once to communicate with Lord Liverpool. It was while reading one of these letters, on 17 Feb. 1827, that Lord Liverpool was seized with a fit, and on Canning's partial recovery, as soon as it was seen that further delay was useless, he had an interview with the king to consult on the formation of a new ministry.

Canning first of all suggested to his majesty that he should endeavour to construct an exclusively protestant administration, of which he himself, while giving it an independent support, should not be a member. This advice was given on 28 March, and between this time and 9 April George IV had interviews with the Duke of Wellington and Peel, who recommended just the contrary—namely, that his majesty should make no attempt to form an exclusively protestant administration. All three, Canning, Wellington, and Peel, would have been glad to form a neutral government like Lord Liverpool's, but they could find nobody exactly qualified to fill Lord Liverpool's place. The matter, in fact, stood as follows: If an anti-catholic premier was appointed over Canning's head, solely on religious grounds, there was a clear violation of neutrality; if a pro-catholic was appointed, then it could be nobody but Canning. He himself would not accept the first alternative, nor Peel and Wellington the second. The choice, therefore, lay between Canning without these, and these without Canning. The duke and his friend contrived to leave an impression on the king's mind that they were trying to dictate to him, and this was quite enough to turn the scale in Canning's favour. George IV, who, if he cared for nothing else, cared a good deal about his own prerogative and his right to name his own ministers, told the Duke of Buckingham, almost in so many words, that this was his reason for giving the seals to Canning, who accordingly on 10 April received his majesty's commands to form a new administration. Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, Lord Westmorland, Lord Melville, Lord Bathurst, Lord Bexley, and Peel at once resigned, and drove Canning to an alliance with the whigs, for which he has frequently been blamed, but which he could hardly have avoided without either damaging the cause of Roman catholic emancipation and bringing doubts upon his own sincerity, or violating one of the cardinal doctrines of Toryism by refusing to assist the king against an aristocratic cabal. That this was the light in which the situation appeared to Canning is evident from the letter to Croker, which is published in the first volume of the 'Croker Papers.' And that the reason we have assigned was the one which actuated George IV may safely be concluded not only from the Buckingham diary to which we have already referred, but also from a letter of Huskisson's likewise to be found in the 'Croker Papers.'

It is known that the Duke of Wellington conceived himself to have been very ill

treated by Canning in the course of these transactions, and those who are curious on such passages may consult their correspondence on the subject, which is to be found in full both in the 'Duke of Wellington's Despatches,' and also in Stapleton's 'Life.' A not unimportant question raised in it is whether the person first sent for by the sovereign is the one whom he necessarily intends to be prime minister. It does not seem to us that Canning is fairly open to the charge of underhand dealing, while as to the second point they seem to have been at cross purposes—Canning referring to the interview in which the king directly charged him with the formation of a ministry, Wellington to another in which the king only asked for his advice.

In justice to the memory of Canning it must be recorded here that in his agreement with the whigs he did not abandon a single article of his own creed, but that on the contrary he exacted from those who took office with him a pledge that they would neither raise the question of parliamentary reform nor support the repeal of the Test Act. In Canning's ministry, as finally constituted, Lord Lyndhurst was chancellor, Lord Lansdowne secretary for the home department, Lord Dudley for the foreign, Lord Carlisle privy seal, and Mr. Tierney master of the mint. Canning himself was chancellor of the exchequer, Huskisson president of the board of trade, and Lord Palmerston, remaining secretary-at-war, was now admitted into the cabinet. The ministry was strong in ability, and commanded a working majority in the House of Commons. Whether, had its existence been prolonged, it would have gathered round itself the confidence of the public and insured a new lease of power to the tory party, once again liberalised by Pitt's pupil as it had been formerly by Pitt himself, is now a matter of pure speculation. The session of 1827 was made bitter to Canning by the unrelenting hostility exhibited by his former friends. On all commercial questions both Lord Liverpool and Canning had always taken the same view as Pitt, and were, in theory at all events, free-traders. No one was readier than Lord Liverpool to acknowledge the mistake that had been made in the corn law of 1815, and before Canning's accession some modification of it had been adopted. In 1826 he was busily engaged in devising a further relaxation of the law, and it was the last thing on which he was intent before his retirement from public life. The measure, which was the joint production of himself and Huskisson, was introduced by Canning on 1 March 1827. It was founded on what is called the

sliding scale, and provided that foreign wheat should be admitted at a 20s. duty when the price had fallen to 60s., the duty to fall as the price rose, and to rise as the price fell. The bill passed the House of Commons by large majorities before the Easter recess, but was knocked on the head by the Duke of Wellington, who carried an amendment in the House of Lords to prohibit bonded corn from being brought into the market till the price rose to 60s. The bill was withdrawn, but Canning introduced a temporary measure for allowing the bonded corn then in the country to be brought into the market under the conditions prescribed by the bill, and the measure passed both houses without opposition. Canning was very angry at the loss of the bill, and made some remarks on the conduct of the House of Lords, which had better been spared. But he was smarting under the treatment which he supposed himself to have experienced from the aristocracy, and especially from a violent attack made upon him by Lord Grey on 10 May, which stung him so severely that he is said to have contemplated taking a peerage himself that he might answer him in person. The speech has been answered very effectively by his private secretary, Mr. Stapleton, in his 'Political Life of Mr. Canning;' and as it is probably only a digested report of what he heard from Canning's own lips, it may be accepted as the case for the defence which the great statesman would have desired to place on record.

But his career was now fast drawing to a close. He struggled through the session against a combination of difficulties peculiarly trying to one of his warm and sensitive disposition, and which did not require to be aggravated by bodily sickness. No mercy, however, was shown to him; and when parliament was prorogued on 2 July he left the House of Commons, which he had so long ruled 'as Alexander ruled Bucephalus,' a dying man. The Duke of Devonshire invited him to Chiswick for change of air, but it was all in vain. On 29 July he was able to see the king, when he told his majesty that 'he did not know what was the matter with him, but he was ill all over.' On 1 Aug. his life was seen to be in danger; and on the 5th his condition was made public. On Wednesday the 8th he died in the very same room in which, twenty-one years before, died his early friend Charles Fox. Canning had three sons and a daughter. His eldest son (b. 25 April 1801) died 31 March 1820. The second son, William Pitt, a captain in the navy, was drowned at Madeira 25 Sept. 1828. The third son, Charles John,

afterwards Earl Canning, is separately noticed. Canning's widow was created Viscountess Canning 22 Jan. 1828, with remainder to Canning's heirs male. She died 15 March 1837, and was succeeded by her only surviving son, Charles John. The daughter, Harriett (d. 8 Jan. 1876), married Ulick John, first marquis of Clanricarde.

Canning's toriyism was the toriyism of the second Pitt, modified by the new class of considerations which the French revolution had imported into political life. It was founded, in the first place, on the maintenance of the royal prerogative, and included among its primary tenets the repeal of the Roman catholic disabilities and the gradual removal of restrictions upon trade and commerce. But Canning did not share his master's views on the question of parliamentary reform, probably because it was demanded in 1820 in a very different spirit and with very different objects from those which actuated the reformers of 1780. Canning believed, in fact, that the old system was capable of being administered in a thoroughly popular manner, and with that conviction he naturally shrank from a change which was confessedly hazardous, and which, even if successful, would only remove anomalies of no practical importance. Accustomed as we are now to the doctrine of inherent right and the dominion of abstract ideas, we no longer feel the force of Canning's reasoning. But in his own day it rested on a basis which was generally recognised, or the ancient *régime* would never have been tolerated so long.

Both at home and abroad Canning aspired to hold the balance even between the two extremes, between oligarchical and democratic, between despotic and licentious, principles. That in carrying out this idea he should have given offence to both parties is only what we should expect to discover; and in truth this one great fact is at the bottom of nearly all the difficulties which he experienced, and most of the mysteries which attach to him. As, on his return to the foreign office in 1822, he found, or thought he found, the liberal party in Europe the weaker of the two, he threw the whole weight of England into that scale. At home, on the contrary, as he seems to have thought that the two parties were differently balanced, he brought his genius to the support of conservatism. Hence his approval of the Six Acts and his opposition to parliamentary reform.

Of Canning as an orator conflicting accounts have been handed down to us; but they all agree in this, that in what may be called literary eloquence he has had few

rivals. His manner, his aspect, his voice, his elocution, the selection of his words, the beauty of his imagery, and, when the subject called for it, the closeness and clearness of his reasoning, combined to make him the foremost man in the English parliament after the death of Fox. But he does not seem to have possessed in an equal degree what Aristotle calls *ἡθικὴ πίστις*, that quality in virtue of which the orator impresses every one who hears him with an absolute conviction of his sincerity. Many who listened to Canning thought him only a consummate actor, nothing doubting his intellectual belief in the doctrines he was enforcing, but uncertain only whether his feelings were engaged to the extent which his language would imply. It is commonly supposed that rhetoric and passion do not mingle very kindly with each other. Mr. Stapleton, however, has proved beyond risk of contradiction that, if any such rule holds good, Canning at least was an exception to it, and that in all his great orations, however elaborate the texture, he spoke from his heart. Canning's collected poems were issued with a memoir in 1823. His speeches, edited by R. Therry, were published in six volumes in 1828. A French translation in two volumes appeared in 1832.

[Stapleton's *Political Life of Canning*, 1831; Stapleton's *Canning and his Time*, 1835; Bell's *Life of Canning*; *Memoirs by Therry*, prefixed to edition of *Speeches*, 1828; Grenville's, Wellesley's, and Malmesbury's *Diaries and Memoirs*; Lord Colchester's *Diary*; Twiss's *Life of Eldon*; Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*; Lord J. Russell's *Memoirs of Fox*; Pellet's *Life of Lord Sidmouth*; Yonge's *Life of Lord Liverpool*; *Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington*; Brougham's *Statesmen of the reign of George III*; Sir G. C. Lewis's *Administrations of Great Britain, 1783-1830*; Keibel's *History of Toryism, 1783-1881*; Lockhart's *Life of Scott*; Greville *Memoirs*; Croker *Papers*; Sir T. Martin's *Life of Lord Lyndhurst*.] T. E. K.

**CANNING, RICHARD** (1708-1775), topographer, born on 30 Sept. 1708, was the son of Richard Canning, a post-captain in the navy, who went to reside at Ipswich in 1712. He was elected a king's scholar at Westminster school in 1723, but went to Cambridge without a school scholarship. He proceeded B.A. 1728, and M.A. 1735, at St. Catharine's College, Cambridge; became perpetual curate of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, in 1734; rector of Harkstead, Suffolk, in 1738; and rector of Freston and vicar of Rushmere St. Andrew, both in the same county, in 1755. He resigned his benefice at Rushmere in 1756, and handed over that at Harkstead

to his son Richard (B.A. Emmanuel College, 1763) in 1769. He died on 8 June 1775, and was buried in St. Helen's Church, Ipswich, where there is a mural tablet to his memory. Canning was an earnest student of the history of Suffolk, and is best known by the edition of 'The Suffolk Traveller.' This book, first published by John Kirby between 1732 and 1734, was thoroughly revised by Canning and a few friends, and issued, 'with many alterations and large additions,' in 1764. A third edition appeared in 1835 under the title of 'The History of the County of Suffolk.' Canning issued in 1754 a translation of the Ipswich charters, and in 1747 an account of the charitable bequests made to the town. Both these tracts appeared anonymously. Several of Canning's sermons were published at Ipswich. He printed two pamphlets (1740 and 1749) against the dissenters. The younger Richard Canning died on 17 Jan. 1789.

[Nichols's *Lit. Illustrations*, vi. 538-45; Gough's *British Topography*, ii. 248; *Alumni Westmonast.* p. 281.] S. L.

**CANNING, STRATFORD**, first Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe (1786-1880), diplomatist, was the youngest son of an elder Stratford Canning, and first cousin of George the minister [q.v.]. The elder Stratford was disinherited by his father on account of what was considered an imprudent marriage. To his mother, Mehetabel, daughter of Robert Patrick, Canning owed much of his personal charm, and still more his resolute will and steadfast nature. Left a widow soon after the birth of her most famous son, Mrs. Canning brought up her children, on limited means, with rare skill and wisdom. Charles Fox, her third son, served under the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsular war, and was appointed his aide-de-camp; and the duke made very honourable mention of him when he was killed at the battle of Waterloo.

Stratford Canning was born on 4 Nov. 1786, in Clement's Lane, near the Mansion House. The dingy street, sloping down to the river, was a favourite resort of merchants, who then lived over their offices. Here his father had come to seek the fortune which he had forfeited by his marriage, and here Fox, Sheridan, and other celebrities delighted to sup with the charming young merchant and his beautiful wife. Six months after the birth of Stratford, his father died at Brighton, and the city house was exchanged for a quiet retreat at Wanstead, on the skirts of Epping Forest, which remained the home of mother and children for some fifteen years. Stratford was sent to a neigh-

bouring school at the early age of four, and two years later to Hackney, where he remembered the celebration of Lord Howe's victory over the French in 1794. In the summer of this year he went to Eton. The hardships of his life at Hackney had furnished him with unhappy recollections; and the change to Eton, though fagging was still a trial to him, proved very welcome. His high spirits and personal charm made him a favourite with masters and boys, and he devoted his time more to games and exercises than to work, until an illness sobered him, and the sympathetic tutorship of Sumner (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury) gave him a new interest in his studies. Eton boys were always welcome at Windsor and Frogmore, and Canning had his share of the royal notice. George III once asked him in what form he was, and, being told the sixth, said, 'A much greater man than I can ever make you.' At Windsor he saw the great people of the state—Addington and Pitt and their colleagues; and they took him to hear debates in the House of Commons. He saw Nelson, who came to Eton 'with Lady Hamilton under his arm, and made amends for that weakness by obtaining a holiday for the school.' At home, in the vacations, he saw much of his cousin George, and of Sheridan, who had taken a house near Wanstead after the death of his first wife. At Eton he joined Richard Wellesley, Rennell, and Gally Knight in publishing a collection of essays, 'The Miniature,' which went to a second edition. In due course he became captain of the school, and in 1805 was elected a scholar of King's College, Cambridge. His university career was uneventful; but, without being precisely studious, he contrived to make himself master of most of the great classical authors, and throughout his life he retained an excellent memory of Virgil and other favourite poets. He lived in Walpole's rooms, saw Porson and Simeon, and joined a debating society with Pollock and Blomfield. 'The life was one of pleasant monotony, in which an easy amount of study was mingled with healthy exercise and social enjoyments suited to the character of the place and its youthful occupants. I had friends, or at least acquaintances, in other colleges besides my own; but I had nothing to do with horns, carriages, or boats' (*MS. Memoirs*). He was soon appointed to a diplomatic post, and his degrees were eventually granted by decree of the senate in virtue of his absence 'on the king's service.'

In 1807 George Canning became foreign secretary, and appointed his cousin to the post of *précis* writer at the foreign office.

The work did not seriously interfere with his Cambridge terms, but it was an office of confidence. His duties kept him constantly in intimate relations with his cousin, in whose house in Downing Street he lived, and at the foot of whose table he sat when the foreign minister entertained the diplomatic circle with a state dinner. When the mission was going to Copenhagen, with a view to healing the breach with the Danes, Stratford Canning was appointed the second of the two secretaries who accompanied Mr. Merry on this delicate and futile business (October 1807). An important mission to Turkey was in contemplation when he returned. The alliance with Russia against France had brought us into collision with the Porte in support of our Russian ally, and some acts of hostility had occurred. When Napoleon forced the czar to abandon his English connection, the necessity for a formal rupture with our old ally disappeared, and there was a desire on both sides, cautiously expressed, to mend the breach. Sir Robert (then Mr.) Adair was accordingly despatched, in June 1808, to negotiate a treaty of peace, and Canning went with him as first secretary. The task was a delicate one; for the Turks, as usual, believed that something was to be gained by delay. After two months' endurance of these procrastinations, Adair sent in his ultimatum, and ordered his man-of-war to be got ready for sea. The sight of loosened sails and anchor weighed finished the matter, and the treaty of peace was signed on 5 Jan. 1809, at the very moment when the French embassy at Constantinople was apprised of the supposed failure of the negotiations.

For a year and a half from this date Canning performed the duties of first secretary at Constantinople. The business of the ambassador was to induce Turkey to prefer the influence of England to that of France, at a time when France meant nearly all Europe, and England was her only overt antagonist. Adair did indeed contrive to keep the Porte in a friendly disposition towards England, and to check in some measure the French *chargé d'affaires*; but there was little stirring at the embassy, and Canning had leisure to amuse himself with riding, and with the scanty society of the place. 'The diplomatic circle,' he writes, 'was at zero. Owing to various causes, entirely political, the only house of that class at which we could pass the evening was the residence of the Swedish mission. The intelligent and educated traveller was a rare bird, and at best a bird of passage. What remained was to be sought out with very limited success among the resident merchants and mongrel families of Pera and Buyukdery, who sup-



plied christian diplomacy with interpreters, and by their means exercised no small influence, not always of the purest kind, over its transactions with the Porte' (*MS. Memoirs*). One notable addition to the society of Stamboul was made for a time by the arrival of Lord Byron, whom Canning had last seen when playing against him in an Eton and Harrow cricket match, and who was then busily engaged upon 'Childe Harold.'

In July 1810, disgusted with the position of onlooker at the Porte, and weary of the palaver and procrastination of Turkish ministers, a discussion with whom he compared to 'cutting into dead flesh,' Adair left Constantinople for his new post at Vienna, and Canning, in his twenty-fourth year, by virtue of a dormant commission, took over the full, though temporary, responsibility of the embassy at the Porte, as minister plenipotentiary, pending the appointment of Adair's successor. In the manuscript memoirs which have already been quoted he gives an interesting and valuable summary of the political situation. 'In 1809,' he writes, 'a year of great importance had begun. The Emperor Napoleon had consolidated, by a peace of apparent duration, the military, territorial, and moral advantages which he had obtained, as the case might be, at the expense of continental Europe. Where his troops were not quartered, or his frontier not advanced, he exercised either an accepted authority or a predominant influence. He was king of Italy, master of the Low Countries, protector of the Rhenish confederacy, and mediator of the Swiss cantons. His numerous armies occupied the greater part of the countries west of the Pyrenees. Their positions were as yet but partially threatened by the Spanish insurrection and the British successes in Portugal. Austria was secretly collecting the means for a fresh trial of strength with the victorious legions of France. Russia was occupied with her military operations against Turkey. Denmark had become the creature of Napoleon, and Sweden, though allied with us by the policy of its gallant and unfortunate king, was drifting towards a change of government destined to prove subversive of the English alliance. England, though triumphant everywhere at sea, and wielding a power which was capable of making itself felt wherever the enemy or his forced allies presented a weak point upon the coast or a distant colonial possession worth attacking, had to bear up against a heavy financial pressure, and to encounter much occasional discontent at home. She was nominally at war with every European government controlled by France, and as far as ever from any approach towards

peace with that country; while serious discussions with the United States of America held out to her the prospect of another war dangerous to her trade and difficult to be met without much additional expense and many a hazardous exertion.' In 1810 the situation had grown perceptibly gloomier. 'With the battle of Wagram, followed by the peace of Schönbrunn, fell every immediate hope of seeing the progress of Napoleon checked by the arms of Austria. Our Spanish allies had been compelled to take refuge in Cadiz. Our grand expedition to Antwerp had proved a failure. The fevers of Walcheren had given the finishing stroke to the indecisions of our commanders. The ministry at home were breaking into pieces; our national debt was larger than ever; and symptoms of popular discontent prevailed.'

Such was the state of Europe when Canning began his responsible work at Constantinople. To the complexity of the political situation was added the further difficulty that from the beginning to the close of his mission he was left without instructions from home. The government entirely forgot him; the most important despatch he received from the Marquis Wellesley, who had succeeded Canning at the foreign office, related to some classical manuscripts supposed to be concealed in the Seraglio; and the many and important negotiations which he carried to a successful issue were conducted without a solitary word of advice or support from the British government. As he writes, he had to 'steer by the stars' in the absence of compass; and although he naturally resented this official neglect, it is probable that he was not ill-pleased to find himself unshackled by instructions: to shirk responsibility on the plea of no orders from home was a course that could never have occurred to him. One circumstance was in his favour: England alone stood face to face with the conqueror, and had come to be regarded as 'an ark of refuge for the honour of princes and the independence of nations.' England, too, was the supreme trading power in the Levant, and in the absence of powerful pressure from France, the interests of the Porte were naturally bound up with those of the greatest maritime nation of the world.

Canning's work during this first mission at Constantinople consisted in three separate tasks: first, to make the influence of England felt at the Porte as a check upon the French; secondly, to defend the interests of our shipping trade in the Levant; and thirdly, to effect a reconciliation between the czar and the sultan with a view to setting Russia free to repel Napoleon's meditated

invasion. In each of these tasks he was successful. Even in these youthful days his presence carried something of that sense of power which afterwards came to be associated with 'the Great Elchi'—a title which means full ambassador, as distinguished from a minister (elchi), but which came to be applied to Canning with a special force, as *the ambassador par excellence*. It was soon perceived that the young minister, in spite of the want of instructions from home, was prepared when needful to take steps of the utmost daring and consequence. It was then common for a French privateer to capture a British merchant vessel and run the prize into a Turkish port. Remonstrance was useless; Canning boldly called upon Captain Hope, who commanded the Mediterranean fleet, to take the law into his own hands. Hope entered the harbour of Napoli di Romania with his corvette, and under the guns of the fortress demanded the restitution of some English prize vessels. The privateer ran his prizes ashore and burnt them; the corvette opened fire upon him, and the fortress was mute. The needful lesson had been given, and the privateering question was practically settled. The Porte indeed, incensed at this bold stroke, sent a private communication to the presumptuous minister, lamenting his imprudence in constantly harassing the Sublime Porte about mere trifles, instead of mediating a peace with Russia, a task which the sultan was ready to trust to his good offices. Canning knew perfectly that the negotiation of such a treaty would be the making of his diplomatic reputation; but even for this he would not yield a point. 'Nothing,' he answered, 'is unimportant which concerns the honour of England.' He persisted in his defence of the rights of British merchants, and his persistence only strengthened him in bringing his now acknowledged influence to bear upon the larger negotiations.

The conclusion of a peace between the belligerents on the Danube had become a matter of pressing importance. The balance of victory was decidedly on the Russian side, and it was obvious that Turkey could not expel the czar's army from her territory. At the same time Russia pursued the war but languidly, for her army on the Danube was urgently needed to meet Napoleon's threatened march to Moscow. The interest of England pointed distinctly to effecting the release of the army of the Danube, as a weapon against France; and though we were then technically at war with Russia, as with the rest of Europe, it was still possible for our minister to mediate, since Russia in her

present straits had already begun to show leanings towards England. Canning saw that his duty lay in obtaining the best terms of peace he could for Turkey, and thus at once conciliating the good opinion of the Porte for England, and releasing the Russian army against England's great antagonist. Financial and political reasons, moreover, alike commended the peace to the czar: Canning increased the desire by cementing the alliance between Turkey and Persia, and thus encouraging the Persians in their flank movement on Russia. On the other hand the normal difficulty of inducing the Porte to come to any decision was in this instance increased by one or two Turkish successes on the Danube. Yet he so worked upon Turkey by emphasising the growing successes of Wellington in the Peninsula, that the Porte at length confided to him unusual powers. In spite of the fact that Canning was acting entirely on his private responsibility, the sultan threw over the French minister, and invited his English rival to open direct negotiations with D'Italinsky, the Russian plenipotentiary at Bucharest, promising to place exclusive confidence in him, and to permit no French interference. The intrigues of France and Austria furnished weapons which were amply effective in capable hands. He obtained possession of a secret paper in which these two powers proposed to join Turkey in an attack upon Russia, and this he contrived to convey to D'Italinsky, with the desired effect: Russia became more anxious than ever to arrange a peace. But Turkey remained obstinate; the Porte, always trusting to the chapter of accidents, still hoped to get out of the war without loss of territory, and some strong measure was needed to bring it to reason before France opened hostilities. The French minister and Austrian internuncio strenuously encouraged Turkey in the policy of resistance, while Canning, in spite of his confidential position, was still at variance with the Porte on minor matters of commercial rights. Moreover, his communications with Russia, the traditional enemy of Turkey, even when invited by the Porte, were in themselves liable to suspicious misconstruction. The English minister had, however, again a weapon in his hand. He held a secret paper detailing a plan for the invasion and partition of Turkey, drawn up at Vienna, with Napoleon's connivance. This unprincipled document he delivered to the Porte in his most impressive manner, and it soon appeared that the long struggle was over. In the face of the active hostility of France and Austria, in spite of the obvious advantages of delay to the Porte, he carried

his point, and the treaty of Bucharest was signed on 28 May 1812, and ratified just before the arrival of Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Liston superseded Canning at the embassy.

This was the most important act of Stratford Canning's life. Apart from the reputation thus acquired by the young diplomatist, the gain to Europe was immense. The negotiations which ended in the treaty of Bucharest laid the foundations of that predominating influence which England has ever since exerted at the Porte, and established the extraordinary personal prestige which enabled Canning to maintain that influence at Constantinople through times of severe strain and confusion. More than this, it released Tschitschakoff's army of the Danube at the precise moment when it was needed to aggravate the discomfiture of the French in their retreat from Moscow, an opportune achievement, which the Duke of Wellington characterised as 'the most important service to this country and the world that ever fell to the lot of any individual to perform.' Canning had gone to Constantinople when Turkey was in open rupture with us, and almost in the arms of Napoleon. He left it under the supreme influence of England, with our maritime rights secured, Russia set free to join the great alliance against the French emperor; and all this without a word of advice from the home government, and without using his trump card, the exchange of the secret article of the treaty of the Dardanelles, which would have cost England 300,000*l.*, and which had been left to his discretion.

In July 1812 he left the Bosphorus, with a firm resolve never to return. Apart from the special drawbacks of life and society at Stamboul, he disliked residence abroad, and had only accepted the secretaryship, and subsequently the embassy, under the idea that it would be a very temporary and brief engagement. His inclinations pointed to a career at home, where the quick intellectual life of London, and the usual goals of ambition, literary and political, attracted him. When he arrived in England, however, George Canning was not in power; Castlereagh occupied the foreign office, and there seemed little likelihood of immediate promotion. He was, indeed, in recognition of special services, granted a pension of 1,200*l.* as minister plenipotentiary *en disponibilité*. But he was lonely in London; most of his school and college friends were scattered; and he took no pleasure in ordinary town amusements. He read a good deal, in a desultory fashion; wrote poetry, and contributed some articles to the

'Quarterly Review,' which he had a share in founding. Perhaps his greatest pleasures were his regular walks with George Canning to Hyde Park Corner, where the ex-minister's carriage awaited him, economically, outside the turnpike, to drive him home to Brompton. To the long and intimate conversations which enlivened these daily walks the younger man always attributed much of his political knowledge and insight.

In 1813 the offer was made to him of accompanying Lord Aberdeen on his special mission to Vienna; but as his acceptance would have involved a step backwards in diplomatic rank, from plenipotentiary to secretary, he thought it wise to decline, though he thereby lost the opportunity of accompanying the allied armies in their march against Napoleon. He went to Paris, however, after the emperor's abdication, saw the king make his entry, and was presented to Louis XVIII. On that occasion he 'saw, and never saw again, the handsome youth who was destined to hold the reins of empire in Russia, to keep all Europe in alarm for thirty years, and to close a proud career under the pressure of a disastrous war. He met, for the first and last time, his lifelong enemy, the Czar Nicholas.

At this time Lord Castlereagh, who had formed a very high opinion of Stratford Canning's abilities, offered him (May 1814) the post of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Switzerland, and as this carried with it a diplomatic step, and involved a great deal of important work—Castlereagh had indeed selected him because he was known to like work—he accepted. His business was to substitute, for the act of mediation by which Napoleon had bound the Swiss cantons to France, a new federal act, which should create a neutral and guaranteed state, to act as a check upon French aggression in Germany and North Italy. The work was rendered exceedingly difficult and delicate by the wide differences between the governments of the several cantons, and all Canning's tact and decision were needed to reconcile the conflicting systems. After much negotiation, and a long diplomatic duel with Count Capo d'Istria, the Russian plenipotentiary, an act was agreed upon, and the envoys proceeded to Vienna to submit it to the congress then sitting to adjust the affairs of Europe. Canning lived to be the last survivor of the famous congress; for though he was not one of the plenipotentiaries (having only a seat on the committee appointed to inquire into the Swiss question), he was more than once invited to join the sittings of the general council. As far as Switzerland was concerned the congress did its work

quickly; Canning held the protocols, and pushed the act of federation to its conclusion; but the general business of the congress made little progress before the return of Napoleon from Elba.

When the congress dispersed upon the return of Napoleon, Canning went back to Switzerland with the act of federation approved by the congress (*Declaration*, 20 March 1815), whereby the 'precious gift of neutrality' was accorded to the cantons on condition of political impotence, and his first duty was to induce the cantons to accept the slight modifications introduced at Vienna, and to furnish a contingent to the allied armies now concerting measures against Napoleon. Both these objects he effected before Waterloo removed any remaining grounds of hesitation. During the 'hundred days' an opportunity occurred for a rear attack by the Swiss contingent on the French corps d'armée which had marched through Geneva to meet the Austrians; Canning at once grasped the position, and urged an immediate attack; but the Swiss general had no instructions which permitted so daring a movement, and the chance was lost. The envoy's principal work was now accomplished, but there were still numerous details to be settled in the constitutions of the twenty-two cantons. He was even induced by the entreaties of the Swiss to draw up a plan for organising a federal army; and the force of 100,000 men which the protestant cantons mustered in 1847 against the *Sunderbund* was the result of the military system founded by the civilian thirty years before. During the earlier part of the six years occupied by the Swiss mission, Zürich was his headquarters, and the life seems to have been somewhat dreary; the men were too grave and serious, and the 'wives and daughters were more remarkable for their domestic virtues than for the charms and accomplishments of polite society.' The grandeur of Alpine scenery, of which he retained an enthusiastic memory at the age of ninety, made amends for the dulness of man, and the lack of society was to some extent remedied when he moved the embassy to Bern in 1815, and still more when, after a visit to England in 1816, he brought back as wife the daughter of Henry Raikes. His married happiness, however, was shortlived; he took a villa about two miles from Lausanne in the spring of 1817, but in the following year Mrs. Canning died in childbirth, and the blow induced her husband to apply to government for his recall. His work in Switzerland was done; it had been quiet and unobtrusive, but not less important and difficult.

Canning had not been long in England when he was appointed to the embassy at Washington with a seat in the privy council. On 18 Sept. 1819, Richard Rush, the United States minister in London, had an interview with Lord Castlereagh, and was informed by the latter that Canning had been selected as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the United States, in accordance with 'an anxious desire to keep up the system of conciliation which had been acted upon with so much advantage to both countries by Mr. [afterwards Sir Charles] Bagot,' and with the belief that Canning 'possessed every qualification for treading in the same path.' Lord Castlereagh referred eulogistically to his services at the Porte, at Vienna, and in Switzerland (Rush, *Court of London from 1819 to 1825*, 1873 ed., p. 157). The American mission, for which Canning set out on 14 Aug. 1820, was one of peculiar delicacy. The war of 1812-15 was but recently over. The convention of 1818 had partly settled some of the more serious differences between England and the States, but many remained in a dangerous position, and the temper of the States was such that the greatest tact and discretion were needed to bring about a pacific solution of the questions in dispute. 'Sir,' said Secretary Adams to Canning at Washington, 'it took us of late several years to go to war with you for the redress of our grievances; renew these subjects of complaint, and it will not take as many weeks to produce the same effect.' The most pressing questions at the time were those of the right to search American ships for British seamen, and the suppression of the slave trade by a sort of general police on the seas, to which England found a great obstacle in the susceptibilities of the Americans. Canning succeeded in inducing a somewhat more conciliatory spirit among the American ministers, in spite of considerable friction with Adams, whose temper was uneven. The climate of Washington, and his dislike of American manners and politics, however, made his transatlantic residence far from pleasant. In impaired health, he returned in the autumn of 1823 to arrange a treaty in London, embodying the settlement of the various outstanding differences. An account of the conferences held in January and February 1824, of which Canning drew all the British instructions and the protocols, and in which he and Huskisson and Rush were the plenipotentiaries, has been preserved by the last, and shows that, in spite of the unsparing demands of the Americans, against which the English representatives 'vehemently' protested, their

demeanour was generally conciliatory and conducive to a mutual understanding. Impressment and the West Indian trade were the chief points under discussion; but minor matters of boundary, fisheries, river navigation, and above all the still pending question of the slave trade, occupied the plenipotentiaries. A compromise was at length arrived at by the conference, but the convention, signed 13 March 1824, which elicited George Canning's hearty admiration, was rejected by the American Senate, and all that had been achieved was a general *rapprochement* between the two governments, which in later years led to a settlement of the matters under discussion.

In 1824 it was decided that Canning was again to be sent to Turkey. He heard the news with dismay, for his former memories were not agreeable, and he had a very lively repugnance to again encountering the weary prolixities of Turkish diplomacy. Where duty summoned him, however, there would he go at any personal sacrifice. Meanwhile he had a brief reprieve in a preliminary mission in November to St. Petersburg. The business which drew him there was of the utmost importance. Russia was believed to favour the cause of the Greeks in the war of independence, and to be disposed to join in a scheme of mediation with England and France. England, while anxious not to let Russia move alone in the matter, and after entering into negotiations for such mediation, became suddenly convinced that the time was not ripe for interference, and absolutely refused to join in any acts of coercion. George Canning had set his heart on the liberation of Greece without the use of force, and his cousin was therefore sent to St. Petersburg to confer on the Greek question and smooth away the ill-feeling which George Canning's policy of no coercion and his abrupt withdrawal from the negotiations had aroused in the minds of the czar and his ministers, and also to compose a boundary dispute between England and Russia in north-west America. The last he duly accomplished, and his judicious mode of dealing with the sore subject of Greece in conversations with Count Nesselrode (March 1825) prepared the way for the protocol which the Duke of Wellington and Count Nesselrode signed (4 April 1826) on the occasion of the former's complimentary visit to the new Emperor Nicholas on his accession a year later. Canning left the Russian ministers in a more tranquil frame of mind, and also took the opportunity, in passing through Vienna, to deliver a royal letter to the Emperor of Austria, and to confer with Metternich on the views of the British

government towards the liberal movements then springing up in Europe.

In October 1825 Canning started on his second mission to Constantinople. In the summer he had married a second time. His young wife was a daughter of James Alexander, M.P., of Somerhill, near Tonbridge. In taking her with him he was under the impression that his absence abroad would not be of long duration; for in an interview with his cousin George, the latter informed him that Lord Liverpool had consented to his proximate appointment as vice-president of the board of control—a promise which George Canning's death, in 1827, made of no effect. His objects at Constantinople were chiefly the pacification of Greece and the reconciliation of Turkey and Russia. In the first matter he had to carry out his cousin's instructions, which were dictated by enthusiastic sympathy for the Greeks, and included virtually the separation of Greece from the Ottoman empire. The time was ill chosen for such mediation, and it may be doubted whether the ambassador, with all his pity for the Greeks, would have himself selected this moment for intervention. When the insurrection was in its first strength, it might have been less difficult to induce the Porte to accord favourable terms to the Greeks. But the arms of Turkey were now triumphant, and the Greeks desperate. Canning had an interview with Mavrocordato at Hydra on his way to Constantinople, and thoroughly gauged the deplorable straits to which the Greeks were reduced. Landing at Ipsera he had found the town an empty shell, without an inhabitant; while the bones of mothers self-destroyed, with their dead children beside them, bore witness to the cruelties of the Turks and the heroism that inspired such desperate deeds to escape them. Two survivors, worn to skeletons, testified more eloquently than words to the terrible pass in which the Greeks now found themselves, and the ambassador exclaimed: 'How I longed to be the instrument of repairing such calamities by carrying my mission of peace and deliverance to a successful issue!' The circumstances which moved the mediator to pity only nerved the Porte to more strenuous resistance. Sultan Mahmud had been laboriously building up the Turkish empire; he had suppressed Aly Bey and the great feudal landowners, and soon after Canning's arrival accomplished the final overthrow of the most menacing element in the state by the massacre of the Janissaries. He was organising a new army, and it was not to be expected that a sultan in the midst of a military revival would consent to any dismem-

berment of his dominions. Moreover, there were hostile counsels at the Porte. Baron Otterfels, the Austrian internuncio, then held the ear of the sultan, acting under instructions from Metternich, which were of course repudiated when they were exposed. Baron Miltz, the Prussian minister, was also intriguing against peace, and even went so far as to send home accounts of interviews and conversations which never took place—'a scheme of treachery almost unparalleled even in diplomatic history.' In the end the long duel terminated in the discomfiture of both these ministers; but the struggle was a severe one, and any one less gifted than Canning would have early given over the desperate conflict. Fortunately, he knew how to make himself respected. The dominating influence so powerfully described by Kinglake nearly thirty years later was already asserting itself in these days, and his personal ascendancy over the Porte was already felt.

But all his personal ascendancy could not at this moment avail against the forces that were then working in Turkey. The first hostile element was Sultan Mahmud himself. Writing in later years, Canning describes this famous sultan as 'in temper and policy a caliph and a despot;' and, notwithstanding the admiration which his resolution and energy in army and other reforms excited, Canning's opinion of Mahmud was disparaging. Russia was the next obstacle. While originally anxious to interfere by force in favour of the Greeks, the czar had no idea of preferring their cause to his own interests; and for the present he allowed England to attempt the thankless office of non-coercive mediator, alone, and steadily kept the Greek question in the background until his own claims in Europe and Asia had been settled to his satisfaction. The Austrian internuncio also stuck at nothing to damage the prospects of a peaceful arrangement of the Greek difficulty. Canning found himself isolated, and even viewed with distrust by the Porte as the only advocate of the rebellious Greeks. In vain he pressed upon the Porte the advantages of an amicable arrangement, and hinted that the Greeks (who had accorded him full powers) were prepared to accept such moderate concessions as were included in the separation of the Morea under local authority, with Turkish garrisons in strong positions (*MS. Memoirs*). In vain he tried 'persuasion, admonition, and a glimpse of perilous consequences.' All argument was thrown away on Mahmud and his ministers, and Canning had to stand aside and become a mere onlooker, while Russia played her own game. 'When I look back,' he wrote,

'after an interval of forty years, to the whole of the circumstances, it appears to me quite clear that the success I so ardently desired was a simple impossibility.' It was no doubt the position of isolation to which his efforts in favour of Greece had consigned him that prevented the English ambassador from helping the Turks to obtain better terms from Russia than those included in the humiliating treaty of Akerman, October 1826, which the rawness of his new army alone induced the sultan to sign. The dispute between Russia and Turkey having been temporarily adjusted by this instrument, the part of solitary mediator in behalf of Greece, which Canning had thus far performed, was exchanged for the joint action of the three powers, England, France, and Russia, under the treaty of London of July 1827, which was the formal expression of the protocol signed by Wellington at St. Petersburg in the preceding year. The effects of this forcible interposition of the three maritime powers, which was emphasised by the appearance of their joint fleets in the Mediterranean, were disastrous to Turkey in many ways. The light terms which Canning had been able to offer the Turks on behalf of the Greeks were now enlarged to the extent of a settlement which involved the creation of an independent kingdom, with far wider boundaries than had been hitherto contemplated. The hot-headed action at Navarino, which was fought without the knowledge of the ambassador, who agreed emphatically with the Duke of Wellington in describing it as an 'untoward event,' was followed by a burst of indignation from the Porte, which broke off all negotiations, and compelled the withdrawal of the embassies of the three mediating powers. The imprudent manifesto then promulgated by Sultan Mahmud gave Russia the pretext she desired for a forcible insistence upon the terms of the treaty of 1827, and thus the Russo-Turkish war of 1828-9 ensued, and by its disastrous termination in the peace of Adrianople deprived Turkey of the good results which were beginning to flow from the reforming policy of Mahmud.

The English ambassador's action during these eventful times was one of compulsory inactivity. He had at first to stand aside and busy himself with the affairs of the embassy, and decide the legal causes which were moved in the ambassador's supreme court, by the light of common sense, a task he accomplished to such purpose that he never had a complaint against his judgments. Meantime, he availed himself of any opening that arose to assert the influence of England

and check the machinations of the Austrian and Prussian ministers. Much as he deplored the barbarity displayed in the massacre of the Janissaries, from which he contrived to save his own guard, he could not but allow the necessity of strong measures of repression; and deeply as he regretted the attitude of the Porte towards the Greeks, it was impossible to deny that there was little to induce the sultan to agree to terms of dismemberment. The conferences of the three ambassadors under the stipulations of the treaty of London of 1827 were beginning in no very hopeful mood, when a shabby scrap of paper was placed in Canning's hands, just as he was on the point of attending the conference at the French ambassador's. At the close of the interview he laid this document before the ministers. It contained news of heavy firing heard at Navarino, and the effect of the communication was instantaneous. General Guilleminot turned pale, and then quietly remarked, 'Trois têtes dans un bonnet, n'est-ce pas?' and the conference broke up. The sultan had heard the news, too, and his indignation was unbounded. The embassies were surrounded by troops, and Canning spent the night in burning his private papers. No violence was offered to the Europeans; but the negotiations came to a dead-lock. Once again Canning took upon himself to initiate a course of action without instructions. He persuaded his French and Russian colleagues to join him in withdrawing the embassies from Constantinople on their own responsibility, and the three ambassadors, with their private and official families, sailed direct to Corfu.

In February 1828 Canning left Corfu for London in some perturbation as to his probable reception. His apprehensions were unfounded; he was exonerated from all blame in the matter of Navarino, and his action in withdrawing the embassy was approved. The government, however, could not make up its mind to any course of action. Canning urged upon Lord Dudley the importance of not permitting Russia to act alone in coercing the Porte, and insisted on the necessity for an immediate pacification of Greece; and when the foreign secretary declined to move, Canning even took the unusual step of carrying the matter higher, to the prime minister himself; but the duke was equally obdurate. When Aberdeen succeeded Dudley at the foreign office, a change came over the British policy: a French army was despatched, at England's request, to drive out Ibrahim Pasha and his Egyptian troops from the Morea, and the three ambassadors were ordered to resume their conferences for the

pacification of Greece. They met at Corfu in the autumn, and proceeded together to Poros, where they drew up articles of settlement, framed by Canning, which were forwarded to their respective governments in December 1828. These articles included the establishment of a Greek tributary monarchy, with a northern frontier terminating in the gulfs of Volo and Arta. It was reserved for the treaty of Adrianople, forced upon Mahmud by the triumphant Diebitsch in August 1829, to enforce these and still more trenchant conditions. In the meanwhile, it was only the influence of Canning that restrained Capo d'Istria from employing the French contingent in an attack upon Attica, still held by the Turks, which would have resulted in serious European complications.

The negotiations at Poros mark the termination of the first period of Canning's diplomatic career. For twelve years he was now destined to hold no permanent diplomatic post. A disagreement with Lord Aberdeen on the Greek question—owing, nominally, to Canning's suggestion that Candia should form part of the new kingdom (Correspondence with Prince Leopold, *Parl. Papers*, 1830, xix.), but really to Aberdeen's mistrust of the ambassador's 'political inclinations'—had been accentuated by a sharp correspondence, and he conditionally resigned his embassy, in the event of the Poros settlement not being carried into effect, in January 1829. The condition named did not precisely occur, but his resignation was accepted, and Sir R. Gordon succeeded him as ambassador at the Porte.

On his return to England the services of the ex-ambassador were acknowledged by the grand cross of the Bath. Canning now addressed himself to home ambitions. He was elected a member of the House of Commons in 1828, while still an ambassador. His first seat was Old Sarum, 'the rottenest borough on the list'; he stood in 1830 unsuccessfully for Leominster, as 'third man'; then tried Southampton, but retired before the poll; and was at length elected for Stockbridge, where the canvass was a mere form, and a cheque for 1,000*l.* to the attorney settled the business. Finally, after a sharp contest, he was returned in 1835 for King's Lynn, with Lord George Bentinck for his colleague, and retained the seat in two subsequent elections, until his return to diplomatic functions removed him from parliament in 1841. His parliamentary career was not remarkable. His opinions, indeed, were respected, and his counsel sought, especially on Eastern questions; but he was no party man, though he acted with Peel and Stanley, and was a

staunch advocate of 'constitutional principles.' As a speaker, moreover, he had to contend with a nervousness which generally kept him silent. No man possessed more completely the power of impressive speech when a message had to be delivered to a sovereign or a statesman; none knew better how to combine grace of diction with accuracy, lucidity, and completeness of expression; but he had not the peculiar qualities necessary for House of Commons' success.

Canning was invited (1830) by the government to draw up the statement of our claims in the American boundary question to be submitted to the arbitration of the king of the Netherlands; his statement was approved, and the claims awarded. In the following year it was arranged that he should proceed to Constantinople on a special mission to obtain an extended frontier for Greece, the boundary having been drawn (in deference to Aberdeen's views, and against the representations of the Poros commission) on narrower lines than were practically efficient. Sir Robert Gordon, the ambassador at the Porte, naturally opposed the interference of a special envoy, and it shows Palmerston's appreciation of Canning's unique influence with the Turks, that in spite of all opposition, and his own decided repugnance to a return to the Levant, he was sent out in November 1831. The manner in which he conducted this one-sided negotiation was beyond praise. By playing upon the fears of the Porte with reference to the growing power of Mohammed Aly, and establishing secret communications with the sultan himself, he obtained the consent of the Porte to the new frontier having its termini on the gulfs of Volo and Arta, and brought his French and Russian colleagues to accept his settlement.

It is right to state that, while Palmerston heartily approved Canning's conduct of this mission, he did not at any time consult him, after his return in September 1832, upon the various arrangements then pending. He foresaw the failure of the Greek constitution with Otho and the triple regency, but had no voice in the matter. Nor was his advice solicited in the troublesome question of the relations between the Porte and Mohammed Aly. He had cautiously encouraged Mahmud, in the last interview he ever had with him, to hope that England might support him against his overweening vassal; but Palmerston and Lord Grey did not see their way to sending the small naval force which Canning urged them to despatch to the Levant as a menace to the Egyptian viceroy, and the neglect of his counsel resulted in the

complications of ten years later, when we had to perform with difficulty what might once have been easily accomplished.

At the close of 1832 he was sent on a special mission to Portugal, to attempt to arrange the dissensions between the brothers Don Pedro and Don Miguel. The failure of the attempt was a foregone conclusion, and the ambassador came home little pleased at being sent on a fool's errand. On his return in 1833 he found himself gazetted as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg, but the czar resolutely refused to receive him. He was not popular at the Russian capital, on political grounds, and Nicholas entertained a personal as well as a political dislike to his greatest opponent. Nesselrode dreaded his astuteness, and anxiously wrote to Princess Lieven to have the appointment of so 'impracticable' a man cancelled. Palmerston, however, was firm; he had appointed Canning (according to Greville, whose view, however, seems to be scarcely borne out by the facts) with a special view to showing the Lievens and their court that he was not to be dictated to, and he declined to send another envoy to St. Petersburg. For some time England was represented only by a chargé d'affaires at the Russian capital (*Greville Memoirs*, ii. 352, 357). Meanwhile Lord Grey's promise to give Canning the next vacant embassy was annulled by his resignation; and Peel's offer of the governorship of Canada in March 1835 (through Aberdeen, the colonial secretary) was not accepted. Parliamentary duties, and long residences abroad for the health of his invalid son, filled up the following years. In 1841 Peel again offered him the government of Canada, but he refused it on the ground of a disinclination to leave England; the treasurership of the household was suggested, and sanctioned by the queen, but he felt that the office was hardly suited to his temperament; and finally the embassy of Constantinople was again pressed upon him, and 'with no small reluctance' accepted. He started in November 1841, and arrived at the Golden Horn in January 1842. Henceforward, with brief intervals of leave, Canning held sway at the Porte for sixteen years. It was a peculiarly favourable period for the exercise of his wise control. From the time of the adjustment of the struggle with Mohammed Aly in 1841 to the outbreak of the Crimean war in 1853, Turkey enjoyed an interval of absolute peace, and these twelve years were productive of improvements in the internal administration of the empire, inasmuch that Lord Palmerston in 1853 declared that during the preceding twenty years Turkey had made more progress



than any other state of Europe. Canning's name is intimately associated with the reforms that characterised the reign of the young Sultan Abd-el-Mejid. Mahmud had inaugurated many changes, and his son had not long ascended the throne when he promulgated the famous hatt-i-sherif of Gül-hanè, in which the persons and properties of all his subjects were guaranteed without distinction of religion or nationality. Various other reforms were promised: but it may well be doubted whether, with all the good intentions of the young sultan, many of the reforms he ordained would ever have borne fruit without the supervision of the British ambassador. In proof of this, the long and irritating negotiation which Canning conducted in 1844 with the effect of putting an end to executions for apostasy may be cited. Such barbarities were constitutional by the Ottoman law; but they were wholly opposed to the spirit of the sultan's reforming policy. Nevertheless, without the ambassador's urgent pressure, sustained long after France had given up the matter as hopeless, this peculiarly odious form of tyranny would never have been abolished in Turkey. It was his fixed belief that Turkey must be upheld in her position among European states; but he held that this could only be justified by an improved system of government. One of the chief aims he set before himself was to obtain equal rights and privileges for the christian subjects of the Porte. In the principles of Mohammedan law he was met by a stone wall of obstruction. By persistent efforts he won the abolition of the law of execution for apostasy and the formal renunciation of religious persecution by the sultan, and asserted successfully the right of christian subjects to worship after their own fashion under the protection of the government authorities. Another important point, which he carried against the whole spirit of Turkish administration, was the abolition, by special firman, of torture throughout the empire. Such concessions were not obtained without extraordinary pressure. It took years of incessant argument to induce the Porte to permit (1855) the trifling privilege of erecting a protestant church at Jerusalem; and what Canning wrote of the difficulty of bringing the Turks to reason about the claims of the Lebanon Emir Beshir applies to all similar negotiations: 'In this case, as in any one where justice is to be done at any cost to the treasury, the Turkish government is in the habit of raising every imaginable difficulty, and it is generally found to be impossible to obtain, I will not say a satisfactory arrangement, but even a tolerable compromise,

without the employment of very decided language' (S. Canning to Aberdeen, 22 Feb. 1845, *Parl. Papers*, lii.) Long experience, however, and his own success at the Porte, proved the truth of this theory. In foreign affairs, Syria, which had fallen into anarchy after the expulsion of the Egyptians, was restored to tranquillity, and Persia, on the eve of hostilities, was, at Canning's instance, reconciled with the Porte by the mediation of England and Russia, and an international commission met to decide the boundary disputes. Among Canning's titles to the gratitude of Englishmen must be mentioned his steady support of the cause of discovery and exploration in the Turkish dominions. He obtained, after repeated exertions, the firman which authorised him to send Layard, at his personal expense, to Nineveh to make the famous excavations, the fruits of which were presented to the British Museum by the ambassador to whose influence and subsidies they were due, and to whom they were given by the sultan. He opened the way to the explorations at Budrum in 1846, and presented the frieze to the British Museum; and Newton's subsequent work at the mausoleum was throughout facilitated by the friendly support of Canning, who obtained the firman, advanced money, and in every way aided the explorer, in the midst of the distractions of the Crimean war (NEWTON, *Hist. Disc.* i. 80 ff.) Chesney's Euphrates expedition also owed its protection to the British ambassador (*Life of Gen. F. R. Chesney*, 253, 258). Many anecdotes have been preserved which show the unbounded influence which the imperious elchi exerted over Sultan Abd-el-Mejid. On one occasion, when Turkey was in sore straits for money, he observed the foundations being laid of a new summer residence on the shore of the Bosphorus; forthwith he ordered the boatmen to row him straight to the sultan's palace, where a few minutes' conversation ended in the stopping of the works. When Mohammed Aly Pasha, the minister for the navy, and brother-in-law of the sultan, had wantonly murdered a Greek concubine, Canning refused to receive the ruffian, and when the sultan sent to remonstrate with him on such conduct to his majesty's brother-in-law, he replied, 'Tell the sultan that an English ambassador can never admit to his presence a cruel assassin.' In the end the minister had to be dismissed from office. Canning had no mercy for cruelty and treachery; and his reputation for fierceness of temper was largely due to his unmeasured indignation against whatever was mean or dishonourable.

In the autumn of 1846 he returned to

England on leave, and resigned the embassy, which had always been distasteful to him. Palmerston refused to accept the resignation, and after a couple of years (during which he was sent to Switzerland to mediate in the civil war of 1847, but arrived after the submission of the *Sunderbund*, and only in time to save *Neufchatel* from the violence of the victorious democrats), he resumed his position at the *Porte*, in March 1848, holding communications with the several powers on his way at their respective capitals.

Within two months of his return to the embassy he obtained the restoration of *Reshid Pasha* and the reform ministry to office, in the place of the reactionaries who had profited by the *elchi's* departure to regain their ascendancy at the *Porte*; and during the next two years he secured a firman admitting christian evidence in criminal trials, brought up the *Mediterranean fleet* in concert with France in support of Turkish independence against Russia and Austria, sustained the *Porte* in its generous protection of *Kosuth* and the other Hungarian refugees, in the teeth of the threats of the two emperors, and carried various valuable reforms in commercial and other matters. In 1852 he again visited England, but had hardly arrived when the critical state of affairs at the *Porte* brought him back to his post, with the title of *Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe*, which was suggested by his family's ancient connection with *St. Mary Redcliffe* at *Bristol*. Prince *Mentchikoff* had taken advantage of his absence to press, with threats, upon the *Porte* the old claim of a Russian protectorate over the christian subjects of the *Ottoman empire*; and, in the want of the firm will and 'formidable mind' of the ambassador to help them, the Turks were on the verge of yielding. And 'now, at a time when Europe had fastened its eyes upon the czar, and was watching to see how the ambassador of All the Russias would impose his master's will upon Turkey, the Emperor *Nicholas* was obliged to hear that his eternal foe, travelling by the ominous route of *Paris* and *Vienna*, was slowly returning to his embassy at the *Porte*.'

*Stratford de Redcliffe's* conduct of the negotiations which terminated in the *Crimean war* has been made classical history by *Mr. Kinglake*, who has told how he fought the unequal duel with Prince *Mentchikoff*, whose clumsy threats were no fit weapon wherewith to parry the shrewd thrusts of his practised antagonist; how he preserved his imperturbable gravity when awarding to the Russian the lofty privileges of a Greek doorkeeper for a church at *Jerusalem*, or the

patriarch's inalienable right to superintend the repair of a dilapidated roof, and the other inanities of the *Holy Places* dispute; and how he marshalled the ambassadors of the four powers against Russia, when it came to defending the *Porte* against the forcible imposition of a Russian religious protectorate. 'Lord *Stratford* had brought to a settlement the question of the *Holy Places*, had baffled all the efforts of the Emperor *Nicholas* to work an inroad upon the sovereign rights of the sultan, and had enforced upon the Turks a firmness so indomitable and a moderation so unwearied, that from the hour of his arrival at *Constantinople* they resisted every claim which was fraught with real danger—but always resisted with courtesy—and yielded to every demand, however unjust in principle, if it seemed that they might yield with honour and safety.' *Stratford* had indeed so guided the policy of Turkey that it had secured the sympathy of Europe. The home government approved every step, and *England* and *France* applauded his victory over *Mentchikoff*; the admiral of the *Mediterranean squadron* was ordered to obey the behests of the ambassador, and the united fleets of *France* and *England* moved up near the *Dardanelles*. 'The power to choose between peace and war went from out the courts of *Paris* and *London* and passed to *Constantinople*. Lord *Stratford* was worthy of this trust, for being firm and supplied with full knowledge, and having power by his own mere ascendancy to enforce moderation upon the Turks, and to forbid panic, and even to keep down tumult, he was able to be very chary in the display of force, and to be more frugal than the government at home in using or engaging the power of the English queen. . . . Entrusted with the chief prerogative of kings, and living all his time at *Therapia*, close over the gates of the *Bosphorus*, he seemed to stand guard against the North, and to answer for the safety of his charge' (*KINGLAKE*, i. 182, 190, *Cabinet ed.*)

The Russian ultimatum, demanding the suzerainty over the thirteen million christian subjects of the sultan, was rejected by the Turks under the guidance of *Stratford*, and Prince *Mentchikoff* retired in a rage from *Constantinople*. In all that had happened the czar saw the hand of his arch-enemy *Canning*, the man who had opposed him steadfastly ever since his accession. The discomfiture of *Mentchikoff* wrought the czar to a pitch of infuriated anger. In a fit of madness he ordered his armies to cross the *Pruth* and occupy the *Principalities* on 2 July 1853. The result was the *Crimean war*.

To have led England into so futile an adventure would indeed be an unworthy termination to a long career of wise statesmanship. The Crimean war, however, was not to be averted by diplomacy. Russia was resolved upon war long before it actually broke out. Above all Nicholas was bent upon crushing the hateful ambassador who had so long successfully bearded the Emperor of All the Russias. What Stratford did was to make the war impossible to a moral state. He induced the Turks to concede the Holy Places dispute, and while firmly refusing to allow a Russian protectorate over the Greek church, he caused the sultan to issue firmans confirming all the privileges and immunities of his christian subjects, and sent a note to Count Nesselrode engaging that these privileges should never be revoked. The Russian demands had in fact been granted, so far as their ostensible object was concerned, but without giving the czar the preponderating influence in Turkey which was the real aim of his proposals. Stratford had taken away from the czar every excuse for making war. More than this, he had united the four great powers in a combination to reprobate the unwarrantable schemes of Russia. Had matters been left in his hands, there would have either been no war at all, or it would have been a war of Russia against the four powers supporting Turkey. Stratford was not responsible for the fatal alliance with Louis Napoleon, which produced the virtual separation of England and France from the European concert, and threw the burden of upholding Turkey upon the two western powers instead of upon all Europe. That was Palmerston's doing, and Palmerston admitted afterwards that he had 'been made a catspaw of at Vienna, as Stratford wrote we should.' If supporting a weak state against the unwarrantable demands of a stronger power caused the war, Stratford was so far responsible, but in no other sense did he contribute to the Crimean war. He indeed privately approved the Turk's rejection of the Vienna note, but that note granted precisely what had been all along refused, the Russian protectorate of the Greek church in Turkey; and it was only the obtuseness or insincerity of the statesmen who drew it up that was to blame for its rejection.

During the progress of the war, Stratford's labours were unrelenting. Not unfrequently he would write all night, especially during the diplomatic activity which he displayed towards the conclusion of the war, with a view to Austrian mediation. He would be found in the morning with a mass of papers before him, still in his evening dress. He

worked his secretaries and attachés hard, but they knew that he was working still harder, and his enthusiasm inspired a like zeal in his subordinates, which he was quick to note, though he seldom expressed his thanks in words. He twice visited the Crimea in 1855.

During the later stages of the war Stratford was greatly oppressed with the loss and destruction of life it involved, and painfully conscious of England's inability to keep on furnishing a continual supply of fresh troops, and he directed his influence towards a coalition with other powers. When the war was over he returned to London in 1858 and resigned his embassy for the last time, but paid a complimentary visit of farewell—his seventh journey to Constantinople—to Sultan Abd-el-Mejid, for whom he entertained a real regard and esteem. This closed his public career. His ambition for ministerial work at home was never gratified.

The remaining twenty years of his life were spent in the society of his wife and three daughters (who all survived him), chiefly in London and at his country house at Frant, near Tonbridge Wells, where he revived his delight in the classical authors, and especially his favourite Virgil, or immersed himself in the despatches of his special hero, the Duke of Wellington, whose portrait, with those of Nelson and George Canning, hung upon the walls. Oxford made him an hon. D.C.L., Cambridge an LL.D.; and in 1869 he received the Garter from Mr. Gladstone's government.

Whenever some branch of the Eastern question agitated parliament Stratford was in his place in the House of Lords, where he would deliver one of his thoughtful, statesmanlike speeches, to which ministers of both parties listened with deference. He also contributed between 1874 and 1880 several valuable papers on Eastern politics to the 'Times' and the 'Nineteenth Century,' and the more important of these were collected with some unpublished essays in a volume entitled 'The Eastern Question' (1881), to which Dean Stanley contributed a memorial preface. His style was measured and sonorous, without ever degenerating into bombast or wordiness, and his thought was accurate and logical. The later course of events in Turkey had grievously disappointed him, and he was disgusted with the reckless extravagance and misrule of Abd-el-Aziz, inasmuch that it was supposed that Stratford had recanted his Turkish policy. This, however, is a mistake. While admiring their better qualities, he had never defended the government of the Turks;

that, he perceived, was doomed, and he constantly recommended reforms, not as a cure for a bad system, but as a palliative, to 'retard the evil hour,' which he foresaw clearly enough. His interest in Turkey had always been stimulated, not by any liking for the Turks, but by the necessity of restraining Russian ambition, and by his earnest sympathy with the christian populations, for whom he had always consistently exerted his influence. He still believed that such steady and effective pressure, 'not to be trifled with,' as he had been able to employ would have kept the Turks in their reforming policy, and he ascribed much of the ruin that had fallen on Turkey to the want of a united and consistent influence on the part of England and Europe. As it was, he saw that the Porte, in its demoralised state, could not be supported; he welcomed the establishment of a belt of practically independent christian states from the mouth of the Danube to the Adriatic, and admitted that 'the very idea of reinstating any amount of Turkish misgovernment in places once cleared of it is simply revolting.' To the man who had guided the reforms of Abd-el-Mejid, and produced the liberal hatt-i-humayun of 1856, the retrogression of Turkey was a grievous disappointment. He admitted the facts and adjusted himself to the new situation; but his policy remained what it had been during his long sway at Constantinople, the termination of which was the signal for the dismemberment of the empire he had so long held together.

A favourite employment of his old age was poetical composition, to which he had always been partial. His poem on Bonaparte, which pleased Byron, was published as early as 1813; and when his diplomatic occupation was over, he published 'Shadows of the Past,' 1866, 'The Exile of Calauria,' and 'Alfred the Great in Athelnay, an historical play,' of about 3,000 lines of blank verse, in 1876. Devout in the highest sense, he endeavoured to counteract the freethinking tendencies of the age by his treatise 'Why am I a Christian?' (1873), which went to five editions, and with the same object he wrote (1876) of 'The Greatest of Miracles,' or the human nature of Christ. To the last he retained his ancient vigour and alertness of intellect. He drew up a paper on the Greek claims in the summer of 1880, and a few days before his death (which occurred 14 Aug. 1880) Sir Robert Morier, the son of his old friend David, found him as clear in mind and memory, as incisive in speech, and as keenly interested in poetry and politics as if he were nineteen instead of ninety-three. He looked back over eighty

years with the same clear statesman's eye that had made him the trusted colleague of Canning and Peel, of the great Duke, of Palmerston and Newcastle, and the deadliest enemy of tyrants, whether Bonaparte, Nicholas, or Louis Napoleon. The great ambassador died with the memories of nearly a century of high transactions of state still vivid in his unclouded mind. His body lies in the little churchyard at Frant; his statue stands beside his two kinsmen in Westminster Abbey.

[The principal authority is S. Lane-Poole's *Life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe* (2 vols. 1888, new edit. 1890), which is based on Lord Stratford's Memoirs. These valuable papers cover the greater part of his career up to his mission to Spain in 1832, with a few, sometimes detailed, notes on the later periods. For the American negotiations, see Rush's *Court of London* from 1819 to 1825; and for the Crimean period Kinglake's *History of the Crimean War* is the leading authority. The parliamentary papers give much information, and a few characteristic incidents have been drawn from Skene's *With Lord Stratford in the Crimean War*.]

S. L. P.

**CANNON, RICHARD** (1779-1865), compiler of regimental records, was born in 1779. On 1 Jan. 1802 he was appointed to a clerkship at the Horse Guards, and attained the grade of first-clerk in 1803. About thirty years afterwards, a Horse Guards order, dated 1 Jan. 1836, having signified the royal commands that an historic account of the services of every regiment in the British army should be published under the superintendence of the adjutant-general, the work of compilation was entrusted to Cannon, at that time principal clerk in the adjutant-general's office. During the ensuing seventeen years 'historical records' of all then existing regiments of cavalry, and of forty-two regiments of infantry of the line, were thus issued 'by authority,' all of which were prepared under Cannon's direction, except the history of the Royal Horse Guards or Oxford Blues (issued as part of the series in 1847), which was written by Captain Edmund Packe, of that regiment. The work of compilation was then discontinued, some regimental histories which had been announced as in preparation at various times having, apparently, not been proceeded with. After a service of nearly fifty-two years Cannon retired in January 1854, on his full salary of 800*l.* a year. He died in 1865.

[War Office Lists; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Preface to Cannon's *Historical Records of the British Army*.]

H. M. C.

**CANNON, ROBERT** (1663–1722), dean of Lincoln, born in London in 1663, was educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. in 1685, M.A. 1689, B.D. 1702, and D.D. 1707. He held for a time a fellowship at King's College; was tutor of the university in 1697, afterwards became chaplain of Chelsea College, and was appointed rector of Bluntisham, Huntingdonshire, and archdeacon of Norfolk (11 March 1707–8). He married in 1707 Elizabeth, daughter of John Moore, bishop of Ely, and afterwards of Norwich, and was presented through his father-in-law's influence to a prebend in Ely Cathedral (7 March 1708–9). Subsequently he held the rectory of Newton, near Wisbech, and became prebendary of Westminster (8 July 1715); rector of Christ Church, Middlesex; sub-almoner to George I (1716); prebendary of Lincoln (21 Nov. 1721); and dean of Lincoln (9 Dec. 1721). He died, apparently in Westminster, 28 March 1722, and was buried in the south aisle of the abbey three days later. His wife and several children survived him, and, in spite of Cannon's many preferments, they were left so poorly off that George I granted them a pension of 120*l.* a year. Cannon's will, dated 21 April 1720, was proved 25 May 1722.

Cannon took a prominent part in the ecclesiastical controversies of his day. He was an opponent both of the high and low church parties. In 1712 he moved in convocation a vote of censure on Dr. Thomas Brett [q. v.] for having published a sermon on the 'Remission of Sins,' in which very strong views about priestly absolution were advanced. The motion was negatived, but a warfare of pamphlets followed. Cannon issued an 'Account of Two Motions made in the Lower House of Convocation concerning the Power of Remitting Sins,' Lond. 1712, and Brett replied in two tracts. In May 1717 Cannon was a member of the committee appointed by the lower house of convocation to report on Bishop Hoadly's 'Preservation' and 'Sermon,' and signed the report which condemned the bishop's views. The Bangorian controversy ensued, and Cannon contributed to it 'A Vindication of the Proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation with regard to the King's Supremacy: and some Thoughts on Religion . . . and a Postscript to the Ld. Bishop of Bangor,' Lond. 1717. In 1718 Cannon reissued this tract with an elaborate preface, attacking Hoadly's replies to his critics, and Cannon himself was answered by an anonymous writer in the same year. Cannon was also the author of some published sermons.

VOL. III.

About 1755 Cannon's widow presented a curious petition to the prime minister, the Duke of Newcastle, and the document—still extant among the treasury papers—illustrates the later history of Cannon's family. The eldest son entered the army and was killed at Fontenoy (1745). A younger son, Thomas, was, about 1750, the author of a published tract 'containing the most detestable principles of impurity, not fit even to be remembered in the title.' For the composition of this work, no copy of which is now known, Thomas Cannon was committed to prison and allowed out on bail before his trial, but instead of waiting for his trial he fled to France. After remaining there three years he returned to his mother's house at Windsor, published a recantation of his errors, was searched for by the police, and fled abroad again. At the end of two more years Mrs. Cannon petitioned the government to stay further proceedings against her son on the ground that he had repented of his sins, had since published many religious works, and was living a religious life, and that she, as one of her son's sureties, was totally unable to pay the forfeited bail (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. viii. 65–6, where the petition is printed at length).

[Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers (Harl. Soc.), p. 306; Harwood's Alumni Eton, p. 266; Bentham's Hist. of Ely, p. 243; Le Neve's Fasti Angl. Eccl. ed. Hardy; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Lathbury's Hist. of Convocation, chaps. xiii. xiv.]

S. L.

**CANON or CANONICUS, JOHN** (fl. 1329), schoolman, studied at Oxford, and became a member of the Franciscan order. Afterwards he attended the lectures of Duns Scotus at Paris, but appears to have returned to Oxford, and to have proceeded there to the degree of D.D. He is distinguished by the biographers for his eminence in philosophy, theology, and law, both canon and civil, and four books of commentaries on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, some 'Lecturae magistrales,' and 'Questiones disputatae,' are ascribed to him. But the work upon which his reputation rests, a work which was very widely used in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, is a commentary on Aristotle's 'Physics,' entitled in the editio princeps 'Questiones profundissimi doctoris Johannis Canonici ordinis minoris super octo Libris Phisicorum Aristotelis' (Padua, 1475). It was reprinted at St. Albans in 1481, as well as several times at Venice between this date and 1492. Another edition appeared at Venice in 1516. In manuscript also the commentary is not uncommon. A copy belonging to Lincoln College, Oxford, cod. cii., which

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was written by R. Rawlyns in 1482, contains a set of verses in honour of the author (COXE, *Catal. of Oxford MSS.*, Linc. p. 48). Extracts are given by Tanner (*Bibl. Brit.* p. 150).

Wadding (*Scriptores Ordinis Minoris*, p. 195) and Tanner state that Canon is also known by the name of MAREBES.

[Tritheim de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, p. 234, ed. Cologno, 1546; Wharton, append. to Cave's *Historia Literaria*, p. 28.] R. L. P.

**CANOT, PETER CHARLES** (1710-1777), engraver, was a native of France, who came to England in 1740, and remained here till he died. He was a member of the Incorporated Society of Artists in 1766, and was elected an associate engraver of the Royal Academy in 1770, when that degree was first instituted. He exhibited at the Society of Artists, the Free Society, and the Royal Academy. A line-engraver of considerable skill, he executed numerous plates after Van de Velde, Bakhuizen, Teniers, Claude, and other old masters. Views of London and Westminster Bridges, after Samuel Scott; some sea pieces and sea fights, after Monamy; and four views of the operations of the Russian fleet against the Turks, after Paton, are reckoned among his best plates. It is said that his death, which took place at Kentish Town in 1777, was due to overexertion in executing the plates after Paton.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*, 1878; Bryan's *Dict. of Painters* (Graves); Nagler's *Künstler-Lexikon*; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*; Pye's *Patronage of British Art*.] C. M.

**CANSFIELD, BENEDICT.** [See **CANFIELD.**]

**CANT, ANDREW** (1590?-1663), ecclesiastical leader and preacher, called by Principal Baillie 'ane super-excellent preacher,' comes into notice in 1620 or 1623, when some of the people of Edinburgh desired to have him for their minister; but as he was known to be obnoxious to the king, he did not on either occasion obtain the appointment. In 1633 he became minister of Pitsligo in Aberdeenshire, and, unlike most of the ministers in that quarter, was a strong champion of the covenants and opponent of the episcopising endeavours of the king. In July 1638 he was appointed by the 'commissioners at the tables,' with two other ministers (Dickson and Henderson) and three noblemen (Montrose, Kinghorn, and Cowper), to endeavour to bring the people of the north into sympathy with the presbyterian

cause. The reception of the commissioners by the magistrates of Aberdeen was amusing, the magistrates meeting them and offering them the hospitality of the city, which the commissioners declined, till they should see if they would take the covenant. The 'Aberdeen doctors' were famous in the church for their opposition to the covenant, and prepared certain questions for the commissioners, which led to a wordy series of answers, replies, and duplies on either side. The feeling was so strong that the commissioners were excluded from the Aberdeen pulpits, and had to preach in the open air.

In November 1638 Cant took part in the famous Glasgow assembly, by which prelacy was abolished, and at the solicitation of Lord Lothian was translated from Pitsligo to Newbattle in Midlothian. In 1640, with some other of the most eminent ministers, he was appointed chaplain to the covenanting army, and accompanied it during the campaign. In the same year he was translated to Aberdeen. While one of the most unbending sticklers for the covenants, he was a devoted royalist, and on one occasion, in the time of Cromwell, when many English officers were in his church, he uttered so strong sentiments on duty to the king and on the conduct of those who were against him, that the officers rose up and some of them drew their swords and advanced towards the pulpit. The intrepid minister opened his breast, and said to them, 'Here is the man who uttered these sentiments,' inviting them to strike him if they dared. 'He had once been a captain,' says Wodrow, who tells the story, 'and was one of the most bold and resolute men of his day.' His dauntless courage, with his stirring popular eloquence, gave him a wide fame; but the suggestion in the 'Spectator' that the term 'to cant' was derived from his name is of course groundless. It can easily be accounted for from the Latin *canto*. Cant died 30 April 1663. By his wife, Margaret Irvine, he left two sons and two daughters. His daughter Sarah married Alexander Jaffray [q.v.] of Aberdeen. His son Andrew was principal of the university of Edinburgh from 1675 to 1685. Another Andrew Cant, who was deprived of his charge at the revolution in 1690, was consecrated a bishop of the episcopal church of Scotland in 1722.

[Scott's *Fasti Eccl. Scot.* vi. 463, 635, 894; Livingstone's *Biographies*; Row's and Calderwood's *Histories of the Kirk of Scotland*; Baillie's *Letters*; Wodrow's *Analecta*; Balfour's *Annals*; Chambers's *Eminent Scotsmen*; Anderson's *Scottish Nation*; Imperial *Dict. of Biogr.*] W. G. B.

**CANTEBRIG or CAMBRIDGE, JOHN DE** (*d.* 1335), judge, was of a Cambridge family, whence he took his name, and is said to have been son to Thomas Cantebrig, a judge of the exchequer under Edward II. He was M.P. for Cambridgeshire in 1321 and subsequent years, and earlier was in several judicial commissions for the county. In the last years of Edward II and early years of Edward III he is named as counsel in the year books. In 1330 he became king's serjeant, and was in the commission for Northamptonshire, and on 22 Oct. of that year was made a knight 'tanquam banerettus,' with a grant for his robes of investiture out of the king's wardrobe. On 18 Jan. 1331 he was made a justice of the common pleas, along with Robert de Malberthorpe and John Inge, and received a new patent on 30 Jan. 1334. No fines are levied before him after Michaelmas term 1334. He died in 1335. He had large property in and around Cambridge, and was twice alderman of St. Mary's guild, to which, in 1311, and by his will, he gave Stone Hall, in St. Michael's, on the site of part of Caius College, with thirty-five tenements and a hundred acres of land in Cambridge and Nuneham, and a pix of silver-gilt, weighing seventy-eight ounces. He was seneschal to the abbot of St. Albans in 1331.

[Foss's *Lives of the Judges*; Masters's *History of C. C. Cambridge*; Le Keux's *Memorials of Cambridge*; Fuller's *University of Cambridge*, 69; Newcome's *S. Albans*, 223; *Abbr. Rot. Orig.* 95; *Parl. Writs.*] J. A. H.

**CANTELUPE, CANTILUPE, CANTELO or CANTELEO, FULK DE** (*d.* 1209), is mentioned by Wendover as one of John's evil counsellors. After the election of Stephen Langton as archbishop he was sent by John to expel the Canterbury monks, and the lands of the see were put under his charge.

[*Annal. Monast.* ii. 80, 259, iii. 450; *Matt. Paris*, ii. 516, 533.] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, GEORGE DE** (*d.* 1273), son of William, the third Baron Cantelupe (*d.* 1254) [*q. v.*], is styled **BARON OF BERGAVENTNY**. He was knighted by Henry III in 1272, on the occasion of the marriage of Edmund of Cornwall. He was put into possession of his lands on 23 April 1273, but died the following November. His sister Joanna married Henry of Hastings.

[*Dunstable Annals* (*Annal. Monast.* iii.), 257, 259; *Wykes, Id.* iv. 251.] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, NICHOLAS DE**, third **BARON CANTELUPE** by writ (*d.* 1355), lord

of Gresley, Nottinghamshire, was the grandson of Nicholas, one of the younger sons of William, first baron Cantelupe [*q. v.*] He was with Edward II in Scotland in 1320, and was knighted by him in 1326. At the beginning of the reign of Edward III he was in Scotland, and was made in 1336 governor of Berwick-on-Tweed. In 1339 he was again in Scotland, and in the war in Flanders in the same year. In 1343 he was one of the ambassadors sent to treat for peace with France. In 1345 he was summoned to attend the king in the campaign that ended at Cressy. In 1352 he was appointed one of the commissioners for the defence of Lincolnshire against a threatened invasion by the French. He was summoned to parliament from 1337 to 1354; he died in 1355. He founded Cantelupe College, a college of priests to celebrate at the altar of St. Nicholas in the cathedral of Lincoln, in the Lincoln Close, and also Beauvale, a Carthusian house, at Gresley, Nottinghamshire. His widow Joan founded a college or chantry of five priests in honour of St. Peter in Lincoln, on the site of the house of the Friars de Sacco.

[*Dugdale's Baronage*, i. 733; *Nicolas's Historic Peerage*, ed. Courthope, p. 93; *Tanner's Notitia Monastica.*] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, ROGER DE** (*d.* 1248), legist, was the son of Roger de Cantelupe, who was hanged for treason in 1225. He was sent by Henry III in 1231 to Rome, against Archbishop Richard. His false accusation against the bishops in the quarrel between the king and the earl marshal in 1234 is especially mentioned by Matthew Paris. It was fully answered by the bishop of Lichfield, Alexander Stavenby. It is probably the same person who held the prebend of Kentillers, or Kentish Town, in St. Paul's, London, in 1248. There is a letter from Innocent IV to him in 1248, directing him to protect the abbey of St. Albans from any further contributions to the Roman church.

[*Dunstable Annals* (*Annal. Monast.* iii.), 95; *Matt. Paris* (*Rolls Ser.*), iii. 268, vi. 151.]

H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, SIMON**, called **LE NORMAN** (*d.* 1249), chancellor, was sent to Rome by Henry III to quash the election of Ralph Neville to the see of Winchester in 1238. The same year, on the removal of Neville (*Dunstable Annals*, 152), he was made chancellor, and was also collated to the archdeaconry of Norwich. In 1239 he

was one of those who received the young Edward from the font. The same year, in consequence of his refusal to consent to the king's demand of a tax on every sack of wool sent to Flanders from England for Thomas, count of Flanders, he was deprived of the seal and banished from court. In 1240 he was deprived of his archdeaconry and all his preferments but one. Paris speaks of his power at one time being so great that he disposed of all things at his nod, but that he excited general dislike by his austerity and pride. When at Rome in 1240 he spoke violently against the English character before the pope. He died in 1249.

[Dunstable Annals, 152; Matt. Paris, iii. 495, 540, 629, iv. 63, 64, v. 91.] H. R. L.

CANTELUPE, THOMAS DE (1218?-1282), chancellor, bishop of Hereford, and saint, was born at his father's manor of Hambleton, near Great Marlow, Buckinghamshire, about 1218. His father, William de Cantelupe, second baron [q. v.], was seneschal to John. His mother, Millicent, was a daughter of Hugh de Gournay, a baron of Normandy, and the widow of Almeric de Montfort, count of Evreux, whose mother, Mabel, was one of the coheirresses of the great Gloucester earldom. His uncle was Walter of Cantelupe, bishop of Worcester [q. v.] He was one of four brothers, of whom the eldest, William, third baron Cantelupe [q. v.], acquired by marriage with the heiress of the Braoses the lordship of Brecon in addition to his hereditary possessions. Of the others, John and Nicholas became famous knights, and Hugh archdeacon of Gloucester. His three or four sisters all married into noble families.

Destined, with his brother Hugh, for a clerical career, Thomas naturally fell greatly under the influence of his uncle, Bishop Walter, who partially undertook the direction of his early education. After a possible sojourn at Oxford, where he entered, says Wood (*Annals*, i. 221, ed. Gutch), the same year (1237) as the famous feud between the students and the servants of the unpopular papal legate, Cardinal Otho, Thomas was sent to study arts at Paris, where his elder brother Hugh was already resident. The accounts which remain of their Paris life are singularly illustrative of the position of the noble and wealthy student at a mediæval university. At first the brothers lived together. Their extensive household included a chaplain, and a master of arts who acted as their director. At least two poor scholars were maintained at their expense, and from five to thirteen paupers were fed from the remnants of their table. St. Louis, who was

then king, paid them a personal visit. In 1245 both brothers attended the council of Lyons, where they were made chaplains to Innocent IV, and Thomas received a dispensation which allowed him to hold benefices in plurality. The brothers, who had already completed their arts course, now parted company, and Thomas went to study civil law at Orleans, in which subject he attained such proficiency, that he often lectured in place of his master Guido. He next returned to Paris to devote himself to the study of canon law. Hugh was still there reading theology, but the brothers henceforward had different establishments. At last Thomas completed his long and laborious legal studies, and he returned to Oxford to teach canon law, with such success, that in 1262 he was elected chancellor of the university. His strong yet temperate action in this capacity was well illustrated by his success in stopping a most formidable riot between the 'Boreales' and 'Australes.'

The dispute between Henry III and his barons was now approaching its crisis. Walter of Cantelupe was the intimate friend of Simon of Montfort, and Thomas was naturally drawn to the patriotic side. The strong attachment of the university to the popular party may at least partially be ascribed to the chancellor's influence. This feeling went so far, that in 1263 Edward, the king's eldest son, was refused admission within the town for fear of a conflict between his retinue and the students. At the end of the same year Thomas was appointed, no doubt through his uncle's influence, one of the commissioners to represent the barons at Amiens, where St. Louis had undertaken to arbitrate between them and King Henry (Appendix to RISHANGER's *Chronicle*, Camden Society, pp. 122-3). Louis's judgment against the barons (23 Jan. 1264) was immediately followed by civil war. In March the king occupied Oxford, and turned out all the students. On 14 May the battle of Lewes put the government into the hands of the barons. The university was at once restored to Oxford, but its chancellor was promoted to the chancellorship of England. On 22 Feb. 1265 the king transferred the great seal to Thomas, who had already been nominated to it by the council of magnates by whom the royal power was now exercised (*Rot. Claus.* 49 *H. III.*, m. 9; *Rot. Pat.* 49 *H. III.*, m. 18, in CAMPBELL's *Chancellors*, i. 153; and BLAAUW's *Barons' Wars*, p. 257). Thomas was at least more acceptable to the king than many of his other ministers, and the declaration put into his mouth that he was pleased to admit him to the office is borne out by the light of later



events. On 26 March a grant of 500 marks a year for the support of the chancellor and his clerks was issued, with exceptional declarations of the royal favour (*Rot. Pat.* as above). The almost immediate transference of the seal to Ralph of Sandwich and others suggests that Thomas, though remaining chancellor, was required by his party for other business (*ib.* m. 16). He must, however, have fulfilled some functions of his office, as his prudence, deliberation, and incorruptible honesty in the discharge of his judicial duties are especially commended.

On 4 Aug. the death of Montfort at Evesham brought the baronial power to an end. Thomas was immediately deprived of his post as chancellor, and his return to Paris probably indicates that his position in England was unsafe. Though restored to the king's favour in 1266 (*Rot. Pat.* 50 H. III, m. 3 in DUGDALE'S *Baronage*, p. 732), and never apparently deprived of the archdeaconry of Stafford, which was the highest ecclesiastical preferment he had as yet attained, Thomas remained abroad for several years.

Driven from active life by the collapse of the party with whose fortunes Thomas had been so intimately connected, he henceforth devoted his whole energies to theology. He lectured at Paris on the Epistles and the Apocalypse, and not later than 1272 returned to Oxford, where early in 1273 he became a regent and therefore a teacher in the same subject. His old master and confessor, Robert Kilwardby, had now become archbishop of Canterbury, and came up specially to Oxford to pronounce the usual eulogy on the newly made doctor, whom he declared to be untainted by mortal sin (TRIVER, p. 305, Eng. Hist. Soc.; RISHANGER, p. 102, Rolls Ser.). A few months later Thomas abandoned his lectures at Oxford to attend the second council of Lyons (7 May to 17 July 1274), which Gregory X had convoked with the object of ending the schism between the Eastern and Western churches. As in 1245, he again became a papal chaplain. At its conclusion he apparently returned to Oxford. It is about this time or earlier that his second tenure of the chancellorship of the university must be placed (*Acta Sanctorum*, October, i. 549 b; his name only appears once in the list of chancellors given by Wood and Le Neve, though Wood had a suspicion that he must have been chancellor in 1267, *Antiquities of Oxford*, ed. Gutch, Appendix, p. 327).

The permission to hold benefices in plurality which Thomas had obtained from Innocent IV thirty years earlier had been well used. Besides his archdeaconry of Stafford

(1265) with the annexed prebend of Lichfield he became precentor and canon of York, canon of London, where he lived a good deal, and rector of several rich parishes. Yet Thomas satisfied the most scrupulous precisians by his anxiety in procuring good and sufficient vicars, able to preach and of good moral character. But he was not content with this. He regularly and frequently visited all his cures, celebrated mass, preached sermons, heard confessions, and availed himself of his great wealth—his church preferment brought him in 1,000 marks a year—to exercise a liberal hospitality to all classes, to bestow lavish alms on the poor, and to build, rebuild, or repair the edifices entrusted to his care. Even when absent he regularly sent doles of corn and delicacies to the poor and sick, while his great influence enabled him to strenuously defend the rights and liberties of all his churches in a grasping and lawless age. The poor round Oxford also found in him a liberal benefactor.

Family influence had already given Thomas several benefices on the southern Welsh border, when about 1273 John le Breton, bishop of Hereford, himself an eminent lawyer, appointed him to the prebend of Preston in Hereford Cathedral, apparently in the hope of thus securing him the succession to the bishopric. Unluckily the prebend was not really vacant, as the previous bishop, Peter de Aquablanca, had already nominated a Burgundian fellow-countryman named Peter de Langona to the same stall. Le Breton, who was English, had turned Langona out for some unknown reason, and by appointing such distinguished men as Robert Burnell and Thomas of Cantelupe in succession sought to make his ejection secure. Langona commenced a suit against Cantelupe at Rome, but the slow movements of the papal curia prevented this from becoming an immediate cause of anxiety. In later years it assumed a very different aspect (WEBB, *Household Expenses of Bishop Swinfield*, Camden Soc. ii. clxxviii sq.)

On 12 May 1275 Bishop le Breton died. On 15 June the chapter presented Thomas to the living as their chosen bishop. He had been elected 'via compromissi' on the second day of election, despite his weeping protestation of his unworthiness. The royal assent was forthwith bestowed (20 June). On 24 June Kilwardby confirmed his old pupil's election. On 26 June his temporalities were restored, and on 8 Sept. he was consecrated by Kilwardby at Canterbury (LE NEVE (Hardy), i. 460; *Ann. Wig.*, *Ann. Winton.*, *Ann. War.*, and WYKES in *Ann. Mon.*, iv. 467, ii. 119, ii. 384, iv. 263; *Ann. Lond.* in STUBBS'S *Chron.*

of *E. I* and *E. II*, i. 85, Rolls Ser.) The only other bishops present were London and Rochester, and the archbishop was very indignant that the rest, and especially the neighbouring Welsh prelates, did not assemble to do honour to his pupil (Poliastro MSS. in HADDAN and STUBBS'S *Councils*, i. 506).

Thomas now became an active and trusted adviser of Edward I, and a regular attendant at his councils and parliaments. The bishop of a border diocese, he watched with special interest Edward's contest with Llewelyn of Wales, was present at the council in which the prince was condemned (*Parl. Writs*, i. 5), signed the monitory letter which the bishops addressed to the recusant chieftain (RYMER, Record edition, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 536), and twice sent his vassals into the field against him (in 1277 and 1282, *Parl. Writs*, i. 197, and i. 224). He was present on 29 Sept. 1278 when Alexander, king of Scots, performed homage in the Westminster Parliament (*ib.* i. 7), and again at Gloucester in the same year had the satisfaction of hearing the court declare against his enemy the Earl of Gloucester's claims to the castle and borough of Bristol (*ib.* i. 6). In the same year he and the Bishop of London seem to have specially supported Edward I's claim for a tenth from the clergy on condition of going on crusade (RYMER, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 563). On 27 April 1279 he was appointed with others as royal locum tenens during Edward's absence in France (*ib.* 568). Though on several occasions he put himself into decided opposition to Edward, he never lost his favour. When Edward desired to give a converted Jew the right of bearing witness against christian falsifiers of the coinage, Thomas with tears in his eyes implored the king to release him from the council rather than give a Jew power over christian men. His arguments induced Edward to waive the point and beg the bishop to continue his services. Thomas was always an inveterate enemy of the Jews. He obtained special permission from the king to preach to them, and rejected the large presents by which they vainly sought to propitiate him.

But Thomas's best energies were devoted to the active administration of his disordered see. He constantly traversed the diocese, preached frequently and fervently, heard the confessions of the poorest, displayed great zeal in confirmations, and celebrated mass with an ecstatic fervour that frequently found a relief in tears. Himself the pattern of sanctity, morality, and devotion, he was inexorable against offenders. He abhorred all simony and nepotism. Loose monks he expelled from

his diocese. Powerful barons were compelled to perform open penance for sins they had long thought forgotten. All holders of pluralities without dispensations were deprived, including the precentor of Hereford, who had been a serious rival of Thomas for the bishopric. He rigorously excluded all women, however old and ugly, from his household, and mortally offended his sister Lady Tregoz by the severity which rejected even her affection (*Acta SS.*; cf. WEBB'S *Household Expenses of Bishop Swinfield*, ii. xxxviii).

Bishop Thomas's greatest exertions were directed to asserting and vindicating the rights of his church. Despite his real sanctity, he had no small share of the martial spirit of the fourteenth-century baron, while his legal training plunged him into legal warfare with the encroachers on his prerogatives. Earl Gilbert of Gloucester had usurped the right of hunting on the Herefordshire side of the Malvern hills. His powerful connections and haughty temper made the king himself afraid of the earl. But Thomas brought an action against Gloucester, and the tedious litigation was ended in March 1278 (*Ann. Wigorn.* in *Ann. Mon.* iv. 476), when a jury of the two shires was empanelled at an assize held at Malvern. The earl threatened violence, and defied all 'clergiasters' to rob him of his inheritance. But the judicial decision gave Cantelupe the victory. The deep trench which still marks the summit of the Malvern hills was dug by the defeated earl to separate his possessions from those of the triumphant bishop (NOTT, *History of Malvern Priory*, pp. 52, 53).

Cantelupe also obtained from Peter, baron Cerbet, the restitution of four hundred acres of land stolen from the bishopric near Lydbury (EYTON, *Shropshire*, xi. 199, from CANTELUPE'S *Register*). His solemn excommunication of the enemies of the see frightened into retreat the two thousand Welshmen whom Llewelyn had assembled to protect from the bishop's men the three rich manors near Montgomery that he had usurped from the bishops of Hereford, and the inhabitants of the manors themselves restored Thomas to the possession of them. A tedious suit in the papal court with Anian II of St. Asaph about the rights of the two sees over Gordwr was decided after Cantelupe's death in favour of Hereford. Despite the armed opposition of his nephew Baron Tregoz, Thomas insisted on consecrating the new church of the Cistercian abbey of Dore, jurisdiction over which had been claimed by Bishop Bek of St. David's.

In 1279 Kilwardby was succeeded at Canterbury by the Franciscan John Peckham,

who although, like Kilwardby, an old teacher of Cantelupe's (*Reg. Peck.* cclxvii), had little of the friendliness for him which his predecessor had always displayed. At the council of Reading Peckham took up a line of policy which was offensive to his suffragan bishops (July 1279). Bishop Thomas led the resistance to the Franciscan primate. The main points of difference were expressed in twenty-one articles drawn up in 1282 by the bishops (*WILKINS, Concilia*, ii. 75, and *Reg. Peck.* cclvii). But long before this stage had been attained special causes of quarrel were developed between Peckham and Cantelupe.

A matrimonial suit started before the subdean of Hereford was carried by the losing party straight to the official of Peckham, the intermediate stage before the bishop's court being omitted. Thomas naturally objected to his rights being thus ignored; Peckham would not give way, and so fierce did the strife become that Cantelupe withdrew for a considerable period into Normandy to avoid an interdict, and prosecute an appeal to Rome. How the case ended we are not informed. Early in 1282 Thomas was again in England; but another difference had arisen with Peckham. A certain Henry of Havekly, a clerk benefited in several dioceses, had died, and Peckham claimed jurisdiction in testamentary questions connected with his estate. This his executor Nicholas, the vicar of Ross, and Robert of Gloucester, the official of Hereford, resisted. They were accordingly excommunicated by the archbishop. Cantelupe took up his official's cause and refused to issue the excommunication on the double ground that the offenders had appealed to Rome and that the archbishop had no jurisdiction. Fierce strife ensued. On 7 Feb. a meeting at Lambeth utterly failed to produce peace. Cantelupe was excommunicated, and, either before or after the sentence was pronounced, he appealed to the pope.

Affairs were now proceeding very badly. The tedious suit with Anian of St. Asaph was still dragging on slowly at the papal curia. Peter de Langona, whom Cantelupe refused to conciliate when he became bishop by reinstating him in his old prebend, had gone in person to Rome, and was pressing his suit with extreme vindictiveness and fair success. Already in 1281 Cantelupe had directed his agents to approach the powerful men in the curia with what were practically bribes (*WEBB, Expenses of Bishop Swinfield*, ii. xcvii. All our information about Langona's suit is due to Mr. Webb's extracts from Cantelupe's register. The life in the 'Acta

Sanctorum,' so copious on the other suits in which Thomas had more show of justice, is quite silent on this). The heavy expense, constant worry and danger of defeat and disgrace at last drove Cantelupe to the resolution to prosecute his cases in person before the papal court. Privately, secretly as Peckham boasts (*Reg. Peck.* ccl), Thomas withdrew from England a second time (end of March, *ib.*) He reached Italy in safety, and was well received at the court of Martin IV at Orvieto; this, as he came as an excommunicate, whose right to appeal was more than doubtful, was perhaps more than he could have hoped for. He retired to Montefiascona, a few miles from Orvieto, to await the progress of his suit. But he had long been in failing health. An Italian summer easily prostrated a frame emaciated by asceticism and worn with age and anxiety. He died on 25 Aug. 1282 at Orvieto, where he was buried in the monastery of Santo Severo; his funeral sermon was pronounced by the cardinal of Præneste, afterwards Nicholas IV. His servants, led by Richard of Swinfield, brought his heart and bones back with them to England. The heart he bequeathed to his friend Edmund, earl of Cornwall, who deposited it in the monastery of Ashridge. The bones found a resting-place in the cathedral of Hereford.

Peckham attempted to refuse christian burial to Thomas's remains, and availed himself of the vacancy of the see to hold a metropolitical visitation of the diocese of Hereford. But the election of Thomas's attached friend Richard of Swinfield as his successor showed that the sentiments of crown and chapter were equally adverse to the archbishop. In 1287 the bones of Thomas were translated in the presence of the king to the noble tomb in the north transept which they still occupy (*BRITTON, Hereford Cath.* pp. 56, 57). In the same year miracles were worked at his shrine. In 1290 Bishop Swinfield urgently besought Nicholas IV to admit him into the canon of saints. Nothing came of this, and again in 1299 the efforts were renewed with similar want of success. In 1305, Edward I, urged by the chapter of Hereford and by parliament (*Kal. and Invent. of Exchequer*, i. 83), wrote several letters to the pope and the cardinals, asking for Cantelupe's canonisation. In 1307 Clement V appointed a commission to investigate the question. A vast mass of testimony as to Thomas's life, character, and saintliness was collected, but it was not until 17 April 1320 that John XXII added him to the list of saints. Long before this his cultus had obtained a popularity second only, among recent

English saints, to that of Thomas of Canterbury. Hundreds of miracles were performed at his shrine. The assumption by his successors of his family arms as the arms of the see shows how far he became identified with the later history of Hereford (*Duncun, Herefordshire*, i. 470). His day was 2 Oct.

In personal appearance Thomas was fair but ruddy. His nose was large, and his red hair was in his later years streaked with grey. His face, his admirers thought, was as the face of an angel. In his private life he was pure and blameless, and austere even beyond mediæval standard. After he became bishop, he wore a hair shirt underneath his episcopal dress. He was remarkable for his charity to the poor and for his hospitality.

[The life of Thomas of Cantelupe can be told with a detail very unusual for his times from the copious and almost contemporary *Processus Canonisationis* preserved in the Vatican (Vat. MS. 4015), and which is the basis of the long life in the *Bollandist Acta Sanctorum* Octobris, tom. i. pp. 539-610 *vita*, 610-705 *miracula*; Capgrave (*Nova Legenda*, f. 282b), Surius (*De Probatis Sanctorum Vitis*, 2 Oct. p. 16), the Jesuit Strange in his *Life and Gests of Thomas of Cantelupe* (Gand 1674, reprinted London 1879), have all drawn from the same source or from each other, but are much inferior in accuracy to the *Bollandist* account. There are other manuscript authorities enumerated in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue*, iii. 217-20. Dugdale's *Baronage*, pp. 731-3, gives an account of his family; Wood's *Annals of Oxford* (ed. Gutch) speaks of his Oxford career; Lord Campbell's account, *Lives of the Chancellors*, i. 153-4, is inaccurate and meagre; Foss's sketch in *Judges of England*, ii. 287-9, is rather better; Hardy's *Le Neve* and Godwin's *De Presulibus* are short summaries. Of original authorities, besides the depositions of the witnesses to his sanctity, something may be gleaned from Trivet (*Eng. Hist. Soc.*), the annals of Worcester, Waverley, Oseney, and Wykes in *Luard's Annales Monastici*, *Rolls Series*; Stubbs's *Annals of Edward I and II*, *Rolls Series*; the *Close and Patent Rolls*, the *Parliamentary Writs*, and the documents in *Rymer's Fœdera*; *Martin's Registrum Epistolarum J. Peckham*, *Rolls Series*, some of the documents in which are also printed in Wilkins's *Concilia*, vol. ii., and Webb's *Introductions and Appendices to the Household Expenses of Bishop Swinfield* (*Camden Soc.*), largely derived from Cantelupe's still existing Register, are both of the first importance for the history of his later years; the negotiations for his canonisation can be best traced from Rymer and Webb; the Bull of John XXII is in the *Bullarium Romanum*, i. 234 (*Lugd.* 1692).]

T. F. T.

CANTELUPE, WALTER DE (d. 1266), bishop of Worcester, was the second

son of William, the first baron Cantelupe [q. v.] While still a young man, and only in minor orders, he held several benefices (Foss, *Judges*, p. 155). He was at the Roman court in 1229, and was sent by Pope Gregory IX to carry the pall to Archbishop Richard (*Dunstable Annals*, p. 116). In 1231 he acted as one of the seven justices itinerant for several counties. He was elected bishop of Worcester on 30 Aug. 1236, and was at once accepted by the king. As bishop elect we find his name among those who signed the confirmation of *Magna Charta* in January 1237. He left England immediately afterwards and was consecrated at Viterbo on 3 May 1237 by Pope Gregory IX, who had previously ordained him deacon and priest. The following October he was enthroned in his cathedral, in the presence of the king and queen, the queen of Scotland, the archbishop, and the legate Otho. He began at once a very vigorous administration of his diocese, visiting the chief religious houses, such as Gloucester, Malvern, Tewkesbury, &c., dedicating churches, holding synods, ordaining clergy, settling lawsuits, obtaining grants of fairs and markets from the king. How minute his care over the whole diocese was may be seen by the constitutions issued in 1240, where besides giving strict injunctions to the clergy as to their visiting the sick, avoiding anything like usury in selling their corn, &c., he especially bids them to warn mothers and nurses from overlaying their children at night.

In 1237, at the council of St. Paul's, under the legate Otho, he took the lead in opposing the legate's attempt to enforce the statute of the Lateran council against pluralities, pointing out how the hospitality practised and the alms bestowed by many of high rank and advanced years would be impossible if they were deprived of their benefices. In 1239 he was appointed one of the three arbitrators in the dispute between Bishop Grosseteste and his chapter. In 1241 he left England with the legate, but proceeded only as far as Burgundy, whence he returned with Richard of Cornwall. In 1244, in company with Bishop Grosseteste and the Bishop of Hereford, he made a strong protest against the king's treatment of William de Raleigh, who had been elected bishop of Winchester against his (the king's) wishes. Henry III, who would always give way to a certain amount of determined opposition, tried to avoid them, and ran off from Reading to Westminster. They followed him thither, and threatened to put his chapel under an interdict. They, however, granted his request for delay in the matter, and the

Bishop of Winchester was forced to call in the aid of the pope; then the king gave way and was reconciled to the bishop, as the three protesting bishops were given the power of placing the country under an interdict.

This same year he was one of those appointed by the clergy to consider the king's demands; soon afterwards he proceeded to Lyons on secret affairs in company with the archbishop (Boniface) and the Bishop of Hereford. Paris speaks of these three as being the chief friends of the pope among the English bishops, and that therefore they were 'Anglis suspectiores,' a remark which the historian struck out on revising his history.

In 1247 Cantelupe took the cross in company with William de Longespée; but he does not seem to have carried out his vow, as we find him at the parliament in London in 1248. In 1250 he was at Lyons in order to defend the rights of his see against William Beauchamp (*Tewkesbury Annals*, 139; *Worcester Annals*, 439); the same year he again took the cross, but he returned to Worcester in 1251, and the quarrel with Beauchamp was made up, the latter receiving absolution. His peace was also at the same time made with the king, who had taken up Beauchamp's cause. Just before this he had, in conjunction with the bishop of London, Fulk Basset, successfully opposed the grant proposed by the pope for the king (*Tewkesbury Annals*, 140). He was one of the bishops who met at Dunstable this year to resist Archbishop Boniface's demand of the right of visitation, and in 1252 he stood by Grosseteste in resisting the papal demand of a tenth for the king. In 1253 he joined the other bishops in excommunicating the infractors of Magna Charta, and we find him at Grosseteste's funeral at Lincoln. He then went into Gascony in company with the king and queen, and was sent with John Mansel to Alfonso X of Castile to make the final arrangements for the marriage of Alfonso's sister Alienora with the young Edward, as the former ambassadors sent for this purpose had failed (*Dunstable Annals*, 188). They were now brought to a successful issue. Though now without the support of Grosseteste, he kept up his stand against encroachments on the church from all quarters; and at the meeting of the prelates in London summoned by Rustand in 1255 for the usual demand of an aid for the pope and the king, his words were that he would rather submit to be hanged than that the church should suffer this (*MATT. PARIS*, v. 525). In 1257 he was one of the ambassadors to St. Louis on the fruitless mission to demand the restora-

tion of the English rights in France, and in 1258 one of the English ambassadors at the parliament of Cambray (*ib.* v. 720). In 1257 with the Bishop of London he was sworn king's counsellor (*Burton Annals*, 395), and at the parliament of Oxford was elected one of the twenty-four who were to be practically the governors of the kingdom, he being one of the twelve elected on the barons' side. In this capacity he was one of those before whom the acts of the council were confirmed, and one also of those sent to Richard of Cornwall (then king of the Romans) on his return to England to secure his submission to the provisions of Oxford before being allowed to enter the country. He met Richard at St. Omer, and forced him to swear to them. In 1259 he was one of the council appointed to act when the king was out of England. His name appears among those who submitted the question between the king and the baronage to the arbitration of St. Louis; and when the civil war broke out he took his side distinctly with Simon de Montfort and the barons.

We find him present at Gloucester in 1263 at the interview with Edward, when the latter had fallen into the hands of the barons, and in order to escape made the offer to obtain peace and the king's consent to their demands. In 1264 it was chiefly through his means that Edward was allowed to escape from Bristol; but on Edward's entering Windsor Castle, the bishop advised Simon de Montfort to detain him prisoner, when he met him on his way to besiege the castle (*RISHANGER*, p. 19).

Before the battle of Lewes he was sent with the bishop of London by the barons to mediate; he bore to the king the offer of a large grant of money, provided the statutes of Oxford were observed. When this was refused and the battle inevitable, he gave absolution to the army of the barons and exhorted all to fight manfully for the cause of justice.

After the battle he was one of the four bishops summoned to Boulogne by the legate and ordered to excommunicate Simon de Montfort. But their papers were seized and thrown into the sea by the people of the Cinque Ports, probably in accordance with their own wishes. At least this is implied by the words of Wykes, who relates this episode. After the quarrel between Simon de Montfort and Gilbert de Clare, he was one of the arbitrators appointed to bring them together (*Waverley Annals*, 361), and his seal was one of those affixed to the terms offered to Edward. He was, however, true to Simon de Montfort to the end; Simon slept at his

manor of Kempsey the night before the battle of Evesham, and the bishop said mass for him in the morning. After this he was suspended by Ottoboni and summoned to Rome. He therefore was not at the parliament in 1265. This may, however, have been in consequence of illness, as he died at his manor of Blockley on 12 Feb. 1266. He was buried in his cathedral, where his effigy may still be seen.

Some letters to him from Grosseteste, showing their intimacy and reliance on each other, will be found in the collection of Grosseteste's letters. There are some to him from Pope Innocent IV in the 'Additamenta' of Matthew Paris. Of his own composition there is nothing extant excepting the constitutions for his diocese in 1240. He founded the nunnery of Whiston or Wytestane, in the north part of Worcester, and began the fortifications of the manor house of Hartlebury.

With the exception of Bishop Grosseteste he must rank decidedly as the greatest bishop of his time; as an administrator of his diocese, a statesman, a vindicator of the rights of the country against tyranny of whatever kind, no one else can be compared to him. The proof of the estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries is well seen by the words of the royalist chronicler Thomas Wykes, who says he would have merited canonisation had it not been for his adherence to Simon de Montfort.

[*Annales Monastici*, see especially the index as to the details of his work in the diocese of Worcester; Matthew Paris, *Rishanger, the Chronicle and the separate treatise on the battles of Lewes and Evesham*, printed in the *Rolls Series* by Riley as an appendix to the *Ypodigma Neustriae*, *Epistola R. Grosseteste* (*Rolls Series*). The Constitutions for the diocese of Worcester are printed in Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 665.]

H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, WILLIAM DE**, first **BARON CANTELUPE** (d. 1239), was the son of Walter de Cantelupe, and had the office of seneschal, or steward of the household, under John. He executed the office of sheriff for the counties of Warwick, Leicester, Worcester, and Hereford during part of John's reign. He is especially mentioned by Wendover as one of John's evil counsellors, and was not one of the confederate barons in 1215. In the earlier portion of John's reign he was one of the justiciars before whom fines were acknowledged; his name is among those who witnessed John's charter of freedom of election to sees and abbeys. He was in continual attendance on John, taking his side through the interdict and the civil war. After the entrance of the barons into London and their threats

against those who had not joined them he seems to have wavered (*WENDOVER*; *MATT. PARIS*, ii. 588). On John's death, however, he took the side of the young Henry, was at the siege of Mountsorrel Castle, of the custody of which he had a grant, and at the relief of Lincoln. He was again made sheriff for the counties of Warwick and Leicester, and was justice itinerant in Bedfordshire in 1218. He had the custody of Kenilworth Castle, where he usually resided. In 1224 he joined Ranulf Blundevil, the earl of Chester, in his rising against Hubert de Burgh; but he submitted at Northampton and surrendered his castles with the other barons in opposition. He was with the king at the siege of Bedford Castle in 1224, and was one of those who signed the confirmation of *Magna Charta* in 1236. He died at Reading in April 1239, and was buried at Studley, where he had built a hospital.

[*Annales Monast.* i. 104, 112, iii. 31, 87, 100, 122, iv. 430; *Matt. Paris*, ii. 533, 588, 610, iii. 15, 18, 83; *Dugdale's Baronage*; *Foss's Judges*.]  
H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, WILLIAM DE**, second **BARON CANTELUPE** (d. 1251), is mentioned by Wendover, with his father, William, the first baron [q. v.], as one of John's evil counsellors. He was also with him at the relief of Lincoln, and took the same line in his siding with Ranulf Blundevil and his subsequent submission. In 1238, after the dismissal of Ralph Neville, he was one of those to whom the great seal was entrusted (*Tewkesbury Annals*, p. 110). Though this was only a temporary appointment, he evidently continued high in the king's favour, as after his father's death he was appointed guardian of the kingdom during the king's absence in 1242, and in 1244 was one of the messengers chosen by the king to induce the prelates to submit to his demands for a subsidy. In 1245 he was sent to Lyons to complain of the Roman exactions, and in company with his colleagues refused the papal demands of the best prebend from every cathedral church, and a church worth forty marks from every abbey and priory (*Dunstable Annals*, p. 167). Like his father he held the office of seneschal, and Paris speaks especially of the king's affection for him. He died on 22 Feb. 1251.

His widow, Millicent, had the charge of Margaret, queen of Scotland, on her marriage (*MATT. PARIS*, v. 272). She died in 1260 (*Oseney Annals*, 127).

[*Annales Monast.* i. 110, 143, iii. 159, 167, 181; *Matt. Paris*, ii. 533, iii. 18, 83, iv. 365, 420, v. 224, 225; *Dugdale's Baronage*.] H. R. L.

**CANTELUPE, WILLIAM DE**, third **BARON CANTELUPE** (d. 1254), succeeded his father, William, the second baron [q. v.], in 1251, though the king is described as treating him with harshness. By his marriage with Eva, one of the heiresses of William de Braose, he obtained the honour of Bergavenny, and is said by some writers to have been summoned to parliament as Baron Bergavenny. He was in Gascony with the king in 1253. He died in 1254 and was buried at Studley, Simon de Montfort being one of those who laid him in the grave. By his widow, Eva (d. 1255), he had a son, George [q. v.]

[Dunstable Annals, 192, 194, 196; Matt. Paris, v. 224, 463; Dugdale's Baronage; Nicolas's Peerage, ed. Courthope.] H. R. L.

**CANTERBURY, VISCOUNTS.** [See **MANNERS-SUTTON, CHARLES**, first **VISCOUNT**, 1780-1845; **MANNERS-SUTTON, JOHN HENRY THOMAS**, third **VISCOUNT**, 1814-1877.]

**CANTILLON, RICHARD** (d. 1734), economist, belonged to the family of that name of Ballyheige, county Kerry (see **BURKE, General Armory**, 1883), and was born towards the end of the seventeenth century. He was for some time a merchant in London, but removed to Paris, where he established a banking house, mixed in good society, made the acquaintance of Bolingbroke, and is said to have become still more intimate with the Princesse d'Auvergne. Grimm is responsible for this information, and for the story that Cantillon assisted Law to float his paper money, telling us also that he shortly afterwards left for Holland with a large fortune acquired through this means (*Correspondance Littéraire*, 1878, iii. 72). He subsequently came to London and lived in Albemarle Street, where on Tuesday 14 May 1734, he was murdered by his cook, who robbed and set fire to the house. Mr. Philip Cantillon, probably a brother, offered a reward of 200*l.* to any accomplice, but the actual culprit does not seem to have been captured. Richard married 'the daughter of Mons. Omani [Ommanney?]', one of the richest merchants in Paris, and half sister to the Lord Clare, an Irish gentleman, who followed the late King James to St. Germain's' (*London Mag.* 1734). The wills of both Richard and Philip Cantillon are preserved at Somerset House (*Letters and Journals of W. S. Jevons*, 1886, p. 425). One daughter was married to Lord Bulkeley, lieutenant-general in the French service, brother to the Maréchale de Berwick (*L'Année Littéraire*, 1755, v. 357). Henrietta, another daughter, married, in 1743, William Mathias Stafford Howard, third earl of Stafford. She

had no children by him, and married secondly (in 1759) Robert, first earl of Farnham (**BURKE, Dormant and Extinct Peerage**, 1883, p. 286). A Jasper Cantillon, one of the commissioners for wounded soldiers in King William's wars in Flanders, died 27 Jan. 1756 (*Gent. Mag.* xxvi. 91).

This is all that is known of the writer of the earliest treatise on the modern science of economics, in which, says Léonce de Lavergne, 'toutes les théories des économistes sont contenues d'avance' (*Les Economistes français du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1870, p. 167). W. Stanley Jevons declares that it 'is, more emphatically than any other single work, the cradle of political economy' (*Contemporary Review*, January 1881, p. 68). It has been quoted by Adam Smith, Condillac, and Quesnay, who owes to Cantillon his fundamental doctrine, and was used by the English writers, Harris and Postlethwayt (both in 1757), without acknowledgment.

The 'Essai sur la nature du commerce en général, traduit de l'Anglois,' a duodecimo volume of 430 pages, was printed in 1755, with the imprint, 'Londres, chez Fletcher Gyles, dans Holborn.' Fletcher Gyles, who was Warburton's publisher and one of the leading booksellers of the day, died, however, in 1741 (**NICHOLS, Lit. Anecdotes**, ii. 147). In type, paper, and general 'get-up,' the book is continental and not English. It was most likely printed in Holland or Paris. That it was actually 'traduit de l'Anglois' is not unlikely, and it is possible that an earlier and printed version in English may yet be discovered. The book is now excessively rare, and deserves to be republished. The same text (with other pieces) was added to an edition of De Mauvillon's translation of Hume's 'Discours politiques,' Amsterdam, 1756, vol. iii. In 1759 appeared an English translation: 'The analysis of trade, commerce, coin, bullion, banks, and foreign exchanges, wherein the true principles of this useful knowledge are fully but briefly laid down and explained, to give a clear idea of their happy consequences to society, when well regulated, taken chiefly from the ms. of a very ingenious gentleman deceased, and adapted to the present situation of our trade and commerce, by Philip Cantillon, late of the city of London, merchant.' It was printed at London 'for the author, and sold by Mr. Lewis, &c.,' an octavo volume of 215 pages, price 5*s.* This garbled edition supplies no idea of the merit of the French text. Some of the best parts are entirely omitted. The preface of seventeen pages on trade in English is new, and valueless. That the book was supposed to be taken 'from the ms. of a very ingenious

gentleman . . . by Philip Cantillon,' is another instance of the mystification surrounding this work.

The French 'Essai' is in three parts, the first being a general introduction to political economy, the second is a complete treatise on currency, and the third is devoted to foreign commerce and exchange. 'It is a systematic and connected treatise,' says Professor Stanley Jevons, 'going over in a concise manner nearly the whole field of economics, with the exception of taxation. It is thus, more than any other book I know, the first treatise on economics' (ut supra, p. 67). The first chapter opens with this weighty sentence, which is the keynote of the whole book: 'La terre est la source ou la matière d'où l'on tire la richesse; le travail de l'homme est la forme qui la produit; et la richesse, en elle-même, n'est autre chose que la nourriture, les commodités et les agréments de la vie.' Jevons finds in Cantillon 'an almost complete anticipation of the Malthusian theory of population' (ib. p. 71), condensed into twenty-seven pages, and the very theory afterwards developed by Professor Cairnes (see his *Essays in Political Economy*, 1873), explaining the successive effects of a discovery of gold and silver mines on the rates of wages and prices of commodities. To quote Jevons once more, 'it is not too much to say that the subject of the foreign exchanges has never, not even in Mr. Goschen's well-known book, been treated with more perspicuity and scientific accuracy than in Cantillon's essay' (p. 72). There are references here and there in the 'Essai' (see pp. 35, 48, 93, &c.) to a statistical supplement which does not appear to have been printed.

'Les délices du Brabant et de ses campagnes par Mr. de Cantillon,' Amsterdam, 1757, 4 vols. 8vo, usually attributed to Richard or Philip Cantillon, was certainly by neither, nor was the 'Histoire de Stanislas, 1<sup>er</sup> roi de Pologne, par M. D. C.' Londres, 1741, 2 vols. 12mo, which Barbier ascribes to the same source. The latter work was written by J. G. de Chevrières.

[The late W. Stanley Jevons was the first to attempt to penetrate the mysteries connected with the history of this writer and his remarkable book, in the interesting article contributed to the *Contemporary Review*, January 1881, entitled 'Richard Cantillon and the Nationality of Political Economy;' biographies are given in the *Biographie Universelle*, 1836, t. lx., and *Nouvelle Biographie Générale*, 1855, t. viii.; the information supplied by Watt, McCulloch (*Literature of Political Economy*), Allibone, Macleod (*Dict. of Political Economy*, 1863), and Coquelin et Guillaumin (*Dict. de l'économie politique*, 1873), is very inaccurate; for Cantillon's murder

see the *Country Journal* or the *Craftsman*, 18 May 1734, and 15 June 1734; *Read's Weekly Journal*, 1 June 1734; *Gent. Mag.* 1734 (iv. 273, 702).] H. R. T.

CANTON, JOHN (1718-1772), electrician, was born at Stroud on 31 July 1718. In his youth he manifested considerable aptitude for scientific studies. He was apprenticed to a broad-cloth weaver, and afterwards, in 1737, sent to London. Canton articulated himself for five years to a school-master in Spital Square, London, with whom he subsequently entered into partnership. He appears to have contributed some new experiments for Priestley's 'Histories of Electrical and Optical Discoveries,' and he soon became so celebrated that Dr. Thomson speaks of Canton as 'one of the most successful experimenters in the golden age of electricity.' He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 22 March 1749, and was chosen a member of the council in 1751.

Canton verified Dr. Franklin's hypotheses as to the identity of lightning and electricity, and was the first Englishman to successfully repeat his experiments. He discovered that vitreous substances do not always afford positive electricity by friction, and that either kind, negative or positive, might be developed at will in the same glass tube. He was the first electrician to demonstrate that air is capable of receiving electricity by communication. In a paper read at the Royal Society on 6 Dec. 1753 he announced that the common air of a room might be electrified to a considerable extent, so as not to part with its electricity for some time. With Canton originated also those remarkable experiments on induction which led Wilke and Cæpinus to the method of charging a plate of air. His inquiries led Canton to various discoveries and inventions, such as his electroscope and electrometer, and his amalgam of tin and mercury for increasing the action of the rubber of the electrical machine.

On 17 Jan. 1750 Canton read a paper before the Royal Society with the title 'Method of making Artificial Magnets without the use of Natural ones,' which was published in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. xlvi. At the anniversary in 1751 the Copley medal was awarded to Canton by the Royal Society. In 1747, some years before he published his 'Method,' Canton had turned his attention to the production of magnets by an artificial manipulation. His son (William) informs us that the paper would have been communicated earlier to the Royal Society but for fear of injuring Dr. Gowin Knight, who made money by touching needles for compasses. In 1750 the Rev. J. Michell pub-



lished a 'Treatise on Artificial Magnets,' in which he described several new processes for preparing them. He charged Canton with plagiarism. Priestley, a friend of Canton's, writes to Mr. William Canton, 20 Aug. 1785, informing him that Mr. Michell gives Canton the merit of being the first to make powerful artificial magnets. In 1769 Canton communicated to the Royal Society some experiments which seemed to prove that the luminous appearance occasionally presented by the sea arose from the presence of decomposing animal matter. Canton was the discoverer of that phosphorescent substance usually known as Canton's phosphorus, prepared by mixing calcined oyster shells with a little sulphur, which after exposure to the sunshine is luminous in the dark. In 1762 he demonstrated before the council of the Royal Society; and at their cost, the compressibility of water, in opposition to the well-known experiment of the Florentine academicians. Some objections having been made to their awarding him, in 1766, the Copley medal, Lord Morton on that occasion highly praised Canton, and hoped that 'he would continue his ingenious researches to the advancement of natural knowledge.' Canton contributed several articles to the 'Ladies' Diary' in 1739-40, and to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' between 1739 and 1761.

Canton died on 22 March 1772.

[Priestley's *History of Electrical Discoveries*; Weld's *History of the Royal Society*, i. 509, ii. 32, 510; *Life* (by Canton's son) in Kippis's *Biog. Brit.*; Noad's *Manual of Electricity*; The Canton Papers, *Athenæum*, 1849, pp. 5, 162, 375; Aug. de la Rive's *Treatise on Electricity*.]  
R. H.-T.

**CANTRELL, HENRY** (1685?-1773), miscellaneous writer, was born about 1685. Cantrell's father was probably the Thomas Cantrell (1659-1700) who graduated M.A. at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in 1681. The elder Cantrell was a resident from 1673 at Alstonfield, Staffordshire, and afterwards became master of the grammar school at Derby, dying in 1700. Cantrell's mother afterwards married Anthony Blackwall [q. v.], his father's successor in the Derby school, and there he was educated by his stepfather.

Henry Cantrell took his degrees at Emmanuel College, Cambridge (B.A. 1704, M.A. 1710). In 1712 he procured the perpetual curacy of St. Alkmund's, Derby, and when this benefice was created a vicarage, Cantrell was its first vicar, holding the living to his death. Before he came to St.

Alkmund's the church was in a deplorable condition for want of maintenance, and service had not been performed for fifty years. Cantrell held strong views on the efficacy of episcopal baptism, and noted in his church register, that 'dissenting ministers have no authority to baptize, and children sprinkled by 'em ought to be baptized after by an episcopal minister.' In 1714 he wrote 'The Invalidity of the Lay-Baptism of Dissenting Teachers proved from Scripture and Antiquity,' Nottingham, 8vo. This was directed against an anonymous work entitled 'The Validity of Baptism administered by Dissenting Ministers, by a Presbyter of the Church of Christ [Ferdinand Shaw, independent minister of Derby], Nottingham, 8vo. There were numerous books and pamphlets taking opposite sides of the question about this time. His next work was 'The Royal Martyr, a True Christian; or, a Confutation of the late Assertion, viz. that King Charles I had only the Lay-Baptism of a Presbyterian Teacher,' London, 1716, 8vo. In this treatise he gives an interesting account of Charles I's baptism from the Heralds' office in Edinburgh.

Hutton says 'Cantrell drunk the Pretender's health on his knees' on the famous march to Derby in 1745. In 1760 he communicated several interesting particulars of Derby and St. Alkmund's Church to Dr. Pegge. These are now in Pegge's collections at Heralds' College. He died in 1773. William Cantrell, rector of St. Michael's, Stamford, and afterwards rector of Normanston (1716-1787), was his eldest son. Another son, Henry, and a daughter, Constance, died young.

Nichols says 'his widow became second wife of Anthony Blackwall, his successor in the Derby grammar school,' but this was clearly his mother. Blackwall died in 1730.

[Lysons's *Derbyshire*, pp. 114, 121, 176; Nichols's *Leicestershire*, iii. 737; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* i. 119, 133; Nichols's *Illust.* viii. 441; Hutton's *Birmingham*, p. 117; *Reliquary*, 1870, p. 113; Cantrell's *Royal Martyr*, preface, pp. xxv-vi.]  
J. W.-G.

**CANTWELL, ANDREW** (d. 1764), medical writer, was born in Tipperary, and studied medicine in Montpellier, where he graduated in 1729. Having failed in his endeavours in 1732 to secure the succession to the chair of medicine at Montpellier which had been left vacant by the migration to Paris of Jean Astruc, the eminent doctor of medicine and critic of the Mosaic cosmogony, Cantwell also settled in Paris in 1733. After going through a further lengthened

course of study there, he graduated M.D. of Paris in 1742. In 1750 he was appointed at Paris professor of surgery in the Latin language, in 1760 he became professor of the same subject in French, and in 1762 professor of pharmacy. He was one of the bitterest and most persistent opponents of inoculation against small-pox, which was widely adopted in Western Europe during the eighteenth century, and in the face of the censure of many clergymen and of many members of the medical profession became established in England. To that country Cantwell accordingly paid a lengthened visit in order to study the practice and its results. Cantwell gave his views to the world in a 'Dissertation on Inoculation,' Paris, 1755, and an 'Account of Small-pox,' Paris, 1758. He was also author of numerous Latin dissertations on medicine, besides publishing other medical treatises, and several translations of English books.

He issued in Paris in 1746 a French version of Sir Hans Sloane's medical publication: 'An Account of a Medicine for Soreness, Weakness, and other Distempers of the Eyes,' which came out in London the year before. Full lists of Cantwell's works are given in Eloy (see below) and 'Nouvelle Biographie Générale,' Paris, viii. 1855. He was a fellow of the Royal Society of London, and contributions of his are to be found in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' vols. xl. xli. xlii. He died at Paris 11 July 1764.

[Eloy's Dict. Historique de la Médecine, Mons. 1778, i. 529; Dict. Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales, xii. 1871.] G. T. B.

CANUTE or CNUT (994?-1035), called the Great, and by Scandinavian writers the Mighty and the Old, king of the English, Danes, and Norwegians, was the elder son of Sweyn, king of Denmark, by Sigrid, widow of Eric the Victorious, king of Sweden (ADAM BREM. ii. 37). In his charters his name is written Cnut, and sometimes Knuð, in Norsk it is Cnútr, and in Latin correctly Cnuto. The name is one peculiar to the Danish royal family. The form Canutus is a corruption; it is, however, as old as the canonisation of the later king of that name by Paschal II about 1100 (ÆLNOTh, *Vita S. Kanuti*, ap. LANGEBEK, *Scrip. Rer. Dan.* iii. 340, 382; FREEMAN, *Norman Conquest*, i. 442). While, then, Canute is certainly an incorrect form, it has obtained such sanction as wide and long use can give. Sweyn had apostatised, but some time after the birth of Cnut he again became a christian, and was rebaptised. As a boy, then, Cnut must have been a pagan, but he seems to have received

baptism before 1013, and possibly before 1000, the date of the battle of Swold, won by Sweyn, as it seems, after his conversion, and by his allies, the Swedes. At his baptism Cnut received the name of Lambert (comp. *Chron. Eriæ*, LANGEBEK, i. 158; ADAM BREM. ii. 37, 38, 49, and Schol. 38). He is said to have urged his father to invade England in 1013 (*Enc. Emma*, i. 3); he sailed with him, and must therefore have landed at Sandwich, and thence gone round to Gainsborough, where Sweyn received the submission of Earl Uhtred of Northumbria, and of all the Danish part of the kingdom. Crossing Watling Street into the purely English districts, the host advanced to London, ravaging all the country. Being repulsed from London, the Danes marched westwards, and all Wessex submitted to Sweyn, who was now acknowledged as 'full king' (*A.-S. Chron.* 1013). London gave hostages to him, and Æthelred fled to Normandy. Thus Cnut's conquest only completed and confirmed the work of his father (*Norman Conquest*, i. 399). According to one writer, Sweyn, believing his end to be near, talked much with his son concerning the art of government and the christian religion (*Enc. Emma*, i. 5). His death, however, was unexpected, and the gifts Cnut afterwards made to the monastery of Bury seem to show that he shared the general belief that it was due to the vengeance of St. Eadmund. Sweyn died on the road from Gainsborough to Bury on 3 Feb. 1014. His son Harold succeeded him in Denmark, and the Danish fleet chose Cnut to be king of England. The 'witan,' however, sent after Æthelred, and declared every Danish king an outlaw. Æthelred returned to England during Lent. Meanwhile Cnut remained at Gainsborough until Easter (17 April), evidently gathering together as large a force as he could, in order to crush the newly awakened energy of the English. Following his father's example, he now made an agreement with the people of Lindesey that they should supply him with horses, an indispensable step towards inland conquest, and then join his army in ravaging the country. Before he could set out Æthelred marched into Lindsey at the head of a great host, and forced Cnut and his Danes to flee. They sailed to Sandwich, and there Cnut cut off the hands, ears, and noses of the hostages his father had taken, and put them ashore. He then returned to Denmark.

Meanwhile the Norwegians shook off the Danish yoke. Olaf Haroldsson (the saint), a Norwegian sea-king, had carried Æthelred from Normandy to England in his ships. Foreseeing that the English war would call for all

Cnut's strength, and knowing that the bravest Danes were with him, and among them Eric, the earl of Norway, he landed in that country, and by the spring of 1015 obtained the crown (*Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ii. 116, 127, 153). According to a strange story, Cnut, on landing in Denmark, asked his brother Harold to divide his kingdom with him. Harold refused, and Cnut let the matter drop for the time (*Enc. Emma*, ii. 2). In another account the Danes are said to have deposed Harold on account of his slothful and unwarlike character, and to have chosen his brother king in his stead, but, subsequently becoming impatient at Cnut's long absence, to have again chosen Harold, who reigned until his death (*Chron. Erii*, LANG. i. 158). It seems probable that Cnut, on his return at the head of a powerful fleet devoted to his service, became at least virtual sovereign of the country; that some time later (during Cnut's second absence in England, 1015-19) Harold regained the authority he had lost while his abler brother was in the country, and that Harold died before Cnut returned to Denmark from his second visit to England.

Having thus lost England, Cnut is said to have prepared himself for its reconquest by two successful campaigns against the Slavs dwelling on the south coast of the Baltic in Sclavia and Sembia. The two brothers are also represented as acting together. They went to Poland and brought back with them their mother, who was the daughter of Miecslas, the last duke, and on their return they received the body of their father Sweyn, which was sent over from England by an English lady, and buried it with great pomp at Roskild (*Enc. Emma*, ii. 3).

Cnut eagerly set himself to raise a sufficient force for a fresh invasion of England, and with the help of his half-brother, Olaf of Sweden, he equipped a splendid fleet (ADAM BREM. ii. 50). A promise from Earl Thurkill that he would join him with his ships, whether delivered in person or not, decided the date of his departure. He sailed from Denmark in 1015, perhaps accompanied by his brother Harold and by the earl (THIETMAR, vii. 28), though Harold's presence may at least be doubted (*Enc. Emma*, ii. 4); while the statement that Thurkill went with the fleet depends on his identity with a Thurgut spoken of by Thietmar. Cnut landed at Sandwich. Thence he sailed round the coast to the mouth of the Frome, and harried Dorset (the sack of the monastery of Cerne is specially recorded, *Mon.* ii. 625) and Wiltshire and Somerset. He met with no opposition. Æthelred lay sick at Corsham, and the ætheling Eadmund and Earl Eadric were at enmity with each other.

Eadric joined Cnut, bringing forty ships with him, and by Christmas Wessex submitted to the Danish king and supplied him with horses. Early in 1016 Cnut crossed the Thames at Cricklade and ravaged Warwickshire; thence he passed over to Bedfordshire, and then led his host by Stamford and Nottingham to York (*A.-S. Chron.* 1016; OTHERS, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 176). There Uhtred and all Northumbria submitted to him. Nevertheless he treacherously allowed Uhtred to be slain by his private enemies, and gave his earldom to Eric, who had married his sister Estrith (SIMON, ap. TWYSDEN, col. 81). At York he stayed some time to gather his forces. Æthelred was now dead, and on hearing of his death Cnut appears to have sailed to Southampton, and to have held a meeting of the witan there, at which he was chosen king, and the great men present at it renounced the sons of Æthelred, and swore to obey him (FLOR. WIG. i. 173; *Norman Conquest*, i. 418). The silence of the chronicles, however, throws some doubt on this story. Meanwhile the Londoners made Æthelred's son, Eadmund, king in his stead. On 7 May Cnut laid siege to London. The invading fleet is said to have consisted of 340 ships, each containing eighty men (THIETMAR), and as the river was defended by London Bridge, Cnut made a canal along the south side of it, and so drew his ships to the west of the bridge (*A.-S. Chron.*; FLORENCE, i. 173; Lithsmen's Song, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 108). Eadmund left the city to gather a force in Wessex, and it was perhaps now that Emma, Æthelred's widow, in order to give her stepson time to come to the relief of the city, entered into negotiations with Cnut, and that he was thus for the first time brought into communication with her (THIETMAR). Cnut was forced to march westwards with part of his army to meet Eadmund, and after two engagements the Danes broke up the siege; it was again formed and again broken up, and Cnut, foiled in his attempt to take London, seems to have made the Medway the headquarters of his fleet, and to have thence sent out expeditions to plunder. A vigorous attack was made on his army in Kent by the English under Eadmund, who drove him and his men into Sheppey with great loss. The total failure of his expedition now seemed certain; but the English king was hindered from following up his success, and the Danes were thus enabled to leave their place of refuge. The struggle, the details of which must be reserved for the life of Eadmund, ended in the battle of Assandun, a spot which may be identified by the hill of Ashington in Essex. There Cnut met an army gathered from every part of England

After a stubborn battle lasting throughout the day, and even by moonlight, the English gave way; the retreat soon became a rout, and 'all the flower of the English race was there destroyed' (*A.-S. Chron.*)

Cnut followed the English king into Gloucestershire. Great as his victory was, he knew that Eadmund might once more gather strength, and he therefore consented to make terms with him. The two kings met on the isle of Olney in the Severn, near Deerhurst. Henry of Huntingdon's story of a combat between them, and that told by William of Malmesbury of a challenge sent by Eadmund and refused by Cnut, may both be set aside as mythical. At Olney the land was divided. Cnut took the northern part; Wessex remained to Eadmund (*ib.*) This seems all that can be said with absolute certainty about the agreement. By supplying a defective passage in Florence from Roger of Wendover, it appears that Eadmund's share also included East Anglia and Essex with London, and that he kept the crown of the kingdom, Cnut being an under-king (*FLOR. WIG.* i. 178; *ROG. WEND.* i. 459). On the other hand, Henry of Huntingdon (756), though he is probably wrong, assigns London and the headship of the kingdom to Cnut. The Londoners 'bought peace' of the Danes, and the fleet took up winter quarters there (*A.-S. Chron.*; *Lithsmen's Song, Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 108). Eadmund was slain 30 Nov. There is no trustworthy evidence that Cnut had any hand in this opportune event. No English writer accuses him of it, and the story in the 'Knytlinga Saga' that he employed Eadric to slay him is unworthy of belief. Saxo (193) speaks of the belief that he was put to death by Cnut's order, without accepting the story. Henry of Huntingdon gives a detailed account of the murder of the king by Earl Eadric; he there makes Eadric boast of his deed to Cnut, who thereupon has him slain, even as David did by him who declared that he had put Saul to death. There seems no reason for doubting that the king met a violent death; that he was slain by Eadric is certainly probable, and while there is nothing to prove that Cnut instigated the murder, it was done in his interest by men who believed that they had good cause to expect that he would reward them for it. On the death of Eadmund, Cnut immediately called the witan to London, and, when the assembly had met, bade those who were present at the conference at Olney declare what had been settled there about the succession. They answered that Eadmund had assigned no part of his kingdom to his brothers; but Florence (i. 179) says that their testimony was false. Cnut was then formally

chosen king, and he received the oaths of the witan; and when perhaps a fuller assembly had been gathered, his kingship was generally acknowledged. The great men and the people swore to obey him, and he made oath to them in return (*ib.* 180).

Cnut was about twenty-two when he ascended the throne in the first days of 1017. In spite of the formal election and oaths which accompanied his accession, he had really won the kingdom by the sword, and in order to render his position secure he indulged his naturally stern and revengeful temper by putting several of the most powerful Englishmen to death. Among these were Eadric, by whose treasons against his natural lord he had often profited, and Æthelweard, the son of Æthelmær, the patron of Ælfric the Grammarian [q. v.] An ætheling named Eadwig was banished and afterwards slain by his orders, and with him, too, was banished another Eadwig, called the 'ceorls' king.' It is generally asserted on the authority of Florence of Worcester that the sons of Eadmund were sent to Olaf of Sweden that he might slay them, but that they were saved from death and sent into Hungary. There is, however, good reason for believing that for 'ad regem Suavorum' should be read 'ad regem Sclavorum,' that Cnut sent the children to his brother-in-law Boleslas, and that Mieceslas, his nephew, sent them safely to Russia (*STEENSTRUP, Normannerne*, iii. 305). The two sons of Æthelred were with their mother at the court of Richard, duke of the Normans, who might have been disposed to take up his sister's cause. Cnut, however, avoided this danger by his marriage with her. Emma, or, as the English called her, Ælfgifu, whom Æthelred married 'before August' in 1002, must have been about ten years older than her new husband. Nevertheless, the marriage need not have been one of mere policy, for she was remarkably beautiful. Cnut was already the lover of another Ælfgifu, sometime, it is said, the mistress of Olaf of Norway [see *ÆLFGIFU* of Northampton]. By her he had two sons, Harold and Sweyn. Emma, therefore, before she accepted his offer, stipulated that, should she bear the king a son, no other woman's son should succeed to the kingdom; and to this Cnut agreed (*Enc. Emma*, ii. 16).

In 1018 Cnut levied a heavy danegeld of 72,000 pounds, besides 15,000 which he took from London alone. With this money he paid off his Danish forces and sent them away, keeping only forty ships with their crews, who formed the nucleus of his body of 'hus-carls.' And in the same year he held a gemot at Oxford, where Danes and English joined together in the observance of 'Eadgar's law.'

The phrase denotes a renewal of the good government under which men had lived in the reign of Eadgar, when both races dwelt together on terms of perfect equality, each being judged by its own law, though indeed the difference between the systems was scarcely more than one of name. From this time Cnut appears in England as a wise and just ruler. He reigned as a native king, and though he was lord of vast dominions he ever treated England as the chief of all. He constantly visited his other kingdoms, but he made his home here, and while he ruled elsewhere by viceroys he made this country the seat of his government, so that in his reign England was, as it were, the head of a northern empire (ADAM BREM. ii. 63). Yet even here he adopted something of an imperial system of government; for, following out the policy already pursued by Eadgar, he divided the kingdom into four earldoms, and entrusted the administration of each part to a single earl, just as each of the four divisions of the German land and race was under its own duke (STRUBBS, *Const. Hist.* i. 202, where the feudal tendency of this arrangement is marked). The highest offices in church and state were open to Englishmen. Æthelnoth was archbishop of Canterbury, Godwine earl of Wessex. During his later years, indeed, when he saw fit to banish certain Danish earls from England, he filled their places with Englishmen, and so 'Danish names gradually disappear from the charters and are succeeded by English names' (*Norman Conquest*, i. 476).

Having set in order his new kingdom, Cnut visited Denmark in 1019, using for his voyage the forty ships he had retained. He took with him Englishmen as well as Danes, and Godwine is said to have gained his favour by doing him good service in a war he made during this visit against the Wends (HEN. HUNT. 757). On his return to England in 1020 he was present at the consecration of the church at Assandun that he and Earl Thurkill had built to commemorate the victory over Eadmund. The chronicler notes that the building was 'of stone and lime,' for in that well-wooded district timber would have been the natural and less costly material to use. Wulfstan, archbishop of York (the see of Canterbury was vacant), and many bishops were there, and the ceremony was one of national importance. The foundation must have been small, for the church was served by a single secular priest. Cnut was a liberal ecclesiastical benefactor, generally favouring the monks rather than the secular clergy. He rebuilt the church of St. Eadmund at Bury, evidently as an atonement for the wrong his

father had done the saint, turned out the secular clerks, and filled their places with a colony of monks brought from the monastery of Hulm in Norfolk (WILL. MALM. *Gesta Reg.* ii. 181, *Gesta Pontiff.* 151; *Monasticon*, iii. 135, 137). The solemn translation of the body of Archbishop Ælfheah from St. Paul's to the metropolitan church in 1023 doubtless had a political as well as a religious significance. The English saw that the days of plunder by the heathen-men were over for ever, and that the Danish king delighted to honour the martyr whose death made him a national hero. Another of his acts of devotion has been held to cast a suspicion upon him, for in 1032 he visited Glastonbury, and after praying before the tomb of his rival Eadmund offered on it a pall worked with the various hues of the peacock. He also gave a charter to the monastery (WILL. MALM. ii. 184, 185). He appears as a benefactor at Canterbury, Winchester, Ely, Ramsey, and elsewhere. He held English churchmen in high esteem. He admitted Lyfing, abbot of Tavistock, and afterwards (1027) bishop of Crediton, to intimate friendship, and took him with him on his journeys to Denmark and Rome (WILL. MALM. *Gesta Pontiff.* 200). Archbishop Æthelnoth evidently had considerable influence over him. He took many clergy from England to Denmark, and appointed some of them to bishoprics there. One or more of these bishops were consecrated by the English metropolitan. This brought the king into communication with Unwan, archbishop of Hamburg. Unwan seized Gerbrand, who had been consecrated to the see of Roskild by Æthelnoth in 1022, and made him profess obedience to him, and wrote to Cnut to complain of this infringement of the rights of his see. Cnut was glad to oblige the powerful metropolitan of the north, and took care that all such matters should be arranged as he wished for the future. Whatever headship England had among the dominions of the Danish king, it was not to give the church of Canterbury metropolitan rights over them (ADAM BREM. ii. 53). Cnut's munificence extended to foreign churches, and by the advice of Æthelnoth he greatly helped the building of the cathedral of Chartres. His devout liberality took men by surprise. Both he and his father Sweyn seem to have been looked on as heathens by Christendom at large until Cnut exhibited himself as the most zealous of christian kings. The affairs of the north were little known, and Cnut, in spite of his baptism, gave men little cause to deem him a christian until after his accession. A contemporary writer, Ademar of Chabannes, states that he was converted

after he came to the throne (*Recueil*, x. 156), and Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, writing in 1020 or 1021 to thank him for the gifts he had made to his church, implies that up to that time he had believed that he was a pagan (*ib.* 466). In a legend of St. Eadgyth, told by William of Malmesbury, Cnut is represented as led by his heathen prejudices to despise the English saints. He especially mocked at the sanctity of Eadgyth as the daughter of Eadgar, whom he pronounced a lustful tyrant. Æthelnoth rebuked him, and the saint herself rose up to convince him of his sin (WILL. MALM. *Gesta Pontiff.* 190). The story is foolish enough, but taken in connection with the assertions that Cnut acted by the advice of Æthelnoth in sending gifts to Chartres, and that the archbishop accompanied him on his visit to Glastonbury, it perhaps suggests that Æthelnoth was the means of turning the king from a mere nominal christianity, such as he professed when he mutilated the hostages in 1013, to a zeal for the faith and a life not wholly unworthy of it. The belief of Fulbert and Ademar as to the king's heathenism was of course connected with the fact that 'pagani' was the recognised description of the Danes.

Under the year 1022 it is said in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that Cnut 'went out with his ships to Wiht,' and the next year he is described as returning to England. These entries have been satisfactorily explained as referring to an expedition to Wightland in Esthonia (STEENSTRUP, *Normannerne*, iii. 323). Earl Thurkill was outlawed from England in 1021. Nevertheless, before Cnut left Denmark to return hither after this expedition, he appointed the earl ruler of Denmark on behalf of one of his sons. This son was probably Sweyn, the son of Ælfgifu of Northampton. The king brought Thurkill's son back with him as a hostage for his father's good behaviour. About this time he banished Earl Eric from England, and a few years later his own nephew Hakon, giving their English earldoms to Englishmen.

Cnut's pilgrimage to Rome, assigned in the Chronicle to 1031, took place in 1026-7, for he assisted at the coronation of the emperor Conrad on 26 March 1027 (WIPRO, c. 16; SIGHVAT, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 136). On his way he gave rich gifts to the various monasteries to which he came. At St. Omer the writer of the 'Encomium Emmæ' saw him and marvelled at his devotion and munificence. He sent to England an account of his visit to Rome in a letter addressed to the archbishops, bishops, and all the English gentle and simple. He tells his people how his pilgrimage, vowed some time before, had

been put off by press of business, and how glad he was that he had at last seen all the holy places at Rome; he describes how honourably he had been received by the pope and the emperor, and says that he had obtained promises from the emperor and from Rudolf of Burgundy that merchants and pilgrims of England and Denmark should not be oppressed on their way to Rome, and from the pope that some abatement should be made in the large sums demanded from his archbishops in return for the pall, and that he had made a vow to reign well and amend whatever he had done amiss as a ruler (FLOR. WIG. i. 186; WILL. MALM. ii. 183). The whole letter shows his warm-heartedness and his confidence in the sympathy of his people. While, however, there is much that is noble in it, there is something also of the simplicity of the backward civilisation of Scandinavia. By a treaty arranged by Archbishop Unwan, Cnut's daughter Gunhild was betrothed to the emperor's son Henry, and Conrad gave the Danish king the march of Sleswic and accepted the Eider as the boundary between Denmark and Germany (ADAM BREM. ii. 54).

When Cnut was firmly established on the English throne, he sent messengers to Olaf Haroldsson, demanding that he should hold Norway as his earl and pay him tribute. On Olaf's refusal he set about creating a party for himself in Norway, and spent money freely in bribing the Norwegians to be faithless to their king (SIGHVAT, 4). Olaf sought to strengthen himself by forming an alliance with the king of Sweden. About 1026 it seems that another danger also was threatening Cnut in the north, for Ulf, the husband of his sister Estrith, is said to have tried to make one of his sons king of Denmark in his place. Besides the discontent that Cnut's absence from his paternal kingdom would naturally occasion, it is probable that his active christianity was unacceptable to some part of his Danish subjects (*Ann. Hildesheim.* 1035). He went over to Denmark probably in 1026, and Ulf is said to have submitted to him. He then sailed to meet the allied fleets of Norway and Sweden, which were ravaging Scania. After a fierce engagement in the Helga river the Danes were worsted (*A.-S. Chron.* 1025; SAXO, 195; *Ann. Isl.* an. 1027; according to Othere's song they stopped the foray, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 156). After the battle, in which many Englishmen are said to have fallen, Cnut, as the story goes, picked a quarrel with Ulf and had him assassinated in St. Lucius Church at Roskild (LAING, *Heimskringla*, ii. c. 163). That he caused Ulf to be put to death there is no reason to

doubt, and while there is no evidence that he acted unjustly, the killing in the church is perhaps almost too startling to be a mere invention, and if it took place it would of course have been an outrage on the feelings of the age. Cnut continued to intrigue with the subjects of Olaf, and he did so with such good effect that, when in 1028 he again sailed to Norway, Olaf was forced to flee. In 1030 Olaf made an attempt to regain his throne, but he was defeated and slain by Cnut's party at Stikelstead. By his death Cnut gained secure possession of Norway. Besides his three kingdoms of England, Denmark, and Norway, he reigned over certain Slavic peoples on the coast of the Baltic, whose lands are described as Sclavia and Sembia (Saxo, 196, notæ, 212). On the authority of Florence of Worcester he is said to have described himself in the Roman letter as 'king of part of the Swedes.' He certainly was never in any sense king of the Swedes, and the passage has been satisfactorily explained by the suggestion that there has been a confusion between 'scl' and 'su,' and that it refers to his Slavic subjects (STEENSTRUP, *Normannerne*, iii. 327-30). His dominions are constantly spoken of as an empire, and now in imperial fashion he committed Norway to his son Sweyn, whom he sent thither in 1030 under the charge of his mother and Earl Hakon. Harthacnut, the son of Emma, also was made ruler of Denmark.

The defeat of the Northumbrians by the Scots at Carham in 1018 only concerns the personal history of Cnut in so far as it led him in after years to force the Scottish king to acknowledge his superiority. Although the submission of Malcolm was of the same vague character as earlier instances of 'commendation,' the relationship thus established served to confirm the Scottish claim to Lothian, and the addition of this purely English land to the Scottish crown was the beginning of a momentous change in the character of the monarchy. Cnut seems to have actually entered Scotland before Malcolm's submission, and this display of his strength induced two under-kings, Maelbeth and Jehmarc, dwelling 'north of Fife,' to submit themselves to him in like manner. These events are placed in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under 1031, but they certainly happened before Olaf's flight in 1028 (SIEGHVAT, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 133, 134). The description of Cnut as king of the Irish and the Islanders (Hebrideans) given by a contemporary poet (OTHERE, *Corp. Poet. Bor.* ii. 152, 157) and the coins minted with his name at Dublin go far to prove that the Ostmen looked on him as their head. With the Welsh Cnut does

not seem to have been brought into any personal connection. From the contradictory notices of his relations with the Norman duchy it seems that after he had put Ulf to death he gave his sister Estrith, the earl's widow, in marriage to Duke Robert, who hated her and put her away; that Robert demanded that the æthelings should be allowed to return, and that restoration should be made to them; and that on Cnut's refusal the duke fitted out a fleet for the invasion of England, but that many of his ships were wrecked off Jersey, and so the expedition was abandoned (RUDOLF GLABER, iv. 6; SAXO, 193; PET. OLAI, ap. LANG, ii. 205; WILL. OF JUMÈGES, vi. 10; WILL. MALM. ii. 180, who says that some remains of the shattered fleet were to be seen at Rouen in his day; *Norman Conquest*, i. 520-8). It was probably in order to strengthen himself against any possible attacks from Normandy that Cnut made alliance with William V, duke of Aquitaine and count of Poitou (ADEMAR, 149).

Cnut's table of laws, 'decreed with the consent of the witan' at some uncertain date, contains no absolutely new principles or customs. It is divided into ecclesiastical and civil laws. The command with which it opens, that men 'should ever love and worship one God and love King Cnut with right truthfulness,' breathes the spirit of the king's government and puts forward the religious duty of loyalty, still a somewhat new idea in our constitution; this is further illustrated by the comparison between breaches of the peace in a church and in the king's house. Sundays are to be strictly observed. The payment of tithes and of other ecclesiastical dues is enforced, and all men are bidden to live in chastity, a command which leads one to suppose that the king had then separated from Ælfgifu of Northampton. The civil laws are for the most part re-enactments, and in some cases developments, of the legislation of earlier kings, and especially of Eadgar, and may be looked on as the explanation of the agreement in 'Eadgar's law' made by the men of both races at the Oxford assembly. Among the most noteworthy provisions are the list given of cases which the king reserved for his own court, the later pleas of the crown, and the few, virtually nominal, differences recognised between Danish and English customs, such as the fine paid by the Englishman under the name of 'wite,' and by the Dane under that of 'lah-slite' (THORPE, *Ancient Laws*, 152). The forest constitutions which bear Cnut's name are, at least as they have come down to us, a later compilation. All that is known for certain about his legislation on this matter is contained in

his laws, cap. 81: 'And I will that every man be entitled to his hunting in wood and in field on his own possessions; and let every one forego my hunting. Beware where I will have it untrampled on under penalty of full wite.' The payment of heriots enforced by caps. 71, 72, and said to have been introduced by Cnut, has been shown to have been exacted before his time, and the 'presentment of Englishry,' attributed to him by the so-called 'Laws of Eadward the Confessor,' belongs to the Norman period (*Const. Hist.* i. 196, 200, 206). The crews of the forty Danish ships retained by Cnut became the origin of the permanent band of royal guards, named 'hus-carls,' which was kept up until the Conquest. This force is said by Saxo (196) to have consisted of as many as 6,000 men, but this is probably an exaggeration. Cnut drew up regulations for its discipline, which are described by Saxo and are given in detail by Sweyn Aggeson (*Leges Castrensium*, LANG. iii. 139; THORPE). The hus-carls have been frequently compared with the *comitatus*; their distinctly stipendiary character, however, seems to make the comparison invalid (caps. 6, 7). While some of the regulations have a suspiciously modern tone (e.g. cap. 14), there is no reason to doubt that they substantially represent the king's work. The force received many foreign recruits, and among them the famous Wendish prince Godescalc, who stayed with Cnut until the king's death. Godescalc is said to have married Siritha, the daughter of Sweyn, the son of Estrith, Cnut's sister (Saxo, 208, 230). She is called Cnut's daughter by Helmold (*Chron. Slav.* c. 19, comp. also *Chron. Slav.* c. 13, 14, ap. LANDENBROG, *Rerum Germ. Scriptores*), and simply the daughter of the king of the Danes by Adam of Bremen (iii. 18). Although Siritha must have been a young wife for Godescalc if she was Cnut's great niece, Saxo is probably right. She certainly was not the daughter either of Emma or of Ælfgyfu of Northampton. The assertion (*Norman Conquest*, i. 649) that she is called 'Dennyn' arises from a misreading of the 'Chronicon Slavorum' in Landenbrog's 'Scriptores' quoted above. Cnut's reign gave England eighteen years of peace; it was a period of law and order, during which national life was born again after it had been crushed by the disasters and jealousies of the reign of Æthelred and by the terrible slaughter of Assandun. The distinctly English character of Cnut's reign is closely connected with the rise of Godwine. After his good service in the Wendish war, the king gave him to wife Gytha, the sister of Ulf, his brother-in-law.

During the whole reign he held the highest place in the king's favour, he was the foremost man in his court, and his appointment to the West-Saxon earldom made him second only to the king (*Vita Ead.* 392-3).

Cnut's character is represented in dark colours in the 'Northern Kings' Lives.' In one important case, his alleged unfair dealings with his Norwegian supporter, Calf Arnason, the editors of the 'Corpus Poeticum Boreale' have shown that the compiler of the lives has wronged him. That he was the enemy of St. Olaf is sufficient reason for the unfavourable light in which he is represented by northern writers. From the more trustworthy songs of his contemporaries comes a picture of the king as a mighty ruler, wise, politic, and crafty, a lover of minstrelsy and a patron of poets. They exhibit a man endowed with a remarkable power of judging the characters of others, and of using them to forward his own interests. His craftiness is abundantly proved by his intrigues in Norway, and the natural cruelty and violence of his temper surely need no special proofs. Only indeed as the natural bent of his disposition is apprehended can the extraordinary restraint that he put on himself be duly appreciated. As a bountiful patron of the church his praises are loudly proclaimed by our chroniclers, and even if they had been silent his laws and the general character of his reign as an English king would tell the same story. Of the two most famous stories told of him, the rebuke that he is said to have given to the flattery of his courtiers is preserved by Henry of Huntingdon (758), who adds that thenceforward he would never wear his crown, but hung it on the head of the crucified Lord. The other tale, which represents him going in his barge to keep the feast of the Purification with the monks of Ely, and bidding his men listen to chanting which as he came near was heard rising from the church, is from the Ely historian (GALE, iii. 441), who gives the words of the song Cnut is said to have made at the time:—

Merie sungeð ðe muneches binnen Ely,  
 Ða Cnut ching reu ðer by;  
 Roweð cnichtes noer ða land,  
 And here we þes muneches sang.

The story is in strict accord with his love of minstrelsy as well as with his ecclesiastical feelings. An incident recorded by the same monastic historian, who tells how Cnut largely rewarded a stout peasant who walked over the ice to find out whether it would bear the king's sledge, is in keeping with the gifts he gave to the bards who sang his praises (*Corpus Poet. Bor.* ii. 158). Another story



represents him as the first to break his military regulations by slaying one of his huscarls in a fit of passion, and tells how he summoned the court of the company, appeared before it to take his trial and demanded sentence, and how, when the members refused to condemn him, he sentenced himself to pay nine times the sum appointed as the value of the man's life (Saxo, 199). Cnut died at Shaftesbury on 12 Nov. 1035, and they carried him thence to Winchester and there buried him with great honour in the Old Minster (*A.-S. Chron.*; *FLOR. WIG.*) Sweyn and Harold, his sons by Ælfgifu of Northampton, and his two children by Emma, Harthacnut and Gunhild, and both Emma and Ælfgifu themselves, survived him. Conscious that his dominions could not remain united after his death, he ordered that Harthacnut should reign in England, and as it seems in Denmark also, and that Norway should go to Sweyn; for Harold no provision seems to have been made. Gunhild or Æthelthryth, betrothed by her father to Henry, the son of the emperor Conrad, did not marry him until 1036; she died before her husband was made emperor.

[Anglo-Saxon Chron.; Florence of Worcester, Eng. Hist. Soc.; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, Eng. Hist. Soc., and *Gesta Pontiff. Rolls Ser.*; Henry of Huntingdon, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*; Symeon of Durham, *De obsessione Dunelmi*, ap. Twysden, col. 79; Heremanni, *Miracula S. Eadmundi*, ed. Liebermann; *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, *Rolls Ser.*; *Historia Eliensis* and *Hist. Rams.*, Gale, iii.; *Kemble's Codex Dipl.* iv. 1-56, and *Diplomatarium*; *Thorpe's Ancient Laws and Institutes*; *Encomium Emmae*; *Adami Gesta Hammaburg. eccl. pontiff.*; *Wiponis Vita Chuonradi Imp.*; *Helmoldi Chron. Slavorum* (these four are published separately 'in usum scholarum ex Mon. Germ. Hist.' Pertz); *Annales Hildesheim.* p. 100, and *Thietmari Chron.* vii. p. 836, ap. *Scriptores rerum Germ.* iii., Pertz; *Sven Aggeson's Chron.* p. 54; *Chron. Eriici*, p. 159; *Annales Esrom.* p. 236; *Ann. Roskild.* p. 376 (these four are contained in *Scriptores rerum Danicarum* i., Langebek); *Petri Olai Excerpta*, p. 205 (*ibid.* ii.); *Ann. Islandorum regii*, p. 40, and *Leges Castrensium*, p. 139, *ibid.* iii.; *Saxonis Grammatici Hist. Danica*, ed. 1644; *Vigfusson and Powell, Corpus Poeticum Boreale*; *Laing's Heimskringla* or *Sea Kings of Norway*—the best edition is Ungar's 'Eris-bok'; *Glabri Rodolphi Hist.* p. 1; *Ademari Caban. Hist.* p. 144; *Epp. Fulberti Carnot.* Ep. 443 (these three are in *Recueil des Historiens x., (Bouquet)*; *William of Jumièges* ap. *Hist. Normann. Scriptores*, Duchesne. *Freeman's Norman Conquest*, i. 399-533, gives a full and critical account, with valuable references to original authorities, which has been equally useful as a history of Cnut's English doings and as a guide to the sources of information. It should be noted that Dr. Freeman's

work appeared before the editors of the *Corpus Poet. Bor.* threw some new and valuable light on Cnut's life, especially as regards its chronology. Dr. Freeman's work on Cnut has been supplemented by Dr. J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, who, in his *Normannerne*, vol. iii., has for the first time explained many difficulties. Lappenberg's *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, trans. Thorpe, 196 et seq., seems to give undue weight to the Kings' Lives attributed to Snorri. J. R. Green's *Conquest of England*, 418-77, gives a picturesque account of England under Cnut's rule. Bishop Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, i. c. 7, contains some admirable notices of points which bear on his subject. For Cnut's relations with the Scots see Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, i., and Robertson's *Scotland under her Early Kings*. W. H.

CANUTE, ROBERT (*fl.* 1170). [See ROBERT OF CRICKLADE.]

CANVANE, PETER (1720-1786), physician, an American by birth, entered as a medical student at Leyden on 4 March 1743. After graduating M.D. at Rheims he became a licentiate of the London College of Physicians in 1744. He practised for many years at St. Kitts in the West Indies, and afterwards settled at Bath. Later he retired to the continent, dying at Brussels in 1786. Canvane was a fellow of the Royal Society, and shares with Fraser, an army surgeon, the credit of introducing castor oil into this country, having had large experience of its beneficial employment in medicine in the West Indies. He published a pamphlet on the subject in 1766.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, ii. 158.]

G. T. B.

CANYNGES, WILLIAM (1399?-1474), merchant of Bristol, third son of John Canynghes, Burgess and merchant of that city, and Joan Wotton his wife, came of a family that stood high among the merchants of Bristol, for the elder William Canynghes, his grandfather, a wealthy cloth manufacturer, was six times mayor, and thrice a representative of the city in parliament. Besides making cloth he exported his merchandise in his own ships; for, by a writ of Richard II, John Hesilden, Andrew Browntoft, and others are summoned to appear at Westminster on the complaint of William and John Canynghes of Bristol, to answer for seizing and carrying into Hartlepool one of their ships sailing to Calais and Flanders (SURTEES, *Durham*, iii. 101). William Canynghes the younger was probably born in his father's house in Touker Street, in the parish of St. Thomas, in 1399 or 1400, for he was but five years old when his father died in 1405. After her husband's death Joan married Thomas Young, merchant,

of the parish of St. Mary Redcliffe, Somerset, twice mayor and a member for the borough, and Canynges appears to have been brought up by his stepfather. Having served the office of bailiff, he was elected sheriff in 1438, and mayor for the first time in 1441. His second mayoralty was in 1449, and in that year Henry VI wrote to the master-general of the Teutonic knights, asking his protection for the two factors of 'his beloved and faithful subject William Canings,' then carrying on trade for their master in the dominions of the knights in Prussia (RYMER, *Fœdera*, xi. 226). During his tenure of office certain ordinances were made concerning the watches kept by the crafts on St John's night and St. Peter's, and the contributions of wine to be made to them by the mayor and sheriff. Although trade with Iceland, Halgaland, and Finmark for fish and other goods had been forbidden, yet in 1450 Christian of Denmark having made an exception in favour of Canynges in consideration of the debts due to him from his subjects in Iceland and Finmark, license was granted him to trade with these lands for two years with two ships of any size (*Fœdera*, xi. 277-8; MACPHERSON, i. 166-7). Canynges was returned for Bristol to the parliament of 1451; his colleague in the representation of the city was his half brother, Thomas Young, who was committed to the Tower for proposing that the Duke of York should be declared heir to the throne (WILL. WORCE. 770; PRYCE, 103; STUBBS, *Const. Hist.* iii. 171). Both Canynges and Young were returned again to the parliament of 1455. Local historians assert that Canynges was a Lancastrian, and that he was forced to change his politics by the success of Edward IV. All trustworthy evidence shows that, like the greater part of the merchants of Bristol, he was always strongly attached to the Duke of York. It was probably during his third mayoralty in 1456-7 that he was able to do York signal service by seizing a large quantity of ammunition that had been consigned to a merchant of the town who was an Irishman and one of the party of the Earl of Wiltshire (James Butler, earl of Ormonde). York was pleased at this, and wrote bidding the mayor and common council take charge of the castle and keep Somerset out. This they did, and put the castle in a state of defence. In 1460 Canynges is said to have lost his wife Joanna. The next year, when he was mayor for the fourth time, in obedience to an order received from Edward IV, he prepared an expedition to act against the Lancastrians in Wales to be ready against the king's coming. When Edward shortly afterwards visited Bristol, 'where he was most royally received' (Stow,

416), Canynges is said to have entertained him in his house in Redcliffe Street; the hall and parlour of this house may still be seen, though the building, now occupied by Messrs. C. T. Jefferies & Sons, printers and booksellers, has been much damaged by fire. Canynges and Young had lately sat on a commission appointed to try Sir Baldwin Fulford and John Heysant, who were put to death while the king was in Bristol. Before Edward left Canynges paid him 3,000 marks 'pro pace habenda' (WILL. WORCE.); this must have been in discharge of what he owed for money received by him as escheator during the year of his mayoralty (SEYER, ii. 191). In 1466 Canynges was mayor for the fifth and last time. While he was mayor on this occasion he and the council made certain rules for the government of the society of merchants (PRYCE, 135).

Canynges' wealth was great. The list of his ships is given by William Worcester; they were nine in number, a tenth having lately been lost on the coast of Iceland. Among them were the Mary and John of 900 tons, the Mary Radclyf of 500 tons, and the Mary Canyngys of 400 tons, in all 2,853 tons of shipping manned by eight hundred seamen. Even allowing for the difference between our mode of computing a ship's burden and that in use in the fifteenth century, it is difficult to believe that Canynges's ships can have been of the size stated by Worcester. Besides his seamen he paid day by day a hundred carpenters, masons, and other workmen. These workmen were probably largely employed in building the church of St. Mary Redcliffe. The rebuilding of the old church had been begun by William Canynges the elder, who carried the work 'from the cross aisles downwards' in 1376; it was taken up by his grandson, and the fall of the steeple in 1446 and the consequent destruction of much of the fourteenth-century work probably determined Canynges to rebuild nearly the whole of the church, which he did with the advice of Norton, his master mason. In 1467 Canynges retired from the world, receiving acolyte's orders on 19 Sept. in the chapel of the college of Westbury, on the title of the rectory of St. Alban's, Worcester. A story told by Robert Ricaut in his 'Mayor's Calendar of Bristol' that he took this course to avoid a marriage the king tried to force on him is probably mere idlegossip. On 12 March 1467-1468 he was admitted subdeacon; on 2 April 1468 he was admitted deacon, and on the 16th of the same month priest, being collated to a canonry in the college of Westbury. On 3 June 1469 he was collated to the office of dean of the college, and was inducted and

installed on the same day. He died 17 Nov. 1474. Besides his great work in rebuilding St. Mary Redcliffe, he was a benefactor to the college of Westbury, and is said to have rebuilt it (DUGDALE, *Monasticon*, vi. 1439). At Westbury he also founded an almshouse, and by the payment of 44*l.* to the sheriff of Bristol freed this house and the college from tolls on provisions coming from the city (ATKYNs, *Glostershire*, p. 802). He was buried in Redcliffe church with his wife Joanna. Their tombs were discovered and identified in 1852. Much debate has been held over certain effigies in the church supposed to represent Canynges; the question is carefully discussed in Pryce's 'Memorials,' pp. 179-92. Canynges's two sons died before him. His elder surviving brother, Thomas, lord Mayor of London in 1456-7, is the ancestor of the Cannings of Foxcote, Warwickshire, and of the Cannings of Garvagh in Ireland, a family from which have come George Canning, the statesman [q.v.], and Stratford Canning, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe [q.v.] (PRYCE, 146-56).

[Pryce's Memorials of the Canynges Family; The Great Red Book, MS. in the council-house, Bristol; Wadley's Notes on Wills in the Great Orphan Book at Bristol; Ricaut's Mayor's Calendar of Bristol, ed. L. T. Smith (Camden Soc.); Dallaway's Antiquities of Bristow; Seyer's History of Bristol, vol. ii.; Barrett's History and Antiquities of Bristol; Stow's Annales, ed. 1615; Rymer's Fœdera, xi. ed. 1710; William Worcester's Itinerary; Dugdale's Monasticon; Surtees's Durham; Atkyns's State of Glostershire; Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, i. 666-7.]  
W. H.

**CAPE, WILLIAM TIMOTHY** (1806-1863), Australian colonist, born at Walworth, Surrey, 25 Oct. 1806, was eldest son of William Cape of Ireby, Cumberland. He was educated at Merchant Taylors' School under Dr. Bellamy, with a view to entering the church, and showed great proficiency in his studies. The elder Cape was resident manager of the bank of Brown, Cobb, & Co., Lombard Street, but on the breaking up of Brown's bank he decided to emigrate. Having obtained letters from Lord Bathurst to Sir Thomas Brisbane, the governor, William Cape, accompanied by his son, sailed for Van Diemen's Land in 1821, and after a nine months' voyage reached Hobart Town. In 1822 they removed to Sydney, where the father established a private school, the 'Sydney Academy.' In course of time he became principal of the Sydney public school, with his son as assistant-master, and on the resignation of the father, in 1829, the son became head-master—Archdeacon Scott, a friend of the family, being king's visitor. In 1830, however, he

reopened the private school in Sydney, but when the high school called 'Sydney College' was founded in 1835, he transferred his private pupils to it, and was elected head-master. He held this office up to 1842, when he founded a new private school at Paddington, Sydney. In 1855 he decided to give up scholastic life. In 1859 he became member for the constituency of Wollombi. His experience advanced him to the position of commissioner of national education, and about the same time he became a magistrate. He was also elected fellow of St. Paul's College within the university of Sydney, and helped on the Sydney School of Arts.

In 1855 he made a visit to England, and the next year returned to New South Wales. In 1860 he again visited his native country with the younger branches of his family, in order to collect educational information, and died of small-pox at Warwick Street, Pimlico, 14 June 1863. His funeral at Brompton was attended by almost all the colonists then in London. His old pupils erected a tablet to his memory in St. Andrew's Cathedral, Sydney.

[Heaton's Australian Dictionary, p. 33; Barton's Lit. of New South Wales, p. 80; Gent. Mag. 1863, i. 114.]  
J. W.-G.

**CAPEL, ARTHUR, LORD CAPEL OF HADHAM** (1610?-1649), royalist leader, was the only son of Sir Henry Capel of Raines Hall, Essex, by Theodosia, daughter of Sir Edward Montagu of Broughton, Northamptonshire, and sister of Henry, first earl of Manchester. He was born about 1610, and appears to have lived the life of a country gentleman until called upon to take his part in political life by being elected knight of the shire for the county of Hertford in the Short parliament, which met at Westminster on 13 April and was dissolved on 5 May 1640. When the Long parliament was summoned, in the following November, Capel was again elected for Hertfordshire, and took his seat accordingly. In the debate on grievances, in which Pym made his celebrated speech, 'the first member that stood up . . . was Arthur Capel, esq., who presented a petition in the name of the freeholders [of the county of Hertford] setting forth the burdens and oppressions of the people during the long intermission of parliament in their consciences, liberties, and properties, and particularly in the heavy tax of ship-money.' Ready as he was to join the popular party, if only real abuses could be got rid of, he was not the man to side with those who aimed at a democratic revolution, and he soon broke with the party, whose views went far beyond anything that he had contemplated at his first

start. Shocked by the violence of language of the leaders, who had set themselves in furious antagonism to the court party, Capel soon threw himself into the opposite camp, and henceforth, during the long struggle, the king had no adherent more faithful and devoted to the royal cause, nor any who made more splendid sacrifices, ending at last in his death upon the scaffold. On 6 Aug. 1641 Capel was raised to the upper house by the title of Lord Capel of Hadham. During the remainder of that memorable year we lose sight of him, but when the king left London for York in January 1642, Capel accompanied his majesty, and was one of the peers who signed the declaration and profession disavowing 'all designs of making war upon the parliament.' In the straits to which the king was driven for want of money, Capel showed great energy in making contributions from all who could be prevailed on to subscribe, and in 1643 he was sent to Shrewsbury with the commission of lieutenant-general of Shropshire, Cheshire, and North Wales. Here he found himself opposed by Sir William Brereton, whom he held in check so effectually that, for the time, Chester was relieved, and if he had been left alone to pursue his own plans, he would in all probability have rendered more important service during the war; but when Charles determined that a council should be appointed 'to be about' the Prince of Wales, 'to meet frequently at the prince's lodgings to confer with his highness,' Capel was appointed one of the commissioners, and from that time he took small part in active hostilities. After the execution of Archbishop Laud, when the negotiations for the treaty of Uxbridge were going on (February 1645), Capel was one of the commissioners for the king, and when the negotiations came to nothing, he was ordered to raise a regiment of foot and another of horse at his own charge to attend upon the prince at Bristol. While Goring was besieging Taunton and Fairfax was making great exertions to raise the siege, Capel was sent to give his counsel. Whatever that counsel may have been, it was tendered in vain, and when Oxford surrendered to Fairfax on 22 April 1646, and the contest between the king and the parliament was virtually at an end, Capel accompanied the queen to Paris, where he remained but a very short time. He was strongly opposed to the Prince of Wales escaping to France, and, refusing to accompany his highness on the journey, retired to Jersey, where he remained till the breach between the army and the parliament revived new hopes in the more sanguine of the royalist party. He succeeded in obtain-

ing a pass and permission to retire to his own house at Hadham after compounding for his estates. These estates had already (30 April 1648) been bestowed, by a vote of the House of Commons, upon the Earl of Essex, and a considerable portion of them were actually in the earl's hands. While the king was at Hampton Court, Capel was in frequent communication with his majesty, and was privy to the luckless flight to the Isle of Wight. For the disastrous renewal of the civil war Capel was in great measure responsible. Not a gleam of success cheered the king's party, and in June 1648 Goring, Capel, and Sir Charles Lucas found themselves with the forces at their command shut up in Colchester by Fairfax, and were summoned to surrender on the 13th of the month. The siege was prosecuted with vigour, but the town was defended with desperation. It was all in vain. On 27 Aug. the garrison surrendered at discretion, and the second civil war was at an end.

The next two months were crowded with events which hurried on the final catastrophe, and in October Capel, with his old companion in arms, Goring, earl of Norwich (Sir Charles Lucas was shot in cold blood when Colchester surrendered), were impeached on a charge of high treason and rebellion. They pleaded that Fairfax had pledged his word to give fair quarter to all prisoners who surrendered themselves into his hands, and 'upon great debate,' both houses called upon Fairfax to explain his meaning. Fairfax was absent, and was in no hurry to take upon himself a responsibility which the parliament were anxious to relieve themselves of; he returned no answer to the letter for months. When the answer came it was so ambiguous that in effect the explanation of his promise was left to the civil power.

In January the king was beheaded, and the House of Lords was abolished in due course. Meanwhile Capel was committed to the Tower, having been brought thither from Windsor Castle, his first place of confinement. By some means, which were never explained, he managed to provide himself with a cord and other necessary appliances, and a plan of escape was arranged for him by his friends outside. It succeeded, though attended by great difficulty, and Capel was kept in concealment in the Temple for some days. Then it was thought that he would be in greater safety if he were removed to a private house in Lambeth, and taking a boat at the Temple stairs he was rowed up the river attended by a single gentleman, who seems to have inadvertently addressed him as 'my lord.' The waterman thereupon followed the

two to their place of hiding, and betrayed them to the government. The man received a reward of 20*l.* with a recommendation to the admiralty for employment, but he had to wait many months for his 'blood money,' which was not paid till the November after the execution. Capel was again arrested, and on Thursday, 8 March 1648-9, 'in a thin house, hardly above sixty there,' the question was put to the vote whether the Duke of Hamilton, the Earls of Holland and Norwich (Goring), Capel, and Sir John Owen were to live or die. Owen was spared, Goring escaped by the casting vote of Speaker Lenthall, the other three were condemned, and all were beheaded next morning. To the last Capel behaved with that magnanimity and heroism which had marked his whole career. He received the last consolations of religion at the hands of Dr. George Morley, afterwards bishop of Winchester, who wrote an account of his last hours in a letter which was published in 1654; but inasmuch as there was reason to fear that Dr. Morley's well-known opinion might expose him to insult if he showed himself before the people at the last, Capel would not allow him to be present on the scaffold. There, says Bulstrode, 'he behaved much after the manner of a stout Roman. He had no minister with him, nor showed any sense of death approaching, but carried himself all the time . . . with that boldness and resolution as was to be admired. He wore a sad-coloured suit, his hat cocked up, and his cloak thrown under one arm; he looked towards the people at his first coming up, and put off his hat in manner of a salute; he had a little discourse with some gentlemen, and passed up and down in a careless posture.' John, son of Francis Quarles the poet, seems to have been present at the execution, and wrote 'An Elegy or Epitaph' upon the occasion, which was printed shortly afterwards.

Capel was buried at Hadham, where may still be read the inscription on his monument: 'Hereunder lieth interred the body of Arthur, Lord Capel, Baron of Hadham, who was murdered for his loyalty to King Charles the First, March 9th, 1648.' Capel married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Charles Morrison of Cashiobury, Hertfordshire, and by her had five sons and four daughters. At the Restoration Arthur [q. v.], his eldest son, was created Earl of Essex, a title which had become extinct by the death of Robert Devereux, the last earl, 14 Sept. 1646. By one of those strange instances of retributive justice which are not rare in history, the son of the murdered man succeeded to the honours of him who had benefited most by the spoliation of

his father's lands, and from him the present Earl of Essex is lineally descended.

[Clarendon's *Hist. Rebellion*; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* iii. 250, 698; Carlyle's *Cromwell*; Bulstrode's *Memoirs*; Devereux's *Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex*, ii. 366, 462; Sanderson's *Hist. of the Reign of Charles I*; Collins's *Peerage of England*, iii. 474; Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, pt. iii. vol. i. p. 21, and vol. viii. p. 1272.] A. J.

CAPEL, ARTHUR, EARL OF ESSEX (1631-1683), was born in January 1631 (information kindly given by the present Lord Essex), and was the eldest son of Arthur, lord Capel [q. v.] of Hadham, who was executed in 1649. His mother was Elizabeth Morrison. Of his early years nothing appears to be known, though from a letter of 13 June 1643 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 143) he appears to have then been at Shrewsbury fighting for the king. It is stated by Burnet (i. 396) that his education was neglected by reason of the civil wars, but that when he reached manhood he made himself master of the Latin tongue, and learned mathematics and all the other parts of learning. From a letter in 1681 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. 451) he appears to have had some connection with Balliol College, for he then subscribed to the purchase of a large silver bowl for the common-room. His correspondence during his residence in Ireland, preserved in the 'Essex Papers' (*Stow Collection*, Brit. Mus.), is that of a man of considerable literary cultivation. The language is simple but scholarly, and the style is singularly clear, dignified, and unaffected. His letters also display an intimate knowledge of law and of constitutional questions. Chauncy (*Antiquities of Hertfordshire*) describes him as handsome, courteous, and temperate, a strong opponent of arbitrary power, temperate in diet, and a lover of his library. Evelyn says that 'he is a sober, wise, judicious, and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age, very well versed in English historie and affaires, industrious, frugal, methodical, and every way accomplished' (18 April 1680). Essex was never a wealthy man; his estate had been sequestered under the Commonwealth, and was compounded for at 4,706*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* (COLLINS, *Peerage*). While lord-lieutenant of Ireland he more than once mentions the pay of his office as being of importance to his private interests (*Essex Papers*). And Evelyn tells us that while there he 'considerably augmented his estate, without reproach' (18 April 1680). At the Restoration he was made Viscount Malden and Earl of Essex (20 April 1661), with remainder first to his brother Henry [q. v.] and his male heirs, and

afterwards to his younger brother Edward. The writ was issued 29 April (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 142a). Capel was *custos rotulorum* and lord-lieutenant of Hertfordshire from 7 July 1660 till 1672, and lord-lieutenant of Wiltshire also from 2 April 1663 till 1681. He married Elizabeth Percy, daughter of Algernon, earl of Northumberland (d. 1717), mentioned as petitioning for the death of Col. Titchbourne in 1660 (*ib.* v. 169), by whom he had six sons and two daughters; but only one son and one daughter, Algernon and Anne, lived to maturity (*COLLINS, Peerage*). Scarcely any facts are forthcoming regarding Essex's life from 1660 to 1669. On 7 Aug. 1660 he named, according to the iniquitous vote of the House of Lords, Sir E. Wareing as an expiatory victim for his father's death (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 5th Rep. 155). He was in London in September 1666 (*ib.* 7th Rep. 485 b), and in 1667 was in Paris, on his way home from the waters of Bourbon. He was at that time a member of the privy council. While in Paris he was consulted by the queen mother regarding the intentions of the Irish papists to put Ireland into the hands of the French when opportunity should arise, and he gave a most unflattering opinion of her political judgment (*BURNET*, i. 250). In 1669, when Charles was endeavouring by personal solicitation to gain the votes of the members of the House of Lords, he, with Lord Hollis, had gained the reputation of being 'stiff and sullen men' (*ib.* i. 272), and Charles always treated him with respect. Burnet states (i. 396) that he appeared early against the court. His political opinions may be in part gathered from those of his brother Henry, member for Tewkesbury, with whom he lived in entire sympathy. Henry Capel prided himself upon being descended from one who lost both life and fortune for the crown and nation; but, on the other hand, his speeches are invariably directed against every abuse of the royal power, and against all tampering with popery.

Essex's first public employment was in 1670, when Charles, desirous of making use of one whose opposition he wished to avoid (*ib.* i. 396), sent him as ambassador to the court of Christian V of Denmark. The governor of Croonenburg had orders to make all the ships that passed strike to him. Essex replied that the kings of England made others strike to them, but their ships struck to none. He himself regarded this as a cheap defiance, saying that he was sure the governor would not endeavour to sink a ship which brought over an ambassador. His first business on landing was to justify this behaviour to the Danes, which he did by producing, from some

books upon Danish affairs lent him by Sir J. Cotton, evidence that by former treaties it had in past time been expressly stipulated that English ships of war should not strike in the Danish seas. Burnet adds to his account of this matter that his conduct was so highly rated that he was informed from court that he might expect everything he should pretend to on his return. In April 1671 we read of him as 'of the cabinet council, and seemeth to be in very good grace' (*Hist. MSS. Comm.*) Actually he was, upon the removal of the Duke of Ormonde from the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland, appointed to the post, February 1672, to his own great surprise, being sworn of the privy council of Ireland in that year. He left Holyhead on 28 June in the *Norwich*, but does not appear to have arrived in Dublin until 5 Aug. (*Essex Papers*). He continued in this employment until his recall in 1677, with but one short journey to London. Of his government Burnet speaks thus: 'He exceeded all that had gone before him, and is still considered as a pattern to all that come after him. He studied to understand exactly well the constitution and interest of the nation. He read over all their council books, and made large abstracts out of them to guide him, so as to advance everything that had been at any time set on foot for the good of the kingdom. He made several volumes of tables of the state, and persons that were in every county and town, and got true characters of all that were capable to serve the public; and he preferred men always upon merit without any application from themselves, and watched over all about him, that there should be no bribes going among his servants' (i. 396). This is but one among many illustrations of Burnet's most remarkable accuracy. The full, detailed, and continuous correspondence, both private and official, which can now be consulted in the 'Essex Papers,' bears ample testimony to the truth of every word in this quotation, which is further established by the fact that Ormonde bore honourable testimony to the integrity and ability of his government (*CARTE*, iv. 529). He set himself vigorously to work against misgovernment, withstanding the opposition and the pretensions of Orrery, Ranelagh, and others. He managed very successfully to keep the Ulster presbyterians from following the example of their Scotch brethren, and this without violence. Indeed, he several times moderates the desires of the bishops for strong measures. And he appears to have protected the papists also, as far as English opinion would allow, though he is informed from London that he will be torn in pieces if he permits the secular priests to say mass openly. His rule over the

natives was firm and mild, though the light in which the wilder portion of them were regarded is vividly shown by the following extract from this letter, dated 16 Aug. 1673: 'And in case any should happen to be killed, if it be made apparent that he is a tory, it would be reasonable to pardon.' He forcibly reminds Arlington of the danger that may arise from suffering the common people to know their own force. One of the main points with which he was concerned was, by drawing up new rules for the corporation, to check the turbulence of the city of Dublin. He sought to apply to Dublin the method of 'quo warrantos' employed by Charles in England at the end of his reign. Throughout his administration he had to struggle against the whole influence of Ranelagh, who had the receipts of the Irish revenue, on condition of paying the civil and military charges of the crown, and who, fortifying himself by the friendship of Danby and the Duchess of Portsmouth, and by his promises to Charles to provide him with money out of Irish funds, presented accounts which Essex resolutely refused to pass. Of the intrigues continually carried on against him in London he had full and timely warning from friends at court. He refused, however, in dignified language to alter his course of action on this account, and especially declined to put his dependence upon 'little people,' such as Chiffinch, Elliot, and the Duchess of Portsmouth, although we find him expressing pleasure that his agent, William Harbord, has, through the mediation of the Duke of Hamilton, made the latter his friend. The only request he makes for himself is that no complaints shall be permitted to be heard in England unless they have previously been notified to himself, a request immediately granted by the king. He did his utmost to stop the reckless grants of forfeited estates by the king to his courtiers and mistresses, and refused to injure his successor's interests by granting reversions. So careful was he about the purity of the administration that he was able to say, on handing over the government to Ormonde after five years, that his secretary, Allworth, was the only man, not that he had gratified, but that he requested might be gratified by his successor. His government of Ireland was in striking contrast to the general corruption of Charles's reign, which is the more remarkable as his circumstances were always straitened. The most memorable example of his fearlessness was when he successfully opposed the grant of the Phoenix Park to the Duchess of Cleveland, about which he wrote to Arlington: 'I do desire there may not be the least grain of my concurrence in it,' and to Charles in language

almost equally strong. His official correspondence is chiefly directed to Arlington, the secretary (in whose behalf on his impeachment in 1674 he moved all his relatives and friends in the house), and, on the retirement of this minister, to Henry Coventry, a personal friend, who succeeded him. His private letters are chiefly from his brother Henry, Francis Godolphin, Lord Conway, Sir William Temple, Southwell, and William Harbord. During his administration, February 1674-5, he received a grant from the king of Essex House in the Strand, but great delay took place before the grant actually took effect, if indeed it did so at all. In 1674 it was intimated to him that he was to have the Garter, but this, too, apparently fell through. In July 1675 he made a visit to London, visited the king at Newmarket in April (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 493), and returned to Ireland in May of the next year, reaching Dublin on the 6th. During his stay in England his whole desire appears to be to get back to his post. His letters while in London show him fully alive to the intrigues which were being carried on to oust so incorruptible an officer from his place. The king himself always held him in great respect. These intrigues, based upon Charles's incessant need of money, which Ranelagh promised to supply, proved successful during the course of the next year, and on 28 April 1677 Essex acknowledges the king's letter of recall. His last few months of office were embittered by a scandalous insult to his wife from a certain Captain Brabazon, who declared her guilty of an intrigue with him. The belief is several times expressed that this was an annoyance deliberately set on foot by Danby, Ranelagh, and the Duchess of Portsmouth. Essex, by his position, was precluded from seeking personal satisfaction, but before he left was able to prove that the charge was a malicious falsehood. Upon his return to England Essex speedily identified himself with the country party, Danby's opponents, of which, along with Russell, Halifax, Shaftesbury, Buckingham, and Hollis, he became a leader in the lords, this 'cabal' being kept at Lord Hollis's house. He probably, however, did not take an active part in the opposition at once, for in a letter of 11 April 1678 the French ambassador omits his name from the list of the chief members of the country party (*DALRYMPLE, Memoirs*, i. 189). The leading objects of this party were the ruin of Danby, the exclusion of James, the persecution of popery, and the dissolution of the pensionary parliament. To what extent he believed in the pretended plot which raised the popish terror it is not easy to ascertain; it is, however,

clear that he never expressed his disbelief in it, but, on the contrary, acted in full accord with its most violent assailers, when he joined them in pressing the king to dismiss James from the court (COLLINS, *Peerage*).

On the fall of Danby in 1679 the treasury was put in commission, and Essex was placed at its head (*ib.*) Along with Sunderland and Monmouth he now urged the king to try the experiment of an entire change of policy by introducing the leaders of the country party into the council. By thus acting independently of his party he appears to have incurred their jealousy. His own account to Burnet was that he hoped, by accepting office, to work the change that was now effected. The dismissal of the old council and the creation of a new one comprising the principal whigs from both houses, under the presidency of Shaftesbury, were, however, undoubtedly the results of Temple's advice. Essex was sworn a member of that council on 21 April; he declared that its creation would conciliate the parliament in its relations with the king. The whig party now was split up into two sections on the exclusion question. That led by Shaftesbury affirmed that to save England from the danger of a popish king the absolute exclusion of James was necessary; and it put forward Monmouth as its candidate for the throne. Essex, acting under the leadership of Halifax and Sunderland, proposed the scheme of limitations, whereby, when the crown should fall to him, James should be disabled from doing harm either in church or state, and these three, who formed the triumvirate, regarded the Prince of Orange, rather than Monmouth, as the natural representative of the protestant interest. Essex appears to have confined himself to treasury business, where 'his clear, though slow sense, made him very acceptable to the king,' and to the endeavours to regulate the expense of the court (BURNET, i. 456, 458). In the great debate which arose on the occasion of Danby's prosecution, he spoke against the right of the bishops to vote in any part of a trial for treason. On the question of the proposed dissolution of the pensionary parliament he joined Halifax in arguing that since no agreement seemed possible with the king upon the questions of the exclusion and Danby's pardon, it would be well to try whether a new parliament might not be disposed to let those matters drop. For this advice, according to Burnet (i. 469), he again incurred the anger of Shaftesbury and his party, which, however, 'as he was not apt to be much heated,' he bore mildly. He was evidently much trusted by Charles, who had in the previous year named him

along with Halifax to discuss the grievances of the Scotch lords against Lauderdale (*ib.* 469). Upon the discovery of the Meal Tub plot, in which the forgers had represented Essex and Halifax as being implicated, they urged the king to summon parliament at once. Upon his refusal (*ib.*) Essex, with his brother, left the treasury on 19 Nov. 1679. In order, however, that this resignation might not strengthen Shaftesbury's party, a gloss was put upon his action by the statement that he 'had the king's leave' to resign (RALPH, 489). It is, indeed, probable that the grounds of his leaving were very different. In a letter from court of 27 Nov. 1679 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 477 b) it is said, 'some say the E. of Essex went out on this score. The king had given Cleveland 25,000*l.*, and she sending to him for it he denied the payment, and told the king he (the king) had often promised them not to pay money on those accounts while he was so much indebted to such as daily clamoured at their table for money; but if his Maj. would have it paid he wish't somebody else to do it, for he would not, but willingly surrender his place, at which the king replied, "I will take you at your word." Another account, equally honourable to Essex, is, that Charles being anxious to gain a subsidy from Louis, 'the niceness of touching French money is the reason that makes my Lord Essex's squeazy stomach that it can no longer digest his employment of 1st commissioner of the treasury' (*ib.* 6th Rep. 741 b). He continued to sit in the council, but in spite of Charles's earnest request refused to return to the treasury (BURNET, 476). His chief desire appears to have been to return to Ireland.

The candour and good sense with which Essex advised Charles are well shown in a letter to the king of 21 July 1679, in which he urges him to disband the guards he had just raised (DALRYMPLE, *Memoirs*, i. 314).

In the debates in 1680 on the Exclusion Bill, Essex, whose views had undergone a great alteration, ascribed by Lingard, though without authority, to his disappointment in gaining neither the lord-treasurership nor the government of Ireland, now appeared as a strong opponent of the court, and vehemently supported Shaftesbury's action. Possibly the cause is to be found in the fact that his urgent advice to James in October to retire to Scotland had been disregarded (*ib.* i. 346). When the Exclusion Bill was thrown out, and Halifax again brought in the scheme of expedients, he made a motion, agreed to in a thin house, that an association should be entered into to maintain those expedients,



and that some cautionary towns should be put into the hands of the associators during the king's life to make them good after his death. In March 1680-1 he is spoken of by Ormonde as furthering, with Howard, the belief in a 'sham plot,' in order to throw odium upon the queen and the Roman catholics generally (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 744 b). On 25 Jan. 1680-1 he took the decided step of presenting a petition, in which he was joined by fifteen other peers, praying that the choice of Oxford for the meeting of parliament might be given up. The language of the petition was unwarrantably violent, declaring, along with much that was true, that they were deprived of freedom of debate, and were exposed to the swords of papists in the king's guards. The petition, which was printed and published, was answered by Halifax in a 'Seasonable Address' (*State Tracts*, ii. 129).

In the trial of Stafford, Essex appears to have thrown aside his usual fairness of judgment, and to have voted for the condemnation. He spoke vehemently against the popish lords, saying they were worse than Danby (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 6th Rep. 740). He is represented, too, as eager in the prosecution of Lady Powys, who found money for the imprisoned catholics (NORTH, *Examen*, 269). On the other hand, he honourably distinguished himself in urging upon Charles the pardon of Plunket, the archbishop of Armagh, illegally condemned on account of the pretended Irish plot (which, however, he is represented as diligent in discovering, see *Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 739 b), declaring from his own knowledge that the charge could not be true. It was now that Essex received a just rebuke in the king's indignant reply, 'Then, my lord, be his blood on your own conscience. You might have saved him, if you would. I cannot pardon him because I dare not.' On the occasion when, in defiance of court influence, the Middlesex grand jury refused to return a true bill against Shaftesbury, a book was published to justify their action, of which Essex was the reputed author. It probably, however, was by Somers.

In 1682 Shaftesbury suggested to his friends the advisability of taking advantage of the ferment in the city on the occasion of the contest about the sheriffs, and of making themselves masters of the Tower during the confusion. Against this wild scheme Russell and Essex protested, and Shaftesbury left the country. Essex now took his place as Monmouth's principal adviser, but insisted upon Russell and Algernon Sidney being joined with him. He appears to have fallen much under the influence of the latter, at

whose suggestion it was that he consented to take Howard, who afterwards betrayed them, into their confidence in the meetings frequently held with Monmouth for consultation as to the course to be pursued; he also almost forced Russell to admit Howard (BURNET'S *Journal*; App. to LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S *Life of Russell*). At these meetings much wild talk no doubt took place as to a possible rising; but in all such designs we have the authority of Burnet (i. 540) and all probability for saying that Essex took no part. He felt things were not yet ripe, and that an ill-managed rising would be ruin to the whig cause.

Upon the discovery of the Rye House plot, Russell and others were immediately imprisoned. It was not, however, until Lord Howard had been captured that upon his information a party of horse was sent to Essex's country house at Cashibury to arrest him. Upon his arrest he appeared dejected, and said little, but that he did not imagine any one would swear falsely against him, and made no manner of profession of duty. Sir Philip Lloyd said 'he was in some confusion at his own house, and changed his mind three or four times, one while saying he would go on horseback, and another while that he would go in his coach' (NORTH, *Examen*, 382). He appears also to have shown much mental distress when brought before the council. He sent from the Tower a very melancholy message to his wife, and he wrote also to the Earl of Bedford to express his regret at having helped to bring danger upon his son. Shortly after the beginning of Lord Russell's trial on 13 July 1683 it was whispered in court—and the news was made use of to injure Russell—that Essex had cut his throat in the Tower (RALPH, 759; NORTH, *Examen*, 400). It is impossible here to enter into the controversy as to whether this tragedy was suicide or murder. It will be found exhaustively treated in Burnet (569), in the last edition of the 'Biographia Britannica,' in Ralph's 'History' (i. 759), and in North's 'Examen.' The court was, of course, roundly accused of murder; the charge, however, is utterly without antecedent probability, and is unsupported by trustworthy evidence. It was difficult for those who knew Essex's 'sober and religious deportment' (EVELYN, 28 June 1683) to believe in the suicide theory. But the occasional melancholy of his disposition; the sleeplessness with which he was troubled in the Tower; the danger of his friends; the fact that he found himself in the very rooms from which his father had been taken to execution; the recollection of his last interview with that father; his com-

menation of the action of the Earl of Northumberland, who prevented an attainder by killing himself in the Tower, to save his honour and family estates (NORTH, *Examen*, 385); his sending for a razor—these and other such collateral considerations are to be borne in mind. Flippant and cruel as Charles had become, his remark, 'My lord Essex might have tried my mercy; I owe a life to his family,' is, if genuine, a valuable additional piece of evidence that he at least was utterly without complicity in the crime imputed to him. Essex was buried at Watford in Hertfordshire. From Evelyn we learn that he shared in the three fashionable tastes of the day. 'No man has been more industrious than this noble lord in planting about his seate [Cashiobury], adorned with walks, ponds, and other rural excellencies; while the library is large, and very nobly furnished, and all the books richly bound and gilded; but there are no manuscripts except the parliament rolls and journals, the transcribing and binding of which cost him 500*l*.' (18 April 1680). The reader should refer to Evelyn's description of the house.

[The sources of information are sufficiently indicated in the text. The Essex Papers are accessible in the British Museum, and are now arranged chronologically. The letters to Essex are all originals; those from him are drafts or copies, apparently in his own hand. They form a record of daily and incessant toil.] O. A.

CAPEL, SIR HENRY, LORD CAPEL OF TEWKESBURY (*d.* 1696), lord-lieutenant of Ireland, was the second son of Arthur, lord Capel of Hadham [q.v.], by Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir Charles Morrison of Cashiobury, Hertfordshire. He was created K.B. at the coronation of Charles II, and appointed first commissioner of the admiralty 25 April 1679. He was M.P. for Tewkesbury 1660–81 and for Cockermouth 1689–90 and 1690–2. When the king resolved to pass the winter of 1680 without a parliament, Capel and three other councillors desired to be excused from further attendance (TEMPLE, *Memoirs*, ii. 59). In November following Capel was one of the strongest supporters in the commons of the Exclusion Bill (BURNET, *Own Times*, ed. 1838, p. 319). Having after the accession of William been appointed a lord of the treasury, he was among the most zealous of those who endeavoured to compass the overthrow of Halifax (CLARENDON, *Letters on the Affairs of the Time*, ii. 200). He was left out of the new treasury following the general election in 1690, and did not join the treasury board again. On 1 March 1691–2 he was created Lord Capel of Tewkesbury. When his kinsman,

the Earl of Clarendon, was named in the privy council as suspected of treason, he endeavoured to prevent his arrest, but finally signed the warrant along with the other members of the council. On account of the prevailing disorders in Ireland in 1693, Lord Sydney, the lord deputy, who was supposed to favour the Irish too much, was recalled, and the government placed in the hands of three lords justices, of whom Capel had the chief influence with the government. As a strong enemy of Roman catholicism it was not to be supposed that he would show much favour to the native Irish, while the other two lords justices were more disposed to a mild and compromising policy. The English thereupon made representations that he should be installed lord deputy, he undertaking to manage a parliament, so as to obtain the passing of the measures the king desired. He was accordingly declared lord deputy in May 1695, and by the parliament which he then called the supplies asked for were granted, the proceedings of the parliament of James II were annulled, and the great act of settlement was confirmed. At the instance of Capel a motion was made to impeach the lord chancellor, Porter, for having abused his position to thrust catholics into commissions of the peace, and to favour them in their suits with protestants, but the motion was lost by a majority of two to one. Capel died at Dublin 14 May 1696. By his wife, Dorothy, daughter of Sir Richard Bennet of Kew, Surrey, he left no issue. Capel, before he went to Ireland, resided in 'an old timber house' at Kew, where he was frequently visited by Evelyn, who states that in his garden house he had 'the choicest fruit of any plantation in England.'

[Collins's *Peerage* (ed. 1812), iii. 480; Luttrell's *Diary*, i. 266, 519, 528, ii. 22, 369, 373, iii. 26, 30, 37, 101, 119, 279, 319, 339, 457, 468, 482, 489, 491, 497, 503, iv. 57, 61, 63; Sir William Temple's *Memoirs*; ii. 38, 59, 93; Burnet's *Own Times* (ed. 1838), pp. 317, 319, 596, 618–619; Evelyn's *Diary*; Oldmixon's *History of England*; Ralph's *History of England*; Froude's *English in Ireland*, i. 256–8, 263, 267; Macaulay's *History of England*.] T. F. H.

CAPEL, RICHARD (1586–1656), puritan divine, descended from an ancient Herefordshire family, was born at Gloucester in 1586, being the son of Christopher Capel, alderman of that city, and his wife Grace, daughter of Richard Hands. His father was a good friend to those ministers who had suffered for nonconformity. The son, who was first educated in his native city, became a commoner of St. Alban Hall, Oxford, in 1601, was afterwards elected a demy of

Magdalen College, and in 1609 was made perpetual fellow of that house, being then M.A. During his residence at the university he was much consulted by noted members of the Calvinistic party, and he had many pupils entrusted to his care, including Accepted Frewen, subsequently archbishop of York, and William Pember. In the reign of James I he attended at court on the Earl of Somerset, and continued there till the death of his friend Sir Thomas Overbury. In 1613 he was instituted to the rectory of Eastington, in his native county, where he became eminent among the puritanical party. In 1633, when the 'Book of Sports' of James I was published the second time by royal authority, he declined to read it in his church, and voluntarily resigning his rectory he obtained a license to practise physic from the bishop of Gloucester. He now settled at Pitchcombe, near Stroud, where he had an estate. In 1641 he espoused the cause of the parliament and renewed his ministerial functions at Pitchcombe. 'In the exercises of the pulpit he was sometimes a Boanerges, the son of thunder; but more commonly a Barnabas, the son of consolation' (BROOK, *Puritans*, iii. 260). He died at Pitchcombe on 21 Sept. 1656.

He married Dorothy, daughter of William Plumstead of Plumstead, Norfolk (she died 14 Sept. 1622, aged 28). His son, Daniel Capel, M.A., was successively minister of Morton, Alderley, and Shipton Moigne in Gloucestershire; the latter living he parted with in 1662 for nonconformity, and he practised medicine at Stroud until his death.

Richard Capel was the author of: 1. 'God's Valuation of Man's Soul,' in two sermons on Mark viii. 36, London, 1632, 4to. 2. 'Tentations: their Nature, Danger, Cure, to which is added a Briefe Dispute, as touching Restitution in the Case of Usury,' London, 1633, 12mo; second edition, London, 1635, 12mo; third edition, London, 1636-7, 12mo; sixth edition, consisting of five parts, 1658-55, 8vo. The fourth part was published at London, 1655, 8vo. The 'Brief Dispute' was answered by T. P., London, 1679. 3. 'Apology in Defence of some Exceptions against some Particulars in the Book of Tentations,' London, 1659, 8vo. 4. 'Capel's Remains, being an useful Appendix to his excellent Treatise of Tentations, with a preface prefixed, wherein is contained an Abridgment of the author's life, by his friend, Valentine Marshall,' London, 1658, 8vo.

He likewise edited some of the theological treatises composed by his favourite pupil William Pember, who died in his house at Eastington in 1623.

[Life of Marshall; Bigland's Gloucestershire, i. 539-42; Clarke's Lives of Ten Eminent Divines (1662), 248; Macfarlane's Cat. Librorum Impress. Bibl. Coll. B. Mariæ Magd. Oxon. Append. 16; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 421; Fuller's Worthies (1811), i. 385; Hetherington's Hist. of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, 109; Brook's Puritans, iii. 159; Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial (1802), ii. 254; Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter (1713), ii. 317; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Lansd. MS. 985, f. 114.]  
T. C.

**CAPEL, SIR THOMAS BLADEN** (1776-1853), admiral, youngest son of William, fourth earl of Essex, by his second wife, Harriet, daughter of Colonel Thomas Bladen, was born 25 Aug. 1776, and, according to the fiction then in vogue, entered the navy on board the Phaeton frigate as captain's servant on 22 March 1782. It was ten years later before he joined in the flesh, and after serving on the Newfoundland and home stations and being present as midshipman of the Sans Pareil in the action off L'Orient, 23 July 1795, he was, on 5 April 1797, promoted to a lieutenantancy and appointed to the Cambrian frigate, on the home station. In April 1798 he was appointed to the Vanguard, bearing the flag of Sir Horatio Nelson, and, during the Mediterranean cruise which culminated in the battle of the Nile, acted as Sir Horatio's signal officer. On 4 Aug. 1798 he was appointed by Nelson to the command of the Mutine brig, and sent home with duplicate despatches, which, in consequence of the capture of the Leander [see BERRY, SIR EDWARD], brought the first news of the victory to England, 2 Oct. His commander's commission was at once confirmed, and on 27 Dec. he was advanced to post rank. On 5 Jan. 1799 he was appointed to the Arab frigate, for the West India station. In July 1800 he was transferred to the Meleager, which on 9 June 1801 was wrecked in the Gulf of Mexico. In August 1802 he was appointed to the Phoebe of 36 guns, in which he served in the Mediterranean for the three following years, and was present at the battle of Trafalgar. 'The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel,' wrote Collingwood on 4 Nov., 'saved the French Swiftsure; and his ship, the Phoebe, together with the Donegal, afterwards brought out the Bahama' (NICOLAS, *Nelson Despatches*, vii. 219).

On his return to England he sat as a member of the court-martial on Sir Robert Calder [q. v.], and on 27 Dec. was appointed to the Endymion of 40 guns, in which he again proceeded to the Mediterranean, carrying

out as a passenger Mr. Arbuthnot, the English ambassador, to Constantinople, where he continued while the negotiations were pending, and on their failure brought Mr. Arbuthnot back to Malta. The *Endymion* was afterwards one of the fleet which, under Sir John Duckworth, forced the passage of the Dardanelles, 19 Feb., 3 March 1807, in which last engagement she was struck by two of the enormous stone shot, upwards of 2 feet in diameter, and weighing nearly 800 lbs.; fortunately without sustaining much damage.

In December 1811 Capel was appointed to the *Hogue*, on the North American station, where he continued during the war with the United States. In June 1815 he was nominated a C.B., and in December 1821 was appointed to the command of the Royal Yacht, where he remained till advanced to be rear-admiral, 27 May 1825. On 20 May 1832 he was made a K.C.B., and from May 1834 to July 1837 was commander-in-chief in the East Indies, with his flag in the *Winchester* of 50 guns. He became a vice-admiral on 10 Jan. 1837; he was further advanced to be admiral on 28 April 1847, and on 7 April 1852 to be G.C.B. He was in command at Portsmouth 1848-52. He died on 4 March 1853. He married, in 1816, Harriet Catherine, only daughter of Mr. Francis George Smyth, but had no issue.

[Marshall's Roy. Nav. Biog., iii. (vol. ii.) 195; O'Byrne's Nav. Biog. Dict.; Gent. Mag. (1853), vol. cxl. pt. i. p. 540.] J. K. L.

CAPELL, WILLIAM, third EARL of ESSEX (1697-1743), eldest son of Algernon Capel, second Earl of Essex, and Mary, eldest daughter of William Bentinck, first earl of Portland, was born in 1697. In 1718 he was appointed gentleman of the bedchamber to George II when Prince of Wales, an office in which he was continued after the prince's accession to the throne. In 1725 he was made a knight of the Thistle, and in 1722 he was constituted lord-lieutenant of Hertfordshire. In 1731 he was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia at Turin, an office which he discharged till 1736. He was in 1727 appointed keeper of St. James's and Hyde Parks, but resigned this position on 4 Dec. 1739 on being appointed captain yeoman of the guard. On 12 Feb. 1734-5 he was sworn a member of the privy council, and on 20 Feb. 1737-8 he was made a knight companion of the Garter. He died on 8 Jan. 1742-3, and was buried at Watford. By his first wife, Jane, eldest surviving daughter of Henry Hyde, earl of Clarendon, he had four daughters,

and by his second wife, Elizabeth Russell, youngest daughter of Wriothesley, second duke of Bedford, he had four daughters and two sons. Of the sons the elder died young, and the second, William Anne (1732-1799), succeeded him in the peerage.

[Collins's Peerage, ed. Brydges, iii. 484-5; Clutterbuck's History of Hertford, i. 242-4.]

T. F. H.

CAPELL, EDWARD (1713 - 1781), Shakespearean commentator, son of the Rev. Gamaliel Capell, rector of Stanton in Suffolk, was born 11 June 1713 at Troston Hall, near Bury St. Edmunds. He was educated at Bury grammar school and Catharine Hall, Cambridge. In 1737 he was appointed deputy-inspector of plays by the Duke of Grafton, from whom, in 1745, he also received the post of groom of the privy chamber. In discharging the duties of deputy-inspector he occasionally acted with little discretion, as when he refused to license Macklin's 'Man of the World' under its original title, 'The True-born Scotchman' (*Biogr. Dram.*, ed. Jones, iii. 15-16). His official position gave him leisure to devote himself to his favourite pursuit—the study of Shakespeare and of Elizabethan literature. He published in 1760 'Prolusions, or Select Pieces of Ancient Poetry.' In this collection appeared a reprint of the anonymous play, 'Edward III,' which Capell tentatively assigned to Shakespeare. Eight years afterwards (1768) he published his edition of Shakespeare in ten volumes, with a dedication to the Duke of Grafton, grandson of the patron who had appointed him deputy-inspector. In the dedicatory epistle he states that he had devoted twenty years to the preparation of the edition. An introduction, chiefly bibliographical, was prefixed, but the commentary was reserved for separate publication. Capell aimed at supplying in the first instance an accurate text based on a careful collation of the old copies, and he did his work very thoroughly. The first part of the commentary—notes to nine plays, together with the glossary—appeared in 1774. As it met with little success, he recalled the impression and determined to publish the entire commentary, in three quarto volumes, by subscription. The printing of the first volume was finished in March 1779, and the second volume was ready in the following February; but subscribers' names were difficult to procure, and Capell did not live to see the publication of his labours. He died 24 Feb. 1781. In 1783 the complete work was issued in three volumes, under the title of 'Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare.' As a textual critic Capell was singularly acute, and his

commentary is a valuable contribution to scholarship. The third volume is entitled 'The School of Shakespeare,' and consists of 'authentic extracts from divers English books that were in print in that author's time,' to which is appended 'Notitia Dramatica; or Tables of Ancient Plays (from their beginning to the Restoration of Charles the Second).' In the dedicatory epistle it is alleged by the editor, John Collins, that Steevens appropriated Capell's notes while disclaiming all acquaintance with them. There was a report that when Capell's Shakespeare was being printed Steevens bribed the printer's servant to let him have the first sheets (NICHOLS, *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 540). Capell had many enemies among contemporary commentators. Farmer, in his letter to Steevens, speaks of him contemptuously, and Dr. Johnson observed that his abilities 'were just sufficient to select the black hairs from the white for the use of the periwig makers.' Capell was a friend of Garrick, but became estranged from him in later life. He used to say that Garrick 'spoke many speeches in Shakespeare without understanding them.' During the last twenty years of his life he spent the whole of each summer at Hastings, where he had built himself a house close to the sea. His rooms in London were at Brick Court, Temple, where in later life he lived in such seclusion that only the most urgent business could draw him out of doors. He died at Brick Court on 24 Feb. 1781, and was buried at Farnham All Saints, Suffolk. He had collected a very valuable library. The choicest portion he presented to Trinity College, Cambridge; Steevens privately printed in 1779 a catalogue, reprinted in Hartshorne's 'Book Rarities in the University of Cambridge.' A full catalogue by W. W. Greg appeared in 1903. Capell is described by Samuel Pegge as 'a personable well-made man of the middle stature,' and it is added that he 'had much of the carriage, manners, and sentiments of a gentleman.' His industry was astonishing; and it is reported that he transcribed the whole of Shakespeare ten times. It is admitted that he was possessed of no little vanity, and that he was somewhat unsociable; but his temper had been soured by neglect. In addition to the works already mentioned, Capell published, 1. 'Two Tables elucidating the Sounds of Letters,' 1749, fol. 2. 'Reflections on Originality in Authors: being Remarks on a Letter to Mr. Mason on the Marks of Imitation,' 1766, 8vo. With the assistance of Garrick he published in 1758 an edition of 'Antony and Cleopatra,' 'fitted for the stage by abridging only.'

VOL. III.

[Capell's Works in the British Museum Library; Nichols's *Literary Illustrations*, i. 465-76, iii. 203, v. 421; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, viii. 540; Davy's *Athenae Suffolicienses in British Museum Add. MS.* 19166; Halliwell's *Defence of Edward Capell*, 1861; a letter to George Hardinge, esq., 1777; *Monthly Review*, liii. 394-403, lxix. 484-8, lxx. 15-23; Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*, ed. Jones, i. 82, iii. 15-16; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1781, p. 95; *Biographical Dictionary*, 1798. Mathias in his *Pursuits of Literature* extols Capell as 'the father of all legitimate commentary on Shakespeare.']

A. H. B.

CAPELL CONINGSBY, CATHERINE, COUNTESS OF ESSEX (1794-1882). [See STEPHENS, CATHERINE.]

CAPELLANUS, JOHN (fl. 1410?), translator of the 'De Consolatione Philosophiæ' of Boethius into English verse [see WALTON, JOHN].

CAPGRAVE, JOHN (1393-1464), Augustinian friar, theologian, and historian, was born, as he has himself noted in his chronicle (ed. Rolls Series, 1858, p. 259), on 21 April 1393. He was a native of Lynn in Norfolk—'my cuntre is Northfolk, of the town of Lynne' (*Prologue to the Life of St. Katharine*)—where he passed nearly all his days. Bale and subsequent writers wrongly name Kent as his county. Studious in youth, and 'sticking to his books like a limpet to its rocks,' he was sent to one of the universities, but to which one is uncertain; Leland names Cambridge, but only on conjecture. Tanner, however, adduces evidence for this university from Capgrave's own words in a manuscript now destroyed (*Cotton. MS. Vitellius D. xv, Life of St. Gilbert*). On the other hand, Bale and others state that Capgrave took the degree of doctor of divinity at Oxford; and Pamphilus (f. 139) adds that he lectured there. It has been suggested (introd. to CAPGRAVE'S *Chronicle*, Rolls Series, p. x) that he may have received his early education at Cambridge, that place being more conveniently near to Lynn, and afterwards migrated to the sister university. He was ordained priest in 1417 or 1418, four or five years, he tell us (*De illustr. Henricis*, p. 127), before the birth of Henry VI. At an early age he had elected to enter the order of Augustine Friars; but we do not know when he first became an inmate of the house of the friars at Lynn. It may not, however, be too much to infer that he was connected with it from youth, and that he may have received a part of his education within its walls.

H h

Soon after taking his doctor's degree he was promoted to be provincial of his order in England. An official document dated 1456 is quoted by White Kennet (*Parochial Antiquities*, 1818, ii. 399) in which Capgrave, as provincial, recognises a claim to the patronage of the convent of Austin Friars at Oxford, then existing near the site of Wadham College.

A few more facts relating to his life can be gathered from his work '*De illustribus Henricis*.' In 1406, when a boy, he saw the Princess Philippa, daughter of Henry IV, embark at Lynn, on her way to marry Eric XIII, king of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark (p. 109). In 1422 he was studying in London at the time of the birth of Henry VI (p. 127). In 1446 he received the king when he visited the Austin Friary at Lynn, and gave him an account of its foundation (p. 137). It may be presumed that he was then head of the house. In the dedicatory epistle prefixed to his '*Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*' he refers to a visit to Rome, where he was taken ill; but he does not specify the date (*De illustr. Henricis*, app. p. 221).

Capgrave's biographers eulogise his character in the highest terms. The most learned of English Augustinians whom the soil of Britain ever produced, he was distinguished as a philosopher and theologian, practically rejecting in his writings the dreams of sophists, which lead only to strife and useless discussions. Fulfilling the mission of his order, 'it was his wont to thunder against the wanton and arbitrary acts of prelates, who enlarge the borders of their garments beyond measure, catching at the favour of the ignorant herd; not shepherds, but hirelings, who leave the sheep to the wolves, caring only for the milk and fleece; robbers of their country and evil workers, to whom truth is a burden, justice a thing of scorn, and cruelty a delight' (BALE).

His chief patron was Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, whose life he wrote, and to whom he dedicated certain of his works. He died at Lynn on 12 Aug. 1464 (not 1484, as Pamphilus and Pits say), in his seventy-first year.

Capgrave was a most industrious writer; lists of his works are given by Bale, Tanner, and others. In Latin he wrote: 1. Commentaries on the several books of the Pentateuch, on Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, the four books of Kings, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, Daniel, the twelve Minor Prophets, Acts, Pauline and Canonical Epistles, and the Apocalypse. 2. '*Manipulus Doctrinæ Christianæ*.' 3. '*De Fidei Symbolis*.' 4. '*Super Sententias Petri Lombardi*.' 5. '*Determinationes Theologicæ*.'

6. '*Ad Positiones erroneas*.' 7. '*Orationes ad Clerum*.' 8. '*Sermones per Annum*.' 9. '*Lectura Scholasticæ*.' 10. '*Ordinaria Disputationes*.' 11. '*Epistolæ ad diversos*.' 12. '*Nova Legenda Angliæ*.' 13. '*Vita S. Augustini*.' 14. '*De sequacibus S. Augustini*,' and (the same work or a continuation) 15. '*De illustribus viris Ordinis S. Augustini*.' And the historical works: 1. '*De illustribus Henricis*.' 2. '*Vita Humfredi Ducis Glocestriæ*.' His works in English were: 1. '*The Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham*.' 2. A metrical '*Life of St. Katharine*.' 3. '*A Chronicle of England from the Creation to A.D. 1417*.' '*A Guide to the Antiquities of Rome*,' in English, a work which he is supposed to have written during his detention there from illness, has also been ascribed to him (*Chronicle*, p. 355).

The commentaries on Genesis and the Pauline Epistles (and probably some others of the biblical commentaries) were dedicated to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester; the commentary on the books of Kings to John Lowe, bishop of St. Asaph (1433-44); and the commentaries on the Acts and the Apocalypse to William Grey, bishop of Ely (1454-78). The '*De illustribus Henricis*' was dedicated to Henry VII, the '*Chronicle*' to Edward IV. The '*Life of St. Gilbert*' was dedicated to Nicholas Resby, master of the order of Sempringham.

Very many of Capgrave's works are lost. Those which have appeared in print or are still extant in manuscript are as follows:—The autograph manuscript of the '*Commentary on Genesis*' (a work written in 1437-8), which was presented to Duke Humphrey, is preserved in Oriel College, Oxford, MS. No. 32. It was given by the duke to the university, as one among 135 volumes, in February 1443-4; other works of Capgrave, included in the same gift, being the commentaries on Exodus and on 1 and 3 Kings. A manuscript of the commentary on the Acts, also said to be autograph, was given by Bishop Grey, of Ely, to Balliol College, and is now marked No. 189. Another manuscript in the same college, No. 190, contains Capgrave's work on the Creeds, the autograph manuscript being that in the library of All Souls' College, No. 17. It is in this latter work that he latinises his name as '*Johannes de Monumento Pileato*.' The prologues to the commentaries on Genesis, the Acts, and the Creeds are printed in the Rolls edition of the '*De illustribus Henricis*.' The '*Nova Legenda Angliæ*,' compiled from the work of John of Tynemouth, exists in a manuscript in the York Minster Library; another copy in the Cottonian Library (Tiberius E. i.) has been greatly injured by fire;

a third is in the Bodleian Library, Tanner MS. 15. An abridged translation was published by Pynson in 1516, and in the same year Wynkyn de Worde printed the entire work. The prologue is also printed in the 'De illust. Henricis.' The 'Life of St. Gilbert of Sempringham' existed in the Cotton. MS. Vitellius D xv, which, with the exception of a few fragments, was destroyed by fire in 1731. The 'Life of St. Katharine,' in English verse, is preserved in the Arundel MSS. 20, 168, 396, in the British Museum; and in the Bodleian, Rawlinson MS. 116. This work is referred to by Osborn Bokenham [q. v.], a contemporary of Capgrave, in his 'Life of St. Katharine' (*Arundel MS. 327*; BOKENHAM'S *Lyvys of Seyntys*, Roxburghe Club, 1835). The prologue is printed in the Rolls edition of Capgrave's 'Chronicle,' p. 335. Fragments of the 'Guide to the Antiquities of Rome' are found in the fly-leaves of the two manuscripts of the work on the Creeds referred to above, and are also printed with the 'Chronicle,' p. 355. The 'Liber de illustribus Henricis' was written during the reign of Henry VI, and its object was the praise and glory of that king. It gives the lives of six emperors of Germany, six kings of England, and twelve illustrious men who had borne the name of Henry. The autograph manuscript is in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 408; and another copy is in the Cottonian Library, Tiberius A viii. Capgrave's English 'Chronicle' also exists in autograph in the University Library, Cambridge, MS. Gg iv. 12; another copy is in Corpus Christi College, MS. 167. This 'schort remembrauns of elde stories' seems to have been broken off, probably just before the author's death. In his dedicatory epistle Capgrave easily accommodates himself to the change of dynasty, finding Edward IV's title to be good 'by Goddis disposition,' and unhandsonely reflecting on that of his late patron Henry VI as derived 'by intrusion.' Both these historical works were edited by F. C. Hingeston for the Rolls Series in 1858.

[Bale's Script. Brit. Cat.; Leland's *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Brit.* (1709); Jos. Pamphili *Chronica Ordinis fratrum Exem. S. Augustini* (1581); Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.*; Rolls editions of Capgrave's *Chronicle* and *Liber de illust. Henricis* (1858).] E. M. T.

**CAPON, JOHN**, *alias* SALCOT (*d.* 1557), bishop of Salisbury, was a Benedictine monk when in 1488 he proceeded B.A. at Cambridge, and a monk of St. John's Abbey in Colchester when ordained deacon on 16 May 1502. His name probably implies that he was a native of Salcot, near Colchester. He

became B.D. in 1512, and D.D. in 1515. In the 'King's Book of Payments' (*Cal. of Hen. VIII.*, ii. 1441) he is named as receiving 20s. in February 1516 and again in March 1517 for preaching at court. On 16 Feb. 1516-17, being then prior of St. John's, Colchester, he was made abbot of St. Benet's Hulme in Norfolk (*Pat. Roll*, 8 Hen. VIII, p. 2, m. 20). His brother, Dr. William Capon [q. v.], was chaplain to Cardinal Wolsey, and he himself enjoyed Wolsey's favour. There is extant (*Cal. of Hen. VIII.*, iv. App. 38) a letter from Capon to Wolsey, 10 April 1525, thanking him for 'continual favours' towards his 'promotion and advancement,' and referring to 'this bringer, Mr. Cromwell, your servant,' to explain that the writer is ill and cannot come up as commanded. 'This bringer' was afterwards lord privy seal and earl of Essex. As part of a scheme for redeeming first-fruits in Norwich diocese, St. Benet's Abbey was by bull, dated 31 May 1528, of Pope Clement VII (RYMER, *xiv.* 244), and by private act of parliament (TANNER, *Notitia Monast.* p. 333), made directly subject to the bishops of Norwich who were to be *ex officio* abbots there; but Capon continued abbot and was succeeded by Reppe, afterwards bishop of Norwich. In February 1529-30 he was at Cambridge to assist in obtaining a declaration from the university in favour of the king's divorce from Catherine of Arragon. Next month, 15 March 1529-30, he was translated to the abbey of Hyde beside Winchester (*Pat. Roll*, 21 Hen. VIII, p. 1, m. 19). In July following he signed, as one of the spiritual lords, the letter to the pope praying him to consent to the divorce. In August 1533 he was nominated to the bishopric of Bangor, but the pope would not grant the bull of consecration. However, on 11 April 1534 he had the royal assent, and on the 19th was consecrated bishop of Bangor by Archbishop Cranmer—the second bishop made in England after Henry VIII assumed papal authority. He continued abbot of Hyde, holding the bishopric *in commendam*, until the suppression, when, with his convent, he surrendered the abbey to the king in April 1539 (*P. '30 Henry VIII'*, *Public Records Report*, viii. App. ii. 24). 'What wonder,' exclaims Stevens (*Suppl.* i. 503), 'that in a depraved age surrenders should be so universal, when the betrayers of their trust, the sacrilegious Judases, were made bishops!' Latimer of Worcester and Shaxton of Salisbury resigned their bishoprics in the summer of 1539 in consequence of the 'Six Articles,' and Capon was translated to the see of Salisbury on 31 July 1539 (*Pat. Roll*, 31 Hen. VIII, p. 3, m. 28), which

he held till his death. He reverted to the Roman faith on the accession of Queen Mary, at which time (31 Aug. 1553) he had license because of his great age to be absent from the queen's coronation and from future parliaments (HAYNES, *Burghley Papers*, p. 177); he was, however, at the trial of Bishop Hooper at Southwark in January 1555. He died on 6 Oct. 1557, and was buried in Salisbury Cathedral on the south side of the choir. Capon was a preacher of some note and a man of learning. Henry VIII wrote to Benet, his ambassador at Rome, on 10 July 1531, to urge the pope to refer judgment of the divorce case to the Archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by the abbot of Westminster and 'the abbot of Hyde, a great clerk' (*Cal. of Hen. VIII*, v. 327). Convocation in 1542, directing certain bishops to revise a translation of the New Testament, assigned the Epistles to the Corinthians to Capon, and the same convocation appointed him and the Bishop of Ely examiners of church books. Protestant writers inveigh against him as a time-server and a papist—'a false dissembling bishop,' as he is called by Foxe (v. 484), who frequently names him as a 'persecutor' of martyrs under Henry VIII and Mary. Fuller and Strype say he despoiled his bishopric to enrich himself. His will, dated 18 July 1557, directs that all his goods be divided among his servants, and as his executors 'renounced,' the prerogative court of Canterbury appointed an administrator on 29 Oct. 1557. Arms: 'S, a chevron between 3 mullets O,' or perhaps 'A, on a chevron S between 3 trefoils of the second, 3 escallops of the field.'

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 171, 550; *Annals of Cambridge*, i. 338-9; *Cal. of Henry VIII*; Stevens's *Suppl. to Dugdale*, i. 503; *Dodsworth's Salisb. Cath.* p. 57; *Fuller's Church Hist.*; Foxe's *Acts and Mon.*; *Dodd's Church Hist.* p. 489; *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 247, ii. 741, 767, 779, 809; *Strype*; *Leland's Collect.* vi. 220, 234; *Lemon's Calendar*; *Richardson's Godwin*; *Milner's Winchester*, ii. 223; *Le Neve's Fasti*; *State Papers Henry VIII*; *Browne Willis's Not. Parl.* i. 128; *Burnet's Hist. of Reformation*; *Anderson's Annals of Engl. Bible*, ii. 150; *Haynes's Burghley Papers*, p. 177; *Britton's Salisb. Cath.* 41, 95; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 37; *Wriothesley's Chronicle*, i. 35, 103; *Clive's Ludlow*, 287; *Bedford's Blazon of Episcopacy*, 14.]

R. H. B.

CAPON, WILLIAM (*d.* 1550), master of Jesus College, Cambridge, the brother of John Capon, *alias* Salcot [q. v.], was born at Salcot, Essex. He was educated at Cambridge, where he proceeded B.A. 1499, M.A. 1502, and D.D. 1517, and was proctor in

1509. He was fellow of Catharine Hall, held the living of Great Shelford, Cambridgeshire, and on 21 July 1516 became master of Jesus College, Cambridge. He acted as chaplain to Wolsey, and was nominated in 1528 the first dean of Wolsey's short-lived college at Ipswich. A long letter from Capon to Wolsey, touching the organisation of the college, is printed in Ellis's 'Original Letters' (1st ser. i. 185, from 'MS. Cotton,' Titus B i. f. 175). In 1534 he resigned the vicarage of Barkway, Hertfordshire, which he had held for several years; in 1537 became prebendary of Wells; from 26 Sept. 1537 was for a few weeks archdeacon of Anglesey; in 1543 was instituted rector of Duxford St. Peter, Cambridgeshire, and prebendary of Bangor. He resigned the mastership of Jesus College in November 1546, and died in 1550.

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 100; *Wood's Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 94 n. (where the date of Capon's resignation of Barkway is misprinted 1544); Ellis's *Letters*, 1st ser. i. 185, 3rd ser. ii. 231; *Le Neve's Fasti*, ed. Hardy, i. 115, 120, 204.]

S. L.

CAPON, WILLIAM (1757-1827), scene-painter, decorative artist, and architect, the son of an artist, was born at Norwich 6 Oct. 1757. Under his father he commenced to paint portraits, but preferring architecture was placed under Novozieski, whom he assisted in the buildings and decorations of the Italian Opera House (reopened 1791) and Ranelagh Gardens. In 1794 he erected a theatre for Lord Aldborough at Belan House, Kildare, and in the same year was engaged by John Kemble as scene-painter for the new Drury Lane Theatre. An enthusiastic student of old English architecture, he greatly assisted Kemble in his efforts to represent plays with historical accuracy, and the scenes at Drury Lane (and at Covent Garden after 1802) in which he endeavoured to reconstruct ancient buildings were greatly celebrated. Among these were a view of the ancient palace of Westminster (fifteenth century), 'wings' representing English streets, the Tower of London (for the play of 'Richard III'), the council chamber at Crosby House (for 'Jane Shore'), a state chamber *temp.* Edward III, a baronial hall *temp.* Edward IV, and a Tudor hall *temp.* Henry VII. His connection with Drury Lane (burnt 1809) resulted in a loss of 500*l.* He made drawings of the interiors of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, which were exhibited in 1800 and 1802. He was also employed for the Royal Circus and the theatre at Bath (1805). In 1804 he was appointed architectural draughtsman to the Duke of York. His leisure was employed in architectural research, and his



plans of the old palace of Westminster and the substructure of the abbey are said to have occupied him thirty years. The former was in 1826 purchased by the Society of Antiquaries for 120 guineas, and was engraved by Basire. Though his preference was for Gothic architecture, his last work of importance was a design for a church of the Doric order. He was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy, and also (between 1788 and 1827) sent drawings to the Society of Artists (one), the British Institution (five), and the Society of British Artists (five). His subjects were chiefly views of buildings and architectural remains, with some landscapes. He died at his house in North Street, Westminster, 26 Sept. 1827. A portrait of Capon, engraved by W. Bond, after a miniature by W. Bone, was published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' xcvi. 105. Some of his original drawings are in the British Museum.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Gent. Mag. 1827 and 1828; Boaden's Life of Kemble.]

C. M.

**CAPPE, NEWCOME** (1733-1800), unitarian divine, eldest son of the Rev. Joseph Cappe, minister of the nonconformist congregation at Millhill Chapel, Leeds, who married the daughter and coheir of Mr. Newcome of Waddington, Lincolnshire, was born at Leeds 21 Feb. 1733. He was an ardent student when young, and was educated with great care for the dissenting ministry. For a year (1748-9) he was with Dr. Aikin at Kibworth, Leicestershire; the succeeding three years he studied with Doddridge at Northampton, and for another space of three years (1752-5) he lived at Glasgow, profiting by the instruction of Dr. William Leechman. When he was sufficiently qualified by this lengthened course of tuition for his profession, he was chosen in November 1755 co-pastor with the Rev. John Hotham of the dissenting chapel at St. Saviourgate, York, and after remaining in this position until Mr. Hotham's death in the following May became on that event sole pastor to the congregation, and so continued until his own decease in 1800. York was at this time the centre of much greater literary and political life than it is at present, and Cappe took a prominent place among its citizens. The large old mansion in which he lived is described by Mr. Robert Davies, in his 'Walks through York,' as situate in Upper Ousegate, and in it he gathered together many students of letters. A literary club which he founded in 1771 existed with unimpaired life for nearly twenty years. In October 1759 he married Sarah, the eldest daughter of William Turner, a merchant of

Hull. She died of consumption in the spring of 1773, leaving six children behind her. His second wife, an ardent promoter of education and of unitarian principles, was Catharine, daughter of the Rev. Jeremiah Harrison, vicar of Catterick, and they were married at Barwick-in-Elmet on 19 Feb. 1788. Cappe was frequently ill, and in 1791 he was seized by a paralytic stroke. This was followed by several other attacks of the same kind until his strength failed, and he died at York on 24 Dec. 1800. His eldest son, Joseph Cappe, M.D., died in February 1791; his youngest son, Robert Cappe, M.D., died on 16 Nov. 1802 while on a voyage to Leghorn.

The writings of Cappe which appeared during his lifetime were comparatively unimportant. Among them were sermons preached on the days 'of national humiliation' in 1776, 1780, 1781, 1782, and 1784. An earlier sermon delivered 27 Nov. 1757, after the victory of Frederick the Great at Rossbach on 5 Nov. 1757, was of a very rhetorical character; it passed through numerous editions, a copy of the sixth impression being in the British Museum. In 1770 he published a sermon in memory of the Rev. Edward Sandercock, and in 1785 he edited that minister's sermons in two volumes. In 1783 he printed a pamphlet of 'Remarks in Vindication of Dr. Priestley' in answer to the 'Monthly Reviewers.' 'A Selection of Psalms for Social Worship' and 'An Alphabetical Explication of some Terms and Phrases in Scripture,' the first an anonymous publication, and the second 'by a warm well-wisher to the interests of genuine christianity,' were printed at York in 1786, and are known to have been compiled by Cappe. The second of them, it may be added, was reissued at Boston, U.S., in 1818. A work of a more elaborate character, entitled 'Discourses on the Providence and Government of God,' was published by him in 1795; a second edition appeared in 1811, and a third in 1818. After his death his widow, in her regard for his memory, collected and edited many volumes of his discourses, consisting of (1) 'Critical Remarks on many important Passages of Scripture,' 1802, 2 vols.; (2) 'Discourses chiefly on Devotional Subjects,' 1805; (3) 'Connected History of the Life and Divine Mission of Jesus Christ,' 1809; (4) 'Discourses chiefly on Practical Subjects,' 1815. To the first and second of these publications she prefixed memoirs of his life by herself, and the second contained an appendix of a sermon on his interment by the Rev. William Wood, and a memoir from the 'Monthly Review,' February 1801, pp. 81-4, by the Rev. C. Wellbeloved. His widow, whose biography of Cappe

is full of interest, died suddenly 27 July 1821, aged 78. She was the author of several tracts on charity schools (*Dict. of Living Authors*, p. 54).

[*Gent. Mag.* lxx. pt. ii. 1299 (1800), lxxi. pt. i. 181-2 (1801); *Rutt's Life of Priestley*; *Taylor's Biographia Leodiensis*, pp. 210-12; *Davies's York Press*, pp. 266, 274, 295-8, 303; *Belsham's Theophilus Lindsey*, pp. 223-37.] W. P. C.

CAPPER, FRANCIS (1735-1818), divine, born 24 Aug. 1735, son of Francis Capper, a London barrister, was educated at Westminster School, and proceeded thence to Christ Church, Oxford (1753). He graduated as M.A. in 1760, being then in holy orders and rector of Monk Soham (October 1759) and Earl Soham (December 1759), Suffolk, benefices which he retained until his death. He had a local reputation as a faithful minister and an upright magistrate. His only contribution to literature was a small tract, entitled 'The Faith and Belief of every Sincere Christian, proved by references to various Texts of Holy Scripture,' Ipswich, 12mo. Capper died at Earl Soham 13 Nov. 1818.

[*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxxviii. pt. ii. p. 476; *Welch's Alumni Westmonast.* 360; family memoranda.] C. J. R.

CAPPER, JAMES (1743-1825), meteorologist, &c., younger brother of Francis Capper [q. v.], was born 15 Dec. 1743, and educated at Harrow School. He entered the Hon. East India Company's service at an early age, and attained the rank of colonel, holding for some time the post of comptroller-general of the army and fortification accounts on the coast of Coromandel. After retiring from military service he settled for some years in South Wales, taking much interest in meteorology and agriculture. Removing to Norfolk, he died at Ditchingham Lodge, near Bungay, 6 Sept. 1825.

James Capper wrote: 1. 'Observations on the Passage to India through Egypt; also to Vienna through Constantinople and Aleppo, and from thence to Bagdad, and across the Great Desert to Bassora, with occasional Remarks on the adjacent Countries, and also Sketches of the different Routes,' London, 1784, 4to, and 1785, 8vo. 2. 'Memorial to the Hon. Court of Directors of the East India Company,' 1785 (privately printed). 3. 'Observations on the Winds and Monsoons, illustrated with a chart, and accompanied with Notes, Geographical and Meteorological,' London, 1801, 4to. 4. 'Observations on the Cultivation of Waste Lands, addressed to the gentlemen and farmers of Glamorganshire,' London, 1805. 5. 'Meteorological and

Miscellaneous Tracts applicable to Navigation, Gardening, and Farming, with Calendars of Flora for Greece, France, England, and Sweden,' London, 1809, 8vo.

CAPPER, LOUISA (1776-1840), was a daughter of Colonel James Capper, by his wife, Mary Johnson, and was born 15 Nov. 1776. She published in 1811 an 'Abridgment of Locke's Essay concerning the Human Understanding,' and died unmarried 25 May 1840. She was buried at Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire.

[Family memoranda; *Gent. Mag.* (1825), pt. ii. 381; *Watt's Bibl. Brit.*] C. J. R.

CAPPER, JOSEPH (1727-1804), an eccentric character, was born in 1727 in Cheshire of parents in humble circumstances. At an early age he came up to London, and, after serving his apprenticeship to a grocer, set up a shop on his own account in the neighbourhood of Whitechapel. Owing to the recommendations of his old master, Capper soon prospered in his trade, and, having been fortunate in various speculations, eventually retired from business. Having given up work, he spent several days in walking about the vicinity of London, searching for lodgings. Stopping at the Horns, Kennington, one day, he asked for a bed, and, being curtly refused, determined to stop in order to plague the landlord. Though for many years he talked about quitting the place the next day, he lived there until the day of his death, a period of twenty-five years. So methodical were his habits, that he would not drink his tea out of any other than his favourite cup. In the parlour of the Horns he had his favourite chair. He would not suffer any one to poke the fire without his permission. He called himself the champion of government, and nothing angered him more than to hear any one declaiming against the British constitution. His favourite amusement was killing flies with his cane, before doing which he generally told a story about the rascality of all Frenchmen, 'whom,' he said, 'I hate and detest, and would knock down just the same as these flies.' Capper died at the Horns on 6 Sept. 1804, at the age of seventy-seven, and was buried in the church of St. Botolph, Aldgate. In his will, which was made on the back of a sheet of banker's cheques, and dated five years before his death, he left the bulk of his property, then upwards of 30,000*l.*, among his poor relations, whom he always had refused to see in his lifetime. To his nephews, whom he appointed his executors, he bequeathed 8,000*l.* three per cents. between them. There appears, however, to have been considerable doubt whether

this will had been properly witnessed or not. A curious portrait of Capper will be found in the third volume of Granger.

[St. James's Chronicle, 13 Sept. 1804; Granger's New, Original, and Complete Wonderful Museum and Magazine Extraordinary (1805), iii. 1692-6.] G. F. R. B.

CAPPOCH, THOMAS (1719 - 1746).  
[See COPPOCK.]

CARACCIOLI, CHARLES (*A.* 1766), topographer, was master of the grammar school at Arundel in 1766, and was probably an Italian. In 1758 appeared a work, anonymous, 2 vols. 'Chiron, or the Mental Optician' (*Monthly Review*, 1758, xviii. 276), of which Gough says that Caraccioli was the author (*Brit. Topog.* ii. 288, note); and about two years later a 6d. pamphlet, entitled 'An Historical Account of Sturbridge, Bury, and the most Famous Fairs, &c., also anonymous, was published at Cambridge for the author, which is attributed in the British Museum Library Catalogue to Caraccioli. This is doubtful, as Caraccioli's own evidence shows that about 1758 and 1760 he did not know English. In 1766 Caraccioli published 'The Antiquities of Arundel' by subscription, and dedicated it to the Duke of Norfolk and to the Hon. Edward Howard, the duke's heir-apparent. In 1775 a Charles Caraccioli, gent., published the first volume of 'The Life of Robert, Lord Clive,' not dated (*Monthly Review*, 1775, liii. 80), following this in 1777 by vols. ii. iii. and iv. of the same work (*ib.* 1777, iv. 480); and Gough identifies this author with the subject of this article (*supra*). The 'Monthly Review' says of 'Chiron,' 'It is a poor imitation of "Le Diable Boiteux"' (xviii. 276); Gough says of parts of 'Arundel,' 'They are most awkwardly contrived from printed books' (*Brit. Topog.* ii. 288); Lowndes says of 'Clive,' 'It is a confused jumble' (*Bibl. Manual*, i. 369); and the 'Monthly Review' says of it, 'It is ill-digested, worse connected, and similarly printed.'

[*Monthly Review*, xviii. 276, liii. 80, iv. 480; Gough's *Brit. Topog.* ii. 288; Lowndes's *Bibl. Man.* i. 369.] J. H.

CARACTACUS (*A.* 50), king of the Britons, whose name is the latinised form of the English Caradoc and the Welsh Caradawg, was one of the sons of Cunobelin, king of the Trinobantes, whose capital was the fortified enclosure known as 'Camulodunum' (Colchester). As chief of the Catuvellauni he maintained an energetic resistance to the Romans for nearly nine years. Our only authority for the campaign of Aulus Plautius

(A.D. 43-7) is a passage of Dio Cassius. The Romans landed in three divisions in the spring of A.D. 43. Plautius met and defeated in successive battles Caractacus and his brother Togodumnus, received the submission of the Dobuni (Gloucestershire), and, having established a stronghold in their country, pushed up the valley of the Thames, and came opposite once more to the enemy, who were on the north bank of the river. The Britons, thinking themselves safe under the protection of the broad stream, took no precautions, and were surprised by the Celtic troops of Plautius swimming the river to attack them. This advantage was further extended by the exploits of a body of men which crossed the river under Vespasian, the future emperor. A desperate engagement was fought the next day, in which the Britons made a brave stand, but were completely defeated. The site of this decisive battle is uncertain. Dr. Guest seems to have good reason for placing it at Wallingford, on the Thames. Caractacus was doubtless the chief commander on the British side. The Britons retreated eastward, and put the Lea between themselves and the Romans, who, following them, crossed the Lea, partly by swimming and partly by a bridge, and succeeded in engaging and inflicting a great slaughter upon them once more. In attempting to follow up the flying Britons the Roman army became entangled in the Essex marshes and suffered severe loss. Plautius recalled his troops, and, settling them in some spot on the banks of the Thames, sent for the emperor Claudius, in accordance with orders which he had received when starting for Britain. Dr. Guest thinks that this spot was the site of London, and that the Roman works were the beginning of our metropolis. Dio, however, seems to imply that the Romans were on the south bank of the river. When Claudius arrived with reinforcements and a troop of elephants, the Romans advanced northward, fought a successful battle with the Britons, and captured Camulodunum. Claudius only remained seventeen days in Britain, and then hurried home to celebrate his triumph, leaving Plautius to complete the conquest of southern Britain. Caractacus meanwhile seems to have retired with his followers to the neighbourhood of the Silures (South Wales), and from his western fastnesses to have made frequent sallies to stop the gradually extending Roman dominion. For when in A.D. 47 Ostorius Scapula succeeded Aulus Plautius as pro-prætor, he found Britain in a disturbed and dangerous state. He seems to have taken measures at once to fortify the line of the Severn and Avon, but to have been recalled eastward by

a revolt of the Iceni (Norfolk and Suffolk). Having put down this revolt, and having formally established a Roman colony at Camulodunum, he advanced once more to the west (A.D. 50). Caractacus had led the British host from the extreme south, and was now in the territory of the Ordovices (Shropshire), and somewhere in that district the final battle took place in the summer of A.D. 50. The site of the battle, like most matters connected with British history, is a subject of considerable doubt. Discussions on this point will be found in the books referred to at the end of this article. That which best suits the account given by Tacitus is the hill called Caer Caradoc, described by Camden. It is near the meeting of the Clun and Teme, and in Camden's time still retained traces of British fortification. Caractacus posted his army on a steep hill, and strengthened all possible approaches with heaps of loose stones ('in modum valli præstruit'). Between this hill and the Roman camp ran a river of unknown depth. Ostorius was dismayed at the spirit shown by the Britons; but the veterans easily forded the river. They were received by showers of darts; but at length forming a *testudo*, they scaled the hill, tore down the barricades of stones, and dislodged the Britons. The wife, daughter, and brothers of Caractacus fell into the hands of the Romans. Many, however, escaped to the mountains, and among them Caractacus himself, who took refuge in the country of the Brigantes; but their queen, Cartimandua, delivered him to the Romans. He and his family were sent to Rome, and made to take part in a kind of triumphal parade, which defiled past Claudius and Agrippina. Crowds came from all parts of Italy to see the captive chief. His capture was declared in the senate to be as glorious as that of Syphax by Scipio, and Perses by Paulus. The undaunted bearing of Caractacus roused great admiration. He was allowed to address the emperor, whom he reminded that 'the resistance he had made was a large element in his conqueror's glory; that if he were now put to death he would shortly be forgotten, but that if spared he would be an imperishable monument of the imperial clemency.' Claudius granted life to him and his family; and here all that we know of Caractacus ends, except the reflection which Zonaras records him to have made on seeing Rome: 'That he wondered the Romans who possessed such palaces should envy the poor huts of the Britons.' Tradition, reproduced in the untrustworthy Welsh 'Triads,' asserts that he lived some four years after his capture, and that his children, becoming Christians, brought the Christian faith into Britain.

Some have even supposed that the Claudia of Martial's 'Epigrams' (iv. 13, xi. 53) and of St. Paul's Epistle (2 Tim. iv. 21) was his daughter. The identity of the person alluded to in these passages, and her connection with Caractacus, are, however, entirely conjectural. With much more probability she has been regarded as the daughter of Cogidumnus.

[The ancient authorities for the history are Tacitus, Ann. xii. 31, 37, Hist. 3, 45; Dio Cassius, 60, 19-22; Eutrop. viii. 8; Suetonius, Claud. 17, Vesp. 4; Zonaras's *Χρονικόν*, p. 186. A full account of the campaign of B.C. 50 will be found in Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire, vi. 224-45, ed. 1865, and in Carte's History of England, i. 100-11, ed. 1748. A full discussion of difficult points in topography and history will be found in Dr. Guest's *Origines Celticae*, ii. 342, 394-400; see also Gough's Camden, iii. 3, 13; Horsley's *Monumenta Britannica*, i. 26-7, 31-2; Hugh's *Horæ Britannicæ*, pp. 19-22; Freeman's *Old English History*, p. 15. Caractacus, a drama composed like a Greek tragedy, with choric odes, was published in 1759 by W. Mason. A frigid poem, Caractacus, a Metrical Sketch, was published anonymously in 1832. For a discussion of the question of Claudia, see Williams's *Claudia and Pudentia*, 1848; Guest's *Orig. Celt.* ii. 121; Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, ii. 514, ed. 1862; Farrar's *Life and Work of St. Paul*, ii. 569; Quarterly Review, July 1858.] E. S. S.

**CARADOC**, SIR JOHN FRANÇOIS, first BARON HOWDEN (1762-1839), general, who exchanged the name Cradock for Caradoc in 1820, was the only son of John Cradock [q. v.], archbishop of Dublin, and was born at Dublin, when his father was bishop of Kilmore, on 12 Aug. 1762. His father's political interest was very great, and he rose quickly in the army, which he entered as a cornet in the 4th regiment of horse in 1777. In 1779 he exchanged to an ensigncy in the 2nd or Coldstream guards; in 1781 he was promoted lieutenant and captain, and in 1785 to a majority in the 12th light dragoons. In 1786 he exchanged into the 13th regiment; in 1789 was promoted lieutenant-colonel, and in 1790 commanded the regiment, when it was ordered to the West Indies at the time of the Nootka Sound affair. In 1791 he returned to England on being appointed acting quartermaster-general in Ireland, but in 1793 accompanied Sir Charles Grey to the West Indies as aide-de-camp, and was appointed to command two picked battalions selected for dangerous services. At their head he served throughout the campaign in which Sir Charles Grey reduced the French West Indian islands, and was wounded at the capture of Martinique, and at its conclusion received the thanks of parliament and was promoted colonel of the

127th regiment. On 1 Oct. 1795 he was appointed assistant-quartermaster-general, and in Sept. 1792 quartermaster-general in Ireland, and on 1 Jan. 1798 was promoted major-general. In 1798 his local knowledge was invaluable to Lord Cornwallis in the suppression of the Irish rebellion; he was present at the battle of Vinegar Hill and the capture of Wexford; he accompanied Lord Cornwallis in his rapid march against the French general, Humbert, and was wounded in the affair at Ballynahinch. He sat in the Irish House of Commons as M.P. for Clogher from 1785 to 1790, for Castlebar from 1790 to 1797, for Middleton, co. Cork, from 1799 to April 1800, and for Thomastown, co. Kilkenny, in May 1800. In parliament he always voted as a strenuous supporter of the government, and on 17 Feb. 1800 he acted as second to the Right Hon. Isaac Corry, chancellor of the Irish exchequer, in his famous duel with Grattan in Phoenix Park. At the same time he strengthened his political connections by marrying, on 17 Nov. 1798, Lady Theodosia Meade, 3rd daughter of John, first earl of Clanwilliam.

At the union he lost his seat in parliament, but was appointed to the staff of Sir Ralph Abercromby in the Mediterranean. He joined the army at Minorca, commanded the 2nd brigade, and was colonel 2nd battalion 54th foot (1801-2). He was engaged in the battles of 8, 13, and 21 March 1801 in Egypt, and after Abercromby's death accompanied General Hutchinson in the advance on Cairo as second in command. He was present at the surrender of Cairo, but then fell ill of fever, and was unable to co-operate in the reduction of Alexandria. At the conclusion of the Egyptian campaign he was appointed to the command-in-chief of a corps of seven thousand men, and ordered to reduce the island of Corsica. The peace of Amiens put an end to the expedition, but he was made a knight of the Bath, gazetted colonel of the 71st light infantry (a post he held till 1809), and on 21 Dec. 1803 was appointed commander-in-chief at Madras, and a local lieutenant-general.

His command at Madras was signalised by the mutiny at Vellore. Shortly after his arrival he had determined to reduce the chaotic mass of regulations for the army under his command into something like a regular code. In 1805 the new code was issued under the sanction of the governor, Lord William Bentinck, and as it was particularly minute on questions of uniform it greatly offended the sepoys. The family of Tippoo Sahib took advantage of the discontent to set on foot a conspiracy among the Mahomedans in the native army, and on 10 July 1806 a mutiny broke out

at Vellore. When the mutiny was suppressed there were mutual recriminations among the authorities at Fort George as to its cause; Cradock threw the responsibility upon his subalterns for advising the changes, and on the governor for sanctioning them; the governor declared it was all the commander-in-chief's fault, and in the end, in 1807, the court of directors recalled both Cradock and Lord William Bentinck.

The ministers at once appointed Cradock to the command of a division in Ireland, but his mind was 'soured by ill-treatment' (*Wellington's Supplementary Despatches*, v. 261), and he speedily resigned his division and applied for active service. In December 1808 Cradock (lieutenant-general on 1 Jan. 1805) arrived at Lisbon to take command of the troops which Moore had left behind him in Portugal. Cradock's position was a difficult one. He had not more than ten thousand men under his command, including the sick and the stragglers, and could not put more than five thousand in the field. His position was soon complicated by Sir John Moore's retreat; the Portuguese regency wished him to advance to Oporto, and the people became furious and insulted and even murdered English soldiers in the streets of Lisbon. Cradock knew that it was impossible to protect Oporto against Soult's victorious army, and prepared instead to defend Lisbon, threatened both by Soult and Victor in the east. Instructions arrived for him to prepare to evacuate Portugal, but the English ministers suddenly resolved to defend Lisbon at all hazards, and Cradock was ordered to advance from Lisbon and take up a central position. He moved most unwillingly from Passa d'Arcos to Leiria, and there formed his small army in order of battle to await the advance of Soult from Oporto. Cradock had time to reorganise his army, and, after receiving reinforcements, had begun an advance against Soult, when news arrived that he was to be promoted to the governorship of Gibraltar, and to be superseded in Portugal by Wellesley. He was not given the governorship. Sir Arthur Wellesley tried to soften Cradock's disappointment, but to the end of his life he felt that he had been badly treated. In 1809 he was appointed colonel of the 43rd regiment, and in 1811 was promoted to the governorship of the Cape of Good Hope, which, however, he only retained till 1814. In 1814 he was promoted general, but he remained a disappointed man. The Duke of Wellington took his only son upon his personal staff, and through the duke's influence Cradock was created Lord Howden in the peerage of Ireland on 19 Oct. 1819. He was further favoured by the duke, and on

7 Sept. 1831 he was created a peer of the United Kingdom as Lord Howden of Grimston and Grimston, co. York, on the coronation of William IV. He died at Grimston on 26 July 1839, in his seventy-ninth year.

[Royal Military Calendar; for the mutiny at Vellore see the Asiatic Annual Register for 1807, papers presented to Parliament 1813, and Wilson's continuation of Mill's History of British India, vol. i. chap. ii.; for his services in Portugal see Napier's Peninsular War, book vi., chaps i. ii. iii., and Appendices 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, and 9, which are of special value, as Lord Howden placed all his papers and manuscripts at Sir William Napier's disposal.] H. M. S.

CARADOC, SIR JOHN HOBART, second BARON HOWDEN (1799-1873), diplomatist, only child of General Sir J. F. Caradoc, lord Howden [q. v.] and Lady Theodosia Meade, third daughter of the first earl of Clanwilliam, was born in Dublin on 16 Oct. 1799. He was gazetted an ensign in the Grenadier guards on 13 July 1815, and was soon afterwards appointed an aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington at Paris, where he remained until the dispersion of the army of occupation in 1818. On 22 Oct. 1818 he was promoted lieutenant and captain in the Grenadier guards, and then proceeded to Lisbon, as aide-de-camp to Marshal Beresford [q. v.], and in 1820 he was appointed aide-de-camp to Sir Thomas Maitland, the governor of Malta. In 1823 he exchanged to the 29th regiment, but in 1824 he determined to enter the diplomatic service, and was appointed an attaché at Berlin. In 1825 he joined the embassy at Paris, and on 9 June 1825 was gazetted to an unattached majority in the army. In 1827 he was ordered to Egypt in order to try to prevent Mehemet Ali from intervening in the struggle between Turkey and Greece. In this he failed, and he was then ordered to join Sir Edward Codrington, the admiral commanding the Mediterranean fleet, as military commissioner, with instructions to force Mehemet Ali to withdraw the army with which he had occupied the Morea. At Navarino Caradoc was wounded, and he had afterwards no difficulty in securing the withdrawal of the Egyptian army. In 1830 he was elected M.P. for Dundalk, but he did not seek re-election in 1831, and in 1832 was appointed military commissioner with the French army under Marshal Gérard, which was besieging Antwerp. Here he was again wounded, and was made, for his services, a commander of the Legion of Honour, and of the order of Leopold of Belgium. In August 1834 he was appointed military commissioner with the Spanish army, which had entered Portugal, and was present

at the convention of Evora Monte, and in the same year he was attached to the Christianist army in the north of Spain. He was present at the victories obtained over the Carlists at Olozagutia and Gollana, and was rewarded for his services with the order of San Fernando. In 1839 he succeeded his father as second Lord Howden, and returned to England. In 1841 he was promoted to be colonel in the army, and made an equerry to the Duchess of Kent, a post which he held till her death in 1861. On 25 Jan. 1847 he was appointed minister at Rio de Janeiro with a special mission to the Argentine Confederation and the republic of Uruguay. He was ordered to act in conjunction with Count Walewski, the French minister plenipotentiary, and also not to allow the British fleet to do more than blockade Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. When Count Walewski showed himself favourably inclined towards General Rosas, governor of Buenos Ayres, and when Rosas himself paid no attention to the ultimatum of the two powers, Howden decided to leave the questions at issue unsettled, and raised the blockade of Buenos Ayres on 2 July 1847, and returned to Rio de Janeiro. He remained in Brazil till 1850, when he was appointed minister plenipotentiary at Madrid, and in 1854 he was promoted major-general, and on 23 Feb. 1852 made a K.C.B. At Madrid he was both well known and popular, and had thus a great advantage over his predecessor, Sir Henry Bulwer. In March 1858 he retired from ill-health, but without a pension, and was made, on his retirement, a G.C.B. and a knight grand cross of the order of Charles III. of Spain. In 1859 he was promoted lieutenant-general, in 1861 he retired from the army, and after the death of the Duchess of Kent in that year he lived in retirement until his death at Bayonne on 8 Oct. 1873. He married in January 1830 Catherine, daughter of Paul, count Skavronsky, and great-niece of Prince Potemkin, but had no children, and on his death the English and Irish baronies of Howden became extinct.

[None of the obituary notices on Lord Howden are very full, but the details of his long and varied diplomatic career are to be found in the Foreign Office List for 1872; for his conduct in the River Plate affair, see The Anglo-French Intervention in the River Plate considered, especially with reference to the negotiations of 1847 under the conduct of Lord Howden, by A. R. Pfeil, London, 1847, and Two Letters addressed to the Right Honourable Lord Howden, on the withdrawal of the British intervention from the River Plate question, Monte Video, 1847.]

H. M. S.

**CARADOG** (*d.* 1035), a South Welsh prince, was a son of Rhydderch, who had seized the government of Deheubarth, and died in 1031 at the hands of Irish pirates. Caradog did not, however, manage to succeed to Rhydderch's power, which fell to Howel and Maredudd, sons of Edwin, who are said to have brought the Irish against Rhydderch. War ensued between the new rulers and the sons of Rhydderch, and in 1032 the latter were defeated in an action at Hiraethwy. Before long the death of Maredudd restored victory to Caradog and his brothers (1035). Before the year was out Caradog himself was slain by the English. The event is not noticed in the English chronicles.

[*Annales Cambriae*, Rolls Series; Brut y Tywysogion, Rolls Series; Gwentian Brut (Cambrian Archæological Association).] T. F. T.

**CARADOG OF LLANCARVAN** (*d.* 1147?), Welsh ecclesiastic and chronicler, was, as his name indicates, probably either born at or a monk of the famous abbey of Llanancarvan in the vale of Glamorgan. He was apparently one of the brilliant band of men of letters that gathered round Earl Robert of Gloucester, the bastard son of Henry I. Caradog was a friend of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who at the conclusion of his famous 'British History,' which ends with Cadwaladr Vendigaid, says: 'The princes who afterwards ruled in Wales I committed to Caradog of Llanancarvan, for he was my contemporary. And to him I gave the materials to write that book' (*Hist. Brit.* bk. xii. ch. xx.) Caradog's chief work was a sort of continuation of Geoffrey's fictions from the beginning of really historical times down to his own day. In its original form Caradog's chronicle is not now extant. There exist, however, several Welsh chronicles going down to much later times than Caradog's which profess to be derived from that author's work. The English compilation known as Powel's 'History of Cambria,' first published in 1584, also claims in its earlier part to be based on Caradog. That Caradog wrote a chronicle is clearly proved, and there is therefore every probability that the later chroniclers used his as their basis. It is, however, more likely that Caradog wrote his work in Latin than in Welsh. The relation of Caradog to the early part of the 'Bruts' must, however, be determined purely on internal evidence; and for such minute investigations a better editing of them is needed than has been given by Mr. Williams ab Ithel in the Rolls edition of the 'Brut y Tywysogion.' Mr. Aneurin Owen has pointed out, however, that the 'Brut' changes its style and tone in a very

remarkable way about 1120. The entries, which had since 1100 been very copious, suddenly became meagre, and the English sympathies of the earlier writer are exchanged for a patriotism that warmly favours the Welsh. Such partiality as that of the earlier writer would naturally come from Caradog, and the date of the change of style increases the probability of it.

Caradog is also said to have written 'Commentarii in Merlinum,' 'De situ orbis,' and 'Vita Gildæ' (BALE, *Script. Brit. Cat.* p. 196). Of the two former nothing is known. The old life of Gildas, published by Mr. Stevenson for the English Historical Society, is probably the latter work. Mr. Stevenson denies that Caradog wrote it, but Mr. T. Wright (*Biog. Brit. Lit.*, Anglo-Saxon period, p. 119) has shown reasons for believing him to be its author. The work is not of very great value or authenticity.

Pits says that Caradog was an elegant poet, and an eloquent rhetorician as well as a considerable historian. He says he flourished about 1150. Gutyn Owain, a Welsh bard and herald of the fifteenth century, says that Caradog died in 1156. As Geoffrey of Monmouth speaks in the past tense in his reference to him, it is more probable that he died before 1147, the latest possible date for the publication of the 'Historia Brittonum.' It is very improbable that he is the same as his contemporary Caradog the hermit.

[Bale's *Script. Brit. Cat.* pp. 195-6; Pits, *De Angliæ Scriptoribus*, p. 215; Owen's Introduction to the Gwentian Brut (Cambrian Archæological Association); Wright's *Biog. Brit. Lit.* Anglo-Saxon period, p. 119, Anglo-Norman period, p. 166-7; Stevenson's Gildas (Eng. Hist. Soc.), Preface, pp. xxvii-xxx.] T. F. T.

**CARADORI-ALLAN, MARIA CATERINA ROSALBINA** (1800-1865), vocalist, was born at the Casa Palatina, Milan, in 1800. Her father, Baron de Munck, was an Alsatian, who held a post in the French army. Her mother, whose maiden name was Caradori, was a native of St. Petersburg. Owing to her father's death she was forced to adopt music as a profession, though the only training she received was from her mother. After a tour in France and part of Germany, by the exertions of Count St. Antonio she was engaged for the King's Theatre, where she made her first appearance as Cherubino in the 'Nozze di Figaro,' 12 Jan. 1822. Her salary for this season was 300*l.* In 1823 she was re-engaged, at a salary of 400*l.*, and appeared as Vitellia in Mozart's 'Clemenza di Tito,' and as Carlotta in Mercadante's 'Elisa e Claudio.' In 1824 she was married to Mr. E. T.

Allan, the secretary of the King's Theatre, where she was again engaged at a salary of 500*l.*, singing with Catalani in Mayr's 'Nuovo Fanatico per la Musica,' and (for her own benefit) as Zerlina in 'Don Giovanni.' In the following year her chief parts were Carlotta in Generali's 'L'Adelina,' Fatima in Rossini's 'Pietro l'Eremita,' and Palmida in Meyerbeer's 'Crociato;' in the latter opera she was associated with the sopranoist Veluti. In 1826 her salary, which had been lowered to 400*l.*, was raised to 700*l.*, and she sang with Pasta in Zingarelli's 'Romeo e Giulietta,' and as Rosina in 'Il Barbiere di Seviglia.' In the following year her salary was 1,200*l.*, but this was the last season of Italian opera for some time, and Mme. Caradori-Allan went abroad. She sang in Venice in 1830, but in 1834 reappeared in Italian opera in London, and after 1835 remained in England until her death. She sang the soprano solo music at the first performance of Beethoven's ninth symphony in England, 21 March 1825, and in the same year took part in the York festival. In 1826 she was at Gloucester, and in 1827 at the Leicester and Worcester festivals. In 1834 she sang in the Handel festival in Westminster Abbey, in 1836 at the Manchester festival with Malibran, and in 1846 took part in Mendelssohn's 'Elijah' at its production at the Birmingham festival. In the latter years of her career she abandoned the stage for oratorio and concert singing, in which she achieved great success. She retired about 1845, and died at Elm Lodge, Surbiton, on Sunday, 15 Oct. 1865. Mme. Caradori-Allan all her life enjoyed great popularity; personally she was very accomplished, and at the same time most amiable and unaffected. Her singing was more remarkable for finish than for force; her voice was sweet, but deficient in tone, and it was said of her that 'she always delighted, but never surprised,' her audiences. As an actress she was charming. There are portraits of her as Creusa in 'Medea,' by Hullmandel after Hayter, and in Ebers's 'Seven Years of the King's Theatre.'

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 307; Lord Mount-Edgcumbe's Musical Reminiscences of an Old Amateur (ed. 1827), p. 155; Ebers's Seven Years of the King's Theatre, pp. 143, 154, &c.; Somerset House, i. 380, ii. 88; Orchestra for 21 Oct. 1865; Quarterly Musical Magazine, 1825, p. 347; Times, 19 Oct. 1865.] W. B. S.

CARANTACUS, in modern Welsh CARANNOG, SAINT (*fl.* 450), was, according to the life contained in Cotton MS. Vespasian A. xiv. (printed by the Bollandists and by Rees, 'Cambro-Brit. Saints,' pp. 97-101), the son of Cerecius (Ceredig), king of

the region which has received from him the name of Cardigan. A Welsh document printed by Rees under the title 'Pedigrees of Welsh Saints' makes him not the son but the grandson of Ceredig, his father's name being given as Corwn. It is impossible to place any confidence in either of these statements, since, although the name of Ceredig is doubtless historical, the traditions relating to him are for the most part obviously fabulous. Eight of the most celebrated of the Welsh saints are stated to have been his sons or grandsons, while the genealogy of many others is traced up to his eight brothers. Equally worthless is the assertion quoted by Colgan from the 'Opuscula' of St. Oengus, lib. 4, c. 6, that Carantacus was one of the fifteen sons (all bishops!) of St. Patrick's sister Darerca. The life above referred to (which the Bollandists remark is suspected of being largely fabulous) says that the kingdom of Ceredig being invaded by the Irish, and the king being advanced in years and infirm, the nobles counselled him to abdicate in favour of his eldest son, Carantacus. The young prince, 'loving the heavenly king more than an earthly kingdom,' took flight in order to escape the honour that was to be thrust upon him, and lived for some time as a hermit in a place which was afterwards known as Guerit Carantauc (possibly Llangrannog in Cardiganshire). According to another version of this part of his story, the place of his retirement was a cave called Edilu. Here he gave himself to prayer and to the study of the scriptures. He afterwards passed over into Ireland, and became associated with St. Patrick in the evangelisation of that country, having changed his name to Cernach or Cernath. In Ireland he was regarded with great reverence, and there were 'many churches and cities' named after him in the province of Leinster.

It appears from this that the author of the 'Life' regarded Carantacus as the same person with St. Cairnech, a bishop who is mentioned by the Irish hagiologists as a companion of St. Patrick, and as having assisted him in the work of editing the Brehon laws. The correctness of this identification derives some support from the fact that the festival of Cairnech is placed in the Irish calendars under 16 May; there being reason to believe that this was the date assigned by the British church to Carantacus. At Llangrannog, the church of which is dedicated to this saint, there is an annual fair on 27 May (i.e. 16 May old style); and at Crantock in Cornwall, where there is the same dedication, the village feast is on the Sunday nearest to 16 May. The Irish writers



themselves speak of Cairnech as a Briton, but they make him a native not of Wales but of Cornwall. It appears likely, however, that this is merely a conjecture, founded on an etymological interpretation of the name Cairnech, which MacFirbis regarded as meaning 'Cornishman.' There seems on the whole to be no reason for disputing the identity of Carantacus and Cairnech, or the correctness of the statement that he was born in Wales.

The 'Life' goes on to say that Carantacus returned to Wales, and again occupied for a time the cave which had formerly been his hermitage. The account of his miracles, and of his intercourse with King Arthur, it is not worth while to reproduce here; but there may possibly be some historical foundation for the statement that he founded a church at a place called 'Carrum,' and at another called 'Carrou' (Caerau, Glamorganshire), near the mouth of the 'Guellit.' Afterwards, the biographer says, he went back to Ireland, and was buried at a place called, after his own name, 'the city of Cernach.' The Irish writers call him Cairnech of Tuilen (Dulane in Meath), and say that he is buried at Inis-Baithen in Leinster. MacFirbis says that he was 'the son of Luithech, son of Luighidh, son of Talum,' &c. This pedigree may possibly be authentic, as the story of the descent of Carantacus from Ceredig is obviously mere legend.

A trace of a dedication to St. Carantacus seems to exist in the name of Carhampton (Domesday 'Carentone') in Somersetshire. Leland states that he saw there a ruined chapel of this saint, which had formerly been the parish church. Although Anglo-Saxon place-names derived from names of saints are extremely rare, a few instances of them seem to exist in the west, near the borders of the native British territory, and there seems to be no ground for questioning the correctness of Leland's derivation of the name.

Carantacus or Cairnech must be distinguished from another Cairnech [q. v.], whose festival is 28 March, and who died about 539.

[Act. Sancti. May, iii. 548 ff.; Colgan, *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, i. 263, 473, 717-18; Rees's *Cambro-Brit. Saints*, 97-101, 396-401; Todd's *Irish Nennius*, cx, cxi; *Senchus Mor*, i. xix, 16, 17, ii. v-viii; *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 133; Stokes on the *Calendar of Oengus*, p. lxxxvii; *Dict. Christian Biography*, i. 383.] H. B.

**CARAUSIUS** (245?-293), Roman emperor in Britain in the time of Diocletian and Maximianus Herculeus, was a man of very humble origin, and is described by Aurelius

Victor (*De Caesaribus*, c. 39) as 'Menapiæ civis,' an expression which indicates the district about the mouths of the Scheldt and the Meuse as his native country (cf. BUNBURY, *Hist. of Anc. Geog.* ii. 135; G. LONG in SMITH'S *Dict. of Anc. Geog.* s.v. 'Menapii'). The portrait of himself on his coins, which were probably first issued in A.D. 287, is apparently that of a man of about forty. In his youth Carausius earned his livelihood as a pilot. In 286 he is mentioned as greatly distinguishing himself in the campaign of the Emperor Maximian against the Bagaudæ—the revolted peasants and banditti of Gaul. About this period Maximian found it necessary to take active measures for suppressing the Frank and Saxon pirates who preyed upon the coasts of Britain and Gaul. Carausius was entrusted with the formation and command of a fleet which was stationed at Gesoriacum (Boulogne). But 'the integrity of the new admiral' (as Gibbon says), 'corresponded not with his abilities.' He allowed the pirates to sail out and ravage as usual, but when they returned he fell upon them and seized the spoil, reserving a portion—apparently a very considerable portion—for his own purposes. Maximian at last gave orders that his admiral should be put to death. But Carausius was strong in the possession of the fleet, and had ample resources for corruption, and on becoming aware of Maximian's intention, he promptly crossed the Channel with his ships, took possession of Britain, and 'assumed the purple' ('purpuram sumpsit,' EUTROPIUS, A.D. 287. It has been sometimes said that Carausius was 'the first count of the Saxon shore' ('comes littoris Saxonici'), a title only first made known to us in the 'Notitia,' i.e. about the end of the fourth century A.D. If we assume with Guest (*Origines Celticæ*, ii. 154), Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, ed. 1867, i. 11), Stubbs (*Constitutional Hist. of Eng.* Library ed. 1880, i. 67 note), and other writers (see BÖCKING'S commentary on cap. xxv. of his edition of the *Notitia*), that the duties of the 'Comes' were to protect 'the Saxon shore,' i.e. the shore on either side of the Channel, from the ravages of the Saxon pirates, we may, at any rate, safely affirm that Carausius was practically the first who was appointed to perform the duties of the Comes. Lappenberg (*Hist. of Eng. under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, 1845, i. 44 ff.; cf. KEMBLE, *Saxons in England*, i. 12), who thinks that the 'comes littoris Saxonici' was the commander of the Saxon colonists settled along the coasts of Britain and Gaul before 450, considers that Carausius was practically the first 'comes' in this sense, remarking that

if Carausius, 'himself a German by extraction, a Menapien by birth . . . did not cause the settling of the Saxons along the Saxon shore, in Gaul as well as in Britain, he at least promoted it by his alliance with them.' A substantially similar view as to the relations of Carausius and the Saxons is taken by Schaumann (*Zur Geschichte der Eroberung Englands durch germanische Stämme*, Göttingen, 1845), Dirks (*Les Anglo-Saxons et leurs petits deniers dits Sceattas*, Brussels, 1870, pp. 15 ff.), and Howorth (*Journ. of Anthropological Institute*, February, 1878).

Maximian, deprived of his fleet, was unable to pursue Carausius immediately, but during part of 288 and 289 confined himself to making elaborate naval preparations. Carausius meanwhile was supposed to be trembling for his safety. 'Quid nunc animi habet ille pirata?' asks the courtly panegyrist of Maximian in an oration delivered at Trèves on 21 April 289: 'Ædificatæ sunt ornatæque pulcherrimæ classes cunctis simul amnis oceanum petituræ' (MAMERTINI *Paneg. Max. Herc. dict. c. 12*). The new fleet was brought into action—probably shortly after this date—but its half-trained seamen proved to be no match for the sailors of Carausius, who had built a number of additional ships after the Roman model. Carausius was, moreover, an experienced soldier (EUTROPIUS ix. 22). On landing in Britain in 287 he had won over to his side (probably by bribery) the Roman legion stationed in the island, and he proceeded to organise an army by adding to the legion some companies of foreign mercenaries and even merchants from Gaul: the prospect of spoil made his service attractive, and 'barbarians' also joined the ranks. Part of his fleet held possession of Boulogne. The contest between the rivals seems to have lasted some time, the advantage being always, apparently, on the side of Carausius, and at last in 290 Maximian was glad to come to terms with the usurper. Eutropius (ix. 22) only records the bare fact that peace was brought about; but from certain coins issued by Carausius, evidently at this period, it would appear that he was actually acknowledged by Maximian and Diocletian as a partner in the empire. Carausius, probably from the very moment of his first setting sail for Britain, had already placed his own portrait on the coins which he issued, and had styled himself 'Imperator,' 'Cæsar,' 'Augustus,' adding the usual imperial epithets of 'Pius' and 'Felix,' but he now issued a remarkable copper coin (a specimen is in the British Museum), on the obverse of which he placed the three heads of Diocletian,

Maximian, and himself, accompanied by the inscription CARAVSIUS ET FRATRES SVI. The reverse bore the inscription PAX AVGGG (i.e. 'trium Augustorum') and a female personification of peace, holding olive-branch and sceptre. On a few other coins of Carausius, which must also belong to this period, the legends have reference to three Augusti, and not merely—as at first—to a single Augustus (Carausius himself). But the union of the imperial 'brethren' was soon to be dissolved. In 292 Diocletian and Maximian invited Galerius and Constantius Chlorus to share in the growing cares of empire, as Cæsars. The defence of Gaul and Britain was entrusted to Constantius; and he proceeded to strike a blow at the power of Carausius by an attack on Boulogne. He besieged the town both by land and sea, obstructing the mouth of the harbour by a mole. The garrison surrendered, and Constantius was making other preparations for the recovery of Britain, when he received the welcome news that Carausius had been assassinated by his chief minister, Allectus, 293. [The exact date and sequence of the events in the life of Carausius are not absolutely certain; the chronology that has here been adopted is that of Clinton (*Fasti Rom.*) According to other modern critics (see PAULY, *Real-Encyclop.*) the reign of Carausius lasted from 286 to 293, and the peace with Maximian and Diocletian was made, not in 290 but in 292. The date, 294, adopted by Gibbon (also in *Monum. Hist. Britan.* and elsewhere) for the death of Carausius is erroneous (see W. SMITH'S note in the *Decline and Fall*, ii. 71).]

The brief notices of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, and the necessarily unsatisfactory statements of the Panegyrist, throw little light upon the character and motives of Carausius. He is contemptuously spoken of as the 'pirate' or the 'pirate chief' ('archipirata'), and his avarice and faithlessness are not unjustly stigmatised. All the ancient writers, however, recognise his ability in nautical and military affairs. His motive in seizing Britain and his position as 'imperator' have been discussed by several modern writers. 'Under his command,' says Gibbon, 'Britain, destined in a future age to obtain the empire of the sea, already assumed its natural and respectable station of a maritime power.' Carausius certainly relied upon his fleet, and he may possibly, in the first instance, have fled to Britain merely as to a harbour of refuge, without having any ultimate designs upon the empire, but, in any case, it is evident that he did not rest content with being a mere 'king' of Britain.

Mr. Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, 1887, i. 153; 1877, i. 139) well points out that Carausius, Maximus, and the other so-called tyrants or provincial emperors, did not claim any independent existence for any part of the empire of which they might have gained possession. 'They were pretenders to the whole empire if they could get it, and they not uncommonly did get it in the end.' 'Carausius, the first British emperor, according to this theory, held not only Britain but part of Gaul.' 'Britain and part of Gaul were simply those parts of the empire of which Carausius, a candidate for the whole empire, had been able actually to possess himself. At last Carausius was accepted as a colleague by Diocletian and Maximian, and so became a lawful Cæsar and Augustus.' 'Allectus was less fortunate; he never got beyond Britain, and, instead of being acknowledged as a colleague, he was defeated and slain by Constantius.'

Although Carausius ruled in Britain from 287 to 293, no lapidary inscriptions or other monuments of his reign have at present been discovered, with the exception of the gold, silver, and copper coins which he issued in large numbers. The testimony of these coins confirms, and in some points supplements, the scanty information derived from the literary sources. Gibbon, in a note in the 'Decline and Fall,' observes that 'as a great number of medals (i.e. coins) of Carausius are still preserved, he is become a very favourite object of antiquarian curiosity, and every circumstance of his life and actions has been investigated with sagacious accuracy.' However, until the latter part of the present century the coins of Carausius were always considered by numismatists as rarities, and Gibbon had only before him the learned but fanciful work of Dr. Stukeley—possibly also that of Guebrier—who made Carausius a Welshman and gave him for a wife a lady named Oriuna—a name which he arrived at by misreading the word *Fortuna* on one of the emperor's coins. Even now, no complete list of the coins of Carausius brought down to the present date is in existence, though a very large number may be found engraved in the 'Monumenta Historica Britannica' and in Roach Smith's 'Collectanea Antiqua.' Cohen, in his 'Médailles impériales' (first edition), gives a description of six varieties in gold, forty-six in silver, and 242 in copper; but since this list was compiled, about 1861, numerous additional specimens have been discovered, especially in copper. In particular, the very large hoard of coins unearthed by Lord Selborne in 1873 at Blackmoor in Hampshire contained 545 coins

of Carausius, which included 117 varieties not described by Cohen. Among the numerous localities where coins of Carausius have been discovered may be mentioned London (some of the coins were found in the bed of the Thames); Richborough; Rouen (where a hoard of late third-century coins, discovered in 1846, contained 210 of Carausius); St. Albans, Silchester, Strood, Wroxeter, and different parts of Gloucestershire. Carausius struck his money at London, and at a mint indicated by the letter 'C,' probably Camulodunum (Colchester); a number of his coins give no indication of their place of mintage. Rutupiae and Clausentum have by some been suggested as mints; but this is doubtful. De Salis (*Num. Chron.* n. s. vii. 57) would assign to 287–90? those coins of Carausius which are 'without mint-marks and mostly of inferior workmanship;' and to the years 290?–3 the gold and copper coins with the mint-mark of London, and the copper with the mint-mark of Camulodunum: the 'silver coins with the exergal mark BSR probably belong to this period and to the mint of London.' It is not improbable that Carausius struck coins with his name and titles even before setting out from Boulogne for Britain. There are two sets of coins which some writers have proposed to attribute to this period: (1) a series (from the Rouen find) bearing a portrait of Carausius differing from that on the coins undoubtedly struck in Britain, and (2) a number of specimens (from the Blackmoor and Silchester hoards) which are re-struck on money of previous emperors (Gallienus, Victorinus, Tetricus, &c.) Not having a supply of metal 'blanks' ready to hand at Boulogne, Carausius may very well have adopted the expedient of using the copper coins which he found already in circulation, stamping them over again from dies engraved with his own devices and inscriptions. The coins of Carausius as a whole are fairly well executed for the period, though some of the legends are blundered; they hardly, however, warrant the assertion of Gibbon that their issuer 'invited from the continent a great number of skilful artists.' The legend of the obverse is almost invariably IMP. [or IMP. C.] CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG. In rare instances I or IN—probably for 'Invictus'—is added. 'Carausius' may, from the evidence of the coins, be considered as the true form of the emperor's name; the author of the *Epitome* of the 'De Cæsaribus' of Victor calls him 'Charausio,' and in mediæval and other writers he is given such curious names as 'Caratius,' 'Crausius,' &c. (see a list of these in GUEBRIER, pp. 5, 6). Nearly all modern writers—Stukeley; Pauly, 'Real-Encyclop.;

Smith, 'Dict. Class. Biog. ;' Madden, 'Hand-book of Roman Coins'—have stated that he assumed the names of Marcus Aurelius Valerius, names already borne by the Emperor Maximian; but the only authority for this appears to be the inscription—very possibly misread—on a coin referred to by Eckhel (*Doct. Num. Vet.* viii. 47). Two specimens in the Hunter collection at Glasgow (COHEN, *Med. imp.* vol. v., 'Carausius,' Nos. 192, 199) are, however, said to read M[arcus] CARAVSIVS. The obverse types of the coins of Carausius consist of a portrait of himself which does not appear to be much conventionalised; it is that of a sturdy soldier with a slight touch of brutality. The head is in profile and is either radiate or wreathed with laurel. Some specimens with the legend VIRTVS CARAVSI[I] display a nearly half-length figure of the emperor in armour, helmeted and radiate, and with a shield on the left arm, and in the right a javelin. A unique copper coin found at Wroxeter, and now in the British Museum (R. SMITH, *Collect. Antiqua*, ii. 153, 154, with engraving), shows the head of Carausius full-face and bare; the workmanship is more careful and the face has a look of greater benignity than in the profile representations.

Historical deductions from the reverse types of Carausius must be made with caution, for the reason that many of these types are more or less commonplace, and are not peculiar to the British potentate. But a certain number of types were undoubtedly originated by Carausius himself, and others seem to be historically significant. On one important reverse type Carausius represents himself as the 'long-looked for' deliverer welcomed by Britannia, who stands holding a trident and extends her hand to the new emperor; the legend is 'EXPECTATE VENI.' On another specimen, with the type of the Wolf and Twins, the 'Romanorum Renovatio' is proclaimed; or, again, the 'Seculi Felicitas' and the 'Liberalitas Augusti.' Some of the types and legends are of a warlike nature, e.g. the 'Mars Ultor,' the 'Concordia Militum,' the 'Fides Militum,' and on various pieces the names of Roman legions are recorded. Types relating to nautical matters are somewhat rare; Neptune occurs on several coins, and one of the types is a galley with its crew. Jupiter, and more especially the Sun-god, seem to be the divinities usually invoked by Carausius. There are also a number of more or less hackneyed types, such as 'Victoria,' 'Pax,' 'Moneta,' 'Fortuna,' 'Providentia.' It has been supposed that the frequent occurrence of the 'Victoria' and the 'Pax' (especially of the latter) is due to actual events in the reign of Carausius,

such as a victory over or a peace concluded with the Caledonians; but these conjectures seem somewhat hazardous.

Of the early life of ALLECTUS (250?–296), the successor of Carausius, nothing whatever is recorded, though the portrait on his coins enables us to select 250 as the approximate date of his birth. He is first introduced to us as the right-hand man of Carausius, but, having committed certain unpardonable offences, he assassinated Carausius and seized the government. His reign lasted for about three years only (293–296). During its progress he issued a good many coins, minting, like his predecessor, at London and Colchester. According to Cohen (whose estimate, however, does not take account of coins discovered since 1861), there are ten varieties in gold and fifty-six in copper: the so-called silver coins appear to be only copper washed with silver. The obverses display the head of Allectus in profile, laureate. Allectus takes the imperial style IMP. C. ALLECTVS. P. F. AVG. His reverse types are for the most part similar to those of his predecessor; it is noticeable, however, that the type of the galley with rowers now becomes extremely common, as if Allectus wished to direct attention to his maritime resources. His enemies, however, were maturing their plans, and by 296 Constantius had his fleet ready for action. To distract the attention of Allectus, Constantius divided it into two squadrons, one under his own command, stationed at Boulogne, the other, at the mouth of the Seine, under the command of the prætorian præfect, Asclepiodotus. Asclepiodotus sailed out first, and under cover of a fog passed unobserved by the British fleet, which lay off the Isle of Wight, and effected a landing. Allectus immediately hastened westward. With men wearied by forced marches he encountered Asclepiodotus, and was defeated and slain A.D. 296. Lord Selborne conjectures that the engagement took place in or near Woolmer Forest in Hampshire, and he supposes that it was just before the fight that Allectus or some of his officers hurriedly buried for safety the enormous 'Blackmoor hoard,' consisting of more than 29,788 coins, among which were ninety of Allectus.

Shortly after the battle Constantius himself arrived, and Britain was restored to the empire in the tenth year of the usurpation of Carausius and Allectus.

[The ancient authorities are: Aurelius Victor, *De Cæsaribus*, c. 39, and the *Epitome of the De Cæs.* c. 40; Eutropius, *Histor. Rom. Brev. lib.* ix. capp. 21, 22; the Panegyricus Maximiano Herc. dictus, capp. 11, 12, and the Paneg.

Genethliacus Maxim. Aug. dict. c. 19, of the so-called Mamertinus; Eumenius, Panegy. Constantio Cæsari, capp. 6, 7, 12; Paneg. Constantino, c. 5; Orosius, *Hist. lib. vii. c. 25* = Bedæ *Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 6*. Among modern writers see especially: Clinton, *Fasti Romani*, i. 330-5; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall* (ed. W. Smith), ii. 70-3; J. Roulez in *Biographie Nat. de Belgique*; *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (Chronological Abstract and Excerpta de Britannia); Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. 'Carausius'; Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, vi. 535-6, 540, 549, 550; the monographs of W. Stukeley (*Medallie History of Carausius*, London, 1757-9, 4to), and Genebrier (*Histoire de Carausius*, Paris, 1740, 4to) are of very little value. For the coins, see: *Monumenta Hist. Brit.* plates v-xiv. (Carausius), xv-xvii. (Allectus); C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, ii. 153, iv. 125, 216, v. 152, 184, 241, vi. 130, vii. 223; Cohen, *Médailles impériales* (1861), v. 501-39, and vii. 360-2; Akerman, *Coins of the Romans relating to Britain* (1836), pp. 47-59, and his *Descriptive Catal. of Rom. Coins* (1834), ii. 153-75; *Numismatic Chronicle* (old series), reff. in *Index ii.* in vol. xx.; (new series) i. 36, 161, 163, ii. 41, v. 108, vii. 57, xiv. 87, xvii. 139, xix. 44, and p. 18 (*Proceedings*); *Journal of the Archaeol. Assoc.*, reff. in *Index* to vols. i-xxx.; *Archæol. Journal*, i. 183, ix. 194; various reff. in *Archæologia of Soc. of Antiq.*; *British Museum Collection*. Most of the above sources also give information about Allectus.] W. W.

CARBERRY, second EARL OF (1600?-1686). [See VAUGHAN, RICHARD.]

CARD, HENRY (1779-1844), miscellaneous writer, born at Egham, Surrey, in 1779, was educated at Westminster School and Pembroke College, Oxford, where he entered in 1797. He proceeded B.A. 1800, M.A. 1805, B. and D.D. 1823 (*Cat. of Oxford Graduates*). In 1815 he was presented to the vicarage of Great Malvern, Worcestershire, and in 1832 to that of Dormington, Herefordshire. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society 2 March 1820 (*Royal Society Lists of Council, &c.*), and was also fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Historical Society. He died at Great Malvern 4 Aug. 1844.

He wrote: 1. 'The History of the Revolutions of Russia,' 2nd ed. 1804. 2. 'Historical Outlines of the Rise and Establishment of the Papal Power,' Margate, 1804. 3. 'Thoughts on Domestic or Private Education,' 1807. 4. 'The Reign of Charlemagne, considered chiefly with reference to Religion, Laws, Literature, and Manners,' 1807. 5. 'Literary Recreations,' Liverpool, 2nd ed. 1811. 6. 'Beauford, or a Picture of High Life, a novel,' 2 vols. 1811. 7. 'An Essay on the Holy Eucharist,' 1814. 8. 'The

Brother-in-Law, a comedy,' Lee Priory Private Press, 1817. 9. 'A Dissertation on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or the Refutation of the Hoadlyan Scheme of it,' 4th ed. 1821. 10. 'The Uses of the Athanasian Creed explained and vindicated, a sermon,' 4th ed. Worcester, 1825. 11. 'A Letter to the Duke of Wellington on the Reasonableness of a Church Reform,' 1830. 12. 'A Dissertation on the Antiquities of the Priory of Great Malvern,' 1834.

[Gent. Mag. 1844, xxii. 651-2; Brit. Mus. Cat.] F. W.-T.

CARDALE, JOHN BATE (1802-1877), first apostle of the Catholic Apostolic church, was born at 28 Lamb's Conduit Street, London, on 7 Nov. 1802. His father, William Cardale, a solicitor, of 2 Bedford Row, London, possessed considerable property; he was born on 17 July 1777, and died at Harrogate in 1823, having married, in 1799, Mary Anne Bennett. The son, who entered Rugby School on 9 Nov. 1815, was articled to his father in 1818, and admitted a solicitor in Hilary term in 1824. For many years he was the head of the firm of Cardale, Iliffe, & Russell, of 2 Bedford Row, the solicitors to Gray's Inn and Rugby School; but in 1834 he retired with a competence to devote his energies to other purposes. In 1830 the minds of many people were much exercised regarding a religious movement known as 'speaking in the spirit in the unknown tongues,' which first manifested itself at Fernicarry, Roseneath, Scotland. In September Cardale, with other persons, went to Scotland to examine for himself into the truth of the reports. He returned to London fully convinced as to the reality of the 'spiritual gifts,' and in October 1830 opened his own house for weekly prayer meetings for the 'outpouring of the spirit.' At length, on 30 April 1831, the first case occurred in London. Mrs. Cardale 'spoke with great solemnity in a tongue and prophesied,' and others soon after not only spoke but also 'sang in the spirit.' These events were notified to Baptist Noel, the minister of St. John's, Bedford Row, with a request for his sanction to the proceedings. This he not only refused to give, but also preached publicly against the gifts. Cardale and his family soon after commenced attending the ministrations of Edward Irving [q. v.] in the Caledonian chapel; special services were held in this chapel, where soon after Edward Oliver Taplin began 'speaking in the spirit in an unknown tongue.' Irving at first doubted about permitting these utterances, but found it useless to offer any opposition. On Sunday, 16 Oct. 1831, at the morning service, in the

presence of upwards of fifteen hundred people, Miss Hall 'spoke in an unknown tongue,' and caused a violent excitement. Cardale defended Irving before the London presbytery of the Scotch church, and after the verdict against him ordained him in Newman Street, 5 April 1833, to be the 'angel' or minister of that chapel. At first the sect called themselves the Church or the Catholic Church, but the name was afterwards changed to the Catholic Apostolic Church; the general public, however, called it the Irvingite Church, and in some books it is called the Millennium Church. Edward Irving neither had nor claimed to have any hand in its foundation. Cardale entered on his office of apostle at Christmas 1832, and for nearly a year was the sole representative of the twelve apostles. After Mr. H. Drummond's appointment as an apostle, the seat of the central management of the church was fixed at Albury in Surrey, where he built a cathedral with a chapter-house annexed. On 14 July 1835 the twelve apostles, accompanied by seven prophets, retired to Albury, and spent two years and a half in consultation. In 1838 the parts of the world over which the church proposed to itinerate were divided into sections named after the tribes of Israel. England was called the tribe of Judah, the seat of apostolic government, and was assigned to Cardale, 'the pillar of the apostles.' Each of the apostles then entered on his special journey, Cardale remaining in England to overlook his tribe, and to be a centre of communication between the dispersed labourers. In September 1842 a liturgy was adopted which was in great part the work of Cardale, and was compiled from 'the law of Moses,' and from the liturgies of the Greek, Latin, and Anglican churches. Cardale continued for many years working hard for the benefit of the church, and visiting the congregations throughout the United Kingdom. On 14 July 1877, on attending the forty-second commemoration of the 'Separation of the Twelve' in Gordon Square, he was taken ill, and after being removed to his house, Cooke's Place, Albury, died on Wednesday, 18 July 1877, and was buried in Albury churchyard. The loss to his church can hardly be estimated. His strength of will, calmness and clearness of judgment, and kindness of heart and manner, added to the prestige of his long rule, made him a tower of strength. He was indefatigable in labour, of which he accomplished a vast amount; besides Latin and Greek, he was a good French and German scholar, and late in life learnt Danish. He appears to have been quite sincere in his belief, and confident in the fulfilment of his

expectations. Besides being an apostle, he was, like Henry Drummond, also a prophet. He married on 9 Sept. 1824 Emma, second daughter of Thomas William Plummer of Clapham. She died at Albury 31 March 1873.

He was the author of the following works, all of which are anonymous, and the majority of which were printed for private circulation only: 1. 'A Manual or Summary of Special Objects of Faith and Hope,' 1843. 2. 'The Confession of the Church,' 1848. 3. 'Readings on the Liturgy,' vol. i. 1849-51, and vol. ii. 1852-78. 4. 'A Discourse delivered in the Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon Square, on the occasion of consecrating the Altar and opening the Church for Public Worship,' 1853. 5. 'Letters on certain Statements contained in some late Articles in the "Old Church Porch," entitled Irvingism,' 1855; reprinted, 1867. 6. 'The Doctrine of the Eucharist as revealed to St. Paul, 1856;' second ed. 1876. 7. 'Three Discourses on Miracles and Miraculous Power,' 1856. 8. 'A Discourse on Tithes,' 1858. 9. 'The Unlawfulness of Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister,' 1859. 10. 'Ministry on All Saints,' 1859. 11. 'Notes on Revelations,' 1860. 12. 'Two Discourses at Albury on certain Errors,' 1860. 13. 'The Duty of a Christian in the Disposal of his Income,' 1863. 14. 'The Certainty of Final Judgment,' 1864; second ed. 1864. 15. 'The Character of our present Testimony and Work,' 1865. 16. 'Notes and Ministry on Office of a Coadjutor,' 1865. 17. 'Remarks on the Republication of Articles from the "Old Church Porch,"' 1867. 18. 'A Discourse on the Real Presence,' 1867; second ed. 1868. 19. 'Remarks on the Lambeth Conference,' 1868. 20. 'The Church in this Dispensation, an Election,' 1868. 21. 'A Discourse on Holy Water, and on the Removal of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day,' 1868. 22. 'A Discourse on Prophecy,' 1868. 23. 'Christ's Disciples must suffer Tribulation,' 1869. 24. 'The Fourfold Ministry,' 1871. 25. 'An Address to the Seven Churches,' 1873. 26. 'The Doctrine of the Incarnation,' 1873. 27. 'A Short Sermon on War,' 1876. 28. 'Four Discourses to Young Men.' According to the census of 1851 the Catholic Apostolic church had thirty congregations in England, and about 6,000 communicants. A calculation was made in 1877 that the members of the church in all countries amounted to 10,500, but there are no means of checking the accuracy of this statement. Miss Emily Cardale, sister of Cardale, and a prophetess of the Catholic Apostolic church, married Mr. James Hore, and died at Western Lodge, Albury, on 18 April 1879, aged 71.

[Mrs. Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, 4th ed. pp. 356, 396, 398; Miller's *Irvingism* (1878), i. 61 &c., ii. 416; Baxter's *Irvingism, its Rise and Progress* (1836); *The Old Church Porch* (1854), i. 87, 206; *The Morning Watch* (1830), ii. 869-873; *Law Times* (1877), lxiii. 272, 297; *Saturday Review*, 28 July 1877, pp. 104-5; Clement Boase's *Catalogue of Books relating to Catholic Apostolic Church* (1885), pp. 9-12; private information.] G. C. B.

CARDALE, PAUL (1705-1775), dissenting minister, was born in 1705. Aspland conjectures that he was the son of Samuel Cardale of Dudley, appointed in 1701 an original trustee of the presbyterian meeting-house. He was educated at the dissenting academy of Ebenezer Latham, M.D., held at Findern, Derbyshire, from 1720. Very early in life he became an assistant minister among the presbyterians at Kidderminster. His manuscripts show that he preached there as early as 29 May 1726. At this time his views, in accordance with his education, were Calvinistic. He was invited in 1733 by the presbyterians of Evesham to succeed his fellow-student, Francis Blackmore, M.A., who had removed in 1730 to Coventry. The congregation was small, but after Cardale's settlement it became strong enough to build a new meeting-house, of no great proportions, in Oat Street (licensed 11 Oct. 1737). Cardale's first series of sermons after the opening was circulated in manuscript, and ultimately published. It is clear that he had now got rid of his Calvinism. Cardale's name does not figure in the religious history of his time. Most of his publications were anonymous, and he was intimately known only to a very few literary divines. One of these was John Rawlins, M.A., an orthodox divine of catholic sympathies, as his writings prove, who among other preferments held the perpetual curacy of Badsey, two miles from Evesham. His closest friend, away from his own neighbourhood, was Caleb Fleming, D.D., who shared his opinions, and frequently went down from London to visit him. Priestley, to whom Cardale sent two pieces for the 'Theological Repository,' did not know him personally. Yet the influence of Cardale's writings on the theology of the midland presbyterians was decisive. To him, more than to any other, is due the early prevalence of Socinian as distinct from Arian views among the latitudinarian dissenters of that district. The manuscript of his most important publication, 'True Doctrine,' was revised by Lardner (see his *Memoirs*, 1769, p. 114). He was not a popular preacher, and probably did not covet that distinction. His elocution was bad, and Job Orton affirms that his

'learned, critical, and dry discourses' reduced his hearers at the last to about twenty people, and that he pursued his studies to the neglect of pastoral duties. But even Orton praises his 'good sense' and 'good temper,' while Priestley writes to Lindsey that 'he is, by all accounts, a most excellent man.' Latterly, his sedentary habits impaired his health, but his mind was keen. On 28 Feb. 1775 he put the finishing touch to a work which he had been elaborating for a couple of years, and, retiring to rest, passed away in sleep before dawn on Wednesday, 1 March. He was buried in the north aisle of All Saints', Evesham, where is a remarkable epitaph written by his friend Rawlins, which describes him 'as a christian, pious and sincere; as a minister of the gospel, learned and indefatigable;' and adds that the virtue of charity 'gave a lustre of grace and goodness to all his actions.' Cardale married Sarah Suffield, a lady of some property, three years his senior, who died without issue about 1767. Aspland remarks that it was not till after her death that he began to publish his heresies. Portraits of Cardale and his wife were long preserved at Dudley by the Hughes family, and are now the property of the Evesham congregation. Judging by the portrait, Cardale had a good presence; his physiognomy expresses great tenacity of purpose. He published: 1. 'The Gospel Sanctuary,' 1740, 8vo (seven sermons from Ex. xx. 24). 2. 'A New Office of Devotion,' &c., 1758, 8vo (anon.) 3. 'The Distinctive Character and Honour of the Righteous Man,' &c., 1761, 8vo (funeral sermon from Matt. xiii. 43, for Rev. Francis Blackmore). 4. 'The True Doctrine of the New Testament concerning Jesus Christ,' &c., 1767, 8vo, 2nd ed. 1771, 8vo (anon.; has prefatory essay on private judgment, and appendix on Jo. i. The main argument is in the form of a letter, and signed 'Phileleutherus Vigorniensis'). 5. 'A Comment upon . . . Christ's Prayer at the close of his Public Ministry,' 1772, 8vo (anon.) 6. 'A Treatise on the Application of certain Terms . . . to Jesus Christ,' &c., 1774, 8vo (anon.) Posthumous was 7. 'An Enquiry whether we have any Scripture-warrant for a direct Address . . . to the Son or to the Holy Ghost?' &c., 1776, 8vo (edited by Fleming; prefixed is a short notice of Cardale, and appended is a letter (1762) from Lardner to Fleming on the personality of the Holy Ghost). His contributions to the 'Theological Repository' are 'The Christian Creed' in vol. i. 1769, p. 136, and 'A Critical Inquiry' into Phil. ii. 6, in vol. ii. 1771, pp. 141, 219. Cardale bequeathed his manuscripts to Fleming. Except the 'Enquiry,' which was ready for

press, they were chiefly devotional. Fleming, who died in 1779, aged 80, finding that his infirmities would prevent him from making a selection for the press, formed the intention of returning the papers to Cardale's executors, one of whom was the Rev. James Kettle of Warwick, a native of Evesham (*d.* about 1805). Priestley on 12 May 1789 writes to Toulmin: 'I received from Mr. Lindsey some time ago a small volume, 12mo, of Mr. Cardale's devotional compositions.' Aspland treats this as a posthumous publication, but there is no other trace of it. It would seem that Toulmin was engaged on a memoir of Cardale, but it never appeared. In 1821 Timothy Davis, minister of Oat Street chapel, Evesham, had a diary and other papers of Cardale, all in shorthand.

[Fleming's *Few Strictures*, prefixed to the *Enquiry*, 1776; Aspland's *Brief Memoir of Cardale*, 1852, reprinted from the *Christian Reformer*; *Monthly Repos.* 1821, p. 527; *Christian Moderator*, 1827, 241; *Rutt's Mem. of Priestley*, 1831, i. 133, 1832, ii. 19, 23; *Sibree and Caston's Independency in Warwickshire*, 1855, 131; manuscript notes by Sergeant Heywood, in his copy of the *True Doctrine* (afterwards in the possession of Bishop Turton).] A. G.

**CARDER, PETER** (*n.* 1577–1586), mariner, of St. Verian in Cornwall, was, according to his own story, a seaman of the Pelican with Drake when she sailed from England on her voyage round the world in November 1577. In October 1578, the ship being then in the Straits of Magellan, Carder was one of eight men in the pinnace who in a gale lost sight of the ship, and, not being able to find her again, made the mainland and followed along the shore to St. Julian, living on shell-fish and such fish as they could catch. From St. Julian they made their way to the river Plata, and crossing to the north side wandered into the woods, leaving two men in the boat. They fell in with the natives, who attacked them, captured four of the party, and chased the others to the boat, in which they managed to escape, though all badly wounded. They got to a small island some three leagues distant from the shore, where two of the wounded men died, Carder and another, William Pitcher by name, being left the sole survivors. A gale came on and smashed their boat on the rocks, and for some two months they supported life on sand eels, little crabs, and a fruit resembling an orange, but for want of water they were reduced to the most direful straits. At length some driftwood came ashore, they managed to make a raft, and, provisioning it as they best could, put to sea. It was three days and two nights be-

fore they reached the land, when, coming to 'a little river of very sweet and pleasant water,' Pitcher drank to such excess that he died within half an hour. Carder after this met with a tribe of savages who received him as a friend. He stayed with them for some time, learned their language, taught them to make and use shields and clubs—for before they were armed only with bows and arrows—and led them against a neighbouring tribe, which they completely defeated, and took many prisoners, most of whom they roasted and devoured. Afterwards he was permitted to leave this tribe, and made his way northwards to Bahia and Pernambuco, whence after some delay he embarked for Europe; and so, after some further adventures, he arrived in England in November 1586.

The whole story is related at length in 'Purchas, his Pilgrimes,' as though in Carder's own words. The presumption is that it was written by Carder and supplied by him to Purchas. It is therefore necessary to point out that the very remarkable narrative rests entirely on Carder's own testimony, is not corroborated by any other, and is virtually contradicted by very high authority on the one important point on which contradiction was possible. In the narrative of the Pelican's voyage (*The World encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, Hakluyt Soc.), while many trifling things are carefully recorded, there is no mention of the loss of the pinnace with eight men. It is barely possible that the omission is an oversight; it is much more probable that there was no such loss to record, and that, from beginning to end, the story is a fiction. Of the narrator we have no other knowledge. The narrative speaks of him as still alive in 1618, and apparently in 1626, when the 'Pilgrimes' was published.

[Purchas, his *Pilgrimes*, iv. 1187.] J. K. L.

**CARDIGAN**, seventh EARL OF (1797–1868). [See BRUDENEL, JAMES THOMAS.]

**CARDMAKER** (*alias* TAYLOR), JOHN (*d.* 1555), martyr, was originally an Observant friar, who, after the dissolution of his order under the persecution which Henry VIII specially directed against it, lapsed into the world, and became a married minister. His name is found in the list of licensed preachers of Edward VI (*DIXON, Ch. of Engl.* ii. 485). He was vicar of St. Bridget's in Fleet Street, and one of the readers or lecturers at St. Paul's, where he read three times a week. Some of his sayings against Gardiner and Bonner, and concerning the sacrament, are preserved (*Grey Friars' Chron.* 56, 57, 63). On Somerset's first fall, when a religious re-



action was vainly expected, he spoke strongly in his lecture against the victorious faction of Warwick. 'Cardmaker said in his lecture that, though he had a fall, he was not undone, and that men should not have their purposes; and also he said that men would have set up again their popish mass' (*ib.* 64). In 1547 he had been made prebendary and chancellor of Wells, where he ejected a schoolmaster, preached and lectured often, and shared the troubles of the new appointed dean, Turner (TYTLER, *Edw. VI and Mary*, i. 373). When the persecution broke out under Mary, Cardmaker and his bishop, William Barlow [q. v.] of Bath and Wells, came to London disguised as merchants, and vainly attempted to escape over sea, November 1554 (MACHYN, *Diary*, 75). They were cast into the Fleet, where they lay till January, when the chancellor Gardiner, and others in commission, began to have the accumulated prisoners for religion, who amounted to about eighty, brought before them at St. Mary's Overy. Barlow submitted and escaped. Cardmaker, who was examined on the same day (28 Jan.) as Hooper and Crome, was understood also to have recanted (MACHYN; Sampson's Letter to Calvin, 23 Feb., *Orig. Lett.* p. 171), and was remanded to the Counter in Bread Street, with the prospect of speedy deliverance. But his compliances were only, as he himself said, 'by a policy' (STRYPE, *Ann.* v. 432). He was reanimated, it was thought, in his new prison by the zeal of Saunders, his fellow-captive, and a second inquiry was made into his opinions. He was brought before Bonner on 25 May 1555, examined in several articles, cast for heresy, and committed to Newgate, whence he was carried to Smithfield on 30 May and burnt alive in the company of one Warne, an upholsterer. Of the proceedings against Cardmaker, Foxe gives a full account, and Strype (*ut supra*) has added some important particulars from the 'Foxii MSS.'

[Foxe's *Martyrs*; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 126-7.] R. W. D.

CARDON, ANTHONY (1772-1813), engraver, was the son and pupil of Antoine Alexandre Joseph Cardon, a Flemish painter and engraver, who engraved a portrait of George, prince of Wales (1766), and was employed on plates for Hamilton's 'Etruscan Antiquities.' He was born in 1772 at Brussels and took many prizes at the Academy there. During the troubles in the Low Countries in 1792 he came to England, with a letter of introduction to Mr. Colnaghi, who gave him immediate employment, and he became known by his engravings for book illustration. He studied three years under his friend Schia-

vonetti, and in 1807 received the gold medal of the Society of Arts for his engraving of the 'Battle of Alexandria,' after De Loutherbourg. He also engraved the 'Battle of Maida,' after the same artist; plates of the 'Campaign against Tippoo Sahib;' the 'Presentation of Catharine of France to Henry V of England,' after Stothard; 'Salvator Mundi,' after Carlo Dolci; 'The Woman taken in Adultery,' after Rubens; 'The Rustic Minstrel,' 'Innocent Captivation,' and 'The Storming of Seringapatam,' after Singleton, and portraits of George III, Mr. Pitt, Madame Récamier, the Duchess of Beaufort, the Emperor Alexander, Napoleon, &c., after various artists. He engraved in stipple and had attained considerable reputation when he died from over-application on 17 Feb. 1813, in London Street, Fitzroy Square. His son, PHILIP CARDON, was educated as an engraver, drew beautifully in Indian work, and died about 1817.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*, 1878; Bryan's *Dict. of Painters* (Graves); Nagler's *Künstler-Lexikon*; *Gent. Mag.* 1808, 1813, and 1816.]

C. M.

CARDONNEL, ADAM [DE] (d. 1719), secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, was a son of Adam de Cardonnel, a French protestant, who had been rewarded for his services to royalty by the lucrative patents of customer and collector of customs at the port of Southampton (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1660-1, p. 218, 1661-2, pp. 504-5). The son entered the war office at an early age, where in due time he rose to be chief clerk, and in February 1693 received the appointment of secretary and treasurer to the commissioners for sick and wounded seamen (LUTTRELL, *Relation of State Affairs*, 1857, iii. 38). His connection with Marlborough quickly ripened into the closest personal friendship; he was certainly acting as secretary in the early part of 1692, and thenceforward accompanied the commander-in-chief in his several campaigns (*Addit. MSS.* 28917-18). From Luttrell's 'Relation of State Affairs,' vi. 160, we learn that Cardonnel was the only gentleman selected by Marlborough to attend him in his memorable visit, in April 1707, to Charles XII. In recognition of his services the duke obtained a promise from the queen that Cardonnel should succeed Walpole as secretary at war, an office for which his experience and ability well fitted him. He was accordingly nominated in January 1710 (*ib.* vi. 534-5), but the intrigues of Harley prevailed, and greatly to the duke's mortification Cardonnel was displaced by Granville, afterwards Lord Lansdowne, in the following October (*Pri-*

*vate Correspondence of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough*, 1838, i. 404, 407, ii. 126, 159). At the general election of November 1701 Cardonnel had been returned member for Southampton, and he continued to represent that borough without interruption in five successive parliaments (*Lists of Members of Parliament, Official Return*). When, however, Marlborough's overthrow was resolved on, as a preliminary step a committee was appointed to examine and report on the public accounts. Their report was demanded in September 1711, and appeared in the ensuing month of January. Sir Solomon de Medina, a contractor for bread to the army, stated in his evidence that from 1707 to 1711 he gave on sealing each contract a gratuity of 500 gold ducats to the duke's secretary. On 19 Feb. 1712 the house met to consider this charge and to hear the ex-secretary's defence, of which, however, no report now exists. After a long debate it was resolved that the taking of a gratuity was 'unwarrantable and corrupt,' and on the question being put, Cardonnel was expelled the house by a majority of twenty-six (*Commons' Journals*, xvii. 97; COBBETT, *Parliamentary History*, vi. 1049-1050, 1094). After his fall Cardonnel did not again attempt to seek office, but lived in retirement at his house in Westminster or at Chiswick. He died in St. Margaret's, Westminster, on 22 Feb. 1719, and was buried on 3 March following at the parish church of Chiswick (*Probate Act Book*, 1719; *Hist. Reg.* 1719, p. 10; LYONS, *Environ*s, ii. 212). His will, as of St. Margaret's, Westminster, dated 29 Oct., with a codicil, 17 Nov. 1718, was proved on 5 March 1719 (Reg. in P. C. C. 42, Browning). He married, after April 1710, Elizabeth, widow of Isaac Teale, apothecary, of St. Margaret's, Westminster (Will reg. in P. C. C. 99, Smith), but by this lady, who died in 1714, he had no issue (Letters of Administration in P. C. C. September 1714). He married secondly Elizabeth, widow of William, the second son of Sir Thomas Frankland, bart., and daughter of René Bawdowin, a merchant of London. The children of this marriage were Adam, who died at Chiswick on 22 Sept. 1725 (*Hist. Reg.* 1725, p. 42; Letters of Administration in P. C. C. October 1725), and Mary, who became in February 1734, at the age of fifteen, the wife of William, first Earl Talbot, bringing him, it is said, a fortune of 80,000*l.* (*Gent. Mag.* iv. 107; COLLINS, *Peerage*, 1812, v. 237). Mrs. Cardonnel made a third alliance with Frederick Frankland, M.P., her first husband's younger brother, and died on 27 Jan. 1737 (BETHAM, *Baronetage*, ii. 186-7). Cardonnel's official

correspondence with Stepney, John Ellis, and others, is preserved in the 'Additional MSS.' at the British Museum, but contains few details of interest.

Cardonnel's uncle, PHILIP DE CARDONNEL, was also an enthusiastic adherent to the royal cause, and upon the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza gave expression to his feelings in a series of extraordinary poems, published with the title of 'Tagus, sive Epithalamium Caroli II Magnæ Britanniae Regis, et Catharinae Infantis Portugallicæ; Gallico primum carmine decantatum, deinde Latino donatum. Autore P. D. C. Unâ cum Poëmate Fortunatarum Insularum, antehâc Gallicè pro Inauguratione Caroli II conscripto,' 8vo, London, 1662. From the description given by Lowndes (*Bibl. Manual*, Bohn, vol. i. art. 'Cardonnel') it would seem that another and enlarged edition containing translations of pieces by Dryden and Waller appeared at London the same year. Both editions are of the rarest occurrence. The earlier issue is adorned with a frontispiece representing Catherine being drawn to shore by Neptune and attendant nymphs, while Charles, ankle deep, is rapturously surveying her charms with the aid of a telescope. Philip de Cardonnel was dead before August 1667, for on the 15th of that month his relict Catherine administered to the estate of his brother, Peter de Cardonnel, of St. Margaret's, Westminster (CHESTER, *Westminster Abbey Registers*, Harl. Soc., p. 167).

[Cal. State Papers, Dom. and Treas.; Addit. MSS. 22221, 22551, 28387, 28917-18, 29550, 29553-7.] G. G.

CARDONNEL, afterwards CARDONNEL-LAWSON, ADAM [MANSFELDT] DE (d. 1820), antiquary, was a grandnephew of Adam de Cardonnel [q. v.], secretary to the Duke of Marlborough, and the sole surviving son of Mansfeldt de Cardonnel of Musselburgh, a commissioner of the customs and salt duties in Scotland, by his wife Anne, the daughter and heir of Thomas Hilton of Low Ford in the county of Durham (SURTEES, *Durham*, ii. 27; *Autobiography of Rev. A. Carlyle*, pp. 218-19). Educated for the medical profession he practised for a while as a surgeon, but his easy circumstances left him leisure to indulge his taste for the study of antiquities and numismatics, with which he was especially conversant. Upon the institution of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, under the presidency of the Earl of Bute, in December 1780, Cardonnel was elected a fellow; he also served as curator from 1782 to 1784, and contributed to the second volume of the 'Archæologia Scotica,' i. 159-67, a 'Description of

certain Roman Ruins discovered at Inveresk.' When Captain Grose visited Scotland, Cardonnel, who then resided at Edinburgh, did all he could to assist his brother antiquary with notes from his extensive collections, besides accompanying him on various archaeological expeditions, attentions which Grose gratefully acknowledged in the introduction to his 'Antiquities of Scotland' (p. xx). Some time in the autumn of 1789 Burns addressed a letter to Grose, and not being certain of the captain's address, he enclosed the letter under cover to Cardonnel at Edinburgh. While in the act of folding it up the quaint old song of 'Sir John Malcolm' ran through his mind, and he inscribed within the wrapper his well-known impromptu, 'Ken ye ought o' Captain Grose?' (BURNS, *Poetical Works*, Kilmarnock edit., by W. S. Douglas, i. 360, ii. 149). Soon after this Cardonnel quitted Scotland, having by the failure of fourteen families, on whom, it is said, the property had been entailed, succeeded to the estates of his second cousin, Mr. Hilton Lawson, at Chirton and Cramlington in Northumberland. He served as sheriff for the county in 1796 (*Gent. Mag.* lxvi. i. 164), and assumed the surname of Lawson in addition to and after that of Cardonnel. In 1811 he began to pull down Chirton House, where he had hitherto resided, and went to live in a small farmhouse at Cramlington (MACKENZIE, *Northumberland*, 2nd edit. ii. 411, 456). His latter days were chiefly spent at Bath. Dying in June 1820, aged 73, he was buried at Cramlington on the 14th (Cramlington Burial Register). By the death of his eldest son of the same names on 21 Nov. 1838 at Acton House, Acklington, Northumberland, without issue, the family became extinct in the male line (LATIMER, *Local Records*, p. 100).

Cardonnel was the author of: 1. 'Numismata Scotiæ; or a Series of the Scottish Coinage, from the Reign of William the Lion to the Union. By Adam de Cardonnel,' &c., with twenty plates drawn by the author, 4to, Edinburgh, 1786. This work, although taken in a great measure from Snelling's 'View,' which had been published in 1774, contains some curious historical matter, and the appropriations are generally correct. 2. 'Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland, etched by Adam de Cardonnel,' four parts, 8vo and 4to, London, 1788-93, which forms a useful supplement to Pennant's 'Tour.'

[Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. ix. 24, 187, x. 239, 456, xi. 335-6, 378; *Gent. Mag.* lxxii. ii. 684, lxxxiii. ii. 394, (1837) viii. 325, 416; Bath Directory for 1812 and 1819; Cochran-Patrick's Records of the Coinage of Scotland, Introd. p. viii.] G. G.

CARDROSS, BARONS. [See *ERSKINE*, DAVID, second BARON, 1616-1671; *ERSKINE*, HENRY, third BARON, 1650-1693.]

CARDWELL, EDWARD, D.D. (1787-1861), church historian, son of Richard Cardwell of Blackburn, Lancashire, was born in 1787. He entered in 1806 at Brasenose College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1809, M.A. in 1812, B.D. in 1819, and D.D. in 1831. For several years he acted as tutor and lecturer, and from 1814 to 1821 was one of the university examiners, and during part of the time had John Keble as a colleague. In 1818 he was appointed Whitehall preacher by Bishop Howley, and in 1823 select preacher to the university of Oxford. He was elected Camden professor of ancient history in 1825, and succeeded Archbishop Whately in 1831 as principal of St. Alban Hall, Oxford. Soon after this appointment he resigned the living of Stoke-Bruern, Northamptonshire, to which he had been presented by Brasenose College in 1828. He subsequently declined the offer of the rectory of Withyham, and in 1844 refused the deanery of Carlisle offered to him by Sir Robert Peel. He was delegate of estates, delegate of the press, and curator of university galleries. He was considered one of the best men of business in the university, and for many years had a leading share in its government. The management of the bible department of the university press was left mainly in his hands, and by his advice the paper mill at Wolvercot was established. This was done in order that the authorities might be certain as to the materials used in making the paper supplied to the university press. Lord Grenville, the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Derby, as they successively became chancellors of the university, appointed him to act as their private secretary. He was a personal friend of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone, and was a member of the Society of Antiquaries and other learned bodies.

His literary works were: 1. An edition of Aristotle's 'Ethica,' Oxford, 1828-30, 8vo, 2 vols. 2. 'A Sermon preached at Northampton,' Oxford, 1832, 8vo. 3. 'Lectures on the Coinage of the Greeks and Romans,' 1833, 8vo (delivered by him as Camden professor). 4. An 'Enchiridion Theologicum Anti-Romanum,' in 3 vols., 8vo, being reprints of tracts on points at issue between the churches of England and Rome, 1836-7. 5. A useful student's edition of the 'New Testament in Greek and English,' with notes, 1837. 6. 'Josephus de Bello Judaico,' in Greek and Latin, 1837, 8vo, 2 vols., a corrected text with various readings and notes.

7. 'The supposed Visit of St. Paul to England, a Lecture delivered in the University of Oxford,' 1837. Cardwell subsequently turned his attention more especially to the annals of the English church, and formed the plan of a synodical history grounded upon Wilkins's 'Concilia Magnæ Britanniae.' He carried out the project in part in the publication of the following works: 8. 'Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England; being a Collection of Injunctions, Declarations, Orders, Articles of Inquiry, &c., from 1546 to 1716, with notes,' Oxford, 1839, 2 vols. 8vo. 9. 'A Relation of the Conference between William Laud and Fisher the Jesuit,' 1839, 8vo, with preface. 10. 'The Two Books of Common Prayer set forth in the Reign of Edward the Sixth compared with each other,' 1839, 8vo. 11. 'A History of the Conferences and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer from 1558 to 1690,' 1840, 8vo. 12. 'Synodalia: a Collection of Articles of Religion, Canons, and Proceedings of Convocation in the Province of Canterbury from 1547 to 1717, with notes, &c.,' 1842, 8vo, 2 vols. 13. 'Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, or the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws for the Church of England as attempted in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Elizabeth,' 1850, 8vo. 14. An edition of Bishop Gibson's 'Synodus Anglicana,' which he brought out in 1854.

Cardwell died at the principal's lodge, St. Alban Hall, Oxford, on 23 May 1861. He married in May 1829 Cecilia, youngest daughter of Henry Feilden of Witton Park, Blackburn, and left several children. He was uncle to Edward, lord Cardwell [q. v.]

[Gent. Mag. August 1861, p. 208; Foster's Lancashire Pedigrees; Cat. of Oxford Graduates (1851); Oxford Honours Register (1883); information given by Mr. E. H. Cardwell.]

C. W. S.

**CARDWELL, EDWARD, VISCOUNT** (1813-1886), statesman, born 24 July 1813, was the son of John Cardwell, a Liverpool merchant. He was educated at Winchester and at Balliol College, Oxford, of which he became scholar and fellow. At Oxford he took a first class, both in classics and mathematics, in 1835, and was made an honorary D.C.L. in 1863. Among his contemporaries, or those who were nearly his contemporaries, at the university were several members of the special group of statesmen to which he afterwards belonged—Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Robert Lowe, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Roundell Palmer, and the Duke of Newcastle. He was called

to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1838; but he soon turned to public life, and entered the House of Commons on petition as member for Clitheroe in 1842. He attached himself, personally as well as politically, to Sir Robert Peel, whom he somewhat resembled in character as well as in conscientious industry, in devotion to the public service, and in the mastery which he acquired of commercial and financial questions. By Peel he was treated with marked esteem and confidence. He was one of the trustees to whom Peel afterwards left his papers. In 1845 he was made secretary to the treasury. In the next year came the repeal of the corn laws and the rupture between Peel and the protectionists. Cardwell remained true to his chief, and thenceforth formed one of the small party, or rather group, of Peelites, still conservative in general politics, but liberal with regard to commercial questions. Of free trade he became a staunch and prominent champion; but with most of his political friends he voted against the ballot in 1853. In 1847 he was elected for Liverpool, but lost his seat in 1852, in consequence of having voted for the repeal of the navigation laws. He also contested Ayrshire unsuccessfully. He was afterwards elected for the city of Oxford. The Peelites having gradually gravitated towards the whigs, in 1852 the coalition government of Lord Aberdeen was formed, and Cardwell became president of the board of trade. He did not enter the cabinet, because the whig leaders objected to an undue proportion of Peelites. The chief fruit of his presidency of the board of trade was the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, which, collecting all the laws relating to shipping, with important amendments and additions, has from that time formed, in essential respects, the code of the British mercantile marine. The act, consisting of 548 sections, passed through committee at a single sitting. 'What great public interest have you been abandoning, Cardwell, that your bill passed so easily?' was Lord John Russell's sarcastic question. No interest had been abandoned, and those of the common seaman and the ballast-heaver had been as well provided for as those of the shipowner; but the bill had been prepared with the carefulness characteristic of its framer's work. Further improvements were made by Cardwell in the laws relating to the shipping interest, which owes to him, among other things, its relief from the impost of town dues. By his hand form was given to the department of the board of trade which deals with the mercantile marine, the foundation was laid of a meteorological department, and much was done for the department of science and art,

To railway legislation also Cardwell's contribution was important. In the opinion of those most competent to judge, the work of many years was accomplished in two. From the ministry of Lord Aberdeen Cardwell passed, after the reconstruction, into that of Lord Palmerston; and when the other leading Peelites resigned, he was pressed in vain by the premier to accept the chancellorship of the exchequer. Two years later, with the dislike of violence and injustice which was strong in him, he voted against Lord Palmerston's government on the question of the Chinese war, and, upon the appeal to the country which followed, lost his seat for Oxford, but the successful candidate, Charles Neate, was unseated on petition, and Cardwell was returned at the new election, defeating his opponent, W. M. Thackeray, by 53 votes. In 1858 he was the most active member of a commission appointed to inquire into the manning of the navy. Here his knowledge of the mercantile marine stood him in good stead. The report was adopted, and the system, principal features of which are the training of boys and the maintenance of a strong navy reserve, remains in force, and continues to be successful to this day. When, upon the defeat of the Derby ministry in 1859, Palmerston again became minister, Cardwell became secretary for Ireland with a seat in the cabinet. In that office he showed his usual industry, equity, patience, and courtesy; but the sphere was uncongenial, and in 1861 he exchanged it for the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. An Irish land act, framed by him, and the object of which was to base the relation of landlord and tenant solely on contract, has had no practical effect. In 1864 he was transferred to the secretaryship for the colonies. In that office he inaugurated the new policy of withdrawing from the colonies in time of peace all imperial troops for which the colonies would not undertake to pay, thereby promoting colonial self-defence and self-government, as well as economising the forces of the empire and relieving the British taxpayer of an expense which in the case of the wars with the Maori had amounted to a million a year. Canadian confederation was set on foot, and its outline was determined during his secretaryship, though the act was the work of his successor. To him fell the difficult duty of dealing, amidst a storm of public excitement, with the case of the disturbances in Jamaica and of Governor Eyre, which he did by promptly sending out a commission of inquiry, and, when the legislative assembly of Jamaica had been abolished with its own consent, appointing Sir Peter Grant as governor

to arbitrate between the conflicting races. He also put an end to transportation. Under Mr. Gladstone, in 1868, Cardwell became secretary for war, and in that capacity was called upon to undertake the reorganisation of the British army, to the necessity for which the nation had been awakened by the great European wars, at the same time redeeming the pledge given for largely reduced estimates. For this, which was his most important and difficult work, the foundation had been laid by the concentration of the troops which as colonial secretary he had effected. The principal feature of his reorganisation was the abolition of purchase, for which were substituted admission by tests of fitness and promotion by selection. This reform, together with the provision made for the retirement of officers, rendered the British army professional and scientific, relieved it of incapacity and decrepitude, animated it with a hope of advancement by merit, and made it fit to cope with the highly trained armies of the continent. Other parts of the new system were the introduction of a short term of service, the formation of the veteran reserve, and the localisation of the regiments, which was adopted with a double purpose of taking advantage of local attachment in recruiting and of linking the militia and volunteers to the regular forces. The department of the commander-in-chief was brought under the more effective control of the war office. Provision was also made for the improvement of the military education of officers and soldiers. In carrying these changes into effect the secretary for war had to encounter the most obstinate resistance on the part of military men of the old school, and his coadjutors have borne their testimony to the unflinching patience, command of temper, and courtesy, by which, combined with firmness, their resistance was overcome, as well as to the thoroughness with which a civilian mastered all the details of the department of war. The labour and anxiety, however, undermined Cardwell's health. On the resignation of the Gladstone ministry in 1874 he was called to the House of Lords as Viscount Cardwell of Ellerbeck. After this he continued for some time to take part in public affairs; he presided ably over the commission on vivisection, and on one important occasion stood forth as the friend of the slave; but he never again became a minister of state. He died, after a very lingering illness, at Villa Como, Torquay, on 15 Feb. 1886, and was buried in the cemetery of Highgate. He married, in 1838, Annie, youngest daughter of Charles Stuart Parker of Fairlie, Ayrshire, but he left no children and his peerage became extinct. Cardwell

was not a political leader or a director of popular movements, though in council he was firm and powerful. The measures of constitutional change brought forward by the governments of which he was a member in later years did not originate with him; nor was he a popular orator. He was a clear, good, terse, and fluent speaker; to be more he did not pretend or desire, and he never made an unnecessary speech. But it was as an administrator and public servant that, though less noted than others by the crowd, he really stood high among the statesmen of the time. 'Thoroughly patriotic and public-spirited, utterly free from jobbery of any sort, laborious, discreet, courteous, kind, and considerate to subordinates, conciliatory, yet tenacious of his opinion when he had satisfied himself that he was right'—such he appeared to the partners of his work. They also testify to his possession of a singularly quick and keen intelligence, though in his public utterances his mind seemed to move with excessive circumspection. The country was served more brilliantly by other men of his generation, but by none more faithfully, more zealously, more strenuously, or with more lasting fruit.

[Personal knowledge; private memoranda; speeches (some reprinted) from Hansard; Merchant Shipping Act; Report of Commission on Manning the Navy; Royal Warrant abolishing purchase (1871), and consequent regulations; Sir Robert Biddulph's Lord Cardwell at the War Office 1868-74, London, 1904. A short life is understood to be in preparation.] G.S.

**CARE, HENRY** (1646-1688), political writer and journalist, affected to be a royalist in 1670, when he published a book entitled 'Female Pre-eminence,' with a fulsome dedication to Queen Catherine. He is probably the Henry Care, 'student in physick and astrology,' who brought out a translation of a medical work in 1679. Care edited a paper called the 'Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome,' when, according to Wood, 'he was deeply engaged by the fanatical party, after the popish plot broke out in 1678, to write against the Church of England and the members thereof, then by him and his party supposed to be deeply enclined towards popery, &c.' He was tried at Guildhall, 2 July 1680, on an information against him as the author of this journal, and more particularly for a clause against the lord chief justice, Scroggs, who himself sat as judge at the trial. The jury found him guilty, and Care was prohibited from printing his journal. But these proceedings constituted one of the charges brought against Scroggs, who was removed from the bench some months later (*LUTTRELL, Relation*

*of State Affairs*, i. 75), and Care continued to publish his journal. Care's last number of the 'Weekly Pacquet,' which extends to five volumes, is dated 13 July 1683, at which time he fell ill. In 1682 a difference had taken place between Care and Langley Curtis, the original publisher, when Care, who resided at the time in the Great Old Bailey, continued the work on his own account till he was seized with illness. But at the commencement of the quarrel, Curtis, not willing to give up a profitable speculation, employed William Salmon, a well-known and multifarious writer, to publish a continuation of the 'Pacquets,' and he did so from 25 Aug. 1682, on which day Care's fifth volume also began, till 4 May 1683. Langley Curtis, probably having the stock-in-trade in his own hands, added the fifth volume, by Salmon, to all the remaining copies, and consequently Care's fifth volume is rarely met with.

Wood thus sums up the little that is known of the subsequent career of Care: his 'breeding,' he contemptuously remarks, 'was in the nature of a petty fogger, a little despicable wretch, and one that was afterwards much reflected upon for a poor snivelling fellow in the "Observers," published by Roger l'Estrange, which Care, after all his scribbles against the papists and the men of the church of England, was, after King James II came to the crown, drawn over so far by the Roman catholic party, for bread and money sake and nothing else, to write on their behalf, and to vindicate their proceedings against the men of the church of England in his "Mercuries," which weekly came out, entitled "Public Occurrences truly stated." The first of which came out 21 Feb. 1687-8, and were by him continued to the time of his death, which happening 8 Aug. 1688, aged 42, he was buried in the yard belonging to the Blackfryers church, in London, with this inscription nailed to his coffin, "Here lies the ingenious Mr. Henry Care, who died, &c."'

His works are: 1. 'Female Pre-eminence,' translated from the Latin of Henry Cornelius Agrippa, London, 1670. 2. 'Speculum Gallie; or, a New Survey of the French Court and Camp,' London, 1673, 8vo. 3. 'The Jewish Calendar explained,' London, 1674, 8vo. 4. 'Practical Physick,' by Dr. Daniel Sennert, professor at Wittenberg, translated by 'H. Care, student in physick and astrology,' London, 1676, 8vo. 5. 'A Pacquet of Advice from Rome,' London, 1678-9, 4to; continued as 'The Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome,' 1679-83. 'An Abstract, with improvements,' of the

'Weekly Pacquet of Advice from Rome' was published 'by several gentlemen,' said to be dissenting teachers, under the title of 'The History of Popery,' 2 vols., London, 1735-6, 4to; Rambach's 'Unpartheiische Historie des Papstthums' (Magdeburg, 1751-80, 10 vols.), although often described as a translation of Care's book, is really a translation of Archibald Bower's 'History of the Popes,' 6. 'History of the Papists' Plots,' London, 1681, 8vo. 7. 'Utrum horum; or, the Articles of the Church of England recited and compared with the doctrines of those called Presbyterians and the tenets of the Church of Rome,' London, 1682, 8vo. 8. 'The Darkness of Atheism expelled by the Light of Nature,' London, 1683, 8vo. 9. 'A Modest Enquiry whether St. Peter were ever at Rome and Bishop of that Church,' Lond. 1687, 4to. 10. 'Animadversions on a late paper entitled, A Letter to a Dissenter, upon occasion of his Majesties late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence,' London, 1687, 4to. 11. 'The Tutor to true English. With an introduction to Arithmetic,' London, 1687, 8vo. 12. 'Draconica; or, an Abstract of all the Penal Laws touching matters of Religion and the several Oaths and Tests thereby enjoined, with brief observations thereupon,' 3rd edit., London, 1688, 4to. 13. 'English Liberties; or, the Freeborn Subject's inheritance, containing Magna Charta, &c. Compiled first by Henry Care, and now continued with large additions by W. N[elson];' 4th edit., London, 1719, 8vo. 14. 'Mahometanism and Popery compared,' Addit. MS. 5960, ff. 62-87.

He also edited 'The King's Right of Indulgence in Spiritual Matters with the Equity thereof asserted by a Person of Honour and Eminent Minister of State, lately deceased' (i.e. Arthur Annesley, earl of Anglesea), London, 1688, 4to.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 469; Macaulay's *Hist. of England* (1858), ii. 218 n., 221; Luttrell's *Hist. Relation of State Affairs*, i. 50, 75, 453; Watt's *Bibl. Brit.*; Jones's *Popery Tracts*, 25, 68, 76, 90, 92, 265, 266; Lowndes's *Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 21; Notes and Queries (1st ser.), iii. 264; Timperley's *Encyclopædia* (1842), 556, 573.] T. C.

CARELESS, WILLIAM (*d.* 1689). [See CARLOS.]

CARENCROSS, ALEXANDER (*d.* 1701). [See CAIRCROSS.]

CAREW. [See also CAREY and CARY.]

CAREW, SIR ALEXANDER (1609-1644), governor of the island of St. Nicholas, Plymouth, was the only surviving son of Richard Carew of Antony in Cornwall, the

first baronet of that house, by his first wife, Bridget, daughter of John Chudleigh of Devon. He was born on 30 Aug. 1609, and baptised at Antony on 4 Sept. Lord Clarendon asserts that Carew had received a good education, but it does not appear that he ever matriculated at an English university. In the Long parliament he was returned as the colleague of Sir Bevil Grenville in the representation of the county of Cornwall, and threw in his lot with the opponents of the court. When the bill of attainder of Lord Strafford was being pushed through the House of Commons, Sir Bevil Grenville besought his fellow-member to oppose it, but Carew vehemently replied, 'If I were sure to be the next man that should suffer upon the same scaffold with the same axe, I would give my consent to the passing of it.' On the breaking out of civil war he was entrusted by the parliament with the command of the island of St. Nicholas, at the entrance of Plymouth harbour, on which was situate a fort of considerable strength, while the mayor of Plymouth ruled over the castle and the town. When the parliamentary forces in the west of England met with serious reverses, Carew began to think that both his person and his property were insecure, and opened a correspondence, chiefly through the agency of his neighbour, Mr. Edgecumbe, with Sir John Berkeley, then commanding the royal army before Exeter, for the surrender of the island and fort to the king. The historian of the rebellion alleges that although Berkeley gave an ample assurance of safety, Carew would not proceed any further without a pardon under the great seal, and that before this could be obtained his design was discovered through the treachery of a servant. He was suddenly seized while in the fort and carried prisoner into the town, whence he was despatched by sea to London and disabled from sitting in parliament. On Tuesday, 19 Nov. 1644, he was condemned to death for treachery by a council of war held at Guildhall. His wife, Jane, daughter of Robert Rolle of Heanton, Devonshire, by a petition to the House of Commons setting forth her husband's distracted state of mind, obtained a respite of the sentence for a month in order that he might settle his worldly affairs and prepare for death. About ten o'clock in the morning of 23 Dec. 1644 he was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill. His speech contained a reference to the 'last words and writing' of his father and grandfather, and the signal for the executioner to do his duty were 'the last words that ever my mother spoke when she died.' He was buried on the same day in the church of

St. Augustine, Hackney. His widow died 25 April 1679 in her seventy-fourth year. A monument to her memory, with an elaborate inscription recording her virtues, was erected in Antony Church.

Carew's dying speech was printed separately in 1644, and is included in a collection called 'England's Black Tribunal set forth in the Trial of King Charles I,' &c., 1660, pp. 99-100.

[Clarendon's History (1649), iii. 246-7; Rushworth's Historical Collection, pt. iii. bk. ii. pp. 796-7; Heath's Brief Chronicle (1663), pp. 33, 110; Vicars's Parliamentary Chronicle, pt. iii. (1646), p. 29, pt. iv. p. 86; W. Robinson's Hackney, ii. 68; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. i. 55, iii. 1109; Parochial History of Cornwall, i. 27.] W. P. C.

**CAREW, BAMPFYLDE MOORE** (1693-1770?), king of the gipsies, belonged to the Devonshire family, and was born in July 1693, at Bickley, near Tiverton, of which his father was rector for many years. At the age of twelve he was sent to Tiverton school, where for some time he worked hard, but the schoolboys possessed among them a pack of hounds, and one day he, with three companions, followed a deer so far, that the neighbouring farmers came to complain of the damage done. To avoid punishment the youths ran away and joined some gipsies. After a year and a half Carew returned for a time, but soon rejoined the gipsies. His career was a long series of swindling and imposture, very ingeniously carried out, occasionally deceiving people who should have known him well. His restless nature then drove him to embark for Newfoundland, where he stopped but a short time, and on his return he pretended to be the mate of a vessel, and eloped with the daughter of a respectable apothecary of Newcastle-on-Tyne, whom he afterwards married.

He continued his course of vagabond roguery for some time, and when Clause Patch, a king, or chief of the gipsies, died, Carew was elected his successor. He was convicted of being an idle vagrant, and sentenced to be transported to Maryland. On his arrival he attempted to escape, was captured, and made to wear a heavy iron collar, escaped again, and fell into the hands of some friendly Indians, who relieved him of his collar. He took an early opportunity of leaving his new friends, and got into Pennsylvania. Here he pretended to be a quaker, and as such made his way to Philadelphia, thence to New York, and afterwards to New London, where he embarked for England. He escaped impressment on board a man-of-

war by pricking his hands and face, and rubbing in bay salt and gunpowder, so as to simulate small-pox.

After his landing he continued his impostures, found out his wife and daughter, and seems to have wandered into Scotland about 1745, and is said to have accompanied the Pretender to Carlisle and Derby. The record of his life from this time is but a series of frauds and deceptions, and but little is absolutely known of his career, except that a relative, Sir Thomas Carew of Hackern, offered to provide for him if he would give up his wandering life. This he refused to do, but it is believed that he eventually did so after he had gained some prizes in the lottery. The date of his death is uncertain. It is generally given, but on no authority, as being in 1770, but 'T. P.', writing from Tiverton, in 'Notes and Queries,' 2nd series, vol. iv. p. 522, says that he died in 1758.

[The authority for Carew is a book which has appeared in many forms. The first is apparently *The Life and Adventures of B. M. C., the Noted Devonshire Stroller and Dogstealer*, as noted by himself during his passage to America . . . Exon.: printed by the Farleys for J. Drew, 1745. Lowndes mentions another title, *The Accomplished Vagabond or compleat Mumper, exemplify'd in the bold and artful enterprises and merry pranks of Bampfylde Carew, Oxon.* (Exon.?), 1745. An Apology for the Life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew, London, 1749, is described as printed for R. Goadby; a third edition (no date), with preface dated 10 Feb. 1750, contains additional matter attacking Fielding and Tom Jones. An edition of 1768 gives a large folding portrait of Carew. Other editions have been published in various places. One of 1768 is described as by Thomas Price. Timperley's Dictionary of Printers states that the life was written by Robert Goadby; T. P. in Notes and Queries (as above) gives a report that Mrs. Goadby wrote it from Carew's dictation. See Notes and Queries (2nd ser.), iii. 4, iv. 330, 401, 522.] J. A.

**CAREW, SIR BENJAMIN HALLOWELL** (1760-1834), admiral, son of Benjamin Hallowell, commissioner of the American board of customs, was born in Canada in 1760, and entered the navy at an early age. On 31 Aug. 1781 he was appointed by Sir Samuel Hood as acting lieutenant of the Alcide, and served in her in the action off the Chesapeake five days later. He was shortly afterwards moved into the Alfred, and was in her in the engagements at St. Christopher's and off Dominica [see BAYNE, WILLIAM]. He was, however, not confirmed in his rank till 25 April 1783, and after seven years of uneventful service he was made commander on 22 Nov. 1790. During the two following years he



commanded the Scorpion sloop on the coast of Africa, and in 1793 went to the Mediterranean in the Camel storeship, out of which he was posted on 30 Aug., and appointed to the temporary command of the Robust of 74 guns. He afterwards for a short time commanded the Courageux during the absence of Captain Waldegrave, sent home with despatches; and on being superseded from her, served as a volunteer, 'wherever he could be useful,' in the sieges of Bastia and Calvi. 'Hallowell and myself,' wrote Nelson on 9 July 1794, 'each take twenty-four hours at the advanced battery;' and acknowledged Hallowell's zeal in terms repeated more formally on 8 Aug., and embodied in Hood's despatch of 5 Aug. Hallowell was then appointed to the Lowestoft frigate, and a few months later to the Courageux, which he commanded in the action off the Hyères Islands on 13 July 1795. He continued in her, attached to the fleet under Sir John Jervis, during the trying year 1796. On 19 Dec., when the fleet was in Gibraltar Bay, the Courageux was blown from her anchors in a terrific gale of wind, was driven over to the African coast, and dashed to pieces at the foot of Apes' Hill. Out of her crew of six hundred about one hundred and twenty only escaped. At the time of the Courageux being driven to sea, Hallowell was absent at a court-martial, and though he was anxious to return at once to his ship, the president refused him permission. It has been said, but quite without proof, that the loss of the ship was entirely owing to his absence (BRENTON, *Life of Lord St. Vincent*, i. 302). While waiting on board the Victory for an opportunity to return to England, Hallowell was present in the battle off Cape St. Vincent on 14 Feb. 1797. He was afterwards sent home with the duplicate despatches and a strong recommendation from Jervis, which led to his being immediately appointed to the command of the Lively frigate, ordered back to the Mediterranean. He was shortly afterwards transferred to the Swiftsure of 74 guns, one of the inshore squadron off Cadiz under Captain Troubridge, which in May 1798 was detached to join Rear-admiral Sir Horatio Nelson. The Swiftsure was thus one of that small fleet which during July scoured the Mediterranean and crushed the French in Aboukir Bay on the night of 1-2 Aug. The Swiftsure, with the Alexander [see BALL, SIR ALEXANDER JOHN], had been detached on the evening of 31 July to look into Alexandria, and was thus somewhat later than the other ships in getting into action. It was already dark, and as she was standing in under a press of sail she met a ship leaving

the battle, and Hallowell was on the point of firing into her. He had happily given strict orders that not a shot was to be fired till the anchor was down and the sails clewed up; this strange ship was the English Bellerophon, which had been compelled to haul off for a time. The Swiftsure took her place, but with better judgment, and, together with the Alexander, devoted herself to the destruction of L'Orient, which blew up about two hours later.

When Nelson returned to Naples Bay, the Swiftsure was one of the ships left on the coast of Egypt under the command of Captain Samuel Hood, and she remained there for the next eighteen months. She rejoined Nelson at Palermo on 20 March 1799, and a couple of months later Hallowell astonished the whole fleet by sending him a coffin, certified to be entirely made of wood and iron from the wreck of L'Orient, together with the following note, 23 May 1799: 'My lord, herewith I send you a coffin made of part of L'Orient's mainmast, that when you are tired of this life you may be buried in one of your own trophies; but may that period be far distant is the sincere wish of your obedient and much obliged servant, Ben. Hallowell.' It is stated, on the authority of his brother-in-law, that, fearing the effect of all the flattery lavished on his chief, he determined to remind him that he was mortal (*Nelson Despatches*, iii. 88); but the grim humour of the gift seems also to remind us of Hallowell's American education.

For the next three months the Swiftsure remained on the coast of Italy, where Hallowell was actively employed, under Troubridge, in the reduction of Saint Elmo, Capua, and Civita Vecchia; in acknowledgment of which services he received from the king of Naples the order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit, and a snuffbox bearing the royal cipher in diamonds. Towards the end of the year the Swiftsure joined Rear-admiral Duckworth at Minorca, and accompanied him to Lisbon, on which station and off Cadiz she remained. In May 1800 Rear-admiral Sir Richard Bickerton hoisted his flag on board her, and in November went in her to the coast of Egypt. He then transferred his flag to the Kent, and the Swiftsure was in the following June sent in charge of a convoy to Malta. On the way thither Hallowell, having learnt the proximity of a powerful French squadron, which had been endeavouring to land troops near Tripoli, resolved to make the best of his way to reinforce Sir John Borlase Warren, and accordingly left the convoy to shift for itself. He was thus alone when, on 24 June 1801, he

fell in with the French squadron, was surrounded, and captured after an obstinate resistance (JAMES, *Naval History*, 1860, iii. 77). Hallowell was very shortly afterwards released on parole, and on 18 Aug. was tried at Port Mahon by a court-martial, which approved of his conduct in every respect, pronounced that his leaving the convoy was dictated by sound judgment and zeal for the service of his king and country, that the defence of the *Swiftsure* was highly meritorious, that her loss was unavoidable, and that Hallowell had displayed great judgment in his endeavours to avoid so superior a force. He was therefore honourably acquitted of all blame.

In 1802 Hallowell commanded the *Argo* of 44 guns on the coast of Africa, with a broad pennant, and touching at Barbadoes on his return to Europe, and learning there that war had again broken out, he placed his services at the disposal of Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, then commanding-in-chief on the Leeward Island station. He was thus engaged in the reduction of St. Lucia and Tobago in June 1803, and was warmly thanked by Hood in his despatches. On his return to England he was sent out, still in the *Argo*, on a special mission to Aboukir. He was afterwards appointed to the *Tigre*, in which he joined the fleet off Toulon under Lord Nelson, and under his command took part in the chase of the French fleet to the West Indies in May and June 1805. In September the *Tigre* was with the fleet off Cadiz, but was one of the ships detached to Gibraltar under Rear-admiral Louis on 3 Oct., and had thus no share in the battle of Trafalgar. Continuing in the *Tigre*, Hallowell had in 1807 the command of the naval part of the expedition to Alexandria; he afterwards was with the fleet off Toulon and on the coast of Spain till his advancement to flag rank on 1 Aug. 1811. In January 1812 he hoisted his flag on board the *Malta* of 80 guns, again in the Mediterranean, where he remained till the peace. In Jan. 1815 he was made a K.C.B. During 1816–18 he was commander-in-chief on the coast of Ireland, and became vice-admiral on 12 Aug. 1819. From 1821 to 1824 he was commander-in-chief at the Nore, with his flag in the *Prince Regent*. On the death of his cousin, Mrs. Anne Paston Gee (28 March 1828), he succeeded to the estates of the Carews of Beddington, and pursuant to her will assumed the name and arms of Carew, to which family, however, he was not in any degree related. The estates had come to Mrs. Gee by the will of her husband's brother, and now came to Hallowell very much in the nature of a

windfall; but to a friend who congratulated him on it he answered, 'Half as much twenty years ago had indeed been a blessing; but I am now old and crank.' On 22 July 1830 he attained the rank of admiral, and on 6 June 1831 was made G.O.B. He died at Beddington Park on 2 Sept. 1834.

Hallowell is traditionally described as having been a man of gigantic frame and vast personal strength, and several stories are told of the summary manner in which he, by arm and fist, quelled some symptoms of mutiny which appeared on board the *Swiftsure* while off Cadiz. He married in February 1800 a daughter of Captain John Nicholson Inglefield, for many years commissioner of the navy at Gibraltar, and left issue.

[Marshall's Roy. Nav. Biog. ii. (vol. i. pt. ii.) 465; Gent. Mag. (1834), vol. civ. pt. ii. p. 537; United Service Journal, 1834, pt. iii. 374, and 1835, pt. i. 95.] J. K. L.

CAREW, SIR EDMUND (1464–1513), soldier, was the son of Sir Nicholas Carew, baron Carew, of Mohuns Ottery, Devonshire, who died on 16 Nov. 1470, and grandson of Sir John Carew [q. v.] The inquisition on his father's death states that Edmund was six years old at the time. According to old pedigrees the family was descended from one Adam de Montgomerie, whose son Edmund married the daughter of Rees ap Tudor, prince of South Wales. Her sister Nesta, after having a natural son by Henry I, married a Norman named Stephen, whose son, Robert FitzStephen, was one of the first English invaders of Ireland, and obtained a grant of half the kingdom of Cork from Henry II, Adam's great-great-grandson, William, baron of Carew, married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Robert FitzStephen. It has, however, been shown by Sir John Maclean that Robert FitzStephen died without issue, and that William, baron of Carew or de Carrio, was descended from Gerald Fitz-Walter de Windsor, first husband of Nesta. This Gerald was grandson of one Otho de Windsor in the time of the Conqueror.

The barony and castle of Carew or Caer Yw in Narberth, Pembrokeshire, came to the family by this marriage with the Welsh princess, and remained in their possession until Sir Edmund mortgaged it to Sir Rhys ap Thomas. His son, Griffith ap Rhys, being attainted of treason in the reign of Henry VIII, the barony came into the possession of the crown, and was leased to Sir John Perrot and others. In the reign of Charles I the remainder of the lease was purchased by Sir John Carew, and the fee-simple was thereupon granted to him by the king. The family

of Carew was also allied by marriage to the Courtenays, and Sir John Maclean narrates (but gives no authority) that Carew officiated at the burial of William Courtenay, earl of Devon, in 1511, riding up the nave of Exeter Cathedral in armour, and offering the dead earl's battle-axe to the bishop in the choir.

Carew was an adherent of Henry VII, and was knighted at the battle of Bosworth Field for his valour. In 1497 he marched to the relief of Exeter when that city was besieged by the pretender Perkin Warbeck, and he lost his life in the service of King Henry's son and successor, being killed by a shot in Lord Herbert's tent at the siege of Théroutanne on 22 June 1513. The only other public service in which he is known to have been engaged was going to meet the commissioners from France who came to treat for peace in 1492. He married Katherine, daughter of Sir William Huddlesfield of Shillingford, solicitor-general and attorney-general to Edward IV. Their issue was four sons and four daughters. The former were: William, father of Sir Peter Carew [q. v.]; Thomas, of Bickleigh; George, dean of Exeter and Windsor, father of George, earl of Totnes [q. v.]; and Gawen, ob. 1583, s. p. The daughters were: Dorothy, married to John Stowell; Katherine, married to Sir Philip Champernoun; Isabel and Ann.

[Maclean's Life of Sir Peter Carew; Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 204; Polwhele's Devonshire, i. 254; Carlisle's Top. Dict. of Wales; Lewis's Top. Dict. of Wales; Tuckett's Devonshire Pedigrees, p. 123; Gairdner's Henry VII, ii. 291; Herbert's Hist. of England, p. 15; Inquis. post Mortem, 11 Edw. IV, No. 38, 2 Ric. III, No. 44.] C. T. M.

CAREW, ELIZABETH, LADY (fl. 1590).  
[See CAREY, ELIZABETH, LADY.]

CAREW, SIR GEORGE (d. 1612), lawyer and diplomatist, was the second son of Thomas Carew of Antony, and the younger brother of Richard Carew, the historian of Cornwall [q. v.] 'In his younger years,' says his brother, 'he gathered such fruit as the university, the inns of court, and foreign travel could yield him.' After his return from abroad he was called to the bar, obtaining the post of secretary to Lord-chancellor Hatton, and on Hatton's decease held the same office, 'by special recommendation from Queen Elizabeth,' under Sir John Puckering and Sir Thomas Egerton, keepers of the great seal. Through the same royal favour Carew was made a prothonotary in chancery, and in 1598 was despatched on an embassy to Brunswick, Sweden, Poland, and Danzig. While on this mission, 'through

unexpected accidents, he underwent extraordinary perils, but God freed him from them, and he performed his duty in acceptable manner.' On 21 Dec. 1599 he was appointed a master in chancery and held that preferment until his death in 1612. As the younger son of an influential Cornish family and a leading courtier he had little difficulty in obtaining a seat in parliament for one of the numerous boroughs in Cornwall. He sat for St. Germans in 1584, for Saltash in 1586, 1588, 1593, and for St. Germans again in 1597, 1601, and 1604. The honour of knighthood was conferred upon him at Whitehall 23 July 1603, on the eve of the coronation of James I, and in the following year he was nominated to a place in the commission to arrange the affairs of the union of the two countries of England and Scotland. At the close of 1605 Carew was sent as ambassador to the court of France, where he remained until July 1609, when the French ministers, who regarded him as a friend to the Spanish interests, were not displeased at his return to England. After considerable competition from other seekers after office he secured in June 1612 the high and lucrative place of master of the court of wards, which was vacant by the death of Lord Salisbury. The reason for this great promotion was assigned by some to his wife's influence with the queen, by others to the favour of Lord Rochester, and on his death he was currently reported to have paid dear for the place. Among the Latin epigrams of John Owen is one (bk. vi. No. 20) to the effect that while the king committed to Carew the care of the wards, he showed himself to have a care for Carew's merits. In August 1612 he was a member of the commission for raising money for our soldiers in Denmark, and with that appointment his official life was over. On Friday, 13 Nov. 1612, he died, 'in reasonable case, worth 10,000*l.*,' and was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster. His wife was Thomazine, daughter of Sir Francis Godolphin, by Margaret Killigrew. Scaliger, in a letter to Casaubon, styled Carew 'vir amplissimus et sapientia et eruditione, et pietate præstantissimus.' De Thou or Thuanus esteemed him highly and made use in book cxxi. of the history of his own times of Carew's narrative of events in Poland. Carew's intimacy with Casaubon is further shown in the fact that in November 1612 his wife was god-mother to Casaubon's child. On Carew's return from the French embassy in 1609 he drew up and addressed to James I 'a relation of the state of France,' which has been much commended for its simple and unaffected style. This tract remained in manu-

script for nearly a hundred and fifty years, when it was communicated by Lord Hardwicke to Dr. Birch and published in 1749. From the labours of Lambard there was collected by Carew a volume of 'Reports on Causes in Chancery,' which was printed in 1650, 1665, and 1820. Many of his letters to the principal politicians of his time are preserved in the public and private libraries of England; particulars of them will be found in Boase and Courtney's 'Bibliotheca Cornubiensis,' vol. iii. Two of them are printed in Brewer's edition of Bishop Goodman's 'Court of King James I,' ii. 97-103. Carew's autograph is included in J. G. Nichols's 'Collections of Autographs' (1829), sheet 8 D.

[Herald and Genealogist, vii. 93, 575-6; Birch's Court and Times of James I, i. 174-6, 194, 202, 208, 210; Visitation of Cornwall (Harl. Soc.), pp. 28, 81; R. Carew's Survey of Cornwall (ed. 1811), p. 174; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser., vi. 436 (1858).] W. P. C.

CAREW, GEORGE, BARON CAREW OF CLOPTON and EARL OF TOTNES (1555-1629), statesman, the son of GEORGE CAREW, dean of Windsor, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir Nicholas Harvey, was born on 29 May 1555. An elder brother was named Peter. His father, the third son of Sir Edmund Carew [q. v.], graduated B.A. at Broadgates Hall, Oxford, in 1522; was archdeacon of Totnes, 1534-49; prebendary of the cathedral of Wells, 1546; precentor of Exeter, 1549; prebendary of Salisbury, 1555; archdeacon of Exeter, 1556 to 1569; dean of Bristol, 5 Nov. 1552, whence he was ejected in 1553, resuming the post on the accession of Elizabeth, and filling it until 1571; precentor of Salisbury, 1558; precentor of Bath and Wells, 1560 and 1565; dean of Christchurch, Oxford, 1559-61; dean and canon of Windsor, 1560-77; dean of Exeter, 1571. He died in June 1583, and was buried in the church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields (Wood, *Fasti Oxon.* ed. Bliss; LE NEVE, *Fasti*; WELCH, *Alumni Westmonast.* p. 7).

The son George was educated, like the father, at Broadgates Hall (afterwards Pembroke College), Oxford, where he stayed from 1564 to 1573, and was created M.A. at a later date, 17 Sept. 1589. From an early age he devoted himself to military pursuits. In 1574 he entered the service of his first cousin, Sir Peter Carew [q. v.], in Ireland. In 1575 he served as a volunteer in the army in Ireland under Sir Henry Sidney, and after filling the post of captain of the garrison in Leighlin for a few months in 1576, in the absence of his brother Peter, was appointed lieutenant-governor of the county of Carlow and vice-constable of Leighlin Castle in 1576. His courageous and successful attack on the rebel

forces of Rory Oge O'More in the following year, when Leighlin Castle was seriously menaced, was rewarded with a small pension (BAGWELL, *Irish under the Tudors*, ii. 342). In 1578 he held a captaincy in the royal navy, and made a voyage in the ship of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. In 1579 and 1580 he was at the head first of a regiment of Irish infantry and afterwards of a regiment of cavalry in Ireland. He was made constable of Leighlin-bridge Castle in 1580, on the death (in a skirmish, 25 Aug., with the Irish) of his brother Peter (*State Papers*, Ireland, lxxv. 83). Shortly afterwards Carew killed with his own hand several Irishmen suspected of slaying his brother, and was severely censured by the home government for his impetuosity. The queen, however, showed much liking for him, and the Cecils were his friends. He became gentleman-pensioner to Queen Elizabeth in 1582; sheriff of Carlow in 1583; and was knighted by his friend the lord deputy of Ireland, Sir John Perrott, on 24 Feb. 1585-1586. In 1586 Carew was at the English court trying to indicate to the queen's advisers the terrible difficulties attending English rule in Ireland. He returned in the following year to assume the office of master of the ordnance in Ireland, to which he was appointed (1 Feb. 1587-8) on his declining the offer of the French embassy. On 25 Aug. 1590 Carew was promoted to the post of Irish privy councillor, but on 22 Aug. 1592 he resigned the mastership of the ordnance in Ireland, on becoming lieutenant-general of the ordnance in England. In this capacity he took part in Essex's expedition to Cadiz in May 1596, and in that to the Azores in 1597, when he was M.P. for Queenborough. He went for a short time to France as ambassador in May 1598, when his companion was Sir Robert Cecil. At the close of 1599 his presence in Ireland was indispensable.

Sir George Carew must be distinguished from Sir George Carey of Cockington, co. Devon, who was appointed treasurer-at-war in Ireland 22 March 1598-9 and a lord justice 24 Sept. 1599 on Essex's suddenly leaving the country (see *infra*). On 27 Jan. 1599-1600 Sir George Carew became president of Munster. At the time the whole of Ireland was convulsed by the great rebellion of O'Neil, earl of Tyrone. Essex's attempt to crush it failed miserably, and Carew's relations with the Cecils did not make his advice congenial to Essex. When Lord Mountjoy was nominated Essex's successor, the powerful support that Carew lent Mountjoy [see BLOUNT, CHARLES, 1563-1606] chiefly enabled the latter to suppress the revolt. At Kinsale he did especial service, and the successful raids he made on

neighbouring castles effectually prevented the Spaniards from landing in the country after their ejection. Like all contemporary English officials in Ireland, he ruthlessly drove his victory home, and the Irish peasantry of Munster were handled with the utmost rigour. As soon as Ireland was pacified, Carew sought to return to England. His health was failing, and the anxieties of his office were endless, but while Elizabeth lived his request was overlooked. On Lord Mountjoy's resignation of the lord-deputyship in May 1603, Carew was allowed to retire, and Sir Henry Brouncker was promoted to the presidency of Munster. James I on his accession treated him with marked attention. Early in October 1603 he became Queen Anne's vice-chamberlain, and a few days later (10 Oct.) the receiver-general of her revenues. He was M.P. for Hastings in the parliament which met in 1604, and appointed councillor to the queen on 9 Aug. 1604. On 4 June of the year following he was created Baron Carew of Clopton House, near Stratford-on-Avon, the property of his wife Joyce, daughter of William Clopton, whom he married in 1580. On 26 June 1608 he was nominated master of the ordnance, and held the post till 5 May 1617. He was keeper of Nonsuch House and Park in 1609, of which he was reappointed keeper for life 22 May 1619, councillor of the colony of Virginia (23 May 1609), governor of Guernsey (February 1609-10), commissioner to reform the army and revenue of Ireland (1611), a privy councillor (19 July 1616), member of the important council of war to consider the question of recovering the Palatinate (21 April 1624), and treasurer-general to Queen Henrietta Maria (1623). Carew visited Ireland in 1610 to report on the condition of the country, with a view to a resettlement of Ulster, and described Ireland as improving rapidly and recovering from the disasters of the previous century. In 1618 he pleaded with James I in behalf of Sir Walter Raleigh, with whom he had lived for more than thirty years on terms of great intimacy, and Lady Carew proved a kind friend to Raleigh's family after the execution. In 1621 Carew received, jointly with Buckingham and Cranfield, a monopoly for the manufacture of gunpowder. At the funeral of James I in 1625 he was attacked with palsy, which nearly proved fatal. But he recovered sufficiently to receive a few marks of favour from Charles I, to whose friend Buckingham he had attached himself. Carew was created earl of Totnes on 5 Feb. 1625-6. In the following month the House of Commons, resenting the action of the council of war in levying money for the

support of Mansfeld's disastrous expedition, threatened to examine each of its members individually. Totnes expressed his readiness to undergo the indignity and even to suffer imprisonment in order to shelter the king, who was really aimed at by the commons, but Charles proudly rejected Totnes's offer and prohibited any of the council from acceding to the commons' orders. The earl died on 27 March 1629 at his house in the Savoy, London, and was buried in the church of Stratford-on-Avon, near Clopton House. An elaborate monument was erected above his grave by his widow, with a long inscription detailing his military successes (DUGDALE, *Warwickshire*, 1730, ii. 686-7). He left no children. Anne Carew, whose second husband was Sir Allen Apsley, lieutenant of the Tower [q. v.], was daughter of his brother, Peter. The Earl of Totnes, whose name was often written Carey, must not be confounded with SIR GEORGE CAREY (or CARY) of Cockington, treasurer at war in Ireland in 1588, lord justice on Mountjoy's departure in 1603, and lord deputy of Ireland from 30 May 1603 to 3 Feb. 1603-4, who died in February 1617.

Carew had antiquarian tastes, and was the friend of Camden, Sir Robert Cotton, and Sir Thomas Bodley. Camden thanked Carew in his 'Britannia' for the aid he had given him in Irish matters (ed. Gibson, 1772, ii. 338). In Irish history Carew took a vivid interest. His papers inspired the detailed account of the Irish revolt (1599-1602), which was published after his death, in 1633, under the title of 'Pacata Hibernia, or the History of the late Wars in Ireland.' The virtual author of this book, which has often been ascribed to Carew himself, is undoubtedly Sir Thomas Stafford, reputed to be Carew's illegitimate son, who had served under Carew in Munster. Wood states that Carew also wrote the history of the reign of Henry V which is incorporated in Speed's 'Chronicle,' and in a volume entitled 'Hibernica,' published by Walter Harris in 1747, are two translations by Carew, one of a French version of an old Irish poem of the fourteenth century, 'The History of Ireland by Maurice Regan, servant and interpreter to Dermot MacMurrough, king of Leinster,' and the other of a French contemporary account of Richard II's visit to Ireland in 1399.

Carew carefully preserved and annotated all letters and papers relating to Ireland of his own day, and purchased numbers of ancient documents. He spent much of his leisure in constructing pedigrees of Irish families, many of which in his own hand are still extant. He bequeathed his manuscripts and books to Stafford, from whom

they passed to Archbishop Laud. Forty-two volumes of Carew's manuscripts relating to Irish affairs were placed by Laud in the Lambeth Library, and four are in the Laudian collection at the Bodleian; several of the volumes are now lost. Others of Carew's papers are among the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum, at the State Paper Office, and at Hatfield. Calendars of the Lambeth documents, dating from 1515, have been issued in the official series of State Paper Calendars, under the editorship of J. S. Brewer and William Bullen. A number of Sir Robert Cecil's letters to Carew, during the time that Carew was president of Munster, have been printed from the originals at Lambeth by the Camden Society (1864, edited by John Maclean). The same society has also printed Carew's letters to Sir Thomas Roe, 1615-17. These volumes, although very valuable for general historical purposes, contribute little to Carew's biography. A portrait of Carew is prefixed to 'Pacata Hibernia.'

[Doyle's *Official Baronage*, iii. 537-9; Burke's *Extinct Peerage*; Granger's *Biog. Hist.* ii. 133; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 446-52; *Archæologia*, xii. 401 et seq.; Introduction to the Carew MSS. Calendars; Maclean's letters of Carew to Roe (1860, *Camd. Soc.*); Notes and Queries, 2nd ser. vi. 436; Herald and Genealogist, vii. 19-26, 575-6; *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.* 1590-1629; *Cal. of State Papers, Irish*, 1590-1629; Gardiner's *Hist. of England*; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis).] S. L.

CAREW, SIR JOHN (d. 1362), justiciar of Ireland, appears to have been the grandson of Sir Nicholas Carew, lord of Mulesford in Berkshire (*Parl. Writs.* i. 103, 104), and son of Sir John Carew, who married, first, Eleanor, daughter of Sir William Mohun (d. 1296?), in whose right her husband became lord of Mohuns Ottery, Stoke Fleming, and other manors in Devonshire; secondly, Johanna or Joan, according to Prince the daughter of Gilbert, lord Talbot (see also *Cal. Geneal.* ii. 539, 547; *Cal. Inq. post Mort.* i. 135, 308; *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* ii. 38, 140). The elder Sir John Carew seems to have died in 1323-4 (*C. I. P. M.* i. 308), leaving a son bearing the same name, and probably the offspring of his first marriage (PRINCE; but cf. the genealogies in PHILLIPS and MACLEAN, which make the younger Sir J. Carew son of Joan, and only heir to the Mohun estates on the death of his elder brother Nicholas in 1324). His widow, Joan, in later years one of Queen Philippa's ladies, was still living in June 1335. On his father's death the younger John Carew was still a minor, as appears from the fine levied upon him two years later (1326-7) for attempting to possess himself of Mulesford

Manor (*Abbrev. Rot.* ii. 38, 300). He perhaps came of age in 1332, when he was summoned to Ireland to defend his estates, and given the custody of three 'villæ' in Devonshire (*Lib. Mun. Hib.* iv. 82; *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* ii. 64). The name of Sir John Carew does not, however, appear prominently till 1345-1346, when he was appointed one of the three 'custodes pacis' for the county of Carlow, and about the same time entrusted to negotiate with the Irish rebels. In 1349 he was king's escheator in Ireland, and during the course of the same year was chosen to succeed Walter de Birmingham as justiciar, an office which, however, he held barely a year (*L. M. H.* ii. 197; GILBERT, *Viceroy*, 205), as we find Sir Thomas Rokeby occupying the post in December. In 1352, 1355, and 1356 he reappears with the title of 'Escheator Hiberniæ.' Shortly after (1359) he was summoned to attend a great council at Waterford (*Irish Close Rolls*, 77), and in 1361 was called to Westminster to consult on the projected Irish expedition of Lionel, afterwards duke of Clarence, who had married the heiress of the Earls of Ulster (RYMER, vi. 319). He appears to have accompanied the prince on this occasion, and to have died a year later, in 1362 (*Cal. Inq. post Mort.* 247), or, according to Prince's account, on 16 May 1363. He married, if we may trust the last authority, Margaret, daughter of John, lord Mohun of Dunstar, by whom he had two sons: John, who is variously reported to have died before Calais (? 1347) and in 1353 (MACLEAN and PHILLIPS), and Leonard, who perhaps died in 1370 (*C. I. P. M.* ii. 303), and was succeeded by his son, THOMAS CAREW, a noted warrior in the early years of the next century. This Thomas, baron Carew, must have been a minor at the time of his father's death (*Irish Rolls*, 866), and it is not till the reigns of Henry IV and Henry V that he begins to figure prominently as a statesman and a soldier. His mother is said to have been Alice, daughter of Sir Edmond Fitzalan (PHILLIPS and MACLEAN). According to Prince he was present at the battle of Agincourt, but his name is not to be found in the 'Roll' published by Sir Harris Nicolas. The same authority tells us that he was made captain of Harfleur, and appointed to defend a passage over the Seine in 6 Henry V. He is probably to be identified with the Baron Carew who was commissioned to guard the Channel at the time of the Emperor Sigismund's visit to England (WILLIAMS, *Gesta Henrici V.*, 93 n.), and with the 'Thomas Carew, Chevalier,' who is found at the head of a large number of men-at-arms in 1417, 1418, and 1423 (*Privy Council Acts*, ii. and iii.; *Norman Rolls*). He married

Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Bonville of Shute (PRINCE), and appears to have died in 1430-1 (*C. I. P. M.* iv. 131). By her he left a son Nicholas, baron Carew, father of Sir Edmund Carew [q. v.], whose younger sons founded the families of Carew at Haccombe and Antony (PHILLIPS). Besides their English estates, the Carews held large landed possessions in Ireland, especially the barony of Idrone in Carlow; but these appear to have been lost for the most part in the course of the fourteenth century.

[*Prince's Worthies of Devon*, ed. 1701, 149, 150; *Gilbert's Viceroy's of Ireland*, 205, 217; *Liber Munerum Publ. Hiberniæ* (L. M. H.), ed. Lascelles, i-iv; *Close and Patent Rolls of Ireland*; *Calendarium Inquisitionum post Mortem* (C. I. P. M.), i-iv.; *Abbreviationes Rotulorum Originalium*, i. ii.; *Parliamentary Writs*, i. ii.; *Calendarium Genealogicum*, ed. Roberts, ii. 539, 547; *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. Nicolas, i. ii. iii.; *Collins's Peerage*, ed. Brydges, iii. 3; *Life of Sir Peter Carew*, ed. Maclean; *Norman Rolls ap. Record Reports*, xli. 715, 717, 720; *Phillips's Pedigrees*.]

T. A. A.

**CAREW, JOHN** (d. 1660), regicide, was the eldest son of Richard Carew of Antony in Cornwall, by his second wife, of the family of Rolle of Heanton in Devonshire, and was consequently the half-brother of Sir Alexander Carew [q. v.]. He is said to have been educated at Gloucester Hall, Oxford, and to have been a student at the inns of court. When the loyalist members for the Cornish borough of Tregony in the Long parliament were disabled from sitting, Carew, who had 'a plentiful estate' in the county, was elected into one of the vacant seats, and he was one of the commissioners who received Charles I at Holdenby in 1646. He was appointed one of the king's judges, sat every day in the court, and signed the warrant for the execution of Charles. His name is found among the members of the third council of state in December 1651; he was reappointed in the succeeding council, and was one of the civilians serving in the larger body in 1653. In the parliament of 1653 he sat for Devon, but as his opinions were against a temporal monarchy and he disapproved of Cromwell's seizing the throne, Carew was, early in 1655, summoned before the council of state and imprisoned in St. Mawes Castle on the ground that he would not pledge himself to abstain from taking part against Cromwell and his government. After a short stay in confinement he was released, but he remained in retirement on his estates, and even his slanderers after the Restoration acknowledged that he made no attempt at any period

in his life to obtain any pecuniary advantage for himself. In 1658 he was again placed under restraint for a brief period, and in the following year was summoned to the restored house of parliament, but on 30 Sept. 1659 he was subjected to a fine of 100*l.*, presumably for non-attendance during its deliberations. At the Restoration he left Cornwall for London in obedience to the order of parliament that all the king's judges should surrender within fourteen days, and was arrested on his way, though the officer refused to detain him in consequence of an error in the description. In his progress to London Carew was often insulted by the mob, some of whom cried out, 'This is the rogue who will have no king but Jesus,' and as he was equally obnoxious to parliament on account of the fervour with which he held the religious opinion of the fifth monarchists, he was, by eighty votes to seventy, excluded from the Indemnity Bill. While in London he was afforded many opportunities of escape, but he refused to avail himself of them. His trial took place at the Old Bailey on 12 Oct. 1660. When asked, 'Are you guilty or not guilty?' he answered, 'Saying to our Lord Jesus Christ his right to the government of these kingdoms.' He endeavoured to prove that his acts were done under the authority of parliament, and asserted that he did his part 'in the fear of the holy and righteous Lord, the judge of the earth.' The jury of course found him guilty, and on 15 Oct. he was drawn on a hurdle from Newgate to Charing Cross. Then, as during his trial, Carew exulted in his courage, and suffered death with great composure of mind. After he had been quartered and his bowels burnt, his head and quarters were drawn naked and bare through the streets back to Newgate. His quarters should have been exposed on the city gates, but they were 'by a great favour' granted to his brother by the king, and in 'the same night obscurely buried.' Carew was a republican without guile and reproach.

[*Cobbett's State Trials*, v. 1004, 1048-58, 1237-57; *Noble's Regicides*, i. 124-35; *Geo. Bate's Lives of Actors of Murder of Charles I*; *Masson's Milton*, vols. iv. v. vi.; *Ludlow's Memoirs* (1771), pp. 207, 238, 394, 402-5; *Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub.* ii. 470-2, iii. 1110.]

W. P. C.

**CAREW, JOHN EDWARD** (1785?-1868), sculptor, was born at Waterford about 1785. He received some instruction in art at Dublin, and afterwards came to London. In 1809 he became an assistant to Sir Richard Westmacott, the sculptor, remaining with him till 1823. During the last ten or twelve

years that he was with Westmacott he was receiving from 800*l.* to 1,000*l.* a year as salary, and had also a studio of his own. In 1823 Carew was introduced to Lord Egremont, who invited him to devote his talents almost exclusively to his service. From that year until 1831 Carew, who continued to live in London, was employed on various works for his new patron. In 1831 he established himself in Brighton, and was frequently at Lord Egremont's house at Petworth. In 1835 he went to live at Grove House, near Petworth, a residence granted him by Egremont at a nominal rent, and there he remained until his patron's death in November 1837. Between 1823 and 1837 Carew was occupied in producing various groups, statues, busts, &c., in marble, many of which were made expressly for Lord Egremont for Petworth. The most important of these works were a statue of Huskisson, erected in Chichester Cathedral; an altar-piece (the 'Baptism of our Saviour') for the Roman catholic chapel at Brighton; a statue called 'Arethusa,' and another called 'The Falconer;' a statue of Adonis; a group of Vulcan and Venus; a group of Prometheus, and busts of various private persons. He first appeared as an exhibitor at the Royal Academy in 1830, when he sent 'Model of a Gladiator,' 'Bear in the Arena,' and 'Theseus and Minotaur.' In each of the years 1832, 1834, and 1835 he also sent two busts to the Academy. Upon Lord Egremont's death in 1837, Carew, who was not mentioned in the will, made a claim upon the estate of 50,000*l.*, a sum due to him (according to his contention) for various works supplied to Egremont. This claim was resisted by Egremont's executors, and Carew accordingly brought an action against them to recover his 50,000*l.* The cause (Carew *v.* Burrell and another) was tried at the Sussex spring assizes held at Lewes on 18 March 1840. Counsel for the plaintiff called Sir R. Westmacott and Sir Francis Chantrey, both of whom spoke of Carew's Petworth statues as works of the highest talent; and for these statues, Carew's counsel alleged, no direct payments had ever been made, though the sculptor had abandoned a lucrative profession in order to work entirely for Lord Egremont. In reply to this the defendants asserted that Egremont had during his lifetime paid every sixpence which he ever owed to Carew. They stated that they had succeeded in tracing cheques for 13,721*l.* 7*s.* 5*d.* paid by Egremont to Carew, and the receipt of these cheques Carew was subsequently forced to admit. The defendants also contended that a further sum of 4,760*l.* had been paid; that

some of the works were not ordered by Egremont but by others; and that the plaintiff's business as a sculptor had been insignificant. Plaintiff's counsel was compelled to agree to a nonsuit for his client. After the trial Carew was declared insolvent, and in December 1841, and in January, February, and May 1842, his pecuniary affairs had to undergo a further searching examination in the bankruptcy court.

In 1839 Carew exhibited at the Academy a marble bas-relief, 'The Good Samaritan;' in 1842 an 'Angel' from a monumental group; and in 1843, 1845, and 1848 some busts. In addition to these works, he executed a statue of Kean, a well-known statue of 'Whittington listening to the London Bells,' and designed 'The Death of Nelson at Trafalgar,' one of the four reliefs in bronze which decorate the pedestal of Nelson's column in Trafalgar Square. During his latter years Carew was living in London, but an increasing dimness of eyesight interfered with his work as a sculptor. He died on 30 Nov. 1868. Carew was married, and was the father of several children.

[Report of the Trial of the Cause Carew against Burrell, London, 1840; Report of the Proceedings in the Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors in the matter of John Edward Carew, London, 1842 (both reports privately printed from the shorthand writers' notes); Men of the Time, 1865, 1868, 1884; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Nagler's Künstler-Lexikon, 1835.]

W. W.

CAREW, SIR MATTHEW (*d.* 1618), master in chancery, was the younger son (being the tenth of nineteen children) of Sir Wymond Carew of Antony, Cornwall, treasurer of the first-fruits and tenths, by Martha Denny, sister of Sir Anthony Denny. He was educated at Westminster School, under Alexander Nowell, and proceeded to Trinity College, where he became a fellow and remained in residence for ten years. On determining to adopt the law as his profession in life, Carew repaired to Louvain, and continued studying there and at other universities on the continent for twelve years. His next step was to accompany Henry, earl of Arundel, into Italy as interpreter, and to return with the earl to England. Carew then entered upon practice in the court of arches, and in 1583 became master in chancery, a position which he held so long as to be styled in 1602 one of the 'ancientest' masters, and to justify his being knighted on 23 July 1603, before the coronation of James I. His wife was Alice, eldest daughter of Sir John Rivers, knight, lord mayor of London, and widow of one Ingpenney; by her Carew had numerous



children. He was buried at St. Dunstan's-in-the-West on 2 Aug. 1618, the main incidents in his career being described in a memorial tablet in the church, and his name being kept in remembrance by a charitable bequest for the poor of the parish. At the close of his life Carew was involved in trouble. There was a rumour in January 1613 that he would be 'cozened' of eight or nine thousand pounds through the fraud of a person in whom he reposed great confidence, and a little later his eldest son was engaged in a quarrel with one Captain Osborne, 'and, whether thro' him or another Cary, poor Osborne was slain.'

[Court and Times of James I, i. 220, 330; Collect. Topog. et Geneal. v. 206-8; Bibl. Topog. Britt. i. 30; Herald and Genealogist, vii. 575; Visit. of Cornwall (Harl. Soc. 1874), p. 33.]

W. P. C.

CAREW, SIR NICHOLAS (*d.* 1539), master of the horse to Henry VIII, was the head of the younger branch of a very ancient family which traced its descent back to the Conquest, though the surname, derived from Carew in Pembrokeshire, dates only from the days of King John. The younger branch had been established at Beddington in Surrey from the time of Edward III. Sir Richard Carew, father of Sir Nicholas, was created by Henry VII a knight-banneret at the battle of Blackheath, and was sheriff of Surrey in 1501. Nicholas was probably born in the last decade of the fifteenth century. In 1513 he was associated with his father in a grant from the crown of the office of lieutenant of Calais Castle, which they were to hold in survivorship (*Cal. State Papers*, Hen. VIII, vol. i. No. 4570). In the same year he attended Henry VIII in his invasion of France, and received a 'coat of rivet' of the king's gift at Théroutanne (*ib.* No. 4642). In December 1514 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Bryan, vice-chamberlain to Catherine of Arragon (*ib.* ii. No. 1850, and p. 1466). At this time he was squire of the king's body, and is also called one of the king's 'cypherers,' which appears to mean cupbearers, in which capacity he had an annuity of 30 marks given him by patent on 6 Nov. 1515 (*ib.* No. 1116; see also p. 874). At his marriage lands were settled upon him and his wife in Wallington, Carshalton, Beddington, Woodmansterne, Woodcote, and Mitcham, in Surrey (*ib.* Nos. 1850, 2161). In 1517 his name is mentioned as cupbearer at a great banquet given by the king at Greenwich on 7 July in honour of the ambassadors of young Charles of Castile, afterwards the Emperor Charles V (*ib.* No. 3446). This is the first occasion on which we find

him designated knight; and on 18 Dec. following, he being then knight of the royal body, was appointed keeper of the manor of Pleasaunce in East Greenwich, and of the park there. That he was a favourite with Henry VIII both at this time and long afterwards there is no doubt whatever. We learn from Hall, the chronicler, that early in the eleventh year of the reign (which means about May 1519) he and some other young men of the privy chamber who had been in France were banished from court by an order of the council for being too familiar with the king. Hall's 'Chronicle' is so accurate throughout in respect of dates, that we may take it for granted he is right here also; and, indeed, what he says is in perfect keeping with our knowledge from other sources. But in that case it must be observed that this was not the first occasion on which the council had insisted on his removal from the king's presence, for on 27 March 1518 the scholar Pace writes to Wolsey, 'Mr. Carew and his wife be returned to the king's grace—too soon after mine opinion' (*ib.* No. 4034). The king was still young and loved young companions, but he knew well how to guard himself against over-familiarity, and could freely allow any such cases to be corrected by his council while enjoying to the full the pleasures of the moment. On 11 Aug. of the same year he and Sir Henry Guildford 'had each of them from the standing wardrobe six yards of blue cloth of gold towards a base and a trapper, and fifteen yards of white cloth of silver damask to perform another base and trapper for the king's justs appointed to be at Greenwich upon the arrival of the French ambassadors' (ANSTIS, *Order of the Garter*, i. 241). Frequent mention is made of him even before this time in jousts and revels at the court (*Cal.* ii. 1500-1, 1503-5, 1507-10; HALL, *Chronicle*, 581).

In 1518-19 he was sheriff of Surrey and Sussex, his name being found on the commission of the peace for the former county from this time onward (*Cal.* ii. Nos. 4437, 4562). In May 1519, as we have already indicated, occurred what must have been at least his second expulsion from court, and though it was in some degree mitigated by his being given an honourable and lucrative post at Calais, we are told that it was 'sore to him displeasing.' It is commonly said that his disgrace was owing to his too great love of the French court, whose fashions he praised in preference to those of England; but Hall's words, from which the statement is derived, may possibly apply only to the gentlemen of the privy chamber who were removed along with him. So far as appears

by the 'State Papers' of the period he had as yet had no opportunity of making acquaintance with the French court. However, on 18 May 1519 an annuity of 109*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was granted to him out of the revenues of Calais, and two days later he was appointed lieutenant of the tower of Ruysbanke, a fort which guarded the entrance of Calais harbour (*ib.* iii. p. 93, and No. 247). This office had just been resigned by Sir John Peachey, who had been at the same time appointed deputy of Calais, and Peachey's letters tell us how Carew immediately after arrived at Calais and was sworn in as lieutenant of Ruysbanke the same day that he himself was sworn in as deputy (*ib.* Nos. 259, 265). In 1520 he was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and was one of those who held the lists against all comers (*ib.* pp. 241, 243, 313). He was also at the meeting of Henry VIII and Charles V, which occurred immediately afterwards (*ib.* p. 326). On 19 Oct. in that year he surrendered the lieutenancy of Calais Castle in favour of Maurice, lord Berkeley, but with reservation of a pension of 100*l.* to himself (*ib.* No. 1027, iv. No. 400); and on 12 Nov. he surrendered his annuity as one of the king's 'cyphers.'

At the very close of 1520 he was sent with important letters to Francis I (*ib.* iii. No. 1126), and on his return 100*l.* was paid him for his costs (*ib.* p. 1544). In 1521 he was one of the grand jury of Surrey who found the indictment in that county against the Duke of Buckingham (*ib.* p. 493). On 12 June in that year there were granted to him, in reversion after Sir Thomas Lovel, the offices of constable of Wallingford Castle and steward of the honour of Wallingford and St. Walric, and the four and a half hundreds of Chiltern (*ib.* No. 1345). At Christmas following he is named as one of the king's carvers (No. 1899). On 18 July 1522 he was appointed master of the horse, and also steward of the manor of Brasted in Kent, which had belonged to Buckingham. On the same day he likewise received a grant to himself and his wife, in tail male, of the manor of Bletchingley in Surrey (Nos. 2395-7), to which grant were added next year some other lands in the neighbourhood (*ib.* p. 1285). In October 1523, when the Earl of Surrey was in the north charged to repel a threatened invasion of the kingdom by the Duke of Albany, the Marquis of Dorset, Carew, and others were sent to him to give him counsel, and Surrey refers to their testimony as to the extreme discomforts of the campaign (Nos. 3421, 3434, 3508, 3515).

In 1526 he was assessed at 400*l.* for the third payment of the subsidy (*ib.* iv. p.

1332). Next year he was commissioned to go with Lord Lisle, Dr. Taylor, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter king of arms, to carry the Garter to Francis I of France (*ib.* No. 3508). It was duly presented on 10 Nov. (No. 3565), and, to judge by the interest afterwards taken in him by Francis, his conversation and address must have produced a very favourable impression. He returned, however, with Lord Lisle very shortly after the presentation, leaving Taylor at Paris, who remained as resident ambassador (No. 3591). On 29 Jan. 1528 he received the grant from the crown of an annuity of fifty marks (No. 3869). In the course of the following summer, while several of the court were taken ill of the sweating sickness, he appears to have felt a little uneasy, complaining of his head, but we do not hear that he had a more serious attack (No. 4429). One of those carried off by the epidemic was Sir William Compton [q.v.], who held the constablership of Warwick Castle and other important offices in that part of the country. Carew seems to have made interest to be appointed his successor, as we meet with a draft patent to that effect, but the grant does not appear to have been passed (No. 4583). In 1528-9 he was again sheriff for the counties of Surrey and Sussex (No. 4914), and at the expiration of his year's service in this office he was chosen knight of the shire for Surrey in the parliament of 1529 (*ib.* iv. p. 2691). But he could scarcely have taken his seat in parliament when he was sent, with Dr. Sampson and Dr. Benet, to Bologna on embassy to the emperor. Their instructions had already been prepared as early as 21 Sept., and they seem to have left on or about 7 Oct. (Nos. 5949, 5995); but additional instructions were sent after them on 30 Nov. (No. 6069). Carew continued at Bologna till 7 Feb. 1530, and in the opinion of good judges acquitted himself with great dexterity (*ib.* p. 2783).

In February 1531 the king paid him a visit at Beddington, and went to hunt in his grounds (*ib.* v. p. 50). In September following he and Thomas Cromwell received joint authority to swear in commissioners for sewers in Surrey (*ib.* No. 429). Next year (against his will, as he privately intimated to the imperial ambassador Chapuys) he was sent over to France in October to prepare for a meeting between Henry VIII and Francis I, which took place at Calais in the end of the month. As the object of the interview no doubt was to promote the king's marriage to Anne Boleyn and to strengthen him against the emperor, it was exceedingly unpopular. Carew, for his part, would rather

have gone to hinder than to prepare for it; but he did as he was commanded (*ib.* p. 592). In much the same spirit doubtless, when Anne Boleyn was proclaimed queen next year, he journeyed at her coronation (*ib.* vi. p. 266). In this year (1533) Francis wrote to Henry VIII requesting him to confer upon Carew the order of the Garter, which the king apparently promised to do on some future occasion (*ib.* Nos. 555, 707). Shortly afterwards he obtained a grant in reversion of the office of the king's otter hunter (*ib.* p. 496). Next year the French king again wrote to Henry in Carew's favour that a Garter might be conferred on him, and, if convenient, the chancellorship of the order. Henry replied to the envoy who presented the letter that the chancellorship of the order had been already conferred upon the king of Scots, but that he would remember Carew for a Garter on the first vacancy (*ib.* viii. p. 61). Accordingly, on St. George's day, 23 April 1536, a chapter being held at Greenwich, votes were taken to fill a vacancy among the knights, and the king on the following day declared that the election had fallen on Carew. According to the Black Book of the order he was elected 'in regard of the majority of votes, the eminence of his extraction, his own fame, and the many and noble actions he had performed; which ample relation was unanimously applauded by the knights companions.' He was installed at St. George's feast, 21 May following (*ANSTIS, Order of the Garter*, i. 249, ii. 398).

He was still, to all appearance, in high favour in October 1537, when at the christening of Prince Edward (afterwards Edward VI) he, with three others of high standing at the court, 'in aprons and towels, took charge of the font, and kept the same till they were discharged thereof by the lord steward or treasurer of the king's house in his absence' (*STRYPE, Eccl. Memorials*, II. i. 4). But little more than a year afterwards a cloud passed over his fortunes. In November 1538 Lord Montague and the Marquis of Exeter were sent to the Tower, and next month they were found guilty of high treason on the ground that they had expressed approval of the proceedings of Montague's brother, Cardinal Pole, and hoped to see a change in the realm. Early in 1539 Carew was also apprehended. On 14 Feb. he was arraigned as an adherent of the Marquis of Exeter, and for having spoken of his prosecution as arbitrary and unjust. Of this he was certainly a very competent judge, as he had been a member of the special commission which received the indictment (*Third Report of Dep. Keeper of Public Records*, App. ii. 256). To have

said so, however, was in itself almost sufficient to brand him as a traitor. But it had been found, besides, since Exeter's attainder, that Carew had been privy to a number of the 'traitorous discourses' of the marquis in past years, and had kept up a treasonable correspondence with him, the letters on both sides having been burnt by mutual agreement to avoid disclosure. The treason, of course, was of the same character as that of the marquis himself, the expression of a desire to see a change. Carew was condemned as a matter of course, and on 3 March was beheaded on Tower Hill. On the scaffold, if we may believe the puritanical testimony of Hall, 'he made a goodly confession, both of his folly and superstitious faith, giving God most hearty thanks that ever he came in the prison of the Tower, where he first savored the life and sweetness of God's most holy Word, meaning the Bible in English, which there he read by the mean of one Thomas Phelps, then keeper of that prison.' Hall adds that Phelps himself had been a prisoner there two years before, and had suffered persecution for his opinions from Sir Thomas More and Stokesley, bishop of London—that is to say, he had been prosecuted in the bishop's court and under a royal commission for heresy.

A family tradition, mentioned by Fuller, gives as the cause of his fall an indiscreet answer that he gave to the king when the latter, between jest and earnest, at a game at bowls, used opprobrious language towards him. 'The king,' according to Fuller, 'in this kind would give and not take,' and Carew accordingly 'fell from the top of his favour to the bottom of his displeasure.' It is possible, and not altogether inconsistent with the Tudor character, that a game of bowls was the occasion made use of to let Carew know he had fallen from favour; but that it was not the cause of the king's displeasure we have pretty sufficient evidence. The tradition, however, may perhaps refer to the temporary disgrace which Carew, as we have seen, had incurred at an earlier period. It may at least be accepted as showing that he was a man of quick temper, who could not easily bear indignities even from a king. We learn also from Fuller that he built a fine manor house at Beddington.

He was buried in the church of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, in the same tomb in which his wife Elizabeth, his daughter Mary, and her husband, Sir Arthur Darcy, were afterwards interred. His property of course was seized by the crown, and, though his attainder was afterwards reversed (2 & 3 Edw. VI, c. 42), there is still preserved an interesting

inventory taken at Beddington in the reign of Edward VI, describing the tapestries, bedsteads, and other furniture which had been left there apparently by the unfortunate knight. Among other articles mention is expressly made of a press with drawers full of evidences, court rolls, and other writings concerning the lands both of Carew and of other persons. At the end is a list of books, among which are enumerated the chronicles of Monstrelet and Froissart, with other books, both written and printed, of divers histories. But the work which stands first on the list is Gower's '*Confessio Amantis*' (the author's name is not given in the inventory), which is described as 'a great book of parchment lined with gold of graver's work.'

A fine portrait of Carew, painted on board, was preserved at Beddington till about twenty years ago, when the house was sold and the pictures were disposed of. It is engraved in Lysons's '*Environs of London*,' from a copy taken for Lord Orford at a time when the original, we are told, was in a more perfect state than it was even when Lysons wrote.

[A brief account of Carew is given in Lysons's *Environs*, i. 49, and another in Anstis's *Order of the Garter*, i. 249. See also (besides authorities above cited) Fuller's *Worthies* (ed. 1811), ii. 379; Hall's *Chronicle* (ed. 1809), pp. 581, 598, 611, 630, 689, 722, 827; Harl. MS. 1419, f. 373.]  
J. G.

**CAREW, SIR PETER** (1514-1575), soldier, was the second son of Sir William Carew of Ottery Mohun or Mohuns Ottery, Devonshire, who was the son of Sir Edmund Carew [q. v.]. His brothers were George, who served in several military commands in the reign of Henry VIII, and Philip, of whom nothing is known but that he was a knight of Malta. Sir Peter was born at Ottery Mohun in 1514. He was sent to the grammar school at Exeter, but can hardly be said to have been educated there; for a career of frequent truancy culminated in his climbing a turret on the city wall, and threatening to jump down if his master came after him. His father, being told of this escapade, had him led back to his house in a leash, like a dog, and for a punishment 'coupled him to one of his hounds, and so continued him for a time.' Soon after he was sent to St. Paul's School, but did no better there; and his father, in despair of making him a scholar, accepted the proposal of a French friend, who wanted the young Carew as his page. He was unlucky in this new position also, and was degraded to the place of muleteer, from which he was rescued by a relation, who heard his companions call him by name. This relation, a Carew of Haccombe, was going with

Francis I, king of France, to the siege of Pavia, but died on the way, and the young Carew was taken up by the Marquis of Saluzzo, who was slain at the battle of Pavia in February 1526. Being again left masterless, he went over to the enemy's camp, and entered the service of Philibert de Châlons, prince of Orange, and, after his death at the siege of Florence in 1530, continued with his sister Claudia, wife of Henry of Nassau. He was now about sixteen years of age, and, being anxious to revisit his native country, was sent by the princess with letters to Henry VIII, who, struck by his proficiency in riding and other exercises, and by his knowledge of the French language, took him into his service, first as a henchman, and then as a gentleman of the privy chamber. The next few years of his life were chiefly passed in England at the court, with the exception of journeys in the king's service, such as attending on his royal master to Calais in 1532; on Lord William Howard, when he took the Garter to James V in 1535; and on the lord admiral when he went to fetch Anne of Cleves in 1539. About the following year (1540) he went abroad with his cousin, John Champenoun, and visited Constantinople, Venice, Milan, and Vienna, where Champenoun died of dysentery. While in the Turk's countries the travellers had disguised themselves as merchants in alum. Soon after Carew's return war broke out between England and France, and he served both by land and sea. In the campaign of 1544 he joined the king's army with one hundred foot, apparelled in black at his own expense, his elder brother, George, being lieutenant of the horse till he was taken prisoner at Landrecy. Sir George was not long in captivity, and in the following year was in command of the Mary Rose when she foundered going out of Portsmouth harbour to attack the French fleet. Carew crossed the Channel with the lord-admiral (Sir John Dudley), being one of the leaders of the assault of Tréport, for which he was knighted.

M. P. for Tavistock in 1545, and for Devonshire in 1553, Carew was sheriff of Devonshire in 1547, but marrying a Lincolnshire lady, Margaret, daughter of Sir William Skipworth, widow of George, lord Tailboys de Kyme, he went to reside on his wife's estates, till he was recalled by the news of the insurrection of 1549, caused by the issuing of the reformed Book of Common Prayer. His action in this matter was energetic, and he did not escape reprimand for having exceeded his commission. On the death of Edward VI he opposed the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and proclaimed Mary as queen in

the west; but as soon as her marriage with Philip of Spain was proposed, he conspired with some of his neighbours against it. The plot was discovered, and he only escaped to the continent just in time to avoid arrest. At Venice he was nearly murdered by bravoës hired by Peter Vannes, the English ambassador, and therefore travelled northward. Passing through Antwerp, Lord Paget had him and his companion, Sir John Cheke, arrested by the sheriff, and sent blindfolded to England in a fishing-boat. His destination was the Tower, where he was confined till December 1556, being released on the payment of some old-standing debt of his grandfather to the crown. The accession of Elizabeth again brought him into favour. In the second year of her reign, when the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Grey de Wilton were commanding an army against the French in Scotland, he was sent on the delicate mission of settling a difference between the two noblemen which was detrimental to the public service; and when the duke was tried and convicted of treason, in 1572, Carew acted as constable of the Tower. But before this latter date (about 1565 or 1566) he showed a quantity of old records to his biographer, Hooker, who on examination was convinced that Carew was entitled to many lands in Ireland which had belonged to his ancestors; and going to Ireland on Carew's behalf, his opinion was confirmed. Carew thereupon obtained leave from the queen to prosecute his title, and sailed from Ilfracombe in August 1568. The remainder of his life, with short exceptions, was spent in recovering what he believed to be his property in Ireland, in which was included a large portion of Munster, which had been granted by Henry II to Robert Fitz-Stephen, whose daughter married a Carew. He began with the lordship of Maston in Meath, which was occupied by Sir Christopher Chyvers. He then obtained a decree of the deputy and council adjudging to him the barony of Odrone in Carlow, which was held by the Kavanaghs, and was appointed captain of Leighlin Castle, which is in the centre of the barony (17 Feb. 1568-9). A few miles north lay the castle of Cloghgrenan, which was held by Sir Edmund Butler, brother of the Earl of Ormonde, having been taken from the Kavanaghs by their father. Butler, it is said, expecting to be dispossessed, made several attempts to attack Carew, but in vain; and the rebellion known as the Butler's wars breaking out shortly after, Carew stormed and took the castle. For this he incurred some blame from the queen, as being partly the cause of the insurrection, and was obliged to return to England to excuse him-

self, and obtain leave to prosecute his claims in Munster. While in this country the queen was anxious for him to resume the seat in parliament which he had held in the first year of her reign, but he refused. His petition being at length granted, he returned to Ireland (1574), and finding that Lord Courcy, Lord Barry Oge, the O'Mahons, and others were willing to acknowledge his claims and become his tenants, he ordered a house to be prepared at Cork, but was taken ill on his way thither, and died at Ross in Waterford on 27 Nov. 1575. He was buried on 15 Dec. in the church at Waterford, on the south side of the chancel, and his faithful servant and biographer erected a monument to his memory in Exeter Cathedral. There is an engraving of this in Sir John Maclean's 'Life,' and also of the well-known portrait at Hampton Court. Neither he nor his brother left any issue. His will, at Somerset House, is dated 4 July 1574, and was proved 20 Feb. 1575.

[We have a detailed contemporary account of Carew's romantic life, written by Richard Hooker, *alias* Vowell, the uncle of the author of the Ecclesiastical Polity, who was in Carew's service for some years. There is an account of this biography in *Archæologia*, vol. xxviii., and it has been printed by Sir John Maclean, and in the *Calendar of the Carew Papers*. Sir John Maclean's edition is illustrated with copious notes and appendices of documents and letters. See also *Calendar of Irish Papers*, vols. 1509-1573, 1574-85; *Cal. of Carew MSS.* 1515-74; *Strype's Eccl. Mem.* iii. i. 147, 515, iii. ii. 7; *Strype's Annals*, i. i. 468; *Life of Cheke*, 106-8; *Foxe*, vi. 413-14, viii. 257-607; *Fuller's Church Hist.* iv. 228; *Fuller's Worthies*, Devon, 272; *Wood's Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, i. 243, 327, ii. 450; *Polywhele's Devonshire*, ii. 11, 19; *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, 199, 204; *Leland's Itin.* iii. 40; *Tuckett's Devonshire Pedigrees*.]

C. T. M.

CAREW, RICHARD (1555-1620), poet and antiquary, is the best-known member of one of the leading families of Cornwall. His father, Thomas Carew of Antony House, in the parish of East Antony, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Richard Edgecumbe, and their eldest son, Richard, was born at Antony House on 17 July 1555. When only eleven years old he became a gentleman commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, but his rooms were in Broadgates Hall, and he was probably one of the two persons called Carew appearing in a list of the undergraduates resident in that hall about 1570. Here, when a scholar of three years' standing, he was called upon, as he modestly says, 'upon a wrong conceived opinion touching my sufficiency,' to dispute '*extempore (impar congressus Achilles)*' with the matchless Sir Philip

Sidney, in presence of the Earls Leicester, Warwick, and divers other great personages.' What the issue of the contest was Carew has omitted to state, but later historians have added that the dispute resulted in a drawn battle. The family estates passed to him early in life, and in the verses on his ancestors and his issue which he incorporated in his 'Survey of Cornwall' (pp. 246-7, ed. 1811) it is recorded that he was the fifth of his race to inherit the patrimony. In 1577 he married Juliana, the eldest daughter of John Arundel of Trerice, by his first wife, Catherine, daughter of John Coswarth, and through his marriage he inherited a part of the Coswarth property. He devoted himself with great zeal to the discharge of his duties as a country gentleman, and solaced his leisure hours with inquiries into the history and antiquities of his native county, and with the study of foreign languages, until he had become a master of five tongues—the epitaph which he wrote on himself specifies the languages of Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and Spain—by reading, 'without any other teaching.' In 1581 he was appointed a justice of the peace, and in 1586 he was called upon to act as high sheriff of Cornwall. As he was the owner of large estates near several Cornish boroughs, and his connections embraced the principal gentry of the county, he had little difficulty in obtaining a seat in parliament. In 1584 he was returned for Saltash, and in 1597 he sat for St. Michael's. He was one of the deputy-lieutenants of Cornwall, and he served under Sir Walter Raleigh, the lord-lieutenant of the county, in the posts of treasurer of the lieutenantancy and colonel of the regiment, five hundred strong, which had for its charge the protection of Cawsand Bay. Of the Society of Antiquaries first established by Archbishop Parker, Carew became an active member in 1589, and about the same time began the task of compiling an historical survey of his native county. Among the gentry of Cornwall he took the first place, and the antiquaries of London accepted him as their equal. Spelman, who addressed to him an 'Epistle on Tithes,' and Camden were his intimate friends, and in Ben Jonson's 'Exe-cration upon Vulcan' he is classed with Cotton and Selden. John Dunbar has two Latin epigrams to Carew (*Centuriæ Sex epigrammaton*, 6th Centur., 51 and 52), lauding his knowledge of history, poetry, and the law, and punning on his name; while Charles Fitzgeoffrey, in his 'Affianæ,' book iii., praises his linguistic attainments. He died on 6 Nov. 1620, 'as he was at his private prayers in his study (his daily practice) at fower in the afternoon,' and was buried in Antony Church.

Against its north wall stands a plain tablet of black marble bearing a long inscription to his memory. Another epitaph was written for him by Camden, which dwells on the modesty of his manners, the generosity of his disposition, his varied learning, and his christian zeal. Both epitaphs, together with some verses written by the historian immediately before his death, are printed in the 'Parochial History of Cornwall,' i. 24. The earliest work of Carew is the translation of the first five cantos of Tasso's 'Godfrey of Billoigne, or the recouerie of Hiervsalam,' a very rare volume which appeared in 1594, and according to some copies 'imprinted by Iohn Windet for Thomas Man,' and in others 'by Iohn Windet for Christopher Hunt of Exceter,' who served his time to Man. The fourth book of the translation was reproduced in S. W. Singer's reprint of Fairfax's translation, 1817, vol. i. xxxiii-lvii, and the whole work was issued by the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart in 1881 in an edition limited to sixty-two copies. Carew was for some time unaware that his translation was being passed through the press, and when it came to his ears the first five cantos only were issued because he commanded 'a staie of the rest till the sommer,' a summer which never arrived. The accuracy of his translation has been much commended, but it has generally been allowed that its effect is weakened by his endeavour to make the English version an exact copy, line by line, of the original. It contains several passages of much beauty, and great praise is given to many extracts from it in an elaborate article in the 'Retrospective Review,' iii. 32-50. In the same year (1594) there appeared a rendering of 'Examen de Ingenios. The examination of men's wits by John Huarte. Translated out of the Spanish Tongue by M. Camillo Camilli. Englished out of his Italian by R. C[arew], Esquire,' which was reprinted in 1596, 1604, and 1616. Huarte's work is a dull treatise of little value, on the corporeal and mental qualities of men and women. Carew's translation is dedicated to Sir Francis Godolphin, who lent him Camilli's version, a loan recorded in the words, 'Good Sir, your booke returneth vnto you clad in a Cornish gabardine.' An anonymous poem, called 'A Herring's Tayle,' which was published in 1598, has been assigned to Carew on the strength of a statement in Guillim's 'Heraldry' (1611), p. 154, and as the assertion was made during the lifetime of Carew by one of like tastes with himself, its accuracy can be accepted. This poem, which contains some vigorous lines, is not free as a whole from the charge of obscurity. The subject is

The strange adventures of the hardie Snayle  
Who durst (vnlikely match) the weathercock  
assayle.

When Carew next appeared as an author it was in topographical literature. 'The Survey of Cornwall.' Written by Richard Carew of Antonie, Esquire, had been long in hand, though it was not published until 1602, the subscription on the last leaf being 'Deo gloria, mihi gratia, 1602, April 23.' He meditated in 1606 the issuing of a second edition, 'not so much for the enlarging it as the correcting mine and the printer's oversights,' but it was not republished before 1723, when there was prefixed to it a 'life of the author by H\*\*\*\* C\*\*\*\*\*,' a catch-penny device intended to delude the world with the belief that it was the composition of a member of the family of Carew, but it was in reality a dull compilation by Pierre des Maizeaux. The 'Survey' and the life were reissued in 1769, and another edition of the 'Survey,' with notes by Thomas Tonkin, was printed for Lord De Dunstanville in 1811. Carew's history of Cornwall still remains one of the most entertaining works in the English language. In its pages may be discerned the character of an English gentleman in the brightest age of our national history, interesting himself in the pursuits of all around him and skilled in the pastimes of every class. The industries of the county and its topographical peculiarities are depicted with considerable detail, and if there is little genealogical information in its pages the characters of its celebrities are described with quaintness and with kindness. Carew's 'pleasant and faithfull description' of Cornwall was the phrase of Fuller, and the words were well chosen. He was also the author of 'An Epistle concerning the excellencies of the English tongue,' which appeared in the second edition of Camden's 'Remains,' 1605, and was reprinted with the 1723 and 1769 editions of the 'Survey of Cornwall.' The merits assigned by him to the language are significancy, easiness to be learnt, copiousness, and sweetness. This little essay possesses the charm which is inherent in all Carew's writings, but it would have passed out of recollection by this time but for its mention, in a comparison of English and foreign writers, of Shakespeare's name. A manuscript volume of his poems was formerly in the possession of the Rev. John Prince, the commemorator of the Worthies of Devon. Mr. James Crossley suggested that Carew might be the R. C. who translated Henry Stephens's 'World of Wonders,' 1607 (*Notes and Queries*, 5th ser., viii. 247, 1877). Several of his letters to Camden are among the 'Cottonian MSS.,'

(Julius C. v.) A letter to Sir Robert Cotton is printed in 'Letters of Eminent Literary Men' (Camden Soc., 1843, pp. 98-100).

[Fuller's Worthies, 1811, i. 218; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 284-7; Corser's Collectanea, iii. 242; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub.; Life in Survey of Cornwall, 1723.]

W. P. C.

CAREW, SIR RICHARD (*d.* 1643?), writer on education, was the eldest son of Richard Carew, the poet and antiquary [q. v.]. The chief facts in his life are set out in the opening sentences of his 'True and readie Way to learne the Latine Tongue.' He was put to school in his 'tender youth, and so continued for nine or ten years.' Three years were spent at the university of Oxford—he was probably the Richard Carew who matriculated at Merton College on 10 Oct. 1594—and three more in studying law at the Middle Temple. After this course of instruction he was despatched with his uncle on an embassy to the king of Poland, and as the king was at the time on a visit in Sweden Carew followed him thither. On his return he was sent by his father into France, with Sir Henry Nevill, ambassador to Henry IV, to 'learn the French tongue,' and in the third book of Charles Fitzgeoffry's 'Affianis' is an epigram addressed to him on his return from his French travels. In 1614 he was one of the members for the county of Cornwall, and in 1620 he represented Michell, a Cornish borough in which the family connections possessed great influence. He was twice married, his first wife being Bridget, daughter of John Chudleigh of Devonshire, and the second wife being Miss Rolle of Heanton. He was created a baronet on 9 Aug. 1641, and his death took place about 1643. On 3 Sept. 1640 there was licensed by the Company of Stationers 'a booke called "The Warming Stone."' This was by Carew, and it was a treatise written to prove that a 'warming stone' was 'useful and comfortable for the colds of aged and sick people' and for many other diseases. The author was himself said to have been 'cured of several distempers by it,' and its virtues were attested by numerous cases around his family seat. Editions of this tract are known to have been published in 1652, 1660, and 1670. Carew was one of the persons who examined the attendants at Antony Church on the thunderstorm on Whitsunday 1640, and an account of the storm, which was written by him, appeared in the 'Western Antiquary,' i. 44-5. In 1654 Samuel Hartlib published 'The true and readie way to learne Latine tongue attested by three excellently learned and approved authours of three nations,' of which Carew was the English author. Hartlib was appa-

rently under the impression that it was the composition of the poetical antiquary, but it was the work of his son. Carew was opposed to much grammar teaching, his wish being for translation backwards and forwards.

[Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornub.* i. 9, 58, iii. 1111; *Arber's Stationers' Registers*, iv. 619.]  
W. P. C.

**CAREW** or **CARY, ROBERT**, also called **CERVINUS** (*fl.* 1825), schoolman, is stated to have been a doctor of divinity of Oxford, and to have held an eminent position as a teacher and philosopher. His works named are 'Quæstiones in libros Posteriorum Aristotelis,' besides the regular productions of a scholastic, — a commentary on the 'Sentences' of Peter Lombard, 'Quæstiones ordinariæ,' and expositions 'super varios sacre Scripturæ textus.'

[Leland's *Comm. de Script. Brit.* cccxviii. p. 319; *Pits, De Angliæ Script.* p. 417; *Tanner's Bibl. Brit.* p. 154.]  
R. L. P.

**CAREW, SIR THOMAS** (*d.* 1431). [See under **CAREW, SIR JOHN** (*d.* 1362).]

**CAREW, THOMAS** (1595?–1639?), poet, a younger son of Sir Matthew Carew [q. v.], by Alice, daughter of Sir John Rivers, knt., was born about 1595. Wood's statement that he entered at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, is uncorroborated. He apparently matriculated at Merton College on 10 June 1608, aged 13, and graduated B.A. 31 Jan. 1611. As early as 1613 his father, who was in straitened circumstances at the time, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton, complains that one of his sons was 'roving after hounds and hawks, and the other [Thomas] studying in the Middle Temple, but doing little at law.' Carleton hereupon took the youth into his service as secretary, and Carew appears to have remained with him during his embassy at Venice and Turin, and to have returned with him to England about the end of 1615. When Carleton became ambassador to the States in the following spring, Carew again accompanied him, but some time in the summer he was suddenly dismissed his employment (owing to his making slanderous insinuations against his patron and his wife) and returned to England. Sir Matthew made more than one effort to get his son another post, but in vain, and at the end of October describes him as 'wandering idly about without employment,' Lord Arundel and others having declined to take him into their service in consequence of his misconduct, which had been aggravated by 'aspersions' spoken and written against Sir Dudley and Lady Carleton. In 1619 Carew went with his friend Lord Herbert of Cherbury to the French court. He had previously been seen about Whitehall, for at the creation

of Charles, prince of Wales, 8 Nov. 1616, he is mentioned as attending on Lord Beauchamp as his squire. He became in 1628 gentleman of Charles I's privy chamber, and subsequently sewer in ordinary. He was, it is said, high in favour with that king, who had a high opinion of his wit and abilities. Carew was associated more or less closely with almost all the eminent literary men of his time, and was especially intimate with Davenant and Sir John Suckling. In the collection of Suckling's poems there are more than one among the poems and letters addressed to Carew by no means creditable to either. Carew's longest performance was 'Cælum Britannicum' (though Mr. Bolton Corney doubted whether he were really the author), a masque performed at Whitehall on 18 Feb. 1633–4; his other poems are chiefly songs and 'society verses,' composed, it is said, with great difficulty, but melodious and highly polished, though characterised by the usual conceits and affectation of his time. Four editions of Carew's poems appeared between 1640 and 1671, a fifth in 1772, and six have been printed since; the latest were edited by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt, 1870 4to, by J. W. Ebsworth, 1893 8vo, and by Arthur Vincent, 1899 (in 'Muses' Library'). There is an uncertainty about the time of Carew's death. It looks as if his life had been shortened by his irregular habits. When he was stricken down by mortal sickness, he sent for Hales of Eton to administer to him the consolations of religion. Hales seems to have thought meanly of him, and made no secret of his low opinion. Carew has left some wretched attempts at versifying a few of the Psalms. Carew probably died in 1639, but no entry of his burial has been found. His portrait by Vandyck is at Windsor Castle.

The poet Carew has been confused with Thomas Carey (1597–1634), second son of Robert Carey, first earl of Monmouth [q. v.], a favoured courtier of James I and groom of the bedchamber to Charles I, who granted him in 1630 the manor of Sunninghill, Berkshire. At the date of his death he was ambassador-designate to Venice. By his wife Margaret, daughter of Sir Thomas Smith (1556?–1609) [q. v.], he left three daughters. He wrote two poems which Henry Lawes set to music, and Sir Richard Fanshawe rendered into Latin. Varin engraved a medallion portrait.

[Vincent's Introduction to his edition of *Carew's Poems*, 1899; Hazlitt's *Introd.* 1870; Ebsworth's *Introd.* 1893. See also Nichols's *Progresses of James I.* iii. 224; Lord Herbert's *Autobiography* (1886), xxviii. 190, 198; *Court and Times of James I.* i. 433, 434; *Cal. of State*



Papers, Dom. 1638-9, p. 342; Notes and Queries, 4th series, ii. 459.] A. J.

CAREY. [See also CAREW and CARY.]

CAREY, DAVID (1782-1824), journalist and poet, son of a manufacturer in Arbroath, was born in 1782. After leaving school he was placed in his father's counting-house, but subsequently he removed to Edinburgh, where he was for a short time in the publishing-house of Archibald Constable. Thence he went to London and obtaining a situation on the periodical press, wrote with such keenness in support of the whig government as to attract the notice of Wyndham, who offered him a foreign appointment, which he declined. After the dissolution of the ministry of 'all the talents' he wrote a satire entitled 'Ins and Outs; or, the State of Parties, by Chrononhotonthologos,' which met at once with an extensive sale. In 1807 he became editor of the 'Inverness Journal,' which he left in 1812 to conduct the 'Boston Gazette.' In a few months, however, he renewed his connection with the London press, which for the remainder of his life occupied his principal attention. In 1822 he spent some time in Paris, and on his return published 'Life in Paris,' written chiefly in a humorous vein, with apposite coloured illustrations. His visit to Paris having failed to restore his shattered health, he returned to his father's house at Arbroath, where he died of consumption after eighteen months' illness on 4 Oct. 1824. Besides the works above mentioned, two novels—'The Secrets of the Castle,' 1806, and 'Lochiel; or, the Field of Culloden,' 1812—and 'Picturesque Scenes; or, a Guide to the Highlands,' 1811, Carey was the author of several volumes of verse displaying some taste and fancy, although the sentiment is for the most part commonplace and hackneyed. He edited the 'Poetical Magazine; or, Temple of the Muses,' 1804, consisting chiefly of his own poems, and published separately 'Pleasures of Nature; or, the Charms of Rural Life, and other Poems,' 1803; 'The Reign of Fancy, a Poem with Notes,' 1803; 'Lyric Tales, &c.' 1804; 'Poems chiefly Amatory,' 1807; 'Craig Phadrig: Visions of Sensibility, with Legendary Tales, and occasional Pieces and Historical Notes,' 1810; and 'The Lord of the Desert: Sketches of Scenery; Foreign and Domestic Odes, and other Poems,' 1812.

[Anderson's Scottish Nation; Brit. Mus. Catalogue.] T. F. H.

CAREY or CAREW, ELIZABETH, LADY, the elder (*n.* 1590), patroness of the poets, was the second daughter of Sir John

Spencer of Althorpe, and wife of Sir George Carey [q. v.], eldest son and heir of Henry Carey [q. v.], first lord Hunsdon. Edmund Spenser, the poet, was her kinsman, and she took a deep interest in his literary labours. Spenser's 'Muiopotmos' is dedicated to her, and the poet acknowledges in the epistle the 'excellent favours' he had received from her. Lady Carey is also one of the patrons whom Spenser commemorates in an introductory sonnet to the 'Faery Queene.' Nash, the satirist, likewise acknowledges her patronage. In dedicating his 'Christ's Tears over Jerusalem' to her in 1593, he writes: 'Divers well-deserving Poets have consecrated their endeavours to your praise. Fame's eldest favorite, Maister Spenser, in all his writings he prizeth you.' John Dowland, the songwriter, dedicating his 'first book of Songes and Ayres' (1597) to Sir George Carey, speaks of the 'singular graces' shown by 'your vertuous Lady, my honourable mistress.'

A daughter of Lady Carey, also named ELIZABETH, was similarly a patroness of Nash, and in the dedication to the 'Terrors of the Night' (1594) he refers to the mother in an address to the daughter in these terms: 'A worthy daughter are you to so worthie a mother. . . . Into the Muses societie herself she hath lately adopted, and purchast divine Petrarch another monument in England. Ever honoured may she be of the royalest breed of wits, whose purse is so open to her poore bedsmen's distresses. Well may I say it, because I have tride it, never liv'd a more magnificent Ladie of her degree on this earth.' The reference to Petrarch here plainly proves that Lady Carey had translated some of his poems, but there is no trace of any of them having been published. It is just possible, however, that some of the renderings of Petrarch, which are commonly attributed to Spenser, and printed in his collected works, although they are far inferior in style to his other productions, may be from Lady Carey's pen.

The only printed literary work which bears the name of Elizabeth Carew or Carey is 'The Tragedie of Marian the faire Queene of Lewry, written by that learned, vertuous, and truly noble Ladie E[izabeth] C[arew],' London, 1613. This tedious poem, in rhyming quatrains, is prefixed in some editions by a sonnet from the pen of an anonymous admirer of the authoress, 'To Diannes Earthlie Deputesse, and my worthy sister, Mistris Elizabeth Carye.' It is difficult to determine precisely to which Elizabeth Carey, whether to mother or daughter, the work is to be ascribed. The inscription above the sonnet would imply that the 'Mistris Elizabeth Carye' was un-

becoming lieutenant in April 1847, captain in October 1848, major in January 1853, and receiving brevet rank as lieutenant-colonel in May 1853 for service in the field. He became brevet-colonel in 1854, after less than nine years' army service. He served as military secretary to his uncle, Lieutenant-general Sir James Jackson, commanding the forces at the Cape during the frontier troubles of 1856-7. Afterwards he exchanged as major to the 2nd battalion 18th Royal Irish, and proceeded with that corps to New Zealand, where he served in the Maori war from August 1863 to August 1865 (medal), as colonel on the staff and brigadier-general, and commanded the expedition on the east coast to the Thames and to Tauranga. He also commanded at the siege and capture of the enemy's stronghold at Orakau, which fell after three days' continued operations. For this, one of the few successes of the war, Carey was made C.B. On 27 May 1865 William Thompson, the great Maori chief and 'king-maker,' surrendered to Carey, laying his 'tacka' at that officer's feet in token of submission to Queen Victoria. Carey was appointed to command the troops in Australia in August 1865, and acted as governor and administrator of Victoria from 7 May to 16 Aug. 1866. In December 1867 he was appointed to an infantry brigade at Aldershot; in 1868 he became major-general; and in October 1871 was transferred to the command of the northern district, with headquarters at Manchester. Carey married in 1861 the only daughter of W. Gordon Thompson of Clifton Gardens, Hyde Park, London, by whom he had four children. He died, during his tenure of the northern command, on 10 June 1872, at his residence, Whalley Range, Manchester, and was buried at Rozel.

[Burke's Landed Gentry, vol. i.; Colonial Office Lists; Army Lists.] H. M. C.

CAREY, GEORGE SAVILLE (1743-1807), miscellaneous writer, a posthumous son of Henry Carey (*d.* 1743) [q.v.], was born a short time after his father's death, and was brought up to the trade of a printer (*Biog. Dram.* i. 86). About 1763 he resolved to go upon the stage. Garrick, Mrs. Cibber, and others encouraged him in this course (*Inoculator*, preface, p. vii). He played at Covent Garden, where William Powell did his best for him, but he failed to make his way and retired. He then wrote 'The Inoculator,' a comedy, in three acts, and 'The Cottagers,' an opera; these plays were not acted, but were published with some poems in 1766 by subscription. In 1768 Carey, under the pseudonym of Paul Tell-Truth, esq., published 'Liberty chastized; or Patriotism

in Chains, a Tragi-comi-political Farce;,' and wrote 'The Nut-Brown Maid' (published in his 'Analects,' 1770). In 1769 he published 'Shakespeare's Jubilee, a Masque;,' in 1770 'The Old Women Weatherwise, an Interlude,' presented at Drury Lane; 'The Magic Girdle, a Burletta,' acted at the Marylebone Gardens; 'The Noble Pedlar,' another burletta; and a collection of trifles called 'Analects in Verse and Prose, chiefly Dramatical, Satirical, and Pastoral.' Carey arranged apparently about this time a series of public entertainments at Covent Garden, the Haymarket, the Great Room in Panton Street, and other places, giving imitations of Foote, Weston, Ann Catley, and other popular actors and vocalists; and in 1776 he published a 'Lecture on Mimicry' with a portrait, followed in 1777 by 'A Rural Ramble, to which is annexed a Poetical Tagg, or Brighthelmstone Guide' (*Monthly Review*, lviii. 84). In 1787 he published 'Poetical Efforts' (*ib.* lxxviii. 244); and in 1792, 'Dupes of Fancy, or Every Man his Hobby, a Farce, in Two Acts,' performed at Pilgrim's benefit. Meanwhile he continued his entertainments at Bath, Buxton, and elsewhere. By 1797 it was rumoured that his father was the actual author of 'God save the King,' and that he himself had received a pension of 200*l.* a year on that ground (his *Balnea*, pp. 109-23). Carey announced that he had not received a pension, though his father had written the song; and he applied fruitlessly for an interview with the king to urge his claims. In 1799 came out his 'Balnea, or History of all the Popular Watering-places of England,' with another portrait, which reached a third edition in 1801. In 1800 he published 'One Thousand Eight Hundred, or I wish you a Happy New Year,' a collection of about sixty of his songs, some sung by Incledon. In 1801 he published 'The Myrtle and Vine, or Complete Vocal Library, containing several Thousands of . . . Songs . . . with an Essay on Singing and Song-writing' (advertisement on cover of 'Balnea,' 3rd ed.) In the summer of 1807 he was in London giving a series of entertainments, but he died suddenly of paralysis, aged 64, and was buried at the cost of friends (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxvii. pt. ii. pp. 781-782). A new edition of his 'Old Women Weatherwise,' in the form of a penny or halfpenny chap-book, was printed at Hull, without a date, but believed to be as late as 1825.

[Reed's *Biog. Dram.* i. 84, 86, 87, ii. 180, 326, iii. 5, 98; *Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxvii. pt. ii. pp. 781-2, Index, vol. iii. Preface, lxxiv; *Monthly Review*, xlv. 78, lv. 76, lviii. 84, lxxviii. 244; *British Critic*, xvi. 95, 554; Carey's *Balnea* (ed. 1801), pp. 109-23, 174, and cover; Carey's *Analects*,

vol. i. Preface, pp. iii-v; Carey's Inoculator, Preface, pp. v-viii] J. H.

**CAREY, HENRY**, first Lord HUNSDON (1524?-1596), governor of Berwick and chamberlain of Queen Elizabeth's household, born about 1524, was only son of William Carey, esquire of the body to Henry VIII, by his wife Mary, sister of Anne Boleyn and daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn [q.v.] Through his mother he was first cousin to Queen Elizabeth. His father died of the sweating sickness in 1528, and his mother remarried Sir William Stafford, who died 19 July 1543.

Carey first comes into notice as member of parliament for Buckingham at the end of 1547; he was re-elected for the same constituency to the parliaments of April and November 1554, and of October 1555. In 1549 Edward VI granted him the manors of Little Brickhill and Burton in Buckinghamshire. He was knighted by his relative Queen Elizabeth soon after her accession, and was created Baron Hunsdon on 13 Jan. 1558-1559, receiving on 20 March following a grant of the honour of Hunsdon and manor of Eastwick in Hertfordshire, together with other lands in Kent. Hunsdon was prominent in all the court tournaments and jousts of 1559 and 1560. With Leicester he held the lists against all comers in a tournament at Greenwich 3 Nov. 1559. On 18 May 1561 he was installed a knight of the Garter and was sworn of the privy council about the same time. He also became captain of the gentlemen-pensioners. On 28 May 1564 he went to France to present the order of the Garter to the young French king Charles IX, and on 5 Aug. while in attendance on Elizabeth at Cambridge, he was created M.A. The queen lost no opportunity of testifying to her affection for her cousin. When on what she imagined to be her deathbed in 1562, she specially commended Hunsdon to the care of the council.

In August 1568 Hunsdon became warden of the east marches towards Scotland, and governor of Berwick. In September 1569 he went to Scotland to discuss the possibility of sending Mary Stuart back to her own country while excluding her from the throne. Later in the same year the outbreak of the northern rebellion threw on him a heavy responsibility. He was entrusted with the duty of protecting not only Berwick but Newcastle and the rest of Northumberland. He moved rapidly first to Doncaster (20 Nov.), thence to Hull (23 Nov.), and subsequently to York (24 Nov.), where he joined the Earl of Sussex, the commander-in-chief of the government forces. Hunsdon resisted an order (22 Jan. 1569-70) of the government to reduce the garrisons on the Scotch frontiers, which

was issued while the rebellion in the more southerly counties was unsuppressed. On 20 Feb. 1569-70, with an army of fifteen hundred men, he defeated, near Carlisle, a rebel army of twice the number of men under Leonard Acres. He despatched a spirited account of the engagement to Sir William Cecil on the same night, and received a letter of thanks from the queen, part of which, written in her own hand, was couched in the most affectionate terms. Hunsdon was a member of the commission appointed to try the rebel leaders of the counties of York, Durham, and Cumberland, early in 1570. In the following year the queen paid him many attentions. She visited him at Hunsdon House in September; allowed him new and extensive privileges as lord of the manor of Sevenoaks, a portion of his property in Kent; and granted him further lands in Yorkshire and Derbyshire.

Meanwhile, Scotch affairs occupied him in the north, and he was directed to grant all assistance in his power to James against the supporters of his dethroned mother. In May 1572 he prayed Lord Burghley to procure his recall from Berwick, on the ground that his salary was unpaid, and that his private resources could not endure the constant calls which his office made on them. In the following month the Scots handed over to him Thomas Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had escaped from England while charges of treason were pending against him. Hunsdon was directed to bring the earl to York and there to have him executed, but he declined to convey him beyond Alnwick, the boundary of his jurisdiction. He wrote to Burghley urging the lord treasurer to obtain the earl's pardon, but he was compelled finally to surrender the earl to Sir John Forster, who hanged him at York on 22 Aug. 1572. Hunsdon rigorously suppressed marauding on the borders, and according to popular report he took as much delight in hanging Scotch thieves as most men take in hawking or hunting. On 24 May 1580 he was appointed a commissioner for the redress of grievances on the border; six months later he became captain-general of the forces on the border, and was at Newcastle in January 1580-1. He wrote to Walsingham at the time that he declined to interfere further in Scotch affairs, since his advice was systematically neglected. He desired permission to visit the queen and to look after his private affairs.

Hunsdon, still on good terms with Elizabeth, gave her every new year very valuable presents. He favoured her projected marriage with the Duc d'Anjou, and was present at the consultations respecting it held in Octo-

ber 1579. He escorted the duke to Antwerp in February 1581-2. About June 1583 Elizabeth showed her respect for him by making him lord chamberlain of her household in succession to Lord Howard of Effingham. But his neglect of his office in the north and frequent absence from Berwick angered Elizabeth next year. His son Robert reported to his father that in a torrent of passion she threatened 'to set him by his feet' and send another in his place. Hunsdon once again explained to Lord Burghley (8 June 1584) that his salary was in arrear, that his soldiers and servants were in want of food and clothing, and that he had done his duty as well as man could under such disheartening conditions. This storm soon blew over, and on 14 Aug. of the same year Hunsdon received the Earl of Arran at Berwick, with a view to renewing the old league between England and Scotland. A little later he resisted the order to put some exiled Scottish noblemen—who declined to recognise James VI's authority—in possession of the island of Lindisfarne. Hunsdon argued that the disaffected noblemen would prove dangerous neighbours for England, and be likely to imperil Elizabeth's amicable relations with James VI. The Scottish king made similar representations; Walsingham finally acknowledged the justice of Hunsdon's arguments, and permitted him to evade the order. Hunsdon attended the meeting of the Star-chamber on 23 June 1585, when the treasons of Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had shot himself in the Tower, were formally published. In October 1586 he was at Fotheringhay as one of the commissioners for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots.

The execution of Queen Mary nearly precipitated a breach with the king of Scotland, and in April 1589 Hunsdon was deputed to proceed to Scotland on the delicate mission of placing the relations between James and Elizabeth on a friendly footing. James talked freely to the English ambassador of the tempting offers made him by Spain if he would declare against the English alliance, but he readily consented to reject them in Elizabeth's favour. Hunsdon was not, however, well impressed by James or by James's court. He wrote to Elizabeth from Berwick 24 Oct. 1587 that the king was quite capable of deceiving her, and that the company about him were 'maliciously bent against your highness.' Full powers were given Hunsdon to maintain 'the good intelligence' between the two realms, and in December 1587 James sent Sir John Carmichael to Berwick to renew proffers of friendship. Elizabeth rewarded Hunsdon's successful diplomacy with the

office of lord warden-general of the marches of England towards Scotland, and keeper of Tinsdale (31 Aug. 1589). A grant of a part of the temporalities of the see of Durham followed, and a rumour was abroad that Hunsdon was about to be created count palatine.

The need of preparing to resist the Spanish Armada brought Hunsdon to the south, and a force of 36,000, formed to act as the queen's body-guard, was placed under his command at Tilbury Fort. In 1590 he, with Lord Burghley and Lord Howard of Effingham, was appointed commissioner for executing the office of earl marshal, and in 1591, with Lord Howard of Effingham and Lord Buckhurst, negotiated an alliance with France. Many other duties were placed upon him during the last years of his life. He was commissioner for the trials of William Parry, D.D., 20 Feb. 1584-5; of Philip, earl of Arundel, 14 April 1589; of Sir John Perrot (for treasonable correspondence with Spain), 20 March 1591-2; and of Patrick O'Cullen (for the like offence), 21 Feb. 1593-4. He also held the office of chief justice of the forests south of the Trent, and master of the game of Hyde Park; he was elected recorder of Cambridge 25 April 1590, high steward of Ipswich 11 Sept. following, and high steward of Doncaster in October.

Hunsdon died on 23 July 1596 at Somerset House, the use of which the queen had granted him. Fuller reports the story that his death was caused by disappointment at not being created earl of Wiltshire, the title borne by his maternal grandfather, Sir Thomas Boleyn [q. v.]. It is said that the queen visited him during his last illness and presented him with the patent of the new title and the robes of an earl, but that Hunsdon declined both on the ground that honours of which the queen deemed him unworthy in his lifetime were not worthy of his acceptance on his deathbed. He was buried in Westminster Abbey on 12 Aug. at the queen's expense. His wife and heir erected above his tomb an elaborate monument to his memory.

Although Hunsdon's achievements are few, and his office in the north did not allow him to reside regularly at court, he contrived to be present at most of the state ceremonies of the time, and his position as chamberlain and his intimacy with the queen gave him much influence when in attendance on his sovereign. Straightforward and rough in speech and conduct, he held himself aloof from the factions which divided the noblemen and statesmen of the day; professional courtiers feared him, but soldiers respected and loved him. He lacked most of the literary culture of his class,

but according to Gerard he took a deep interest in botany. The British Museum possesses a copy of 'Froissart' (Paris, 1513), which contains a few manuscript notes in Carey's handwriting together with entries of the dates of most of his children's births.

Hunsdon married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Morgan, knight, of Arkestone, Herefordshire, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. His eldest son, George [q.v.], became second Lord Hunsdon. His second son, John [q.v.], became third lord. Of his younger sons, two named Thomas, and a fifth, William, died young. Edmund, the sixth son, was knighted by Leicester in the Netherlands in 1587. The youngest son, Robert [q.v.], was created earl of Monmouth. Hunsdon's eldest daughter, Catherine, married Charles Howard, earl of Nottingham; the second daughter became the wife of Thomas, lord Scrope, and the third of Sir Edward Hoby.

A miniature portrait of Hunsdon by Nicholas Hilliard was sold at the Strawberry Hill sale to the Duke of Buckingham. At Knole House, Sevenoaks, is a painting of a procession of the queen and her court going (1580) to Hunsdon House. Lord Hunsdon and his wife are prominent figures in the picture, which was engraved by Vertue in 1742.

Many of Hunsdon's official letters and papers are at the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and Hatfield.

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 213-19; Cal. State Papers, temp. Eliz.; Froude's *Hist. of England*; Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*; Lloyd's *Worthies*; Fuller's *Worthies*; Birch's *Memoirs of Elizabeth*; Nicolas's *Life of Christopher Hatton*; Burke's *Extinct Peerage*; *Biog. Brit.*; Granger's *Biog. Hist.* i. 180, 194, 285.] S. L.

**CAREY, HENRY**, second EARL OF MONMOUTH (1596-1661), translator, eldest son of Robert Carey, first earl [q.v.], by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevannion of Trigg Minor, Cornwall, and widow of Sir Henry Widdrington of Swynburne Magna, Northumberland (?), was born at Denham, Buckinghamshire, in January 1595-6. He appears to have spent his childhood at the various places of residence which his father occupied from time to time on the borders [see CAREY, ROBERT, first EARL OF MONMOUTH], but after the death of Queen Elizabeth he lived in the atmosphere of the court. He entered as a fellow commoner at Exeter College, Oxford, during Lent term 1611, and took the B.A. degree in February 1613. He spent the next three years in travelling on the continent and in acquiring that knowledge of foreign languages for which he became afterwards so distinguished. Returning to England during the autumn of 1616

he showed no inclination for the life of a courtier, and his parents busied themselves during the next year or two in making for their son some advantageous alliance. After feebly objecting to more than one of the proposals, he was at last married in 1620 to Martha, eldest daughter of Sir Lionel Cranfield, who eventually became earl of Middlesex and lord treasurer of England. He was five times elected a member of the House of Commons between 1620 and 1628. He was M.P. for Camelford in 1620, for Beverley in 1624, for Tregony in 1625, for St. Mawes in 1626, and for Grampound in 1628. From this time he seems to have lived in retirement among his books in the country. His father's death in 1639 and his consequent succession to the earldom made little change in his habits. Only once does he appear to have come forward to take part in the conflicts of the turbulent times, when he spoke in the House of Lords in June 1641 on the bill for depriving the bishops of their seats in parliament. When Charles I. issued the famous declaration and profession in June 1642, Monmouth's name appears among the signatures, but from this time he retired from all political life, and henceforth till his death he was busily engaged in translating various works from the Italian and French, and letting the world go by him as if he had no interest in its concerns. The truth is that he had inherited none of the immense physical vigour and energy of his father and grandfather, and if he had any ambition there is no evidence to show that his abilities were at all more than respectable. Walpole's judgment upon him is probably correct: 'Though there are several large volumes translated by him, we have scarce anything of his own composition, and are as little acquainted with his character as with his genius.' His earliest published work was '*Romulus and Tarquin, or de Principe et Tyranno*,' translated from the Italian of the Marquis Valezzi (12mo, 1637). His latest was the '*History of Venice*,' by Paul Paruta, folio, 1658. He was engaged in translating Giraldo Piorato's '*History of France*' at the time of his death, which occurred at Rickmansworth in Hertfordshire, 13 June 1661.

He had a family of ten children, two sons and eight daughters. Of the sons, Lionel, the elder, was slain at the battle of Marston Moor in 1644, and was unmarried; the younger, Henry, fell a victim to the smallpox in 1649, leaving one son behind him, who died in May 1653, and who was the last heir to the earldom. His lordship's only brother, Thomas, had died without male issue, 9 April 1634.

[Memoirs of Robert Carey, Earl of Monmouth, written by himself; Banks's *Dormant and Extinct Baronage*, 4to, 1809, iii. 519 seq.; Birch's *Court and Times of James I.*, ii. 149, 156, &c.; Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), (the last two works contain long lists of his lordship's printed works); Colonel Chester's *Westminster Abbey Registers.*]  
A. J.

CAREY, HENRY (*d.* 1743), poet and musician, is said to have been an illegitimate son of George Savile, the famous marquis of Halifax, who died in 1695. Carey, in the preface to his first volume of poems, in 1713, speaks of himself as still very young. His mother probably was a schoolmistress, as a 'Pastoral Eclogue' in that volume is described as 'performed at Mrs. Carey's school by several of her scholars.' He afterwards taught music in boarding schools. Pope told Spence that Carey was one of Addison's 'little senate' about this period. Carey himself says that 'the divine Addison' had been pleased more than once to praise his best known poem, 'Sally in our Alley' (*Poems*, 1729). Carey tells us in the same place that the poem owed its origin to his having 'dodged' a 'prentice treating his mistress to various London amusements. Carey became known as the author of many vivacious poems which were handed about in manuscript. He complains (*Stage Tyrants*) that 'Sally in our Alley' and 'Namby-Pamby,' composed in ridicule of Ambrose Philips, were thought too good to be his, and says that Pope vindicated his claim to the latter. He was also the author of successful farces and of the songs in the 'Provoked Husband' and elsewhere. He occasionally composed the music himself. He describes himself as a disciple of Geminiani and Roseingrave, and says that he owed his first knowledge to the friendly instructions of O. W. Linnert. Miss Rafter, afterwards Mrs. Clive [q. v.], first appeared at his benefit in 1730, when she sang a cantata by him, and when, according to a contemporary account, a procession of musicians, with all the instruments invented since Tubal Cain, marched from the Haymarket, and were joined by authors and printers' devils at Temple Bar, and by painters at Covent Garden, whence the whole body marched to Drury Lane. He produced other very successful burlesques, ridiculing the Italian opera, birthday odes burlesquing Cibber, and other occasional pieces. He was a lively companion, and often, it seems, in difficulties. It is said that he received a pension from the Savile family until his death. He died suddenly, Hawkins says by his own hand, on 4 Oct. 1743. Contem-

porary records only say that he rose in good health and 'was soon after found dead.' A benefit performance for his widow and four small children was given at Drury Lane on 17 Nov. 1743.

Mr. Cummings states (*Notes and Queries*, 5th series, ix. 160) that he possesses over two hundred works published by Carey. The following is a list of his chief publications: 1. 'Poems on several Occasions,' 1713. 2. Same title, 1720. 3. Same, called 'third edition, much enlarged,' 1729. Each of these differs greatly from its predecessors. The third edition includes 'Namby-Pamby' and 'Sally in our Alley,' the last published separately about 1715. 4. 'The Contrivances,' 1715; acted at Drury Lane, 9 Aug. 1715. 5. 'Hanging and Marriage,' a farce, 1722 (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 15 March 1722). 6. 'Poems occasioned by Gulliver's Travels,' 1727. 7. Six cantatas, 1732. 8. 'Teraminta,' an opera, music by J. C. Smith, 1732 (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 20 Oct. 1732). 9. 'Amelia,' an opera, music by J. F. Lampe, 1732. 10. Songs in 'Cephalus and Procris,' Drury Lane, 1733. 11. 'Chrononhotonthologos,' 'the most tragical tragedy ever yet tragedised,' a very amusing burlesque, phrases of which are still familiar, first performed at the Haymarket 22 Feb. 1734. Fielding's 'Tom Thumb,' produced in 1730, is in some degree its model. 12. 'The Wonder; or, an Honest Yorkshireman,' a ballad opera, 1735, performed for one night (11 July 1735) at Lincoln's Inn Fields, and afterwards for many nights at the Haymarket and Goodman's Fields. Published in two editions in 1736. 13. 'Stage Tyrants,' an epistle to Lord Chesterfield, occasioned by the rejection of the 'Honest Yorkshireman' at Drury Lane, 1735. 14. 'The Dragon of Wantley,' a burlesque opera, music by J. F. Lampe. This was first produced 26 Oct. 1737, suspended for a time by the death of Queen Caroline on 29 Nov., and had a run of sixty-seven nights. 15. 'Margery; or, a Worse Plague than the Dragon,' by the same authors, produced 9 Dec. 1738, a sequel and failure. 16. 'Nancy; or, the Parting Lovers,' 1739, an interlude, with music by the author. Revived in 1755 as 'The Pressgang,' and afterwards as 'True Blue.' 17. 'A Musical Century; or, a Hundred English Ballads,' as a collection of separately printed pieces, 1737; new edit. 1740; third, 1743. 18. 'Dramatic Works' (published by subscription), 1743, includes 'Teraminta,' 'Amelia,' 'Chrononhotonthologos,' 'The Honest Yorkshireman,' 'The Dragon,' 'The Dragoness' (Margery), and 'Nancy.'

Carey has been credited with the author-

ship of 'God save the Queen.' The first known publication of this was in the 'Harmonia Anglicana,' 1742, where it is anonymous. Carey did not include it in his 'Century.' It first became popular after his death, during the rebellion of 1745. The actor Victor describes the performance in a contemporary letter to Garrick (*Victor's Letters*, 1776, i. 118), and says that it was an old anthem sung in the chapel of James II when William III was expected. Arne arranged it for Drury Lane, and Burney for Covent Garden. Burney told Isaac D'Israeli that the authorship was unknown, and gives the same account of its origin as Victor (*Gent. Mag.* for 1814, pt. ii., p. 100). Fifty years later, Carey's son, George Saville Carey [q. v.], claimed it for his father in order to justify a request for a pension. His only authority was J. C. Smith, who told Dr. Harington of Bath, on 13 June 1795, that Henry Carey had brought it to him in order to correct the bass. Smith was the friend of Handel, and had [see above] been a collaborator with Carey (G. S. CAREY, *Balnea* (1801), 111-15, and *Gent. Mag.* for 1795, p. 544). A Mr. Townshend is said to have told John Ashley of Bath, who told W. L. Bowles in 1828, that he had heard Carey sing the anthem at a tavern on occasion of Vernon's capture of Portobello in 1740 (see also *Gent. Mag.* for 1796, pt. ii. 1075). Some internal evidence in favour of Carey is suggested in Bowles's 'Life of Ken,' but the improbability that Carey should have left the authorship unclaimed, that his family should not have claimed it when it became so popular, and that Arne (to whom he must have been well known) and Burney should have been unable to discover the authorship at the time, seems to overbalance the small probability of the much later statements, which, moreover, if accepted, do not establish Carey's authorship. A full discussion of the authorship will be found in W. Chappell's 'Collection of National Airs,' pp. 83, 93; W. Chappell's 'Popular Music of the Olden Time,' ii. 691; and in a series of articles by W. H. Cummings in the 'Musical Times' from March to August 1878.

Carey had a genuine vein of playful fancy, which makes his burlesques still amusing, though the admirable 'Sally in our Alley' is his best known performance. A portrait by Worsdale was engraved by Faber (1729). He was great-grandfather, by his son G. S. Carey, of Edmund Kean.

[Rees's Cyclopædia (art. 'Carey,' by Burney); Hawkins's Hist. of Music (1853), 827 (with portrait by Worsdale); *Gent. Mag.* for 1795, pt. ii. 544, 907, 991; 1836, pt. i. 594, pt. ii. 141, 369; Notes and Queries, 1st series, vii. 95, xii. 193;

2nd series, ii. 413, vii. 64, ix. 126; 5th series, ix. 160, 180; Genest's History of the Stage, ii. 558, 559, iii. 81, 355, 468, 471, 482, 547, 585, x. 258; Biog. Dramatica; Clark's Words of Pieces . . . at the Glee Club (1814); Cox's Anecdotes of J. C. Smith; Bowles's Life of Ken, ii. 283; Grove's Dict. of Music (arts. 'Carey' and 'God save the King').] L. S.

CAREY, JAMES (1845-1883), Fenian and informer, was son of Francis Carey, a bricklayer, who came from Celbridge, in Kildare, to Dublin, where his son was born in James Street in 1845. He also was a bricklayer, and for eighteen years continued in the employment of Mr. Michael Meade, builder, Dublin. He then commenced business on his own account as a builder at Denzille Street, Dublin. In this venture he was successful; he became the leading spokesman of his trade and obtained several large building contracts. During all this period Carey was engaged in a nationalist conspiracy, but to outward appearance he was one of the rising men of Dublin. It is curious to learn that at the moment when Carey was a leading spirit in the conspiracy for the emancipation of Ireland he was making money by subletting a large number of tenement houses, which he rented from his former employer and relet to the poor. Every one believed in his piety and public spirit; there was hardly a society of the popular or religious kind of which he did not become a member, and at one time he was spoken of as a possible lord mayor. In 1882 he was elected a town councillor of Dublin, not on political grounds, but, as he himself said, 'solely for the good of the working men of the city.' About 1861 he had joined the Fenian conspiracy, and soon after became treasurer of the 'Irish republican brotherhood.' This band held court-martials and passed sentences, but up to 1879 informers only were attacked. In 1881 the conspirators, one of whose sections assumed the title of the Invincibles, established their headquarters in Dublin, and Carey took an oath as one of the leaders. The object of the Invincibles was 'to remove all tyrants from the country,' and several attempts, but without success, were made to assassinate Earl Cowper and Mr. W. E. Forster. 'No. 1,' the secret head of the association, then gave orders to kill Mr. Thomas Henry Burke [q. v.], the under-secretary to the lord-lieutenant, and on 6 May 1882 nine of the conspirators proceeded to the Phoenix Park, where Carey, whilst sitting on a jaunting-car, pointed out Mr. Burke to the others, who at once attacked and killed him with knives, and at the same time also despatched Lord Frederick

Cavendish [q. v.], the newly appointed chief secretary, who happened to be walking with Mr. Burke. For a long time no clue could be found to the perpetrators of the act; but on 13 Jan. 1883 Carey was arrested in his own house, and, with sixteen other persons, charged with a conspiracy to murder public officials. When arrested he was erecting a mortuary chapel in the South Dublin Union, and the work was then carried on by his brother, Peter Carey. On 13 Feb. Carey turned queen's evidence, betrayed the complete details of the Fenian organisation and of the murders in the Phoenix Park, and by his evidence was the means of causing the public execution of five of his late associates. His life being in great danger, he was secretly, with his wife and family, put on board the *Kinfauns Castle*, bound for the Cape, and sailed on 6 July under the name of *Power*. The *Invincibles*, however, discovered the secret, and sent on board the same ship a person called Patrick O'Donnell, a bricklayer. He followed his victim on board the *Melrose* in the voyage from Cape Town to Natal, and when the vessel was twelve miles off Cape Vuccas, on 29 July 1883, shot Carey dead. O'Donnell was brought to England and tried for an ordinary murder, without any reference to his Fenian connection, and being found guilty was executed at Newgate on 17 Dec., without making any statement as to his associates in the planning of the murder. Carey married in 1865 Margaret M'Kenny, who with several children survived him.

[*Pall Mall Gazette*, 31 July 1883, pp. 10-12; *Times*, 1 and 3 Dec. 1883; *Annual Register*, 1883, pp. 192-8; *Graphic*, xxvii. 200, 273, with portraits, and xxviii. 112, with portrait (1883); *Illustrated London News*, lxxxii. 193, with portrait (1883).]  
G. C. B.

CAREY, JOHN, third LORD HUNSDON (d. 1617), second son of Henry, first lord Hunsdon [q. v.], was deputy warden of the eastern marches under his father, and M.P. for Buckingham 1584, 1588-9, and 1592. As marshal of Berwick he proclaimed James I. king of England, when his brother Sir Robert Carey [q. v.] rode north with news of Queen Elizabeth's death. He was esteemed by James I., and appears to have conducted some diplomatic business between the king and Queen Elizabeth with rare sagacity and tact. His brother Sir Robert mentions him once or twice in his autobiographical memoirs, and always with respect, though he had little to thank him for in the bargain the brothers made for the possession of Norham Castle. On the death of his brother George, second lord Hunsdon [q. v.], without male issue, he succeeded to the title

in September 1603 (*ib.* p. 263). His name appears occasionally in the court pageants of James I.'s reign. He married Mary, daughter of Leonard Hyde of Throcking, Hertfordshire, and, dying in April 1617, left behind two sons, Henry and Charles, of whom the elder, Henry, succeeded to the title, and became subsequently Viscount Rochford and Earl of Dover.

[*Memoirs of Sir Robert Carey*; *Nichols's Progresses of King James I.*; *Banks's Dormant and Extinct Baronage*; *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland, 1509-1603.*]  
A. J.

CAREY, JOHN, LL.D. (1756-1826), classical scholar, brother of Mathew Carey, author of the '*Vindiciæ Hibernicæ*,' [q. v.], and of William Paulet Carey [q. v.], was born in Ireland in 1756. At the age of twelve he was sent to finish his education in a French university. He spent some time in the United States about 1789, and afterwards passed many years in London as a teacher of the classics, French, and shorthand. He died at Prospect Place, Lambeth, 8 Dec. 1826, from calculus, the last years of his life having been embittered by distressing complaints.

Carey was editor of the early numbers of the '*School Magazine*,' published by Phillips, and a frequent contributor to the '*Monthly*' and '*Gentleman's*' magazines. In the former journal in 1803 he made a suggestion for enabling persons on shore to give assistance to distressed vessels by means of shooting a wooden ball from a mortar, an idea subsequently conceived and carried out independently by Captain G. M. Manby, for which invention Manby was rewarded by government. Carey brought out a new edition of Dryden's '*Virgil*,' 1803, 3 vols. 8vo, and again in 1819; two editions of Ainsworth's '*Latin Dictionary*' in 4to, and five of the abridgment of the same; the '*Gradus ad Parnassum*' in 1824; the Latin '*Common Prayer*' in Bagster's polyglot edition; '*Rupert's Commentarius in Livium*,' and a revision of Schleusner's '*New Testament Lexicon*' (1826). He likewise edited more than fifty volumes of the '*Regent Latin Classics*' published by Baldwin. He was the compiler of the valuable '*General Index to the Monthly Review from 1790 to 1816*' (2 vols. 1818), and translated Bitaubé's '*Batavians*,' Madame de Staël's '*Young Emigrants*,' Lehmann's '*Letters on Switzerland*,' and others. In 1810 he published a story for children called '*Learning better than House and Land*,' which went through several editions. His school-books were popular in their day and generally praised for accuracy and scholarly qualities. Among them are: 1. '*Latin Prosody made Easy*,' 1800; new



edition 1812. 2. 'Practical English Prosody and Versification,' 1809. 3. 'Alphabetic Key to the Propria quæ maribus,' 1812. 4. 'Introduction to English Composition and Elocution,' 1817. 5. 'Clavis Metrico-Virgiliana,' 1818. 6. 'Eton Latin Prosody illustrated,' 1818. 7. 'Greek Terminations,' 1821. 8. 'Latin Terminations,' 1821. He published also a small volume of poems, with a portrait prefixed.

[Rose's Biog. Dict.; Biog. Dict. of Living Authors (1816), p. 64; Webb's Compendium of Irish Biography (1878), p. 73; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; London Catal. of Books from 1814-46; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornubiensis, i. 58; private information.] C. W. S.

**CAREY, MATHEW** (1760-1839), bookseller, was born at Dublin 28 Jan. 1760, the son of a prosperous baker. He was a dull boy, but became a voracious reader of novels and romances. At about fifteen years of age he was apprenticed to a bookseller; at seventeen he produced his first essay, published in the 'Hibernian Journal,' on duelling. In 1779 he wrote a pamphlet urging the repeal of the penal code against Catholics. A prosecution was threatened, and Carey was put on board the Holyhead packet with a little money and a letter of introduction to Franklin. Carey remained with Dr. Franklin in Paris for some months, and subsequently for a short period with the younger Didot. He returned to Dublin, and conducted for some time the 'Freeman's Journal.' In 1783 his father gave him the means of establishing a paper of his own, 'The Volunteer's Journal,' which soon acquired a very decided influence on public opinion, suiting the heated temper of the time. At length (April 1784) proceedings were taken against the proprietor, who was thrown into prison. He was also charged with a libel on the Irish chancellor of the exchequer, John Foster. On being released from prison at the end of the parliamentary session, with an *ex-officio* information still hanging over his head, he disposed of his newspaper, and sailed for Philadelphia.

From a fellow-passenger who had letters of introduction to Lafayette, the latter learned that 'Carey the persecuted printer' had arrived by the same boat. Lafayette now provided him with sufficient means to enable him to start in business. Forty years later, when Lafayette visited America, Carey repaid the 400 dollars. Carey immediately issued proposals for establishing the 'Pennsylvania Herald.' The first number was issued on 25 Jan. 1785. In August he undertook reporting the debates in the House of Assembly. This was so well done, that it gave an advantage for

his paper over all competitors. Carey fought his only duel with another journalist, and a wound laid him up for more than a year. In October 1786 he began, in partnership with others, the 'Columbia Magazine.' He soon withdrew, and in January 1787 issued the first number of the 'American Museum,' which became very popular, but did not pay, and was discontinued at the end of 1792. About this time Carey married Miss Flahavan. He now started a bookselling and printing business. In 1793 he sat on the committee of health appointed in consequence of an outbreak of yellow fever. About the same time he started an association called the Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland, of which he was secretary for many years. In 1796 he helped to form a Sunday school society, which he alleges to be the first started in America. About this time William Cobbett was actively employed in Philadelphia. He had a paper war with Carey, of which specimens will be found in Peter Porcupine's works; in 'A Plumb-Pudding for the Humane, Chaste, Valiant, Enlightened Peter Porcupine, by his obliged friend, Mathew Carey;' and in 'The Porcupiniad, a Hudibrastic Poem,' in which Carey has versified some of Cobbett's paragraphs with very little verbal alteration. In 1798 Carey repudiated the charge of being a 'United Irishman.'

Carey published American editions of Guthrie's 'Geography' and Goldsmith's 'Animated Nature,' and in 1801 a quarto Bible. From 1802 to 1805 Carey was a director of the Bank of Pennsylvania. Among his other enterprises was the attempt to establish an annual book fair on the plan of that at Leipzig, to be held alternately at New York and Philadelphia. It was discontinued after a few years' trial. Carey's position now enabled him to influence many public questions. In 1814 he published 'The Olive Branch, or Faults on both sides, Federal and Democratic, &c.' Ten editions were struck off in little more than three years. Carey had always the wrongs of Ireland on his mind. On reading Godwin's 'Mandeville,' in which the alleged atrocities of 1641 are largely illustrated, he at once sat down to prepare a work vindicating the Irish from such charges. After much labour and expense he published in 1819 'Vindiciæ Hibernicæ, or Ireland vindicated.' An attempt to develop and expose a few of the multifarious errors and falsehoods respecting Ireland in the histories of May, Temple, Whitelock, Borlase, Rushworth, Clarendon, Cox, Carte, Leland, Warner, [Catherine] Macaulay, Hume, and others.' No sooner was this labour off his

hands than Carey began to appear as a political economist. He advocated protection for American native industry, and produced many tracts in support of his theories. He associated with some other Philadelphia citizens in the formation of a society for the promotion of national industry, which helped to circulate his pamphlets gratuitously.

Carey retired from business in 1824. During the latter portion of his life he continued to take active part in works of public charity and utility, in promoting education, and the construction of roads, canals, and other public works. In 1832 he made the liberal offer of endowing a chair of political economy in the university of Maryland, which was, however, not accepted. His death occurred in September 1839. Besides the above-mentioned, Carey published a selection of pieces in prose and verse, which had already appeared in the 'Columbia Magazine'; 'A Short Account of the Malignant Fever lately prevalent in Philadelphia' (1793); 'Essays on Political Economy' (1822); 'Thoughts on Penitentiaries and Prison Discipline' (1831); 'Letters on the Colonization Society' (which reached a twelfth edition in 1838); 'Female Wages and Female Oppression' (1835); and a host of tracts and other ephemeral writings, the mere titles of which occupy four closely printed pages in Sabin's 'Dictionary of Books relating to America' (iii. 338-42). He was father of Henry C. Carey, well known as an American economist.

[New England Magazine, v. 405, 489, vi. 60, 93, 227, 306, 400, vii. 61, 145, 239, 320, 401, 481 (autobiographical); Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, 1839, f. 429; Duyckinck's Cyclo. of Amer. Literature, i. f. 667; American Almanack, 1841, f. 275; Niles's Register, xx. 345, xxxiv. 337; Porcupine's Works, iv. 53, x. 69, 60; Janson's The Stranger in America (1807), 418, 419; William Cobbett, a biography (1878); One Hundred Years of Publishing, 1785-1885.]

E. S.

CAREY, PATRICK (*A.* 1651). [See CARY.]

CAREY, ROBERT, first EARL OF MONMOUTH (1560?-1639), seventh and youngest son of Henry Carey, first lord Hunsdon [q. v.], was born about 1560, for he states that he was 'upon sixty-three years of age' when he followed Prince Charles to Spain in 1623 (*Memoirs*, p. 157). At the age of seventeen he accompanied Sir Thomas Layton in his embassy to the Netherlands, and four years later formed part of the suite sent by Elizabeth to attend the Duke of Alençon when he undertook the government of the Low Countries. In 1586, and again in the parliaments of 1588 and 1593,

he represented Morpeth, being also returned for that constituency in 1592, but preferring then to sit for Callington which had also returned him. In 1587 he stole away from court with the Earl of Cumberland to take part in the attempts to relieve Sluys. In 1588 he served against the Spanish armada. Park states that Carey's portrait was among the English commanders in the tapestry of the House of Lords. In Essex's expedition to Normandy in 1591 Cary commanded first a troop and then a regiment, and took part in the siege of Rouen. But it was rather as a courtier than a soldier that he distinguished himself, although Lloyd speaks of his 'uncourtly temper,' and asserts that his share of the family candour prevented his success (*State Worthies*, p. 794). 'I lived in court,' says Carey, 'had small means of my friends, and yet God so blessed me that I was ever able to keep company with the best. In all triumphs I was one; either at tilt, tourney, or barriers, in masque or balls; I kept men and horses far above my rank, and so continued a long time.' In short, as his cousin, the Earl of Suffolk, afterwards told James I., 'there was none in the queen's court that lived in a better fashion than he did' (*Memoirs*, p. 145). What most distinguished him, however, was that 'he exceeded in making choice of what he wore to be handsome and comely.' These characteristics recommended him to the notice and favour of James I when he attended Walsingham into Scotland (1583). 'It pleased the king at that time to take such a liking of me, as he wrote earnestly to the queen at our return to give me leave to come back to him again, to attend him at his court, assuring her majesty I should not repent my attendance' (*ib.* p. 7). For this reason Carey was chosen to explain to James Elizabeth's innocence of Mary's execution, but he was not allowed even to cross the border. On two subsequent occasions, however, in 1588 and 1593, he proved a more successful negotiator. Essex found Carey's skilful intercession effective with Elizabeth when all his friends in court and all her council could not move her from her resolution to recall him from Normandy (1591). For this service he knighted Carey, and told him that 'when he had need of one to plead for him he would never use any other orator' (*ib.* pp. 28-33). About 1593 Carey married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Trevannion; she appears to have been the widow of some member of the family of Widdrington. She brought him very little money, and 'the queen was mightily offended' with him for marrying (*ib.* p. 51). He regained her favour only after 'a stormy and terrible encounter,'

by means of an ingenious excuse, a courtly device, and an important piece of service (*Memoirs*, pp. 51-6). For the last ten years of Elizabeth's reign Carey was employed in the government of the border, of which he gives in his 'Memoirs' a very graphic description. In the first place he was appointed by Lord Scrope deputy-warden of the west marches (1593), and after that by his father, Lord Hunsdon, deputy-warden of the east marches and captain of Norham Castle (1595). On the death of Lord Hunsdon in the summer of 1596 he succeeded to his father's post, although it was not formally granted him till 20 Nov. 1597 (*Cal. S. P. Dom.*) In February 1598 he was superseded by Lord Willoughby (*BERTIE, Five Generations of a Loyal House*, p. 324), but, after a little delay, accepted the office of warden of the middle march, which he held until the accession of James I. In the parliaments of 1597-8 and 1601 he represented Northumberland (29 May 1598, April 1603, DOYLE). In March 1603 Carey made a flying visit to the court, and thus became a spectator of Elizabeth's last illness, which he carefully observed and described. He speedily became alarmed for his own fortunes, remembering that most of his livelihood depended on her life. At the same time he called to mind the favour with which the King of Scots had treated him, and determined to inform him at once of the queen's state. 'I did assure myself it was neither unjust nor dishonest for me to do for myself, if God at that time should call her to his mercy' (*Memoirs*, p. 118). Accordingly, on 19 March 1603 a messenger from Carey arrived at Edinburgh 'to give King James assurance that the queen could not outlive three days at most, and that he stayed only at court to bring them the first news of her death, and had horses placed all the way to make him speed in his post' (*Correspondence of James VI with Sir Robert Cecil*, Camden Society, p. 49). Elizabeth died early on the morning of the 24th, and Carey, in spite of the prohibition of the council, started about nine, and by hard riding reached Holyrood late on the 26th. His conduct in thus hastening to make profit out of the death of his kinswoman and benefactress has been deservedly censured. 'It hath set so wide a mark of ingratitude on him,' writes Weldon, 'that it will remain to posterity a greater blot than the honour he obtained afterwards will ever wipe out' (*Secret History of the Court of James I.*, i. 314). James rewarded Carey by appointing him one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber, but on the king's coming to England he was discharged from that post and disappointed in the promises made to

him. This was probably caused by the representation addressed to the king by the council, in which Carey's conduct was stigmatised as 'contrary to such commandments as we had power to lay upon him, and to all decency, good manners, and respect' (*Letter of the Council*, 24 March, quoted by ORRERY). Fortunately, however, Lady Carey obtained a post in the queen's household, and soon after obtained the charge of Prince Charles. Carey succeeded in selling the life government of Norham for 6,000*l.*, his wife obtained a suit worth 5,000*l.*, his daughter became one of the maids of honour to the Princess Elizabeth, and he himself governor of the household of Prince Charles (23 Feb. 1605). When, in 1611, that prince obtained a larger establishment, Carey, after a struggle with Sir James Fullarton, succeeded in becoming his master of the robes, remarking that, if he had skill in anything, he thought he could tell how to make good clothes. When Charles was created Prince of Wales, Carey became his chamberlain (8 March 1617, *S. P. Dom.*, xc. 105), and at length, on 6 Feb. 1622, was created Baron of Leppington. In the following year he was appointed to follow Prince Charles to Spain, in charge of the servants sent after him by James. When Charles ascended the throne, Carey was consoled for the loss of his chamberlainship by the grant of fee farms, rents in perpetuity to the value of 500*l.* a year, and by being created earl of Monmouth (7 Feb. 1626). With his attainment of the height of a courtier's ambition Carey closes his 'Memoirs.' His death took place on 12 April 1639 (certificate of John Ryley, Bluemantle, *Cal. S. P. Dom.*) Carey's 'Memoirs' were first published in 1759 by the Earl of Cork and Orrery. Walpole, in his 'Royal and Noble Authors,' had urged their printing, and Birch had published in 1749 the portion relating to the death of Queen Elizabeth (*Historical View of the Negotiations from 1592 to 1617*). A fourth edition, with notes by Sir Walter Scott, was printed in 1808.

[*Memoirs*, ed. 1808; Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, ed. Park; *Calendar of Domestic State Papers*; Doyle's *Official Baronage*. The yet uncalendared portion of the Cecil Papers contains several of Carey's letters; there are others in the Border Papers in the Record Office. Lloyd gives a short notice of Carey in his *State Worthies*; Campion has an epigram on him; and some details with respect to his Spanish journey may be gathered from Wynne's *Brief Relation of the Journey of the Prince's Servants into Spain*.]

C. H. F.

CAREY, VALENTINE (d. 1626). [See CAREY.]

CAREY, WILLIAM, D.D. (1761-1834), orientalist and missionary, was born 17 Aug. 1761 at Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, where his father, Edmund Carey, kept a small free school, to the educational benefit of the boy. At fourteen he was apprenticed to a shoemaker at Hackleton, and becoming religiously affected joined the baptist connexion in 1783. In 1786 he was chosen minister of the baptist congregation at Moulton. He had lately married, on so slender an income that meat was a rarity at his table. He was now working at Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, chiefly with a view to the interpretation of the scriptures. After holding a ministry at Leicester from 1789 he joined in the movement which culminated in the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society, and was (with a Mr. Thomas) chosen to be the first baptist missionary to India. Carey and his family and colleague arrived in Bengal early in 1794, and speedily discovered that Calcutta was not the place for a needy missionary to live in. The small funds they had brought swiftly vanished, and absolutely destitute they set out in an open boat to seek for a refuge. They found it after a forty miles' voyage in the house of a Mr. Short, who afterwards married Mrs. Carey's sister. At first the missionary's intention was to make his living by farming; but on being offered the superintendence of Mr. Udney's indigo factory near MálDAH he gladly accepted the post. His letters home at this period express his distress at the postponement of his evangelising mission, owing to the difficulties presented by the various languages and dialects spoken in Bengal. Carey set himself with determination to overcome this obstacle. In 1795 he established a church near the factory, and there he preached in the vernacular. After five years' work at MálDAH, varied by journeys to Bhutan and Dinájpúr, Carey removed to Serampúr, a Danish colony, where the Danish governor encouraged the missionaries, as the East India Company, for political reasons, was unable to do. The baptist missionary establishment of Serampúr, afterwards famous for its active influence, consisted in 1799 of Carey and three young missionaries, together with their families. A school and printing-press were the first requisites, and a bible in Bengálí was at once put in hand and duly appeared, together with other versions of the scriptures, in Mahratta, Tamil; in altogether twenty-six languages, besides numerous philological works. In 1801 Carey was appointed professor of Sanskrit, Bengálí, and Mahratta in the newly founded college of Fort William, and, continuing the pursuit of linguistics and proselytes, published a Mahratta grammar in

1805, and opened a mission chapel in Calcutta in the same year. There was, however, a strong feeling against over-zealous proselytising as a political danger, and Carey was cautioned to abstain from preaching or distributing tracts for a while, although the government assured him that they were 'well satisfied with the character and deportment' of his missionaries, against whom 'there were no complaints.' In spite of such official curbs the mission grew steadily, and in 1814 had twenty stations in India. Dr. Carey—he had now received the diploma of D.D.—actively superintended the work of the mission and its press. Besides the Indian versions of the scriptures, in which he took a vigorous part, he published grammars of Mahratta (1805), Sanskrit (1806), Punjábí (1812), Telinga (1814), Bhotanta (1826?); dictionaries of Mahratta (1810), Bengálí (1818, 3 vols.; 2nd ed. 1825; 3rd ed. 1827-30), Bhotanta (1826), and had prepared materials for one of all Sanskrit-derived languages; but these were destroyed in a fire which occurred in 1812 at the press at Serampúr. He also edited the 'Ramayana,' in 3 vols., 1806-10, and his friend Dr. Roxburgh's 'Flora Medica,' for he was an excellent botanist, &c. After being weakened by many attacks of fever he was struck with apoplexy July 1833, and lingered in a feeble state till 9 June 1834. He was thrice married; his eldest son, Felix Carey [q. v.], predeceased him; three sons survived him.

[Memoir of William Carey, D.D., by (his nephew) Eustace Carey, 1836, at the end of which H. H. Wilson contributes a notice of Carey's oriental works; Ann. Reg. 1835.] S.L.-P.

CAREY, WILLIAM (1769-1846), bishop of Exeter and St. Asaph, was born on 18 Nov. 1769. His success in life was due to the kindness of Dr. Vincent, through whose aid he was admitted into Westminster School, where he ultimately passed through every grade until he became its head. In 1784 he was elected a king's scholar, in 1788 he became the captain of the school, and in the following year he was elected to Christ Church, Oxford, which was at that time presided over by Cyril Jackson. He took the degree of M.A. in 1796, and became a tutor of his house, where he also filled the office of censor from 1798 to 1802. While connected with Oxford life he held the incumbency of the neighbouring church of Cowley, and near the close of his academical career, in 1801, became preacher at Whitehall Chapel. He received the prebendal stalls of Barnby in 1802 and of Knaresborough-cum-Bickhill in 1804, both in York Cathedral, and his connection with the northern

province was strengthened by his being instituted to the vicarage of Sutton-in-the-Forest. Through the influential and zealous support of his old Oxford friend, Cyril Jackson—a support which outweighed the opposition of many who desired an older man—Carey was appointed to the head-mastership of Westminster School in January 1803, and discharged its duties with great efficiency until his retirement in December 1814. He proceeded to the degree of B.D. in 1804, and to that of D.D. in 1807. The honourable post of sub-almoner to the king was given to him in 1808, and in March 1809 he received a piece of preferment equally honourable and more lucrative, a prebend at Westminster. On resigning his position at his old school he withdrew to his country living, residing there until 1820, when he was called to preside over the diocese of Exeter. His consecration took place on 12 Nov. 1820, and on the previous day he was installed a prebendary of his cathedral. The administration of the diocese by the former occupant of the see had not been marked by an excess of zeal, and the energy with which Carey threw himself into his new labours was much praised. At Exeter he remained for ten years, when he was translated to the wealthier bishopric of St. Asaph, being elected to his new see on 12 March 1830 and confirmed on 7 April. He died at his house in Portland Place, London, on 13 Sept. 1846, but his body was carried into Wales and buried in the churchyard of St. Asaph Cathedral on 2 Oct. 1846. A monument to his memory was erected in his cathedral.

Carey was the author of three sermons long since forgotten, but his name is preserved in his munificent benefaction of 20,000*l.* Consols for the better maintenance of such bachelor students of Christ Church, duly elected from Westminster School, as, 'having their own way to make in the world,' shall attend the divinity lectures and prepare themselves for holy orders. A second gift to his old school was of a different character. This was a new set of scenery for the Westminster play modelled on the lines of its predecessor, which had been designed by Athenian Stuart. Carey's scenery was in use for fifty years, from 1808 to 1858.

[Welch's Westminster School (Phillimore's ed.), pp. 418, 428, 456, 536; Forshall's Westminster School, pp. 125, 301–3, 470; Oliver's Bishops of Exeter, pp. 166–7; Career of Admiral John Markham, p. 14; Gent. Mag. 1846, pt. ii. pp. 533–4, 661; Notes and Queries, 3rd ser. vii. 205 (1865).]

W. P. C.

**CAREY, WILLIAM PAULET** (1759–1839), art critic, brother of John and Mathew

Carey [q. v.], was born in Ireland in 1759. He began life as a painter and afterwards became an engraver. He did the copperplates in Geoffrey Gambado's (H. Bunbury's) 'Annals of Horsemanship,' Dublin, 1792, and several plates in a collection of ethical maxims published by E. Grattan in Dublin. He discontinued the practice of his profession owing to an accident to his eyes, but he retained a great love for the arts. For more than fifty years his pen was employed in advocating the claims of modern and national art, most of his writings being distributed gratuitously. He was one of the first to recognise the genius of Chantrey, the sculptor, in the 'Sheffield Iris' in 1805. He was proud of having brought James Montgomery, the poet, into prominence, and in later years he wrote letters in the Cork and Dublin papers which had the effect of attracting attention to the work of Hogan, the sculptor. He is said to have been a United Irishman. In 1806 he wrote a pamphlet in defence of the Princess of Wales; in 1820 he published two other pamphlets, 'The Conspiracies of 1806 and 1813 against the Princess of Wales linked with the atrocious conspiracies of 1820 against the Queen of England,' and 'The Present Plot showed by the Past,' &c. On the cover of the latter he advertised a work in two volumes on the same subject. He was a dealer in pictures, prints, and other works of art, and was one of the principal persons consulted by Sir J. F. Leicester, afterwards Lord De Tabley, in the formation of his gallery. For several years he had an establishment in Marylebone Street, London. In the exercise of his calling he visited many towns, and finally settled in Birmingham about 1834. In that year he contributed to the 'Analyst,' a quarterly journal issued in that town. He died at Birmingham 21 May 1839, aged 80.

The list of his separate writings on art is as follows: 1. 'Thoughts on the best mode of checking the Prejudices against British Works of Art,' York, 1801, 8vo. 2. 'A Critical Description of the Procession of Chaucer's Pilgrims to Canterbury,' painted by Stothard, Lond. 1808, 8vo; second edition 1818. 3. 'Letter to J. A. (Colonel Anderdon), a Connoisseur in London,' Manchester, 1809, 12mo. 4. 'Cursory Thoughts on the Present State of the Fine Arts,' Liverpool, 1810, 12mo. 5. 'Recommendation of the Stained Glass Window of the Transfiguration for St. James's Church, Westminster,' 1815. 6. 'Memoirs of Bartolozzi,' in the 'European Magazine,' vols. lxvii. and lxviii. 1815. This ran through six numbers, but was not finished. 7. 'Criti-

cal Description and Analytical Reviews of Death upon the Pale Horse,' painted by Benjamin West, 1817, 8vo. An edition was published at Philadelphia in 1836. 8. 'A Descriptive Catalogue of a Collection of Paintings by British Artists in the possession of Sir John Fleming Leicester,' 1819, 8vo. 9. 'Desultory Exposition of an Anti-British System of Incendiary Publication,' &c. 1819, 8vo. 10. 'Addenda to H. Reveley's Notices illustrative of the Masters,' 1820. 11. 'Memoirs of B. West, R.A.,' in 'Colburn's New Monthly Magazine,' 1820. 12. 'Variæ: Historical Observations on Anti-British and Anti-Contemporarian Prejudices,' &c. 1822, 8vo. 13. 'Patronage of Irish Genius,' Dublin, 1823, 8vo. 14. 'Critical Catalogue of the Verville Collection,' 1823. 15. 'The National Obstacle to the National Public Style considered,' 1825, 8vo. 16. 'Some Memoirs of the Patronage and Progress of the Fine Arts in England . . . with Anecdotes of Lord De Tabley,' 1826, 8vo, pp. 361. 17. 'Syllabus of a Course of Six Historical Lectures on the Arts of Design,' Glasgow, 1828. 18. 'Appeal to the Directors of the Royal Irish Institution,' Dublin, 1828, 8vo. 19. 'Observations on the Primary Object of the British Institution for the Promotion of the Fine Arts,' Newcastle, 1829. 20. 'Brief Remarks on the Anti-British Effect of Inconsiderate Criticism on Modern Art and the Exhibitions of the Living British Artists,' London, 1831, 8vo. 21. 'Ridolfi's Critical Letters,' Leeds, 1831. 22. 'Ridolfi's Critical Letters on the Style of William Etty,' &c., Nottingham, 1833. 23. 'Lorenzo's Critical Letters on the First Exhibition of the Worcester Institution,' second series, Worcester, 1834, 4to. A third series was issued in the following year. 24. 'Syllabus of various Lectures on the Fine Arts.' An unfinished work of his was a 'Life of Alderman John Boydell,' which was projected to fill two royal quarto volumes.

One of his daughters, Elizabeth Sheridan Carey, wrote a volume of poems called 'Ivy Leaves,' privately printed in 1837. She joined the Roman catholic church.

[W. Bates in Notes and Queries, 4th ser. v. 481; Gent. Mag. February 1842, p. 139; Webb's Comp. of Irish Biogr. (1878), p. 73; Allibone's Dict. of Authors; Holland and Everett's Mem. of James Montgomery, ii. 40, 73, 102, iii. 355; J. Holland's Memorials of Chantrey, p. 192; Universal Catal. of Books on Art, 1870, i. 229, Suppl. p. 125; private information.]

C. W. S.

**CARGILL, ANN** (1748?-1784), actress and vocalist, made as Miss Brown her first appearance in London at Covent Garden in

1770, playing Sally in George Colman's comedy 'Man and Wife.' During her stay at Covent Garden, which lasted until 1780, she was the original Clara in the 'Duenna' of Sheridan (21 Nov. 1775), and took some primary rôles in comic opera and burletta, and many secondary rôles in comedy. On 2 Sept. 1780 she played at the Haymarket, as Mrs. Cargill, late Miss Brown, the Goddess of Health in the 'Genius of Nonsense' of her manager, George Colman. Conspicuous success attended her performance at the same theatre, 8 Aug. 1781, of Macheath, in a representation of the 'Beggar's Opera,' in which the male characters were sustained by women, and the female characters by men. Mrs. Cargill also performed Patie in Ramsay's 'Gentle Shepherd' (29 Oct. 1781), Marinetta in Tickell's 'Carnival of Venice' (13 Dec. 1781), and Damon in 1782 in the 'Chaplet.' Mrs. Cargill, who was short and thick in figure, acted with singular spirit as Captain Macheath. It is chronicled that her tremors upon hearing the bell sound for execution moved the audience to tears. In 1782 she went to India, where she not only played her favourite operatic characters, but attempted tragedy with some success. A single benefit is said to have brought her the then 'astounding sum of 12,000 rupees.' On her return home in 1784 the Nancy packet in which she had taken her passage was lost. Her body was found 'on the rocks of Scilly floating in her shift,' with an infant in her arms. Numerous portraits of Mrs. Cargill were painted and engraved. Two engravings were issued in 1776 after a picture by W. Peters. Engraved portraits were afterwards published of her in her chief characters, including Clara (1778), Miranda (1777), and Polly (1777 and 1782).

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Thespian Dictionary; Doran's Their Majesties' Servants; Oxberry's Dramatic Chronology; Young's Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch; information kindly supplied by Mr. W. Barclay Squire.] J. K.

**CARGILL, DONALD**, or, according to some, **DANIEL** (1619?-1681), covenanting preacher, was born at Rattray in Perthshire about 1619, studied at Aberdeen and St. Andrews, and was ordained in 1655. He became minister of the Barony parish in Glasgow in the same year. From the first he was a man of deep convictions and intense fidelity to them, but he did not become prominent till the time of the king's restoration, when, on 29 May 1660, instead of joining in public thanksgiving for the king's restoration, he pronounced the event a profound calamity, and denounced woe on the

royal head for treachery, tyranny, and lechery. Cargill was deprived of his benefice and banished beyond the Tay by the privy council (1 Oct. 1662). He disregarded the sentence, became a field preacher, and was conspicuous for the earnestness with which he denounced the presbyterian ministers who accepted the 'indulgence' in 1672. On 16 July 1674 and 6 Aug. 1675 decrees were passed against him for holding conventicles and other offences. In 1679 he took part in the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and was wounded, but made his escape both then and from other dangers of the same kind. At the same time he joined Richard Cameron [q. v.] in establishing the Cameronians. Cargill took part in drawing up a celebrated paper against the government, known as the Queensferry Covenant. He was also concerned, along with Cameron, in issuing the Sanquhar declaration (22 June 1680), and a reward was issued for his apprehension dead or alive. Afterwards, in September, at Torwood, between Stirling and Falkirk, he pronounced, without concert with any one, a solemn sentence of excommunication against the king, the Duke of York, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Lauderdale, Duke of Rothes, Sir George Mackenzie, and Sir Thomas Dalzell. (The Torwood excommunication was published in 1741.) A larger reward was issued for his capture, and after many hairbreadth escapes he was taken on 12 Sept. by James Irvine of Bonshaw at Covington Mill. Brought before the high court of justiciary on 26 July he was found guilty of high treason and condemned to death. He suffered at the cross of Edinburgh, 27 July 1681, expressing himself in the most jubilant and triumphant terms just before his execution. He married Margaret Browne, relict of Andrew Bethune of Blebo, in 1655, but his wife died 12 Aug. 1656.

Though Cargill's very stringent views were not generally accepted by his countrymen, both he and his friend Cameron took a great hold on the popular sympathy and regard. Personally, Cargill was an amiable, kind-hearted man, very self-denying, and thoroughly devoted to his duty. Wodrow ascribes some of his extreme sentiments to the influence of others. Among the people he seems to have won admiration for the profoundness of his convictions and the fearlessness with which he acted on them, when the result to himself could not fail to be ruinous. Some sermons, lectures, and his last speech and testimony have been printed; but Peter Walker, in the 'Remarkable Passages' in which he records his life in 'Biographia Presbyteriana,' indicates that the impression produced by

them was far inferior to that of his spoken discourses.

[Scott's Fasti Eccl. Scot. ii. 39; Biographia Presbyteriana, vol. ii.; Howie's Scots Worthies; Wodrow's Hist. of the Sufferings of the Ch. of Scotland; M'Crie's Story of the Scottish Ch.] W. G. B.

**CARGILL, JAMES** (J. 1605), botanist, was a medical man resident at Aberdeen, who studied botany and anatomy at Basle while Caspar Bauhin was professor of those sciences. Bauhin, for whom a professorship was founded in 1589, enumerates Cargill among those who sent seeds and specimens to him, and a definite record of his aid in regard to several species of fucus, together with his descriptions of them, is given in Bauhin's 'Prodromus.' He aided Gesner in the same way, and also Lobel (or Lobelius), who, in his 'Adversaria' (1605), refers to him as a philosopher, well skilled in botany and anatomy. No other record is known of Cargill.

[Caspar Bauhin's Prodromus Theatri Botanici, Frankfurt-on-Main, 1620. p. 15; Pulteney's Historical Sketches of the Progress of Botany in England, 1790, ii. 2.] G. T. B.

**CARHAMPTON, EARLS OF.** [See LUTTRELL, HENRY LAWES, second EARL, 1743-1821; LUTTRELL-OLMUS, JAMES, d. 1829, under LUTTRELL, JAMES.]

**CARIER, BENJAMIN, D.D.** (1566-1614), catholic controversialist, born in Kent in 1566, was son of Anthony Carier, a learned minister of the church of England. He was admitted of Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, 28 Feb. 1582, proceeded B.A. in 1586, was elected a fellow of his college 8 March 1589, and commenced M.A. in 1590. Soon afterwards he became tutor and studied divinity, especially the works of St. Augustine. This reading inclined him to the church of Rome. However, he proceeded B.D. in 1597, and was appointed one of the university preachers, and incorporated at Oxford the same year. Soon after this he was presented by the Wootton family to the rectory of Paddlesworth in Kent, which he resigned in 1599. He was presented to the vicarage of Thurnham in the same county, with the church of Aldington annexed, on 27 March 1600, and he held that benefice till 1613. In 1602 he was presented, by Archbishop Whitgift, whose domestic chaplain he then was, to the valuable sinecure rectory of West Tarring in Sussex. In the same year he was created D.D. at Cambridge, and his fellowship was declared vacant. At this time Carier appears to have been considerably mortified by his failure to obtain the mastership of his college. Soon afterwards he was appointed one of the chaplains in ordinary to James I. On 29 April 1603 he was collated by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the living of Old Romney in

Kent. On 29 June 1608 he obtained a prebendal stall at Canterbury; and he was nominated one of the first fellows of Chelsea College, projected by Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe as a seminary for able defenders of the Protestant religion.

At this period he believed that a union might be effected between the church of England and the Roman church, but when he perceived that this was impossible, he obtained the king's leave to go to Spa for the benefit of his health, really intending to study the actual working of catholicism abroad (*A Treatise written by Mr. Doctour Carier*, p. 12). He soon resolved to join the Roman communion, and proceeded from Spa to Cologne, where he placed himself in the hands of Father Copperus, rector of the Jesuit College. King James ordered Isaac Casaubon and others to write to him (August 1613), with a peremptory injunction to return to England. Carier at first gave no positive answer, either as to his returning or to the suspicions concerning his religion; but when his conversion could be kept a secret no longer, it was highly resented by the king. In his printed 'Missive,' addressed to the king from Liège, 12 Dec. 1613, he says: 'I haue sent you my soule in this Treatize, and if it may find entertainment, and passage, my bodie shal most gladly follow after.'

He received several congratulatory letters upon his conversion from Rome, Paris, and several other places. Cardinal du Perron invited him to France, desiring to have his assistance in some work which he was publishing against King James. Carier accepted the invitation, and died in Paris before midsummer 1614 (*Reliquia Wottonianæ*, ed. 1685, p. 438), though another account states that his death occurred at Liège (*Harl. MS.* 7035, p. 189).

His works are: 1. 'Ad Christianam Sapientiam brevis Introductio,' a treatise written for the use of Prince Henry, and preserved in manuscript in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2. 'A Treatise written by Mr. Doctour Carier, wherein he layeth downe sundry learned and pithy considerations, by which he was moued, to forsake the Protestant Congregation, and to betake hym selfe to the Catholicke Apostolicke Roman church' (Liège, 1613), 4to; reprinted under the title of 'A Carrier to a King; or, Doctour Carrier (chaplayne to K. James of happy memory), his Motiues of renouncing the Protestant Religion, & embracing the Cath. Roman' (Lond.? 1632, 12mo; again reprinted with the title of 'A Missive to His Majesty of Great Britain, King James, written diuers years since, by Doctor Carier,' Lond. 1649, 1687, 4to, with a long

preface by N. Strange, and a list of university men and ministers who were converts to catholicism. An elaborate answer by Dr. George Hakewill to Carier's 'Treatise' was published at London in 1616. 3. 'A Letter of the miserable Ends of such as impugn the Catholick Faith,' 1615, 4to.

[Addit. MS. 5865, f. 27; Catholic Miscellany (1826), v. 1; Dodd's Church Hist. ii. 424, 508-515; Faulkner's Chelsea, ii. 225; Foley's Records, i. 623; Guillim's Display of Heraldry (1724), 224; Hasted's Kent, 8vo edit. v. 532; Lansd. MS. 983, f. 132; Masters's Corpus Christi Coll., with continuation by Lamb, 461; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), i. 54; Pattinson's Life of Casaubon, 310, 435; Register and Magazine of Biography, i. 9; Strype's Whitgift, 578, 581-3, Append. 240, fol.; Whittaker's Life of Sir G. Radcliffe, 119.]

T. C.

CARILEF, WILLIAM DE, SAINT (*d.* 1096), bishop of Durham, began his ecclesiastical career as a secular priest in the church of Bayeux, but was moved by the example of his father to become a monk in the monastery of St. Carilef, now St. Calais, in the county of Maine. He showed great diligence in discharging his monastic duties, and rapidly rose to hold office in his monastery till he succeeded to the dignity of prior. His fame spread, and he was chosen abbot of the neighbouring monastery of St. Vincent. His practical capacity commended him to the notice of William the Conqueror, who in 1080 appointed him bishop of Durham, to which office William was consecrated on 3 Jan. 1081. He succeeded to a troubled diocese, where his predecessor Walcher had been murdered by his unruly people. He set to work at once to carry out a change which Walcher had contemplated, the substitution in the church of Durham of regular for secular canons. Monasticism had revived in Northumberland through the influence of Aldwin, prior of Winchcombe, who with two companions had travelled to the north that he might rekindle the fervour of monastic life which he read in the pages of Bede. Aldwin and his followers settled at Jarrow and Wearmouth, where they rebuilt the ruined buildings and formed monastic settlements. Bishop William wished to gather these monks round the church of Durham and commit to their care the guardianship of St. Cuthbert's relics. He consulted King William and Queen Matilda, who advised him to act cautiously and obtain the sanction of the pope. Gregory VII readily assented to a change which favoured the spread of monasticism. In 1083 Bishop William substituted monks for secular canons in the church of Durham, and as the small



revenues of the see were not sufficient to maintain three monasteries, the new foundations of Jarrow and Wearmouth were merged in the monastery of the cathedral. Their monks were brought to Durham, and the existing body of canons, who lived according to the rule of Chrodegang, were offered the choice of resigning or becoming monks. With one exception they all preferred to go; the dean was with difficulty persuaded by his son, who was himself a monk, to make the monastic profession. Aldwin, the reviver of northern monasticism, was made the first prior of Durham. The monks received their lands as separate from those of the bishop; their prior was to have the dignity of an abbot; they were made perpetual guardians of St. Cuthbert's Church and St. Cuthbert's relics.

Simson, the Durham chronicler, describes Bishop William as learned in secular and theological literature, industrious in affairs, sufficient in the discharge of his episcopal duties, subtle in mind, a wise counsellor, and eloquent in speech. To the monks of Durham he was a kindly, prudent, and firm ruler, and they seem to have seen the best side of his character. In public affairs his subtlety led him into intrigue. During the reign of William I he was a valued counsellor of the king, of whom all men stood in awe. William II at his accession made him his chief minister, probably justiciar, and committed the administration of public affairs to his hands (FLOR. WIG. sub anno 1088). The favour shown to him by the king was one of the causes of the discontent of Bishop Odo of Bayeux, which led him to rebel against his nephew (WILL. MALM. *Gesta Regum*, bk. iv. ch. 1). To the surprise of all men Bishop William was treacherous to his master and joined in the revolt, 'doing as Judas did to our Lord' (*A.-S. Chron.* sub anno 1088). His motive in this is difficult to understand; probably he wished to stand well with both parties. He took credit to himself for securing Hastings to the king's side; but when war seemed imminent he withdrew on pretence of gathering his troops and sent the king no help. If he hoped to temporise and hold the balance between the two parties, he was mistaken, for the king ordered his immediate arrest. Bishop William answered from Durham that he would come to the king if he had a sufficient safe-conduct, but he added that not every man could judge a bishop. The sheriff of Yorkshire was loyal to the king, and ordered his men to lay waste the bishopric, so that Bishop William was almost blockaded in Durham. Still he contrived to do as much harm as he could to the king's cause in the northern parts. In two months

the rebellion was put down, and William II proceeded to call the treacherous bishop to account.

Bishop William's conduct is condemned by the southern chroniclers; but the northern historians regard him as in some way an ill-used man, who was himself the object of a conspiracy. Probably the monks of Durham were easily won over by the plausible accounts of one who was a munificent patron and a sagacious ruler (FREEMAN, *William Rufus*, Appendix C). At all events Bishop William showed great dexterity in his attempts to remedy the evil consequences of his political duplicity. William II summoned him before the gemot, and the bishop set to work to devise means of escape. He pleaded the privileges of his order; he offered to purge himself of the charge of treason by his personal oath. The king refused all his offers and demanded that he should appear and be tried as a layman. Then the bishop negotiated about the terms on which he should appear and about the possession of his castle during his absence. Finally he agreed that his castle should be held by three of his barons, and that if he were found guilty he should be at liberty to go beyond the sea.

On 2 Nov. 1088 the gemot met at Salisbury, and Bishop William put forth all his acuteness in raising legal quibbles at every turn to prevent any discussion of the real issue. He was a skilful lawyer and a clever and copious speaker ('oris volubilitate promptus,' says WILL. MALM. *Gesta Pontificum*, 272). He objected that his fellow-suffragans were not allowed to give him their counsel; finally he denied the right of laymen to judge a bishop; he would only answer to the archbishop and bishops and would speak with the king. Lanfranc was the chief speaker in opposing his claims, and it was decided that he must acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, or the king was not bound to restore his lands. He persisted in declining to admit this jurisdiction in the case of a bishop, and appealed to the apostolic see. Hugh of Beaumont, on the king's part, accused him of treason, and the bishop answered by again appealing to Rome. The pleadings were still going on when William II brought matters to an issue: 'I will have your castle, as you will not follow the justice of my court.' Still the bishop raised new points about his safe-conduct, the delivery of the castle, the ships which were to take him abroad, and an allowance of money for his maintenance. The castle was taken by the king on 14 Nov., and after some delay Bishop William was allowed to sail to Normandy.

There he was warmly welcomed by Duke

Robert, who gave him the chief post in the administration of the duchy. He probably found himself more profitably employed than in prosecuting his appeal to Rome; at all events we hear no more about it. He longed, however, to return to England, and took an opportunity of regaining the favour of William II by rescuing a garrison of his soldiers who were besieged in a castle in Normandy. Duke Robert became reconciled to his brother, and on 3 Sept. 1091 Bishop William was restored to the possessions of the bishopric. During his absence he had not forgotten his monks, and sent them from Normandy a letter of advice about their conduct, which he ordered them to read aloud once a week (SIMÉON OF DURHAM, *Rolls Ser. i.* 126). He brought back with him vessels and vestments for his church, and, what was more important, a plan for a new cathedral, of which the foundation-stone was laid 11 Aug. 1093, in the presence of Malcolm, king of Scotland.

Bishop William certainly deserves the credit of being one of the greatest of the builders who have adorned England. In the space of two years and a half that remained of his pontificate he built so much of the cathedral of Durham that he practically decided its lasting form. He finished the choir, the arches of the lantern, and began the nave. He conceived the purest and noblest specimen of Romanesque architecture in England. Moreover, he added to the castle which William the Conqueror had built at Durham, and its most striking part is the chapel, in which Bishop William used the skill which was displayed on a greater scale in the cathedral.

Bishop William did not content himself with these works and with the business of his diocese. Unfortunately for his fame he regained the favour of William II and helped him to carry out his unworthy plans. The scheming character of the bishop showed itself only too clearly in his willingness to help William II to rid himself of Archbishop Anselm. Bishop William felt no respect for Anselm's simple and noble character. He laid legal traps for him and devised means of annoyance which might give a plausible reason for his deposition, led by the hope that if Anselm were gone he might succeed him as archbishop. The story of the persecution of Anselm need not be told again; but in the meeting of the council at Rockingham (March 1095) Bishop William was the man who above all others maintained the royal jurisdiction over bishops. The man who seven years before had put forward at Salisbury the plea of exemption from royal jurisdiction now

showed the same cleverness in arguing against such a plea. He promised the king that he would make Anselm renounce the pope or would compel him to resign his episcopal office. When Anselm was firm, and refused to answer save 'as he ought and where he ought,' Bishop William was so far consistent as to admit that reason was on the side of one who stood on the Word of God and the authority of St. Peter. But he had the meanness to propose recourse to violence; let Anselm be deprived of his ring and staff and be expelled the kingdom. When this was rejected by the lay lords, William's technical ingenuity suggested to his brother bishops that they should withdraw their obedience from Anselm. William's conduct at Rockingham was in every way base and unworthy. He showed himself to be a man of great cleverness who pursued his end with desperate tenacity, and when once engaged in a war of wits forgot everything save the desire to win an immediate advantage. To promote his own interests he attacked at Rockingham the position which, to save himself, he had strenuously maintained at Salisbury. He was a man without principles in public matters. His versatile mind and ready eloquence covered an indifference to the real issue and hopeless shallowness of thought ('*homo linguæ volubilitate facetus quam sapientia præditus*,' EADMAR, *Hist. Nov.* bk. i.)

Bishop William went away from Rockingham discredited in the eyes of all men. His counsel had led the king into difficulties, and he had again lost the royal favour. His restless mind chafed under his disgrace, and he was suspected of renewed treachery. Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, rebelled against the king, and the bishop of Durham's attitude was ambiguous. The king summoned him to his court, and the bishop pleaded illness as an excuse. The king repeated his command, and the bishop, who was really ailing, was forced to drag himself to Windsor. There his illness increased, and on Christmas day 1095 he took to his bed. It is pleasant to know that he was visited in his sickness by Archbishop Anselm. On his deathbed it was proposed by some of his monks who were present that he should be buried in the stately church which he had founded; but William refused to allow his corruptible remains to be laid in the same building as the uncorrupt body of St. Cuthbert. 'Bury me,' he said, 'in the chapter-house, where my tomb will be always before your eyes.' He died on 2 Jan. 1096. His body was carried to Durham and was buried in the chapter-house according to his

wish, amid the tears and lamentations of the monks.

The character of William de St. Carilef is puzzling. It is hard to reconcile the clever, selfish, unscrupulous statesman with the wise administrator and sagacious reformer of his diocese. He was probably a man whose cleverness was superficial, and did not go beyond the capacity to do what seemed obvious for the moment. At Durham his duty was tolerably clear, and he did it with sagacity and winning sympathy. He was beloved by his monks. His architectural plans were marked by the finest feeling for the capacities of the art of his time. In public matters his path was not so clear. He had no principles to guide him, and his actions were swayed by selfishness.

[The northern authority is Simeon of Durham, *Hist. Dunelm. Eccles.* ed. Arnold, *Rolls Series*, i. 119, &c.; also, with the *Hist. Regum*, ed. Hinde, *Surtees Society*; the account of the trial at Salisbury is a Durham document, 'De injusta venatione Willelmi primi episcopi,' in *Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, i. 245, &c.; the southern authorities are William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, bk. iv. ch. 1; and *Gesta Pontificum*, bk. iv.; Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*, and Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*, sub annis; Eadmar, *Hist. Nov.* bk. i.; of modern writers see Hutchinson's *Durham*, i. 133; Stubbs's *Constitutional Hist.* ch. xi.; the public life of Bishop William has been fully examined by Freeman, *William Rufus*, i. 119, &c., and the authorities discussed in Appendix C.] M. C.

CARKEET, SAMUEL (d. 1746), presbyterian minister, was ordained 19 July 1710, the same day as James Strong, afterwards of Ilminster. He was settled in the larger of two presbyterian congregations at Totnes. Accused of Arianism when the Exeter controversy broke out, he preached a vigorous sermon at Exeter, 7 May 1719, at the young men's lecture, repudiating all personal taint of Arianism, but maintaining that christian worth is independent of speculative opinions. Few contributions to the non-subscription side are more blunt and trenchant in their language. Arguing against any unscriptural test, he says: 'Either the Holy Ghost spoke as plain as he could, or as plain as God thought proper for a rule to the churches. If he spake as plain as he could, they are no plausible contenders for his Divinity (which, I believe, is generally acknowledged among Christians) who fancy they can speak plainer. If he spake only as plain as God thought proper, they certainly invade his prerogative who pretend to make the matter plainer, and urge it upon men's consciences.' Carkeet removed to Bodmin

(after 1729), and died there on 17 June 1746. His sermon was published with the title, 'Gospel Worthiness stated: in a Sermon [Matt. x. 11] preach'd in Exon., &c., 1719, 8vo. He published also 'An Essay on the Conversion of St. Paul, as implying a change of his Moral Character,' 1741, 8vo (against Henry Grove's view that the change was simply one of opinion).

[Manuscript List of Ministers in Records of Exeter Assembly; James's Presbyterian Chapels and Charities, 1867, p. 656 (where he is called Carkat); sermon cited above.] A. G.

CARKESSE, JAMES (fl. 1679), verse writer, was educated at Westminster School, whence in 1652 he was elected to a scholarship at Christ Church, Oxford. It seems probable that he joined the Roman catholic church before 1679, in which year he published a curious volume of doggerel rhymes, entitled 'Lucida Intervalla: containing divers miscellaneous Poems written at Finsbury and Bethlem, by the Doctor's Patient Extraordinary,' London, 4to. The doctor's name was Thomas Allen. It is clear that the writer was a very fit subject for a lunatic asylum.

[Welch's *Alumni Westmon.* 139; Notes and Queries, 1st series, ii. 87; Lowndes's *Bibl. Man.* (Bohn), 373; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.] T. C.

CARKETT, ROBERT (d. 1780), captain in the royal navy, seems to have entered the navy in 1734 as able seaman on board the Exeter. In her, and afterwards in the Grampus and Alderney sloops, he served in that capacity for upwards of four years, when he was appointed to the Plymouth as midshipman. In that ship, then belonging to the Mediterranean fleet, he remained for nearly five years, and during the latter part of the time under the command of Captain G. B. Rodney. He passed his examination on 18 July 1743, sailed for the East Indies in the Deptford in May 1744, was made lieutenant in the following February, and returned to England in September 1746. During the rest of the war he served in the Surprize frigate, and in March 1755 was appointed to the Monmouth, a small ship of 64 guns, which, after two years in the Channel, was, early in 1757, sent out to the Mediterranean under the command of Captain Arthur Gardiner. In the early part of 1758 the squadron under Vice-admiral Osborn was blockading Cartagena. On the evening of 28 Feb. the Monmouth chased the French 80-gun ship Foudroyant out of sight of the squadron, and single-handed brought her to action. About nine o'clock Gardiner fell mortally wounded, and

the command devolved on Carkett as first-lieutenant, who continued the fight with equal spirit. Both ships were beaten nearly to a standstill, when the *Swiftsure* of 70 guns came up about one o'clock in the morning, and the *Foudroyant* surrendered. Carkett was immediately promoted by the admiral to command the prize, and a few days later appointed to the *Revenge*, which he took to England. His post rank was dated 12 March; and he continued in command of the *Revenge*, in the Downs, till the following February. He was then appointed to the Hussar frigate, and commanded her at home and in the West Indies till 23 May 1762, when she struck on a reef off Cape François of St. Domingo, and was lost, her officers and men becoming prisoners of war. In June Carkett and the other officers were sent to England on parole, but he was not exchanged till the following December. In August 1763 he commissioned the *Active*, which he commanded in the West Indies, and most of the time at Pensacola, till 1767, in June of which year she was paid off at Chatham. In July 1769 he commissioned the *Lowestoft*, and again spent the greater part of the time at Pensacola, where his duties seem to have been promoting the welfare of the settlement and cultivating vegetables. His gardening was interrupted for a short time in 1770 by the death of Commodore Forrest, in consequence of which he had to undertake the duties of senior officer at Jamaica; but on being superseded by Commodore Mackenzie he returned to Pensacola, and remained there for the next three years. The *Lowestoft* was paid off in May 1773.

In November 1778 Carkett was appointed to command the *Stirling Castle* of 64 guns, and in December sailed for the West Indies in the squadron under Commodore Rowley. He thus in the following summer had his share of the clumsily fought action off Grenada [see BYRON, JOHN, 1723-1786], and on 17 April 1780 led the line in the action to leeward of Martinique [see RODNEY, GEORGE BRYDGES, LORD]. Of Carkett's personal courage there can be no doubt, but his experience with a fleet was extremely small, and of naval tactics he knew nothing beyond the rule for the line of battle laid down in the fighting instructions. When, therefore, Rodney, after directing the attack to be concentrated on the enemy's rear, made the signal to engage, Carkett in the *Stirling Castle* stretched along to engage the enemy's van. Rodney wrote to the secretary of the admiralty on 26 April 1780 that his error had been fatal to the success of the action. This clause of Rodney's letter was not published in the *Gazette*, but Carkett learned

from England that something of the sort had been sent. He accordingly wrote to Rodney desiring to see that part of it which related to him. 'All the satisfaction I received,' he complained to the secretary of the admiralty on 23 July 1780, 'was his acknowledgment that he had informed their lordships that I had not properly obeyed his signals in attacking the enemy's rear' (BEATSON, *Nav. and Mil. Memoirs*, vi. 222). Rodney's letter did, in fact, contain a very severe reprimand, of which Carkett made no mention, but requested the secretary of the admiralty to lay his explanation before their lordships. Whether he ever received an answer is doubtful, for the *Stirling Castle*, which had been sent to Jamaica, and thence ordered home with the trade, was, in a violent hurricane on 5 Oct., totally lost on Silver Keys, some small rocks to the north of Cape François. All on board perished, with the exception of a midshipman and four seamen.

[Official Letters and other documents in the Public Record Office; Charnock's Biog. Naval, vi. 300.] J. K. L.

**CARLEILL, CHRISTOPHER** (1551?-1593), military and naval commander, born about 1551, was son of Alexander Carleill, citizen and vintner of London, by his wife Anne, daughter of Sir George Barne, knight, lord mayor of London. He is stated, but without probability, to have been a native of Cornwall (HOLLAND, *Herowlogia Anglica*, 94). He was educated in the university of Cambridge (COOPER, *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 161). In 1572 he went to Flushing, and was present at the siege of Middelburg. Boisot, the Dutch admiral, held him in such esteem that no orders of the senate or the council were carried into execution until he had been consulted. Afterwards he repaired with one ship and a vessel of smaller size to La Rochelle to serve under the Prince of Condé, who was about to furnish supplies to the town of Brouage, then besieged by Mayenne. Condé had intended to attack the royal fleet in person, but on the arrival of Carleill the command was given to him. Having discharged this duty he went to serve at Steenwick in Overysse, then beleaguered by the Spaniards. In consequence of his conduct there he was placed at the head of the English troops at the fortress of Zwarte Sluis. When leading troops thence to the army he was surprised by a body of the enemy consisting of two thousand foot and six hundred horse. He vigorously repulsed them, and slew or took eight hundred. As inconvenience arose from the great number of foreigners in the camp of the Prince of Orange the sole command

was given to Carleill. After the siege of Steenwick was raised he went to Antwerp, and he was on the point of returning to England, when he was sent for by the prince and the confederate states again to assume the sole command of the camp until Sir John Norris should arrive to share the command with him. Altogether he served the Prince of Orange for five years without receiving pay.

He conveyed the English merchants into Russia in 1582, when the king of Denmark was at war with that country. The Danish fleet met them, but, observing his squadron of eleven ships, did not venture upon an engagement. The Russian envoy got on board at the port of St. Nicholas, and was conveyed to England. By the interest of his father-in-law, Sir Francis Walsingham, Carleill received 1,000*l.* by subscription at Bristol for an attempt to discover 'the coast of America lying to the south-west of Cape Breton,' and proposed to the Russian merchants to raise 3,000*l.* more in London, which sum of 4,000*l.* he deemed sufficient to settle one hundred men in their intended plantation. The project appears to have been unsuccessful, but Carleill wrote 'a brief and summary discourse' on its advantages (HAKLUYT). A letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury to Thomas Bawdewyn, 20 May 1583, alludes to Carleill's scheme (LODGE, *Illustrations of British History*, ed. 1838, ii. 241-3).

In 1584 Sir John Perrot, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, appointed Carleill commander of the garrison of Coleraine and the district of Route. Being recalled to England in 1585 in consequence of disputes with Perrot, he was, through the influence of Walsingham, made lieutenant-general of the land forces, consisting of above 2,300 troops, in the expedition to St. Domingo, Sir Francis Drake being at the head of the fleet, consisting of twenty-one sail. Carleill was captain of the *Tiger*. In this expedition the cities of St. Domingo, St. Iago, Carthaginia, and St. Augustine were taken. The success of this campaign was in great measure owing to the lieutenant-general's good conduct (CARLISLE, *Collections for a History of the Family of Carlisle*, p. 21; CAMDEN, *Annales*, ed. 1625-9, book iv. p. 92).

On 26 July 1588 he was appointed constable of Carrickfergus, co. Antrim (LASCELLES, *Liber Hiberniæ*, ii. 120). In 1588 he was governor of Ulster. On 10 June 1590 he wrote to Lord Burghley, requesting a commission from the queen to seize for lawful prize any goods which might be found in England belonging to Spanish subjects. In urging his claims upon her majesty he says: 'I have bene longe tyme a fruiteles suitor,

even well nigh the moste part of fower yeares tyme, as also that I have spent my patrimonye and all other meanes in the service of my countrey, which hath not been less than five thousande pounds, whereof I doe owe at this presente the beste parte of 3,000*l.* There is no man canne challenge me that I have spent any part of all this expense in riotte, game, or other excessive, or inordinate manner.'

Carleill died in London on 11 Nov. 1593, 'and, as is supposed, for grief of his friends death. He was quicke witted, and affable, valiant and fortunate in warre, well read in the mathematikes, and of good experience in navigation, wheretuppon some have registred him for a navigator, but the truth is his most inclination, and profession, was chiefly for lande service, he utterly abhorred pycracy' (Stowe, *Annales*, ed. Howes, p. 805). Sir John Perrot entertained a different opinion of Carleill's views of piracy (*Cal. State Papers*, Irish, 1574-85, p. 568). He married Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and sister of Sir Philip Sidney's wife. His widow was alive in 1609.

There is a fine portrait of him in Holland's 'Heroologia,' and there is also a small portrait of him engraved by Robert Boissard, which belongs to a curious set of English admirals by the same engraver (GRANGER, *Biog. Hist. of England*, ed. 1824, i. 288).

He is the author of: 1. 'A Brief Summary Discourse upon a Voyage intending to the uttermost parts of America.' Written in 1583 and printed in Hakluyt's 'Voyages,' iii. 182. 2. 'Christopher Carleill's suit to Lord Burghley for a commission to seize Spanish goods,' 1590, Lansd. MS. 64, art. 54. 3. 'A Discourse on the Discovery of the hithermost parts of America, written by Capt. Carleill to the Citizens of London,' Lansd. MS. 100, art. 14. 4. 'Account of advantages to the realm from a sudden seizure of books, letters, papers, &c. of the Low Country people residing and inhabiting under the obedience of the king of Spain, with answers to objections,' Lansd. MS. 113, art. 7.

Carleill always wrote his name so. Others spell it Carlele, Carlisle, Carliell, and in other ways.

[Authorities cited above; also Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornubiensis*, i. 58, iii. 1112; *Biog. Brit.* 2465, note C; *Cal. State Papers*, Domestic and Irish, and Carew, 1584-90; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* 154; notes supplied by Prof. J. K. Laughton.] T. C.

CARLELL, LODOWICK (fl. 1629-1664), dramatist, held various positions at court under Charles I and II. According to

Langbaine, 'he was an ancient courtier, being gentleman of the bows to King Charles the First, groom of the king and queen's privy chamber, and served (*sic*) the queen mother many years.' He is the reputed author of nine plays, of which eight survive. These are as follows: 1. 'The Deserving Favourite,' 4to, 1629, 8vo, 1659, a tragi-comedy, played at Whitehall before Charles I and his queen, and subsequently at the private theatre in Blackfriars. 2 and 3. 'Arviragus and Philicia,' a tragi-comedy in two parts, 12mo, 1639, acted at Blackfriars, and with a preface by Dryden spoken by Hart, revived in 1672 by the king's company at Lincoln's Inn Fields. 4 and 5. 'The Passionate Lover,' a tragi-comedy in two parts, 4to, 1655, played at Somerset House, and subsequently at Blackfriars. 6. 'The Fool would be a Favourite, or the Discreet Lover,' 8vo, 1657, 'acted with great applause' (LANGBAINE). 7. 'Osmond, the Great Turk, or the Noble Servant,' a tragedy, 8vo, printed in the same volume with the foregoing under the title 'Two New Playes.' 8. 'Heraclius, Emperor of the East,' 4to, 1664. 9. 'The Spartan Ladies,' a comedy entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, 4 Sept. 1646, and mentioned in Humphrey Moseley's catalogue at the end of Middleton's 'More Dissemblers besides Women.' No copy of the play has been traced. According to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, an entry in the diary of Sir H. Mildmay shows it to have been acted so early as 1634. Of these plays, all except one seem to have been put on the stage. Concerning 'Heraclius,' which is a translation from Pierre Corneille, Langbaine, following the author's statement in the dedication, says it was never played, another version being preferred by the players whom Carlell supposed to have accepted his work. No other play on the subject is preserved. Pepys, in his 'Diary,' 4 Feb. 1666-7, writes as follows: 'Soon as dined my wife and I out to the Duke's Playhouse, and there saw "Heraclius," an excellent play, to my extraordinary content, and the more from the house being very full and great company.' The note to this ascribes the play in question to Carlell. The plots of most of the remaining pieces are borrowed. Carlell has some power of character painting. As regards construction and language, his plays will stand comparison with those of the minor dramatists of his day. They are dedicated to his fellow-courtiers, and contain in prologues and epilogues some slight autobiographical indications. In the prologue to the second part of the 'Passionate Lover' Carlell says:

Most here know,  
This author hunts, and hawks, and feeds his deer,  
Not some, but most fair days throughout the  
year.

'Heraclius' is in rhymed verse, which Carlell manages indifferently well. One or two others are in prose, with rhymed tags to certain speeches; the remainder are in blank verse of indescribable infelicity. It is difficult to resist the conviction that the plays were intended for prose, and were measured into unequal lengths and supplied with capitals by the printers.

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Langbaine's Dramatic Poets; Diary of Pepys; Halliwell's Dictionary of Old Plays.] J. K.

CARLETON, BARON (*d.* 1725). [See BOYLE, HENRY.]

CARLETON, SIR DUDLEY, VISCOUNT DORCHESTER (1573-1632), diplomatist, was the son of Antony Carleton of Baldwin Brightwell, Oxfordshire, by Jocosa, his second wife, daughter of John Goodwin of Winchington, Buckinghamshire. He was born at his father's seat at Brightwell on 10 March 1573, and was early sent to Westminster School, where Dr. Edward Grant was his master, and in the latter part of his time Camden. He entered at Christ Church, Oxford, graduating B.A. on 2 July 1595. During the next five years he spent his time in foreign travel and in acquiring a knowledge of the continental languages. In 1600 he returned to England, and proceeded M.A. on 12 July of that year. Shortly after this he became secretary to Sir Thomas Parry, and accompanied him on his embassy to France in June 1602. Some disagreements are said to have arisen between the two, and in November 1603 Carleton was again in England, and next month at Winchester was an eyewitness of the butchery of Watson and other victims of the 'Raleigh plot.' In the following March he was elected member for St. Mawes in the first parliament of King James, and he seems to have been from the first an active participator in the debates. He next became secretary to the unfortunate Henry, earl of Northumberland; but when Lord Norris, in March 1605, determined to make a tour in Spain, he prevailed upon Carleton to accompany him, who thereupon resigned his secretaryship to the earl. While on their way home Lord Norris fell dangerously ill in Paris, and Carleton remained at his side till his recovery. Just at this time the Gunpowder plot was discovered, and it appeared in evidence that Carleton, as Lord Northumberland's secretary, had actually negotiated for the transfer

of the vault under the parliament house in which the powder was laid. Carleton, in ignorance that his name had been mentioned in the affair, and never thinking that suspicion could light upon himself, still remained in Paris by his friend's side. His prolonged absence from England under the circumstances led to rumours much to his prejudice, and he was at length peremptorily summoned home by an order of the lords of the council, and on his arrival in London was placed in confinement in the bailiff's house at Westminster. Eventually he succeeded in clearing himself of all cognisance of, or complicity in, the abominable conspiracy, and by the favour of Lord Salisbury he was set at liberty, but not till he had been under arrest for nearly a month. His unfortunate connection with the Earl of Northumberland acted seriously to his prejudice for some years and interfered with his advancement, though he had already made powerful friends and had succeeded in producing a general impression of being a man of promise and extraordinary ability.

In November 1607 he married, in the Temple Church, Anne, daughter of George Gerrard of Dorney, Buckinghamshire, by Margaret, whose second husband was Sir Henry Saville. Carleton had already assisted his future father-in-law in collating manuscripts while he was in Paris in 1603, and he continued 'plodding at his Greek letters,' as he calls it, while living in Sir Henry's house with his young wife during the first year of their married life. After this, and when a child was born to him, he took a house at Westminster, and became a diligent debater in parliament when it assembled. Salisbury had an eye upon the young man, and when, in May 1610, Sir Thomas Edmundes was recalled from the embassy to the Archduke Albert, Carleton was appointed to go as ambassador to Brussels. When all preparations were made for his departure, the king's intention changed, and he was ordered to proceed to Venice as successor to Sir Henry Wotton, who was recalled. He received the honour of knighthood in September, and, arriving at his destination about the middle of November, his career as a diplomatist began. From this time till the end of his life Carleton grew to be more and more esteemed as the most sagacious and successful diplomatist in Europe, and a history of the negotiations in which he was engaged would be a history of the foreign affairs of England during more than half of the reigns of James I and his unhappy successor. He returned to England from his Venetian embassy in 1615, shortly after he had carried

through the very delicate task of getting the treaty of Asti concluded, whereby the war between Spain and Savoy was brought to an end, and something like peace in Europe was established. He did not remain long at home. In March 1616 he was sent to succeed Winwood at the Hague, and during the next five years he continued ambassador there. His despatches during this period contain a masterly summary of Dutch history and politics, and a graphic account of the extreme difficulties of the writer's position, and of the unflinching versatility and self-command which he displayed in extricating himself from these difficulties as they emerged.

Motley has given a caustic résumé of Carleton's speeches in the Assembly of Estates in 1617, which provoked much discussion at the time, and one of which at least was answered by Grotius in print. But when he attributes to him a bitter hatred of his hero Barneveld, Motley mistakes the man he was writing about. Carleton was of too cool and calculating a nature to be capable of strong hatred. Life to him, and especially political life, was a game to be played without passion; the men upon the board were but pawns or counters; and in playing with the States General at this time, when everybody in Holland was more or less mad with a theological mania, it was idle to speak or act as if they were sane. When four years later Frederic the Elector found himself an exile after the battle of Prague, and took refuge in Holland, he occupied for a time the ambassador's house, and brought in the Princess Elizabeth and her children with their retinue. Carleton was put to very great expense, but he bore it with his usual sangfroid, though he did not forget to mention the fact when subsequently he was seeking for royal favour. Sir Henry Saville died in February 1622. Lady Carleton was his only surviving child, and, possibly with a view to looking after her own interests, and certainly with the hope of getting some large sums of money which were due to the ambassador, in the spring of the following year her ladyship went over to England and was received with much favour. Thomas Murray, the prince's tutor, had succeeded Sir Henry as provost of Eton, but just as Lady Carleton arrived in England Murray too died. The provostship of Eton was again vacant, and Carleton was among the candidates for the vacant preferment; it fell to Sir Henry Wotton, however, and Carleton had to wait some years longer for promotion. In 1625 Buckingham came over to the Hague to attend the congress which was going to do such great things and did so little; and the speech which

he delivered at his public audience was written for him by Carleton and delivered *totidem verbis*. When the duke returned to England, Carleton accompanied him, and was at once rewarded for his long services by being made vice-chamberlain of the household and a member of the privy council; but in a few weeks he was again despatched, in concert with the Earl of Holland, on an extraordinary embassy to France. The mission proved abortive; Richelieu had a policy, Charles had none, and the two ambassadors returned in March 1626, having effected little or nothing. When Carleton landed in England, he found the House of Commons occupied with the impeachment of Buckingham. He had been elected in his absence member for the borough of Hastings, and lost no time in taking his seat and speaking in defence of his patron and friend. He spoke as a diplomatist, and with small success; but it is not improbable that if he had been left to follow his own plans he might have been found a useful member in the house, and have exercised some influence in restraining the violence of the more fiery spirits on the one hand, and in checking the imprudence and rashness of the king and his supporters on the other. By this time, however, the lords had shown a disposition to take a line of their own, and Charles determined to strengthen his party in the upper house. Carleton was accordingly raised to the peerage as Lord Carleton of Imbercourt in May 1626. Shortly afterwards it was found expedient once more to send him on a mission to the Hague. One of the objects of this foolish mission was to prevail upon the States to favour a levy of 1,000 German horse, who were intended to serve in England, and the other was to effect a union of the States against Spain. Carleton must have known before he started that he could only fail in such a project. He was kept in Holland on this occasion for two years, and during his absence Lady Carleton died (18 April 1627). She was buried in St. Paul's Chapel in Westminster Abbey. The children she had given birth to had all died in infancy, and Carleton found himself a childless widower. He returned in April, and on 25 July 1628 was created Viscount Dorchester.

Meanwhile Buckingham's miserable incompetency for the position which he now occupied had been showing itself more glaringly every day, and he had at length drifted into the intention of raising the siege of Rochelle. Dorchester could only disapprove of Buckingham's scheme, but things had gone too far to allow of a change of front. Yet on

6 Aug. it seemed as if there might still be a way out of the difficulties, and a peace with France be concluded. Overtures to this effect were made by Contarini to Dorchester, and it was actually while he was walking to the conference which Dorchester had arranged on the morning of 23 Aug. 1628 for settling the terms of this peace that Buckingham received his death-wound. Dorchester was an eyewitness of the whole dreadful scene, and it was only through his prompt interference that Felton was saved from being torn to pieces by the bystanders. In the following December Dorchester became chief secretary of state, and from this time till his death he was the responsible minister for foreign affairs, so far as any minister of Charles I could be responsible for the mistakes of a king who the less he knew the more he meddled. Dorchester was now in his fifty-fifth year, and only a little past his prime; he might still hope to leave a son behind him. Paul, first Lord Bayning, died in 1629, leaving a young widow and five children all amply provided for. In 1630 this lady became Dorchester's second wife. Their union was but of brief duration. Dorchester died on 15 Feb. 1632, and was buried four days after in Westminster Abbey, his funeral being conducted with little pomp or ceremony. He left but a small estate behind him, not more than 700*l.* a year. It is clear that, like many other faithful servants of the Stuarts, he had gained nothing but barren honour by his lifelong services. Lady Dorchester gave birth to a posthumous daughter, Frances, in June 1632, who lived little more than six months. Dorchester's titles became extinct, and a nephew of the same name, and who succeeded him in some of his diplomatic employments, was eventually his heir. Dorchester's letters and despatches testify to the writer's extraordinary facility as a correspondent. They are immensely voluminous. Cecil alone, among his contemporaries, has left behind him a larger mass of manuscript. His style is remarkably fluent and clear; few writers of English have surpassed him in the power of making his meaning obvious without effort and without unnecessary verbiage. A collection of his letters during his embassy in Holland was published by Lord Hardwicke in 1755, which attained a third edition in 1780, and his despatches during his embassy at the Hague in 1677 were printed by Sir Thomas Philipps at Middle Hill in 1841. Some of his letters may be found in the 'Cabala' and other collections, especially in Dr. Birch's 'Court and Times of James I and of Charles I,' but these are only a small portion



of the mass of correspondence which has never been printed, and which is to be found in the Record Office and other depositories. A half-length portrait of Dorchester, painted by Michiel Jansz van Miereveldt, was presented to the National Portrait Gallery of London in Nov. 1860 by Felix Slade, together with a half-length portrait of Dorchester's first wife, Ann Gerard, by the same artist.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 519; and *Fasti Oxon.*; *Cal. of State Papers, Dom.* 1603-32 passim; *Birch's Court and Times of James I and Charles I*; *Winwood's Memorials of State*; *Birch's Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels from 1592 to 1617*; *Historical Preface to Carleton's Letters*, by Lord Hardwicke (1780); *Gardiner's Hist. of England in the Reigns of James I and Charles I*; *Forster's Life of Eliot*; *Motley's Life and Death of John of Barneveld* (1874); *Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers*; *Banks's Dormant and Extinct Baronage* (1809), iii. 52. Clarendon's account of Carleton (*Hist. of the Rebellion*, bk. i.) is flimsy and inaccurate. He is included among *Horace Walpole's Noble Authors*. There is a good account of him and the Carleton family in *Manning and Bray's Hist. of Surrey* (i. 456).] A. J.

CARLETON, GEORGE (1559-1628), bishop of Chichester, son of Guy Carleton of Carleton Hall in Cumberland, was born in 1559 at Norham in Northumberland, where his father was warder of the castle there. His early education was superintended by Bernard Gilpin, the 'Apostle of the North.' In 1576 he was sent to St. Edmund Hall, Oxford; in 1579 he took his M.A., and in 1580 was elected fellow of Merton. Here he won a high reputation as a good poet and orator and a skillful disputant in theology, being well read in the fathers and schoolmen. In 1589 he became vicar of Mayfield, Sussex, which he held till 1605, and in 1618 he was made bishop of Llandaff, where he was already prebendary. In the same year he, with three other divines, represented the church of England at the synod of Dort. Here he distinguished himself by a spirited protest against the adoption of the thirty-first article of the Belgic Confession, which affirmed 'that the ministers of the Word of God, in what place soever settled, have the same advantage of character, the same jurisdiction and authority, in regard they are all equally ministers of Christ, the only universal Bishop and Head of the Church.' Carleton maintained the doctrine of apostolical succession in opposition to this levelling article. His protest was ineffectual, but his courage and ability won the admiration of his opponents. When the English deputies returned home in the spring of 1619, the Dutch States, be-

sides paying the expenses of their voyage and presenting each with a gold medal, sent a letter to the king in which a special commendation is made of Carleton as the foremost man of the company and a model of learning and piety. He was translated to Chichester in the same year, probably in recognition of the ability and spirit with which he had upheld the honour of the church of England in the synod. He died in May 1628.

His son, Henry, served in the parliamentary army.

Camden, the antiquary, was much attached to Carleton, and wrote of him in his 'Britannia' (*Brit. in Northumb.* p. 816) as one 'whom I have loved in regard of his singular knowledge in divinity and in other more delightful literature, and am loved again of him.' Anthony à Wood (*Athenæ Ox.*) describes him as 'a person of solid judgment and various reading, a bitter enemy to the papists, and a severe Calvinist.' His views, however, upon the subject of election were not nearly so rigid as those of the majority in the synod of Dort, and his theology does not seem to have affected the amiability of his disposition. Fuller (*Worthies*, p. 304) says that 'his good affections appear in his treatise entitled, "A Thankful Remembrance of God's Mercy," solid judgment in his "Confutation of Judicial Astrology," and clear invention in other juvenile exercises.' The following is a list of his works: 1. 'Heroici Characteres,' Oxon. 1603, 4to. 2. 'Consensus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ contra Tridentinos . . .' 1613, 8vo. 3. 'Carmen panegyricum ad Eliz. Angl. Reg.,' in vol. iii. of Nichols's 'Progresses of Queen Elizabeth,' p. 180. 4. 'Vita Bernardi Gilpini . . . apud Anglos Aquilonares celeberrimi,' 1628, 4to. 5. 'Life of Bernard Gilpin,' with the Sermon preached before Edward VI in 1552, London, 1636, 8vo. 6. 'Epistola ad Jacobum Sextum Brit. Regem,' in the 'Miscellany of the Abbotsford Club' (i. 113), Edinburgh, 1837. 7. 'Tithes examined and proved to be due to the Clergie by a Divine Right,' 1606, 4to, second edit. 1611. 8. 'Jurisdiction Regall, Episcopall, papall,' 1610, 4to. 9. 'Directions to know the True Church,' 1615, 8vo. 10. 'An Oration made at the Hague before the Prince of Orange and the States Generall of the United Provinces,' 1619, 4to. 11. 'A Thankfull Remembrance of God's Mercy in an Historicall Collection of the . . . Deliverances of the Church and State of England . . . from the beginning of Q. Elizabeth,' London, 1624, 4to. Several editions. 12. 'Ἀστρολογουμανία, the Madnesse of Astrologues; or, an Examination of Sir Christopher Heydon's Booke, intituled, "A Defence of Judiciarie Astrologie,"' London, 1624, 4to.

13. 'An Examination of those Things wherein the Author of the late "Appeale" holdeth the Doctrine of the Church of the Pelagians and Arminians to be the Doctrines of the Church of England,' London, 1626, 4to.

14. 'His Testimony concerning the Presbyterian Discipline in the Low Countries and Episcopall Government here in England,' London, 1642, 8vo.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 422; Fuller's *Worthies*; Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vii. 408-15, and *Records* in vol. ix. No. 307; Dallaway's *Sussex*; Stephens's *Memorials of South Saxon See*, pp. 267-9.] W. R. W. S.

CARLETON, GEORGE (*n.* 1728), captain, was author of 'Military Memoirs, 1672-1713,' a work which has been repeatedly included in the list of Defoe's fictions, and by such authorities as J. G. Lockhart, Walter Wilson, William Hazlitt, Lowndes, R. Chambers, Dr. Carruthers, and Professor G. L. Craik. The only reason assigned for including it is that it appeared in Defoe's lifetime, and in style and structure strongly resembles his fictitious narratives. The argument, in short, amounts to this, that the book is so extremely like the thing it claims to be that it must be one of Defoe's masterly imitations of it. No evidence of any kind in support of the assertion has ever been produced. Lord Stanhope (*War of the Succession in Spain*, Appendix, 1833) says that the 'authenticity of the "Memoirs" was never questioned until the late General Carleton wished to claim the captain for his kinsman, and failing to discover his relationship next proceeded to deny his existence;' but, however the question may have been first raised, it ought to have been set at rest by the production of Lord Stanhope's evidence proving Carleton to have been a flesh-and-blood hero, and not a member of the same family as Robinson Crusoe. According to the 'Memoirs' the author was a member of the garrison of Denia, which was compelled to surrender to the forces of Philip in 1708. But among the papers of his ancestor, Brigadier Stanhope, Lord Stanhope discovered a list of the English officers, some six or seven in number, made prisoners on that occasion, and in it appears 'Captain Carleton of the traine of artillery,' the branch of the service to which, we are given to understand by the 'Memoirs,' the author was attached from the time of the capture of Barcelona. The internal evidence ought to have convinced any one who examined the book carefully that it is what it claims to be, neither more nor less. Carleton's dedication to Lord Wilmington is followed in the original editions by an address to the reader,

no doubt from the publisher, which, after a brief summary of Carleton's services in Flanders and Spain, says: 'It may not be perhaps improper to mention that the author of these "Memoirs" was born at Ewelme in Oxfordshire, descended from an ancient and honourable family. The Lord Dudley Carleton who died secretary of state to King Charles I was his great uncle, and in the same reign his father was envoy at the court of Madrid, whilst his uncle, Sir Dudley Carleton, was ambassador to the States of Holland.' There are one or two trifling inaccuracies here. There never was any such person, of course, as Lord Dudley Carleton. The statesman of Charles I's reign was Sir Dudley Carleton [q. v.], created Baron Carleton of Imbercourt in 1626, and Viscount Dorchester in 1628; and it is questionable whether his nephew and namesake, knighted shortly after the elder Dudley was raised to the peerage, was ever actually ambassador in Holland, though he was certainly left in charge by his uncle on one or two occasions when the latter was summoned to England. But as far as the identification of the author goes there is no reason to doubt that the statement is substantially correct. It is incredible that the publisher would have gone out of his way to make a false declaration, the falsehood of which could have been so easily detected at the time, and on behalf of a book in which, in more than one instance, living persons were mentioned in such a way as to lead inevitably to its being branded as a lying production. It explains, too, how it was that the general, who, according to Lord Stanhope, first started the question, was unable to prove consanguinity with the author, for it would have been a very difficult matter to trace the connection between the Irish Carletons, descendants of the old Northumbrian or Cumbrian family, and the Oxfordshire Carletons, the stock of which Sir Dudley and the captain came. The 'Memoirs,' moreover, deal largely in incidents, of which a writer like Defoe could not possibly have had any knowledge without access to documents which were then absolutely inaccessible, and in incidents also known only to a few persons and of such a nature that any inaccuracy or untruthfulness in the narrator would have been most certainly denounced. For example, according to Carleton, just before the brilliant *coup de main* by which the Monjuich, the citadel of Barcelona, was taken, it was reported that a body of troops from the city was advancing. Peterborough hurried away to watch their movements. No sooner had he turned his back than something very like a panic seized some of the officers, and they all but succeeded in persuading Lord Charlemont,

the second in command, a brave but weak man, to retire before their retreat was cut off. Seeing this, Carleton slipped away and warned Peterborough of what was going on. 'Good God! is it possible?' he exclaimed, and hurrying back snatched the half-pike out of Lord Charlemont's hands, and with a few vigorous words brought his officers to their senses. This, it is almost needless to observe, would have been an over-audacious flight for a romance writer to attempt. Lord Charlemont, it is true, was dead when the 'Memoirs' appeared; but he had left sons behind him who surely would have contradicted the story if they could. Peterborough survived the publication of the book seven years, and he was not the man to tolerate such a statement from an impostor. This is only one of several incidents mentioned by which the genuine character of Carleton's narrative may be tested. It is, of course, not impossible, as Lord Stanhope admits, that Carleton's manuscript may have been placed in Defoe's hands to be revised and put into shape; but it may be asked, what need is there for importing Defoe's name into the matter at all? It is not so much that Carleton writes like Defoe as that Defoe could write like Carleton. There is this difference, however, as Dr. John Hill Burton (*Reign of Queen Anne*) points out, that Carleton, as a rule, keeps his own personality in the background, which Defoe's heroes certainly do not. As the title implies, Carleton's narrative embraces the period from the Dutch war to the peace of Utrecht. At the age of twenty he entered as a volunteer on board the London under Sir Edward Spragge, and was present at the battle of Southwold Bay. He next joined the army of the Prince of Orange as a volunteer in the prince's own company of guards, in which he had for a comrade Graham of Claverhouse. After the revolution he served in Scotland, and by distinguished service gained his company. He was afterwards quartered for some time in Ireland, but having no mind for the West Indies, whither his regiment was ordered in 1705, he effected an exchange, and with the recommendation of his old commander and friend, Lord Cutts, joined the army about to sail for Spain under Peterborough. There he did good service at Monjuich and Barcelona, but was unfortunate at Denia, and remained a prisoner of war until peace came in 1713. The latter part, and by no means the least interesting, of his 'Memoirs' is taken up with his observations on Spain and the Spaniards made during his captivity. From one or two references, e.g. to the recent death of Colonel Hales, governor of Chelsea Hospital, it is clear that the book

was written between 1726 and 1728, the year in which it was published with the title of 'The Military Memoirs of Captain George Carleton from the Dutch War, 1672, in which he served to the conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, 1713. Illustrating some of the most remarkable transactions both by sea and land during the reigns of King Charles and King James II, hitherto unobserved by all the writers of those times.' It was reprinted in 1741 and again in 1743, with *ad captandum* variations of the title, England being then at war with Spain; but after these no edition seems to have been published until that of 1808-9, edited by Sir Walter Scott, and from that time to the present it has been included in every collective edition of Defoe's works. No better proof of its merits could be given than that it has been so often and so strenuously claimed as one of his fictions; but what more particularly entitles its author to a place here is its importance as a piece of historical evidence bearing on a period for which trustworthy evidence is scarce. Its value in this respect has been gratefully acknowledged by such competent authorities as Lord Stanhope and Dr. John Hill Burton, and this is what makes it all the more desirable that Carleton should be definitively removed from the category of fictitious characters.

[Lord Stanhope's History of the War of the Succession in Spain, London, 1832; Appendix to the History of the War of the Succession, London, 1833; Burton's History of the Reign of Queen Anne, Edinburgh and London, 1880; Lee's Daniel Defoe, his Life and recent discovered Writings, London, 1869; Notes and Queries, 2nd ser., ii. and iii. Lee, the latest biographer of Defoe, says that his investigations 'admitted no other conclusion than that Captain George Carleton was a real personage, and himself wrote this true and historical account of his own adventures;' and he prints a letter from Mr. James Crossley of Manchester, who says: 'There cannot be a question that Defoe had nothing whatever to do with it. After carefully going into the point thirty years ago I came to the conclusion that he could not possibly have written it, and that it is the genuine narrative of a real man, who is identified in the list of officers given by Lord Stanhope in the second edition of his "War of the Succession in Spain." I have never seen any reason since to alter my view.']

J. O.

CARLETON, GUY (1598?-1685), bishop of Chichester, said by Anthony à Wood to have been a kinsman of George Carleton (1559-1628) [q.v.], was a native of Bramston Foot, in Gilsland, Cumberland. He was educated at the free school in Carlisle, and was sent as a servitor to Queen's College, Oxford, of which he afterwards became fel-

low. In 1635 he was made a proctor to the university. When the civil war broke out he threw himself heartily into the king's cause. He was an excellent horseman, and followed the royal army, although he had been ordained and held two livings. In an engagement with the enemy he was taken prisoner and confined in Lambeth House. He managed, however, to escape by the help of his wife, who conveyed a cord to him, by which he was to let himself down from a window, and then make for a boat on the Thames in readiness to take him off. The rope was too short, and in dropping to the ground he broke one of his bones, but succeeded in getting to the boat, which took him to a place of concealment, where he lay till he recovered, but in such a destitute condition that his wife had to sell some of her clothes and work for their daily food. At last they contrived to get out of the country, and joined the exiled king in Holland. At the restoration Carleton was made dean of Carlisle and prebendary of Durham. In 1671 he was promoted to the bishopric of Bristol, and in 1678 translated to Chichester, but 'he had not the name there,' says Wood, 'for a scholar or liberal benefactor as his predecessor and kinsman, Dr. George Carleton, had.' In the year after his appointment, the Duke of Monmouth, being then at the height of his popularity, visited Chichester (7 Feb.) in the course of a kind of royal progress which he was making through the country (see MACAULAY, *Hist.* i. 251, &c.) The extravagant honour paid to him, not only by some of the citizens but by the dignitaries of the cathedral, excited the indignation of the bishop, which he poured forth in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sancroft) (preserved among the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian, 384). '... The great men of our Cathedrall welcomed him with belles, and bonfires made by wood had from their houses to flare before his lodgings, personal visits made to him, with all that was in their houses proffered to his service.' He describes the honour done the duke in the cathedral, and the 'apocryphal anthems when the commonwealth saints appeared amongst us.' He then relates at some length how, because he would not 'join in these bell and bonfire solemnities,' or 'bow the knee to the people's Idol,' the rabble surrounded his house at night demanding wood to make bonfires for the duke, and, when it was refused, pelted the palace with stones, and shot into it three times, shouting that he was an old popish rogue, and all the people in his family were rogues and thieves, and they should meet with him ere long. 'Then they shott three times

into my house and seconded their violence with a shower of stones so thick that our servants thought they would have broke in and cut our throats. . . . ' The letter is dated 17 Feb. 1679. The bishop was then about eighty-three years of age, but lived six years longer. His death occurred on 6 July 1685.

[Wood's *Athenæ*, iv. 866, 867.] W. R. W. S.

CARLETON, GUY, first LORD DORCHESTER (1724-1808), governor of Quebec, was the third son of Christopher Carleton of Newry, county Down, and his wife, Catherine, daughter of Henry Ball of county Donegal. He was born at Strabane 3 Sept. 1724. The father died when Guy was about fourteen, and the mother afterwards married the Rev. Thomas Skelton of Newry. According to Samuel Burdy, the biographer of Philip Skelton, 'Sir Guy's eminence in the world was owing in a great degree . . . to the care which his stepfather, Thomas Skelton, took of his education' (*Complete Works of Rev. P. Skelton*, 1824, pp. 30-31). On 21 May 1742 he was appointed ensign in the Earl of Rothes's regiment (afterwards the 25th foot), and obtained his promotion as lieutenant in the same regiment on 1 May 1745. Changing his regiment he became lieutenant of the 1st foot guards on 22 July 1751, and was appointed captain-lieutenant and lieutenant-colonel 18 June 1757. In June and July 1758 he took part in the siege of Louisburg, under General Amherst, and on 24 Aug. was made lieutenant-colonel of the 72nd foot. On 30 Dec. in the same year he was appointed quartermaster-general and colonel in America. He was wounded at the capture of Quebec, 13 Sept. 1759, when in command of the corps of grenadiers. In 1761 he acted as brigadier-general under General Hodgson at the siege of Belleisle, and was wounded in the attack on Port Andro, 8 April. He was raised to the rank of colonel in the army 19 Feb. 1762, and in the same year served under Lord Albemarle in the siege of the Havannah, where he greatly distinguished himself, and was wounded in a sortie on 22 July. Carleton was appointed lieutenant-governor of Quebec 24 Sept. 1766, and in the following year the government of the colony devolved on him in consequence of General Murray having to proceed to England. In 1770, having obtained leave of absence, Carleton came to England. He was appointed colonel of the 47th foot 2 April 1772, and raised to the rank of major-general on 25 May following. In June 1774 he was examined before the House of Commons regarding the Quebec bill, which, after considerable opposition, became law in the same session. This act, which it

is said was suggested by Carleton himself, established a legislative council, allowed the Roman Catholics the free exercise of their religion, and re-established the authority of the old French laws in civil cases, while it introduced the English law in criminal proceedings. In the latter end of the year Carleton returned to Canada, where he was warmly welcomed back by the Catholic bishop and clergy of the province, and on 10 Jan. 1775 was appointed governor of Quebec. On the recall of Gage the command of the army in America was divided, and assigned in Canada to Carleton, and in the old colonies to Howe. At an early stage of the war the Congress, being apprehensive of an attack by Carleton on their north-west frontier, determined on the invasion of Canada, and on 10 Sept. 1775 the American troops effected a landing at St. John's. Carleton, however, who had no army and had endeavoured in vain to raise the peasantry, was defeated by Colonel Warner in an attempt to relieve the garrison, and compelled to retire. On 3 Nov. St. John's capitulated to General Montgomery, who on the 12th entered Montreal. Carleton narrowly escaped being captured. Disguised as a fisherman he passed through the enemy's craft in a whaleboat and arrived at Quebec on the 19th. The fortifications of the town had been greatly neglected, and the garrison did not consist of above eleven thousand men, few of whom were regulars. In spite of these obstacles and the lukewarmness of the British settlers who were displeased with the new constitution, Carleton, having ordered all persons who would not join in resistance to the enemy to leave, soon put the city into a state of defence. An attempt by Colonel Arnold to take it by surprise having failed, Montgomery joined forces with the latter, and on 5 Dec. summoned Carleton to surrender. The governor refused to have any correspondence with the American commander. After laying siege to the city for nearly a month, the Americans attempted to take it by storm on 31 Dec. 1775, but were repulsed, Montgomery being killed and Arnold wounded. The siege was continued until the beginning of May 1776, when, upon the arrival of a British squadron, Carleton sallied out and put the already retreating enemy to rout with the loss of their artillery and baggage. By the end of the month Carleton had gathered a force of thirteen thousand men, and accordingly assumed the offensive. The Americans gradually retired before him, and by 18 June had evacuated Canada and established themselves at Crown Point. After waiting until October for boats to cross Lake Champlain, Carleton went in pursuit of the

Americans, and two naval engagements were fought on the lake on the 11th and 13th. The result of the first conflict was somewhat doubtful, but on the second occasion Carleton gained a complete victory and took possession of Crown Point, where he remained until 3 Nov., when, giving up the idea of besieging Ticonderoga, he returned to St. John's and sent his army into winter quarters. In reward for his brilliant services in the defence of Quebec he was nominated a knight of the Bath, 6 July 1776, and a special warrant was issued allowing him to wear the ensigns without being invested in the usual manner. In 1777 an expedition from Canada, intended to co-operate with the principal British force in America, was resolved on, and on 6 May Burgoyne arrived at Quebec to take the command. Carleton, who had for some time been unable to get on amicably with Lord George Germaine, at once demanded his own recall on the ground that he had been treated with injustice. On 29 Aug. he was raised to the rank of lieutenant-general, and the next year was appointed governor of Charlemont in Ireland, a post which he retained during the remainder of his life. In May 1778, without assigning any reason, he dismissed Peter Livius from his post of chief justice of Quebec. At the end of July he left Canada for England, and was succeeded by Lieutenant-general Haldimand as governor of Quebec. He declined to appear before the privy council in defence of his dismissal of Livius, who was restored to his office by an order dated 25 March 1779. On 19 May following he was installed K.B. at Westminster, and on 23 Feb. 1782 was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton as commander-in-chief in America. He arrived at New York with his commission on 5 May, and desired that all hostilities should be stayed. By a consistent policy of clemency he did much to conciliate the Americans. He remained in New York for some time after the treaty of peace had been signed, and finally evacuated the city on 25 Nov. 1783 and returned to England. A pension of 1,000*l.* a year was granted him by parliament for his life and the lives of his wife and two elder sons. In 1782-3 he was colonel 84th foot, and on 11 April 1786 he was again appointed governor of Quebec. He was created Baron Dorchester on 21 Aug. in the same year. He arrived at Quebec to take charge of the government on 23 Oct., and was cordially welcomed by the inhabitants, with whom he was highly popular. One of his first measures was to assemble the legislative council, whom he directed to make a thorough investigation into the

condition of the provinces. In 1791 an act of parliament—which had been prepared by William Grenville, and revised by Dorchester—was passed. By the provisions of this act (31 Geo. III, c. 31) Canada was divided into two provinces, viz. Upper Canada (now Ontario) and Lower Canada (now Quebec), and a similar constitution was given to each. Dorchester was absent from Canada from 17 Aug. 1791 to 24 Sept. 1793, during which time the government of the provinces devolved on Major-general Alured Clarke, the lieutenant-governor. Dorchester took his final departure from Quebec on 9 July 1796, and was succeeded by Major-general Prescott. The *Active*, in which he embarked with his family, was wrecked on Anticosti. No lives were lost, and on 19 Sept. they reached Portsmouth in H.M.S. *Dover* without any further mishap. On 16 July 1790 he was appointed colonel of the 15th dragoons, and on 12 Oct. 1793 raised to the rank of a general in the army. On 18 March 1801 he became colonel of the 27th dragoons, from which regiment he was transferred on 14 Aug. 1802 to the command of the 4th dragoons. After his return from England he lived in retirement first at Kempshot, near Basingstoke, and afterwards at Stubbings, near Maidenhead, where he died suddenly on 10 Nov. 1808. Dorchester, though a severe disciplinarian, was a man of humane conduct and of sound common sense. His kind treatment of the Canadian people, and of the American prisoners during the war, did him infinite credit, as well as his attempts to check the excesses of the Indians employed by the government against the colonists.

He married, on 22 May 1772, Lady Maria, the third daughter of Thomas, second earl of Effingham, by whom he had nine sons and two daughters. His widow survived him for many years, and died on 14 March 1836, aged 82. He was succeeded in the title by his grandson, Arthur, the only son of Christopher, his third son. The present and fourth baron is also a grandson of the first peer, being the eldest son of Richard, the youngest of the nine sons. The Royal Institution possesses a large number of manuscripts which formerly belonged to Maurice Morgann, Dorchester's secretary during the last years of the American war. These consist solely of American official documents. In the British Museum, among the Add. MSS., some of his correspondence while governor of Quebec will be found.

[Collins's *Peerage of England* (1812), viii. 113-18; Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* (1813), viii. 257-60; Morgan's *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (1862), pp. 81-4; Macmullen's *History*

of Canada (1868); Bancroft's *History of the United States* (1876), vols. iii-vi.; Holmes's *Annals of America* (1829), vol. ii.; Mahon's *History of England* (1854), vols. vi. and vii.; *Annual Register*, 1808, chron. pp. 149-52; Sir H. Cavendish's *Debates of the House of Commons in the year 1774* (1839); *London Gazettes*; *Army Lists*; Add. MSS. 21678, 21697-700, 21707, 21734, 21781, 21806-8.] G. F. R. B.

CARLETON, LORD (*d.* 1725). [See BOYLE, HENRY, LORD CARLETON.]

CARLETON, HUGH, VISCOUNT CARLETON (1739-1826), chief justice of common pleas in Ireland, eldest son of Francis Carleton of Cork, by Rebecca, daughter of John Lanton, was born 11 Sept. 1739. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and being called to the Irish bar became third serjeant 1776, second serjeant 1777, solicitor-general in 1779, and chief justice of the common pleas in 1787. He sat in the Irish House of Commons for fifteen years. He was M.P. for Tuam from 1772 to 1776, for Philipstown from 1776 to 1783, and for Naas from 1783 to 1787. In 1789 he was created Baron Carleton of Amer, and in 1797 Viscount Carleton of Clare, Tipperary. He retired from the bench in 1800, and the same year was chosen one of the twenty-eight representative peers of Ireland. Curran, referring to the lugubrious manner of Carleton on the bench, said that he was plaintiff (plaintive) in every case before him. He died on 25 Feb. 1826. He married in 1766 Elizabeth, only daughter of Richard Mercer, and in 1795 Mary Buckley, second daughter of Andrew Matthew; but by neither marriage had he any issue.

[*Georgian Era*, ii. 540; *Gent. Mag.* 1826, i. 270.] T. F. H.

CARLETON, MARY (1642?-1673), 'the German princess,' was born, by her own account, at Cologne, her father being Henry van Wolway, lord of Holmstein. It was also said that she was the only daughter of the Duke of Oundenia, born 10 April 1639 (*Life of the Famous Madam Charlton*, pp. 2-3), but she confessed just before her execution that she was Mary Moders of Canterbury, daughter of a chorister of the cathedral, and born on 22 Jan. 1642. Various accounts are given of her early life, but all agree that she came from Holland about 1661 to London, where her imposture commenced. She was witty and handsome, 'Dutch-built . . . a stout Frégat.' One King, a vintner, and his wife were her first dupes, and to them she represented her fortune as approaching 80,000*l.* a year. In April 1663 she married

John Carleton, Mrs. King's brother. A previous marriage to one John Stedman, still living, was discovered, and Mary was committed on a charge of bigamy to the Gatehouse, where she was visited by Pepys (*Diary*, 29 May 1663) and a great concourse of curious people. She was tried at the Old Bailey on 4 June 1663, and defended herself with such courage that she was 'acquitted by publique proclamation' (*The Great Tryall*, &c. title, and pp. 1-5). Carleton now attacked her in his 'Ultimum Vale . . . being a true Description of the Passages of that Grand Impostor, late a pretended Germane Lady.' 'My Lady Batten envieghed mightily against the German Princesse,' says Pepys (*Diary*, 7 June 1663), though he himself was 'as high in the defence of her wit and spirit, and glad that she is cleared at the sessions.' She answered the 'Ultimum Vale' in 'An Historically Narrative of the German Princess . . . written for the satisfaction of the World at the request of divers Persons of Honour.' Other publications on the subject were 'The Great Tryall and Arraignment of the late distressed Lady, otherwise called the late German Princess' (1663), &c., 'The Arraignment, Tryal, and Examination of Mary Moders, alias, &c., &c.,' and 'The Tryall of Mary Moders for having two husbands.' After this Mary Carleton turned actress, and a play was composed expressly for her, with her own title 'The German Princess;' it was performed at the Duke's House, Lincoln's Inn Fields, where Pepys saw her the next year, 15 April 1664, and declared that 'never was anything so well done in earnest worse performed in jest' (*ib.* for that date). She became a common thief next, and was transported to Jamaica in February 1671; but she returned to London and her evil courses; in December 1672 she was sentenced to death for various thefts, and hanged at Tyburn on 22 Jan. 1672-3 (GRANGER, *Biog. Hist.* iv. 224-5). Her age was said to be thirty-eight.

Two broadsheets were published in 1673, 'An Elegie on the Famous and Renowned Lady for Eloquence and Wit, Madam Mary Carlton, otherwise styled The German Princess,' &c.; and 'Some Luck, Some Wit, being a Sonnet upon the merry Life and untimely Death of Mistriss Mary Carlton, commonly called The German Princess. To a new Tune, called The German Princess adieu.' There also appeared in 1673 'Memories of the Life of the Famous Madam Charlton . . . with her Nativity astrologically handled, to which is prefixed her portrait;' and J. G.'s 'Memoires of Mary Carleton . . . Being a Narrative of her Life and Death, interwoven with many strange and pleasant Passages, from the time

of her Birth to her Execution . . . with her Behaviour in Prison, her last Speech, Burial, and Epitaph.' A reprint of the 'Historically Narrative,' called the second edition, appeared about 1720. Its title is 'The Life and Character of Mrs. Mary Moders, alias, &c. . . with the Havock and Spoils she committed upon the Publick in the Reign of Charles the Second;' and it is said in Harley's 'Notes on Biographies' to have been republished because Alderman Barber was reported to be her son (*Notes and Queries*, 5th series, i. 291).

[Pepys's *Diary*, ed. Chandos, pp. 157, 159, 205; Granger's *Biog. Hist.* 2nd ed. iv. 224-5; Life and Character, &c., pp. 2, 70-6; J. G.'s *Memoires*, To the Reader, and pp. 1-118; The Famous Madam Charlton, pp. 2-9; The Great Tryall, pp. 4-7; Mary Carleton's *Historically Narrative*, pp. 1-20; John Carleton's *Ultimum Vale*, Hearne's Collections, ii. 410-11; Notes and Queries, 5th ser. i. 228, 291.] J. H.

CARLETON, RICHARD (1560 ?-1638 ?), musical composer, was possibly a member of the family of the same name who lived at Lynn in Norfolk. He was born in the latter part of the sixteenth century, and educated at Clare College, Cambridge, where he proceeded A.B. in 1577. He subsequently took the degree of Mus. Bac., and was ordained. Soon afterwards he obtained an appointment at Norwich Cathedral. In 1601 he published a collection of twenty-one madrigals, on the title-page of which he styles himself 'Priest.' These compositions, which in the Latin preface he calls 'prima libamina facultatis meæ,' are dedicated to Sir Thomas Farmer. Prefixed is a 'Preface to the Skillfull Musician,' dated Norwich, 28 March 1601. In the same year he contributed a madrigal to the collection entitled 'The Triumphs of Oriana.' On 11 Oct. 1612 Carleton was presented by Thomas Thursby to the rectory of Bawsey and Glosthorp, near Lynn. The date of his death is unknown, but it probably took place in 1638, for though a *locum tenens* (Robert Powis) seems to have been appointed to the living in 1627, there was no other rector until 22 Aug. 1638, when Richard Peynes was presented. Carleton's name is also spelt Carlton or Charlton. The only extant compositions of his, besides those mentioned above, are some instrumental pavans in the British Museum (Add. MS. 568).

[Registers of the University of Cambridge, communicated by Mr. J. W. Clark; Diocesan Registers of Norwich, Register of Bawsey parish, communicated by the Rev. W. F. Greeny and Dr. Mann; information from the Rev. the Master of Clare, Dr. Bensly, and Mr. Walter Rye.]

W. B. S.

CARLETON, THOMAS, *alias* COMPTON (1593?-1666), jesuit. [See COMPTON.]

CARLETON, WILLIAM (*d.* 1309?), judge, appears to have been a Yorkshireman. He is designated 'civis Eboracensis' in a roll of 1291 (*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.* i. 75). The earliest mention of him occurs under date 1286, when he was placed in possession of the vacant abbey of Ramsey in Huntingdonshire, to hold during the king's pleasure. Between 1286 and 1290 inclusive he acted as one of the justices of the Jews, officials with functions similar to those exercised by the barons of the exchequer, but limited to the transaction of business in which the Jewish community was concerned. His salary appears to have been 20*l.* per annum. On the expulsion of the Jews, which took place in 1290, it is probable that he was immediately created a baron, as we find him ranked next after John de Cobham, the senior baron, in the list of justices summoned to parliament in 1295. He was despatched to Antwerp in 1297 to negotiate, on behalf of the king, a loan of 10,000*l.* with the merchants there, presumably for the purposes of the expedition to Flanders. By the death of John de Cobham, in 1300, he became senior baron. He was reappointed on the accession of Edward II (1307), at whose coronation he was present, and the same year received permission, in consideration of his 'long and meritorious and unremitting service,' to attend at the exchequer at his own convenience. The following year he is mentioned as one of the judges assigned to try cases of forestalling in the city of London. As after this year he is not again summoned to parliament, it is probable that he died before the next writ was issued (the 11th of the ensuing June). As his name does not occur in the 'Inquisitiones post Mortem,' we may infer that, like many other of the earlier barons of the exchequer, he was of humble origin; and as he is described as 'civis Eboracensis,' it seems not altogether improbable that he was the tenant of Carleton in Yorkshire, under Henry de Percy.

[*Rot. Orig. Abbrev.* i. 51, 75, 112; *Dugdale's Chron. Ser.* 18, 32; *Madox's Exch. i.* 230, ii. 62; *Foss's Lives of the Judges*; *Rot. Parl. i.* 169, 194; *Parl. Writs*, i. 29, ii. div. ii. pt. i. 18, pt. iii. 4, 19.] J. M. R.

CARLETON, WILLIAM (1794-1869), Irish novelist, was born at Prillisk, co. Tyrone, in 1794, and not, as some writers have stated, in 1798. His parents supported themselves and fourteen children, of whom William was the youngest, on a farm of only fourteen

acres. Carleton used to say that his father's memory was a rich and perfect storehouse of all that the social antiquary, man of letters, the poet, or the musician, would consider valuable. He spoke the Irish and English languages with nearly equal fluency, and was acquainted with all kinds of folklore. His mother was famous for her musical talents. Carleton's earliest tutor was one Pat Frayne, the master of the hedge school, who appears as Mat Kavanagh in the 'Hedge School,' and Carleton bears testimony to the savagery of hedge schoolmasters generally. Being subsequently for a time under the charge of the Rev. Dr. Keenan of Glasslough, he made considerable progress in his studies, especially in classics. On the removal of Dr. Keenan to Dundalk, Carleton was compelled to return home. His parents had intended him for the church, and sent him as a poor scholar to Munster. He had travelled as far as Granard when he interpreted an ominous dream as a command to return to Tyrone. The incidents of this journey gave rise to the tale of the 'Poor Scholar.'

Lough-derg was a place famed for many legends, and Carleton visited the spot to perform a station there. In the 'Lough-derg Pilgrim' he has given an exact transcript of what took place during these stations held in the summer months. Carleton's experiences at Lough-derg led him to the resolution never to enter the church. About this time there fell into his hands a copy of 'Gil Blas.' He now longed for contact with the world, and entered the family of Piers Murphy, a farmer in county Louth, as a tutor. He next went to Dublin in search of fortune with two shillings and ninepence in his pocket. Offering himself as assistant to a bird-stuffer, he was asked what he proposed to stuff birds with, and ingenuously replied, 'Potatoes and meal.' He determined to enlist, and addressed a letter in Latin to the colonel of a regiment, who dissuaded him from his purpose, and shortly afterwards Carleton obtained some tutorships. While engaged in tuition he met the lady whom he afterwards married.

For the 'Christian Examiner,' a Dublin periodical edited by the Rev. Caesar Otway, a protestant clergyman, Carleton wrote a description of his pilgrimage to Lough-derg. Sketches soon followed each other in rapid succession, and in 1830 these were collected into a volume, and published under the title of 'Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry.' Several editions were called for in three years, and a second series appeared in 1833. His sketches of the peasantry were followed by a collection of 'Tales of Ireland,' 1834. In some of the tales he evidently describes his



own feelings and early experiences. Carleton produced in 1839 his 'Fardorougha the Miser,' which has been described as one of the most powerful and moving works of fiction ever written. 'Fardorougha' was dramatised and produced at a Dublin theatre, but the version annoyed Carleton, and led to an unpleasant correspondence between himself and the adapter, a lady named Magrath. He states 'that there was not a publication of any importance in his time to which he did not contribute.' The greater number of his sketches have been republished in volume form. In 1841 there appeared a collection of tales by Carleton, pathetic and humorous, containing the sketch entitled 'The Misfortunes of Barney Branagan.' This volume was succeeded in 1845 by a more elaborate work, entitled 'Valentine M'Clutchy, the Irish Agent, or Chronicles of the Castle Cumber Property.' This novel dealt with the land question. The work was extended in 1846 by the addition of 'The Pious Aspirations of Solomon M'Slime.' The machinations of secret societies were exposed in 'Rody the Rover, or the Ribbonman.' A Dublin publisher having projected a series of books under the title of 'The Library of Ireland,' Carleton came forward to supply a gap caused by the death of Thomas Davis. He produced in the course of a few days his story of 'Paddy Go-easy.' The Irish famine supplied Carleton with the materials for his 'Black Prophet,' published in 1847. It was succeeded by 'The Emigrants of Ahadarra' and 'Art Maguire.' In 1849 appeared 'The Tithe Proctor,' and in 1852 'The Red Hall, or the Baronet's Daughter,' afterwards republished under the title of 'The Black Baronet.' This was succeeded by 'The Squanders of Castle Squander,' and at a brief interval by a volume of shorter collected tales. The last considerable works from Carleton's pen were 'Willy Reilly and his dear Colleen Bawn' (1855); 'The Evil Eye, or the Black Spectre' (1860); and 'Redmond, Count O'Hanlon, the Irish Rapparee' (1862). But for many years subsequently there appeared periodically volumes of this writer's collected sketches.

Notwithstanding Carleton's indefatigable industry he fell into difficulties. A memorial was addressed to government on his behalf, signed by persons of all ranks and creeds, including Maria Edgeworth, and on the recommendation of Lord John Russell he received a pension of 200*l.* per annum. Two of his sons went out to New Zealand. He died 30 Jan. 1869.

Carleton has been regarded as the truest, the most powerful, and the tenderest delineator of Irish life. Indignant at the con-

stant misrepresentations of the character of his countrymen, he resolved to give a faithful picture of the Irish people; and although he did not spare their vices he championed their virtues, which were too often neglected or disputed. He was erratic in habit, and although he wrote much he was unsystematic and fitful in effort. Most of Carleton's works were translated into French, German, and Italian. There is as yet no collected edition of them in English, the various novels and sketches having appeared in one form at intervals in Dublin, and in another form in London. Many are now entirely out of print.

The following is a list of the works of Carleton which have been published in volume form: 1. 'Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry,' two series, 1830 and 1833. 2. 'Tales of Ireland,' 1834. 3. 'The Fawn of Springvale and other Tales,' 1841. 4. 'Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry,' new edition, with an autobiographical introduction, explanatory notes, and illustrations, 1843-4. 5. 'Valentine M'Clutchy,' 1845. 6. 'Rody the Rover, or the Ribbonman,' 1845. 7. 'Parra Sastha; or the History of Paddy Go-easy and his wife Nancy,' 1845. 8. 'The Black Prophet,' 'The Emigrants of Ahadarra,' 'Fardorougha the Miser,' 'The Tithe Proctor' (Parlour Library series), 1847. 9. 'Art Maguire, or the Broken Pledge,' 1847. 10. 'The Clarionet, the Dead Boxer, and Barney Branagan,' 1850. 11. 'Red Hall, or the Baronet's Daughter,' 1852. 12. 'Jane Sinclair, Neal Malone, &c.,' 1852. 13. 'Willy Reilly and his dear Colleen Bawn,' 1855. 14. 'The Emigrants' (Railway Library series), 1857. 15. 'The Evil Eye, or the Black Spectre,' 1860. 16. 'The Double Prophecy, or Trials of the Heart,' 1862. 17. 'Redmond, Count O'Hanlon, the Irish Rapparee, an Historical Tale,' 1862. 18. 'The Silver Acre and other Tales,' 1862. 19. 'The Fair of Emyvale and the Master and Scholar' (Parlour Library series), 1870. 20. 'The Squanders of Castle Squander' (Library of Favourite Authors), 1873. Several of these works have passed through a considerable number of editions.

[Carleton's Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry, with an Autobiographical Introduction, 1843; Read's Cabinet of Irish Literature, 1880; Quarterly Review, September 1841; Freeman's Journal, Dublin, 1 Feb. 1869; Chambers's Cyclopædia of English Literature, 1876.]

G. B. S.

CARLIELL, ROBERT (*d.* 1622?), poet, is the author of a scarce volume entitled 'Britaines Glorie; or an Allegorical Dreame with the Exposition thereof: containing the

Heathens Infidelitie, the Turkes Blasphemie, the Popes Hypocrisie, Amsterdams Varietie, the Church of Englands Veritie in Religion. And in our Church of England, the Kings Excellency. His Issues Integrity. The Nobles and Gentries Constancie. The Councells and Iudges Fidelitie. The Preachers and the Bishops Sinceritie. Conceived and written by Robert Carliell, Gent., for the love and honour of his King and Country, London, 1619. This allegorical poem, in forty-two six-line stanzas, is followed by a prose exposition, in which the glories of the church of England are further described. A singular attack on tobacco figures in the early pages. In the British Museum Library are three copies of the work, two dated 1620, and a third dated 1622. Nothing certain is known of the author. The will of a citizen and leatherseller of London of the same name, dated 9 Oct. 1622, was proved on 7 Nov. following. This Robert Carliell had a son Robert, who according to the will had treated his father very undutifully.

[Carlisle's Collections for a History of the Carlisle Family, p. 373; Corser's Collectanea Anglo-Poetica, iii. 253-5; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

S. L.

**CARLILE.** [See also **CARLIELL**, **CARLISLE**, and **CARLYLE**.]

**CARLILE** or **CARLISLE**, **ANNE** (*d.* 1680?), was an artist. In 1658 Sir William Sanderson, speaking in his 'Graphice' of painters 'now in England,' says (p. 20), 'and in Oyl Colours we have a virtuous example in that worthy Artist, Mrs. Carlile.' She painted her own portrait; Vertue saw it in the succeeding century, about 1730. She was largely employed in copying the paintings of the Italian masters, and in reproducing these in miniature; and Charles I was so warm an admirer of her work, Graham says, that he presented Vandyke and the lady with ultramarine to the value of 500*l.* Anne Carlile died about 1680; and many of her pictures were afterwards in the possession of Lady Cotterel.

[Sir William Sanderson's *Graphice*, p. 20; Walpole's *Anecd. of Painting*, ed. 1849, ii. 381.]

J. H.

**CARLILE**, **CHRISTOPHER**, **D.D.** (*d.* 1588?), divine, was a member of Clare Hall, Cambridge, of which society he was elected a fellow. He commenced M.A. in 1541, and in 1548 was chosen one of the proctors of the university. In 1552 he took the degree of B.D., and he was subsequently created D.D. He was residing at Monks' Horton in Kent in 1563. The first dated edition (1572) of his discourse on the controverted point

whether St. Peter was ever at Rome is dedicated to Lord Wentworth, 'by whom,' says the author, 'I have bene liberally sustained these xxx. yeares.' On 22 Aug. 1571 one Christopher Carlile, M.A., was instituted to the rectory of St. John's, Hackney, which was vacant by his death on 2 Aug. 1588, when William Sutton, M.A., was appointed his successor. Another Christopher Carlile, who lived for some time at Barham in Kent, removed thence to the parish of St. Botolph, near Bishopsgate, London, where he died in the beginning of the year 1596.

Carlile was an excellent Hebrew scholar. He wrote: 1. 'A Discourse wherein is plainly proved by the order of time and place that Peter was never at Rome. Furthermore, that neither Peter nor the Pope is the head of Christes Church,' Lond. n.d. and 1572, 4to. Another edition bears this title, 'A Discourse of Peters Lyfe, Peregrination, and Death,' Lond. 1582, 4to. The first discourse was reprinted, with two letters to a clergyman, by James Billet, Lond. 1845, 8vo. 2. 'A Discourse, concerning two divine Positions. The first effectually concluding, that the soules of the faithfull fathers deceased before Christ went immediately to Heaven. The second sufficiently setting forth unto us Christians, what we are to conceive, touching the descension of our Saviour Christ into Hell,' Lond. 1582, 16mo. Dedicated to Henry, earl of Huntingdon. This book contains the substance of a public disputation held at Cambridge in 1552, and was written in confutation of a work by Dr. R. Smith of Oxford. Carlile's book was interdicted by public authority soon after its appearance. 3. The Psalms of David in English, with annotations, 1573; manuscript in the Cambridge University Library, Ff. 5. 6.

[Carlisle's Collections for a History of the Carlisle Family, 58; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* 154; Ames's *Typogr. Antiq.* (Herbert), 862, 878, 908, 1008, 1071, 1191, 1319; Lysons's *Environs*, ii. 476; Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, v. 263; Addit. MS. 5865, f. 49; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 336, 418; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 34; Newcourt's *Repertorium*, i. 619; Robinson's *Hackney*, ii. 154, 155.]

T. C.

**CARLILE**, **CHRISTOPHER** (1551-1593). [See **CARLIELL**, **CHRISTOPHER**.]

**CARLILE**, **JAMES** (*d.* 1691), actor and dramatist, was a native of Lancashire, and joined the company at Drury Lane some time previous to 1682. After mentioning the famous union of the two companies—the King's and the Duke's—under Betterton [q. v.] in 1682, Downes (*Roscius Anglicanus*) writes as follows: 'Note, now Mr. Monfort and Mr.

Carlile were grown to the maturity of good actors.' The only *rôles* in connection with which the name of Carlile survives are Aumale in the 'Duke of Guise' of Dryden and Lee, produced at the Theatre Royal in 1682, and Lesbino in Southerne's 'Disappointment, or the Mother in Fashion,' given at the same house in 1684. Both characters are subordinate. As after this date the name of Carlile disappears as an actor from stage records, and as, according to Gildon, Carlile left the stage young, and previous to his death had, according to Cibber, risen to the rank of captain, it is probable that not long after this period he joined the army. His connection with the stage was maintained by the production at the Theatre Royal, his former home, of 'Fortune Hunters, or Two Fools well met,' a fairly brisk and entertaining comedy, which was acted by Mr. and Mrs. Mountfort, Leigh, Kynaston, and Nokes, and printed in 4to in 1689. Downes, probably in mistake, refers to a much earlier production at Lincoln's Inn Fields of 'Two Fools well met,' which he erroneously assigns to 'Lodwick Carlile.' Carlile, with his brother, died at the battle of Aghrim on 12 July 1691, fighting in the army of Ginkel against the Irish and French.

[Genest's Account of the English Stage; Downes's Roscius Anglicanus; Biographia Dramatica; Lambaine's Dramatic Poets by Gildon; Cibber's Apology by Belchambers; Oxberry's Dramatic Chronology.] J. K.

**CARLILE, JAMES, D.D. (1784-1854),** theological writer, born in 1784 at Paisley, was educated at Glasgow University, from which he received his degree of D.D. In 1813 he became minister of the Scots church at Mary's Abbey, Dublin, and in 1830 he was appointed resident commissioner to the Irish board of education. In this situation it fell to him to take the leading part in preparing and editing school books, and in organising the school system. His aim was to avoid all that might be counted sectarian, and introduce as much wholesome religious matter as possible. He was associated in the educational board with Archbishop Whately, who held him in high esteem, and also with Archbishop Murray, whose liberal spirit made him an agreeable fellow-worker. The educational fabric which was thus reared, however, displeased Cardinal Cullen and his successors. Having resigned the post of educational commissioner in 1839, he devoted the remaining years of his life to an enterprise for the conversion of Roman catholics to the protestant faith. He had felt the ordinary methods of dealing with Roman catholics to be unsatis-

factory, and so early as 1825 had published a memorial, in which he advocated a plan on the model in some degree of the Moravian missions. In 1839 he prevailed on his Dublin congregation, which was a collegiate charge, to allow him, while still maintaining his relation to it, to act as their missionary to Parsonstown in Birr, and for more than twelve years he laboured with no little success among the Roman catholics, and used to say that the spiritual fruits of his labour were at least equal to those of his much longer ministry in Dublin. He took an active part in the affairs of the presbyterian church of Ireland, was twice moderator of its supreme court, and on one occasion made a speech which was eminently useful at a critical turn of the church's history. He died at Dublin 31 March, 1854. Carlile was a man of high character and scholarly acquirements, and of considerable literary activity. His works are: 1. 'Examination of Arguments for Roman Catholic Episcopacy,' Dublin, 1815. 2. 'Sermons on Faith and Repentance,' London, 1821. 3. 'The Old Doctrine of Faith asserted,' London, 1823. 4. 'The Apocryphal Controversy summed up,' Glasgow, 1827. 5. 'On the Constitution of the Primitive Churches,' Dublin, 1831. 6. 'Letters on the Divine Origin and Authority of Scripture,' 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1837. 7. 'On the First and Second Advents,' Edinburgh, 1848. 8. 'Fruit gathered from among Roman Catholics in Ireland,' London, 1848. 9. 'The Papal Invasion: how to repel it,' London, 1850. 10. 'Manual of the Anatomy and Physiology of the Human Mind,' London, 1851. 11. 'Station and Occupation of Saints in Final Glory,' London, 1854.

[Introductory notice prefixed to the last-named work by his nephew, Rev. James E. Carlile; Thirty-eight Years of Mission Life in Jamaica, Sketch of Rev. Warrant Carlile; Catalogue of New College Library and of Advocates' Library, Edinburgh; Killen's History of the Irish Presbyterian Church.] W. G. B.

**CARLILE, RICHARD (1790-1843),** freethinker, was born 8 Dec. 1790 in Ashburton, Devonshire. His father was a shoemaker, who had some reputation as an arithmetician, and published a collection of mathematical and algebraic questions. He became an exciseman and fell into bad habits. His son Richard was four years of age at the time of his death. Carlile was educated in the village free school, where William Gifford, afterwards editor of the 'Quarterly Review,' had been a scholar. He was taught writing, arithmetic, and sufficient Latin to read a physician's prescription. For a time he was in a chemist's shop in Exeter, but left on

being set to perform some office incompatible with the dignity of one who could read a prescription. For a time he coloured pictures, which were sold in the shop kept by his mother. Her principal trade customers were Gifford & Co., brothers of Robert, afterwards attorney-general and lord Gifford [q.v.]. Carlile was eventually apprenticed to Mr. Cumming, a tinman, a hard master, who considered five or six hours for sleep all the recreation necessary for his apprentices. Carlile frequently rebelled against this injustice. He had an ambition to earn his living by his pen. In the meantime he worked as a journeyman tinman in various parts of the country. In 1813 he was employed at Benham & Sons', Blackfriars Road, London; in 1816 at the firm of Matthews & Masterman of Union Court, Holborn. There he saw for the first time one of the works of Thomas Paine, whose effigy he had helped to burn when a boy. Excited by the vigour of the 'Rights of Man' and the distress of the time, he wrote letters to newspapers, but only with the result of seeing a notice in the 'Independent Whig,' a 'half-employed mechanic is too violent.' He wrote to Hunt and Cobbett without interesting them. In 1817 the 'Black Dwarf,' a London weekly publication, edited by Jonathan Wooler, first appeared. This periodical was much more to Carlile's taste than Cobbett's 'Register,' and was continued till 1819. The Habeas Corpus Act was then suspended, and the sale of obnoxious literature exposed to dangers which only stimulated Carlile. He borrowed £1. from his employer, bought with it a hundred 'Dwarfs,' and on 9 March 1817 sallied forth from the manufactory with the papers in a handkerchief. He traversed London in every direction to get news-vendors to sell the 'Dwarf.' He carried the 'Dwarf' round several weeks, walking thirty miles a day at a profit of fifteen pence and eighteen pence. When Steill, the publisher of the 'Dwarf,' was arrested, Carlile offered to take his place. 'I did not then see,' he said later in life, 'what my experience has since taught me, that the greatest despotism ruling the press is popular ignorance.' He printed and effected the sale of 25,000 copies of Southey's 'Wat Tyler' in 1817, in spite of the author's objection. The 'Parodies' of Hone being suppressed, Carlile reprinted them, and also published in 1817 a series of parodies by himself, entitled 'The Political Litany, diligently revised, to be said or sung until the Appointed Change occurs;' 'The Sinecurists' Creed;' 'The Bullet Te Deum;' 'A Political Catechism;' 'The Order for the Administration of Loaves and Fishes.' These publications cost Carlile eighteen weeks' im-

prisonment in the king's bench prison, from which he was liberated without trial on the acquittal of William Hone. In 1818 Carlile published the theological, political, and miscellaneous works of Paine, together with a memoir. He was prosecuted, and he published other works of a similar character. By the end of October 1819 he had six indictments against him. In November he was sentenced to 1,500*l.* fine and three years' imprisonment in Dorchester gaol. In the middle of the night he was handcuffed and driven off between two armed officers to Dorchester, a distance of 120 miles. His trial lasted three days, and attracted the notice of the Emperor Alexander of Russia, who thought it necessary to issue a ukase to forbid any report of it being brought into his territory. During this imprisonment he was ordered to be taken out of his cell half an hour each day. He resented the exhibition by remaining two years and a half in his room without going into the open air. Carlile busied himself in gaol with the publication of a periodical called 'The Republican,' which he began in 1819 and continued till 1826 (14 vols.) The first twelve volumes are dated from Dorchester gaol. Mrs. Carlile resuming the publication of this and other of her husband's works was sentenced in January 1821 to two years' imprisonment, also in Dorchester gaol. But Carlile still managed to publish his writings, and at once issued a report of his wife's trial. The same year a constitutional association was formed for prosecuting Carlile's assistants; 6,000*l.* was raised, and the Duke of Wellington put his name at the head of the list. The sheriff of the court of king's bench took possession of Carlile's house in Fleet Street, furniture, and stock in trade, but Carlile's publications still issued from the prison. In 1822, in the week in which Peel took possession of the home office, a second seizure was made of the house and stock at 55 Fleet Street, under pretence of satisfying the fines, but neither from this nor the former seizure was a farthing allowed in the abatement of the fines, and Carlile was kept in Dorchester gaol for six years, from 1819 to 1825—three years' imprisonment being taken in lieu of the fines. His sister, Mary Anne, was fined 500*l.*, and subjected to twelve months' imprisonment from July 1821, for publishing Carlile's 'New Year's Address to the Reformers of Great Britain' (1821). Carlile published a report of her trial. The rate of liquidation of fines established by the crown was twelve months for every 500*l.* In 1825 it was reported that the cabinet council had come to the conclusion that prosecutions should be discontinued. No more persons

were arrested from Carlile's shop, and yet none of his publications had been suppressed. The last nine of his shopmen arrested were detained to complete their sentences, varying from six months' to three years' imprisonment, Sir Robert Peel refusing to give up a single day. After his release Carlile published the earlier numbers of a new weekly political paper called 'The Gorgon,' and from January 1828 to December 1829 edited a sixpenny weekly serial called 'The Lion'—a record of the prosecution of Robert Taylor, author of the 'Devil's Pulpit.' Carlile sought to establish freedom of speech, and in 1830 engaged the Rotunda, Blackfriars Road. Most of the public men in London out of parliament attended the discussions, and a liberty of speech never before known in England was permitted. The French revolution of 1830 gave further impetus to free speaking on the platform. Later, Carlile's house in Fleet Street was assessed for church rates. When his goods were seized he retaliated by taking out the two front windows to exhibit two effigies of a bishop and a distraining officer. After a time he added a devil, who was linked arm-in-arm with the bishop. Such crowds were attracted that public business was impeded. Carlile was again indicted, but the court was at least externally courteous. Carlile defended himself with good sense, but was sentenced to pay a fine of 40s. to the king and give sureties of 200l.—himself in 100l. and two others in 50l.—for his good behaviour for three years. As he refused to give sureties or ask others to become sureties, he entered with his accustomed spirit into three years' more imprisonment. Before sentence he made a deposition in court stating the grounds of his determination, and that, 'though anxious to live in peace and amity with all men, there did exist many political and moral evils which he would through life labour to abate.' Thus, with a further imprisonment in 1834-5 of ten weeks for resistance to the payment of church rates, he endured a total imprisonment of nine years and four months. He saw that the humiliation of the press could only be removed by resistance. In 1819 Castlereagh had proposed a law which would have inflicted transportation on Carlile for a second offence. Edwards, a clever spy, frequented his house for months, and made him a full-length model of Paine, with a view to win his confidence and involve him in the Cato Street conspiracy. When Thistlewood was seized it was intended to arrest Mrs. Carlile, her husband being then in prison, to suggest his complicity with Thistlewood. His shopmen were arrested so frequently that he sold his books by clockwork,

so that the buyer was unable to identify the seller. On a dial was written the name of every publication for sale, the purchaser entered and turned the handle of the dial to the publication he wanted; on depositing the money the book dropped down before him. The peril of maintaining a free press in those days brought Carlile the admiration and sympathy of powerful friends unprepared themselves to incur such risks. The third and fourth years of his imprisonment produced him subscriptions to the amount of 500l. a year. For a long period his profits over the counter were 50l. a week. Once, when a trial was pending, Mrs. Carlile took 500l. in the shop in one week. But Carlile had a passion for propagandism, and incurred liabilities which exhausted all his resources. So long as he vindicated the political freedom of the press Cobbett said, 'You have done your duty bravely, Mr. Carlile; if every one had done like you, it would be all very well.' But when he sought to establish the theological and even the medical freedom of the press, Cartwright and others deprecated his proceedings as mischievous or immoral.

Carlile married in 1813 one several years older than himself. Out of his slender wages of thirty shillings a week, even when he had several children, he continued to contribute to the support of his mother. This first led to domestic differences, which asperity of temper on his wife's part increased, and in 1819 a separation was agreed upon as soon as he had means of providing for her, which did not occur until 1832, when he was able to settle upon her an annuity bequeathed to him by Mr. Morrison of Chelsea. Otherwise Mrs. Carlile was not without good qualities. She had business talent, which her husband never acquired, and though having but little sympathy with his opinions, she resented the oppression directed against him, and resolutely refused to compromise him or discontinue selling his publications, though it subjected her to two years' imprisonment. Carlile died on 10 Feb. 1843, in his fifty-third year, from an illness brought on by excitement in search of a child who had wandered from his door in Bouverie Street, London. Sir William Lawrence [q. v.], the author of the 'Lectures on Man,' saw him in his brief illness. He left his body for anatomical purposes to St. Thomas's Hospital. He followed the example of Bentham in desiring to remove by his own example the popular prejudice against dissection. Carlile was abstemious, habitually diffident, but bold under a sense of duty. He practised free speaking, and, what was rarer, never objected to its being used by others towards himself. Although he ordinarily

spoke with hesitation, he attained eloquence in vindicating freedom. He had suffered so much that he not unnaturally became convinced that suffering was the only qualification for a public teacher, and doubted the integrity of those who had dared nothing. The ferocity with which he was assailed drove him to extremes in self-defence, which, however, were temperate when compared with the insolence of his powerful assailants; but in him it was deemed license, in them respectable indignation. His merit was, that he chose the method of moral resistance and accomplished by endurance what violence could not have effected. He lived to discern that sensation is not progress and denunciation is not instruction, and by his want of consideration in speech he created a dislike of the truth he vindicated. The faults of Carlile will be forgiven in consideration of his having done more than any other Englishman in his day for the freedom of the press.

Besides the works mentioned above, Carlile edited two serials: 'The Prompter,' 1830-1; and 'The Gauntlet,' 1833. He was also the author of 'The Moralist,' a series of moral essays, and of the following (among numerous other) pamphlets: 1. 'A Letter to the Society for the Suppression of Vice,' 1819. 2. 'An Effort to set at rest some little disputes and misunderstandings between the Reformers of Leeds . . . ' 1821. 3. 'To the Reformers of Great Britain (Five Letters from Dorchester Gaol),' 1821. 4. 'An Address to Men of Science, calling upon them to stand forward and Vindicate the Truth . . . ' 1821. 5. 'Observations on Letters to a Friend on . . . Christian Religion, by Olinthus Gregory . . . ' 1821. 6. 'Guide to Virtue and Morality through the Pages of the Bible,' 1821. 7. 'Every Man's Book, or What is God?' 1826. 8. 'The Gospel according to Richard Carlile,' 1827. 9. 'A Sermon upon the subject of the Deity, preached . . . from the pulpit before the Congregation of the Church of Mount Brinksway, near Stockport, formerly, before their Conversion, the Congregation of Bible Christians,' 1827. 10. 'A New View of Insanity,' 1831. 11. 'A Letter to C. Larkin, of the Newcastle Press,' 1834. 12. 'Church Reform,' 1835. 13. 'An Address to . . . Reformers on the Political Excitement of the Present Time' (published by Thomas Paine Carlile, Manchester), 1839. Just before his death he had begun a weekly periodical called the 'Christian Mirror.'

[The Gauntlet, 1833; The Republican, vols. ii.-xviii.; A Scourge; The Christian Warrior; Holyoake's Life and Character of R. Carlile (1848); Lion, vols. i. and ii.; Oracle of Reason, vol. i. (1841); Sherwin's Republican; the Lancet,

No. 1016 (1843); bibliographical notes kindly supplied by Mr. C. W. Sutton of Manchester.]  
G. J. H.

**CARLINGFORD, EARLS OF.** [See TAAFE, THEOBALD, first EARL, *d.* 1877; TAAFE, FRANCIS, third EARL, 1639-1704.]

**CARLINGFORD, VISCOUNTS OF.** [See TAAFE, THEOBALD, second VISCOUNT, *d.* 1677; TAAFE, FRANCIS, fourth VISCOUNT, 1639-1704; TAAFE, NICHOLAS, sixth VISCOUNT, 1677-1769.]

**CARLINI, AGOSTINO** (*d.* 1790), sculptor and painter, was a native of Genoa, who came to England early in life and became the most celebrated sculptor of his day, distinguished particularly for his drapery. He was one of the original members of the Royal Academy (1769) and succeeded Moser as keeper in 1783. His best-known work is a statue of the quack Joshua Ward [q. v.], executed for the Society of Arts. It is said that 'in order to make this statue talked of and seen at the sculptor's studio,' the doctor allowed him 200*l.* a year 'to enable him to work at it occasionally till it was finished, and this sum the artist continued annually to receive till his death.' Other works of his were two statues for Somerset House and the masks on the keystones of the Strand front of that building representing the rivers Tyne, Dee, and Severn; and a good design made in 1770 for a monument to Alderman Beckford, which was engraved by Bartolozzi. He exhibited five works at the Society of Artists, and eleven at the Royal Academy between 1760 and 1786. In 1776 he exhibited a portrait of a nobleman in oil. He is said to have been indebted to his friend Cipriani for some designs. Original drawings by him are in the British Museum. He died at his house in Carlisle Street, Soho, 16 Aug. 1790. There is an engraving of Carlini with Cipriani and Bartolozzi, by J. R. Smith, after Rigaud.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Nollekens and his Times; Nagler's Künstler-Lexikon; Gent. Mag. 1790; An. Reg. 1768, 1770.] C. M.

**CARLISLE.** [See also CARLEILL, CARLEILL, CARLILE, and CARLYLE.]

**CARLISLE, SIR ANTHONY** (1768-1840), surgeon, was born at Stillington, Durham, in 1768. He became the medical pupil of an uncle at York, after whose death he was placed under Mr. Green, founder of the Durham City Hospital. After attending the lectures of John Hunter, Baillie, and Cruikshank, and being the resident pupil of Mr. Henry Watson, surgeon to Westminster Hospital, he succeeded to the surgeoncy, on

Watson's death, in 1793, and held the office till his own death in 1840. Carlisle became a fellow of the Royal Society in 1800, and in 1804 delivered the Croonian lecture on 'Muscular Motion,' following it by another on the 'Muscles of Fishes' in 1805. He contributed other papers on biological subjects to the Philosophical and Linnean 'Transactions,' the 'Philosophical Magazine,' &c. Carlisle was long a member of the council of the College of Surgeons (from 1815) and an examiner (from April 1825), holding these appointments till death. In 1820 and in 1826 he delivered the Hunterian oration at the college, and on other occasions lectured on anatomy and surgery; he also considerably added to the library and museum. He was president of the college in 1829 and 1839. He gained admission as a student to the Royal Academy while still young, and wrote an essay in the 'Artist' on the 'Connection between Anatomy and the Fine Arts,' in which he expressed the opinion that minute knowledge of anatomy was not necessary to the historical painter and sculptor. In 1808 the social connection which he had cultivated led to his obtaining the professorship of anatomy at the Academy, notwithstanding Charles Bell's candidature. This post he held for sixteen years. He was surgeon-extraordinary to the prince regent, and was knighted on 24 July 1821. He took great interest in Westminster Hospital, and was largely instrumental in raising funds for the new building. He died on 2 Nov. 1840, at his house in Langham Place, aged 72.

Carlisle was neither a brilliant anatomist nor physiologist, but was a fairly good surgeon. His introduction of the thin-bladed, straight-edged amputating knife, in place of the old clumsy crooked one, and his use of the simple carpenter's saw make his name chiefly worthy of note. He was handsome and good-humoured, but very vain and crotchety, and in his later years somewhat slovenly and negligent of his duties.

In 1800, in conjunction with W. Nicholson, Carlisle engaged in important researches on voltaic electricity, and is credited by Nicholson with first observing the decomposition of water by the electric current (*Journal of Natural Philosophy*, iv. July 1800, 179-87), and with several ingenious experiments and observations.

Among Carlisle's miscellaneous publications may be mentioned: 'An Essay on the Disorders of Old Age, and on the Means of prolonging Human Life,' 1817, 2nd edit. 1818; 'Alleged Discovery of the Use of the Spleen,' 1829; 'Lecture on Cholera,' 1832; 'Practical Observations on the Preservation

of Health and the Prevention of Diseases,' 1838; 'Physiological Observations upon Glangular Structures,' 1834. A list of his scientific papers is given in the Royal Society's Catalogue of Scientific Papers, i. 1867.

[Pettigrew's Medical Portrait Gallery, 1840, vol. ii.; Gent. Mag. December 1840, ii. 660; Georgian Era, ii. 1833, p. 588; J. F. Clarke's Autobiographical Recollections of the Medical Profession, 1874, 283-94.] G. T. B.

**CARLISLE, EARLS OF.** [See HARCLAY, ANDREW, *d.* 1823; HAY, JAMES, first EARL, *d.* 1636; HOWARD, CHARLES, first EARL of the second creation, 1629-1685; HOWARD, CHARLES, third EARL, 1674-1738; HOWARD, FREDERICK, fifth EARL, 1748-1825; HOWARD, GEORGE, sixth EARL, 1773-1848; HOWARD, GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK, seventh EARL, 1802-1864.]

**CARLISLE, COUNTESS OF (1599-1660).** [See HAY, LUCY.]

**CARLISLE, NICHOLAS (1771-1847),** antiquary, was born at York in January or February 1771, and was half-brother of Sir Anthony Carlisle [q. v.] Having entered the naval service of the East India Company, he amassed considerable property as purser, with which he generously assisted his brother. In January 1807 he became secretary to the Society of Antiquaries. Having installed himself in the society's apartments in Somerset House, he devoted his time to the execution of a series of laborious and in their day useful compilations. Between 1808 and 1813 he produced topographical dictionaries of England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. In 1818 he published 'A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales,' for which he collected materials by issuing circulars. His 'Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle' appeared in 1822, and a similar work on the family of Bland in 1826. In 1828 he wrote 'An Historical Account of Charitable Commissions,' and in 1837 printed privately a memoir of William Wyon [q. v.], the engraver, with an appendix on the controversies between him and Pistrucci. He indexed the first thirty volumes of the 'Archæologia' and the first fourteen reports of the charity commissioners, and was for a time a commissioner himself. 'His long-continued but unsuccessful attempts to establish professorships of the English language in various continental universities' procured him several foreign orders, and led him to compile (1839) 'An Account of Foreign Orders of Knighthood.' Having been appointed a gentleman of the privy chamber, he wrote on the history of that body. In

1812 he became an assistant librarian of the Royal Library, and accompanied that collection to the British Museum, where he only attended two days in the week. He died at Margate 27 Aug. 1847, leaving the character of an amiable and worthy man, whose abilities were by no means commensurate with his industry.

[Gent. Mag. August 1848, pp. 205-9.] R. G.

CARLOS, EDWARD JOHN (1798-1851), antiquary, said to be a collateral descendant of William Carlos [q. v.], who was chiefly instrumental in the preservation of Charles II during the flight after the battle of Worcester, and the only child of William Carlos and Grace Smith of Newington, Middlesex, where he was born on 12 Feb. 1798. He was educated at Mr. Colecraft's school, Newington, and was articled to Mr. Reynell of the lord mayor's court office, with which he was connected for more than thirty years. He took a great interest in architecture and in ancient buildings. In 1832 he was one of the committee for the restoration of Crosby Hall, of which in November of that year he contributed an account to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' under the title, 'Historical and Antiquarian Notices of Crosby Hall.' He was one of the most active promoters of public efforts in defence of the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, and when old London Bridge was pulled down he contributed to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for March 1832 'An Account of London Bridge, with Observations on its Architecture during its demolition.' For the same periodical he wrote during 1824-33 a series of descriptions of the new churches in the metropolis, and the reviews of architectural books from 1822 to 1848. In 1843 he published a second edition, with additions of Skelton's 'Oxonia Restaurata,' in which the plates illustrative of each college were brought together and the descriptions formed into a continuous narrative. He died on 20 Jan. 1851.

[Gent. Mag. 1851, pt. i. p. 442.] T. F. H.

CARLOS, CARLES, or CARELESS, WILLIAM (d. 1689), royalist, was a colonel or major in the royalist army during the civil wars. A family of the name of Carlos is described as of Stratford-on-Avon in the 'Visitation of Warwickshire' in 1619 (*Harleian Soc.* xii. 23). A correspondent of 'Notes and Queries,' 1st ser. x. 344, suggests that the royalist was the son of Anthony Careless, warden of the Clothiers' Company in Worcester in 1665, who died there 5 Jan. 1670. Clarendon states that he resided in Staffordshire. Carlos took part in the battle of Wor-

cester (3 Sept. 1651), and saw, it was stated, the last man killed there before leaving the battle-field. As soon as the defeat of the royalists proved decisive he fled to the woods surrounding Boscobel House, and hid himself in the branches of an oak tree. About five o'clock on the morning of Saturday, 6 Sept., King Charles himself arrived at Boscobel while escaping from the Commonwealth soldiers, who were in hot pursuit, and Carlos, who does not appear to have been personally acquainted with the king previously, urged him to share his retreat in the oak tree. This the king agreed to do, and the two men remained concealed there for more than twenty-four hours, while their pursuers searched the wood below them. Carlos descended from time to time to procure food. On Sunday afternoon, however, Charles left for Moseley. Carlos separated from him because he was well known in the neighbourhood, and stood in even greater danger of capture than the king, who had managed to effectually disguise himself. The oak tree, called the royal oak, is still extant in Boscobel wood. On Monday, 8 Sept., Carlos succeeded, with the help of a friend at Wolverhampton, in disguising himself, and under an assumed name he arrived in France. He communicated to the Princess of Orange at Paris the welcome news of her brother's safety, and continued in Charles's service till the Restoration. By a royal patent he was granted an elaborate coat of arms, in which an oak tree prominently figures (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd ser. xii. 262). Carlos returned to England with the king, and in January 1660-1 he, with two others, was granted the proceeds of a tax on all straw and hay brought into London and Westminster, together with the office of inspector of livery horsekeepers (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1660-1, p. 498). In the account of James II's secret service fund for 1687 appears the entry: 'To Coll<sup>l</sup> William Carlos, bounty 300*l*.' (*Secret Services of Charles II and James II*, Camd. Soc. 177). Carlos died early in 1689. His will, dated in 1688, was proved in the following year. His property, of very trifling value, was bequeathed to an 'adopted son, Edward Carlos,' from whom was descended Edward John Carlos [q. v.] Carlos was married, and had a son William, born in 1643, who died unmarried in 1668, and was buried in Fulham churchyard. His epitaph is printed in 'Notes and Queries,' 1st ser. ix. 305. An engraving by Stent of Charles and Carlos in the oak tree is extant.

[Frequent references are made to Carlos in Blount's tract *Boscobel*; in Clarendon's *History*, bk. xiii.; in Pepys's *Narrative* printed by Lord



Hailes. These tracts, together with several briefer accounts of Charles II's adventures after the battle of Worcester, have been carefully reprinted by J. Hughes in the *Boscobel Tracts* (1830, 2nd edit. 1857). S. L.

**CARLSE, JAMES** (1798-1855), engraver, was born in Shoreditch in 1798, and was apprenticed to Mr. Tyrrel, an architectural engraver. At the expiration of his term he practised landscape and figure engraving without further instruction, so that he may almost be said to have been untaught. In 1840 he commenced a work on Windsor Castle, which he discontinued from want of support. He engraved a good deal for the *annuals* and afterwards for the 'Art Journal,' and some architectural plates for Mr. Weale's publications, Stuart's 'Antiquities of Athens,' Chambers's 'Civil Architecture,' &c. Among his other engravings are Benjamin West's 'First Essay in Art,' after E. M. Ward, and 'Oliver Cromwell in Conference with Milton,' after a drawing by himself. He died in August 1855.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Otley's Supplement to Bryan's Dictionary.] C. M.

**CARLYLE, ALEXANDER, D.D.** (1722-1805), Scotch divine, was born on 26 Jan. 1722 at Prestonpans, Haddingtonshire, of which parish his father, William Carlyle, was minister. The father lived on terms of intimacy with the gentry of the district, by whom much notice was taken of the son. Among their neighbours was the famous Colonel Gardiner. Carlyle matriculated at the university of Edinburgh on 1 Nov. 1735, and in the following year he was an eye-witness of the escape of Robertson and the Porteous riots described in the 'Heart of Midlothian.' In obedience to his father's wishes he studied for the church, and received his A.M. degree from the university of Edinburgh 14 April 1743. A small bursary obtained for him by his father from the Duke of Hamilton aided in enabling him to spend two winters at the university of Glasgow and a third at that of Leyden, where he entered 17 Nov. 1745 (*Leyden Students*, Index Soc. p. 18). He was one of the volunteers embodied in 1745 for the defence of Edinburgh from the rebel force under Prince Charles Edward, and he witnessed the flight of the king's force after the battle of Prestonpans. He was licensed for the ministry 8 July 1746, but declined an offer of presentation to Cockburnspath in February 1747. On 2 Aug. 1748 he was ordained minister of Inveresk, near Edinburgh, a charge which he retained until his death. He co-operated with his friends, John Home the author and Robertson the historian, in supporting and lead-

ing in the church of Scotland and its general assembly the moderate party, which opposed the abolition of patronage and favoured a somewhat latitudinarian theology. He was intimate with David Hume, Adam Smith, and the other Scottish literary celebrities of his time, including Smollett and Armstrong, who lived in London, and he has given in the 'Autobiography' accounts and anecdotes of most of them. He is said (KAY, *Edinburgh Portraits*, ed. 1877, i. 67 n.) to have written the prologue to Charles Hart's 'Herminius and Aspasia,' acted in 1754, and he had made for John Home several transcripts of 'Douglas' before its performance in Edinburgh in 1756. He not only attended the rehearsals of 'Douglas,' but, though with some reluctance, was present in the Edinburgh theatre on the third night of its performance (14 Dec. 1756), and attracted additional attention by expelling some young men from the boxes where he sat for rudeness to ladies whom he accompanied. The public performance of a play written by a minister of the kirk raised an ecclesiastical storm in Scotland [see HOME, JOHN], and to the controversy thus provoked Carlyle contributed the anonymous pamphlet, 'An Argument to prove that the Tragedy of "Douglas" ought to be publicly burnt by the hands of the Hangman,' the irony of which was mistaken by some of its readers for a serious condemnation of the play. When the attendance of the upper classes began to flag, Carlyle brought a humbler class to the theatre by his broadside, hawked about the streets, with the sensational heading, 'A Full and True History of the bloody Tragedy of "Douglas" as it is now to be seen acting in the Theatre of the Canongate.' Carlyle was conspicuous among the ministers of the kirk who were summoned before their respective presbyteries to answer the charge of having entered a theatre to witness the performance of a stage-play. While professing regret for having unwittingly given offence, and promising not to offend again, Carlyle maintained before the presbytery of Dalkeith that the matter was one not for public but for private investigation and admonition. The presbytery nevertheless relegated him to be rebuked by the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale. Carlyle's friends made a strong muster at the meeting of the synod, which by a small majority accepted his contention before the presbytery that the matter demanded 'privy censure or brotherly conference,' while censuring him severely for his play-going and enjoining him to abstain from it in future (11 May 1757). On appeal by the presbytery to the general assembly the decision of the synod was affirmed by a majority of 117 to 39 (24 May). This

result was always remembered by Carlyle as a signal triumph over the fanatical party in the kirk (*Autobiography*, chap. viii.; *Scots Magazine* for 1757; MORREN, *Annals of the General Assembly*, 1838, ii. 122-9).

In the following year (1758) Carlyle paid a visit to London, where he made the acquaintance of Garrick and frequented the theatres, contributing to his friend Smollett's 'British Magazine' a criticism on John Home's 'Agis,' as then performed at Drury Lane. He also endeavoured, apparently with little success, to execute an informal commission from his Scotch ministerial brethren to plead their cause with those in authority, so as to avert the threatened enforcement against them of the window-tax. After his return home at the end of 1758 the outcry raised in consequence of the disastrous close of the St. Malo expedition led Carlyle to write the ironical pamphlet, 'Plain Reasons for removing a certain Great Man from his M——y's presence and councils for ever. Addressed to the people of England. By O. M. Haberdasher.' This is by far the most striking of Carlyle's productions. The 'great man' is the elder Pitt. Carlyle speaks of the pamphlet as having had 'a great run,' but it seems to have dropped into unmerited oblivion. From an inaccuracy in the transcript of the title it does not appear to have been seen by the editor of his 'Autobiography' (John Hill Burton), and in the new catalogue of the British Museum Library it is attributed to 'O. M. Haberdasher,' without any reference to Carlyle's authorship of it. In 1760 appeared at Edinburgh another pamphlet by Carlyle, 'The Question relating to a Scots Militia considered in a Letter to the Lords and Gentlemen who have concerted the form of a law for that establishment,' in which he unsuccessfully sought to persuade the government that the people of the country might be armed with perfect safety in spite of the fact of the rebellion of '45. Carlyle boasts that this pamphlet was republished both at Ayr and in London, in the latter case by the Marquis Townshend, who prefixed a preface. In 1762 he was appointed almoner to the king. In 1764 he published a pamphlet, 'Faction detected,' on the claim of the Edinburgh town council to present to the churches in their city. In 1769 he was appointed by the general assembly their commissioner to endeavour to procure during the ensuing session of parliament an exemption on the part of the Scottish clergy from the window-tax. The clergy subscribed about 400*l.* to defray his expenses. On his arrival in London, and doubtless to promote the success of his mission, he wrote a paper, signed Nestor, 'in support of the Duke

of Grafton, whose administration was then in a tottering state.' Probably it was during this visit to London that, having to present himself at St. James's, 'his portly figure, his fine expressive countenance, with an aquiline nose, his flowing silver locks, and the freshness of the colour of his face made a prodigious impression upon the courtiers' (Chief Commissioner ADAM, *Gift of a Grandfather*, privately printed). His mission was so far successful that, though the Scottish clergy continued to be charged with the window-tax, the collectors were instructed not to enforce payment (KAY, *Edinburgh Portraits*, i. 66). On 24 May 1770 he was elected moderator of the general assembly, and on 2 Dec. 1789 was named one of the deans of the Chapel Royal, when he resigned the office of almoner.

In 1766 Smollett had paid his last visit to Scotland, and in the description of Edinburgh given in 'Humphry Clinker,' published in 1771, he makes a complimentary reference to Carlyle. The account of the Select Society in the appendix to Dugald Stewart's memoir of Robertson the historian was furnished by Carlyle, who was a member of it. In 1789 he was a candidate for the principal clerkship to the general assembly. A severe contest took place between the moderate and the old presbyterian parties in the kirk, and the number of votes given was the largest ever known in the assembly. Carlyle was at first successful, but the result of a scrutiny asked for and granted threatened to be unfavourable, and he declined to face it. In 1771 he opposed the passing of a remonstrance by the general assembly against the necessity imposed on presbyterians of taking the communion in the Anglican form before they could hold office in England, saying that he 'must be a very narrow-minded presbyterian who could not join in the religious worship of the church' of England. In 1793 he gave a strenuous support to a scheme for the augmentation of the stipends of the Scottish clergy, and courageously protested against the want of sympathy with that body shown on the occasion by his friend Henry Dundas, then lord advocate, as the representative of the Pitt administration in the assembly. To the last he exerted himself to procure preferment, both in the English and the Scotch church, for young men of merit and of liberal views in theology, among them being the Rev. Archibald Alison, the father of the historian. Carlyle died on 25 Aug. 1805, and was buried in the churchyard of Inveresk, his friend Adam Ferguson, the historian of the Roman republic, writing the inscription on his tomb. He married, 14 Oct. 1760, Mary

Roddam, who died 31 Jan. 1804, in her sixty-first year. His 'Autobiography' gives a most agreeable impression of him as a genial, cultivated, liberal-minded, and sagacious minister of the kirk, who united to the breadth of the man of the world a sincere devotion to what he considered to be the true interests of his order, and it is unrivalled as a picture of the Edinburgh and Scotch society of his time. Although its merit had long been appreciated in manuscript, it was not published until 1860, excellently edited, with notes and a supplementary chapter, by John Hill Burton. Its full title is 'Autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, Minister of Inveresk, containing Memorials of the Men and Events of his Time.'

Sir Walter Scott said (LOCKHART, *Life*, p. 368): 'The grandest demi-god I ever saw was Dr. Carlyle . . . commonly called "Jupiter Carlyle" . . . and a shrewd old carle was he no doubt, but no more a poet than his preceptor.' Carlyle's portrait prefixed to the 'Autobiography' somewhat resembles those of Goethe, and he retains a certain dignity even in the caricatures of him, of which there are several in Kay's 'Edinburgh Portraits.' He was more poetical than Sir Walter Scott supposed. Whether he was the author or not of the 'songs' and 'gay catches' which in an early letter to him Smollett seems to speak of as his (Supplementary chapter to *Autobiography*, p. 564), he certainly wrote the spirited and musical 'Verses on his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch's birthday' published in the 'Scots Magazine' for 1767. With Henry Mackenzie he filled up some of the *lacunæ* in an imperfect manuscript copy of Collins's 'Ode on the Superstitions of the Highlanders,' which he presented to the Royal Society of Edinburgh on its establishment, and which, with a letter from Carlyle, was published for the first time in its 'Transactions' (Edinburgh, 1788, i. 63-75). In old age he displayed an interest in Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel,' and in the early poetry of Wordsworth.

Carlyle published a few sermons and contributed to Sir John Sinclair's 'Statistical Account of Scotland' (1791-9) an elaborate 'Account of the Parish of Inveresk,' topographical, historical, and statistical, in which he describes his successful introduction into Scotland of ploughing with two horses and without a driver. In the Egerton MSS. in the British Museum (Nos. 2185-6) there are several letters from Carlyle to Dr. Douglas, bishop of Salisbury, urging the claims of clerical *protégés* and gossiping about Hume, Robertson, and other Edinburgh literati. Carlyle is the subject of one of Kay's caricatures.

[Dr. Carlyle's Autobiography, Pamphlets, and Sermons; A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the late John Kay, miniature painter, Edinburgh, with Biographical Sketches and Illustrative Anecdotes (new edition), 1877; Hew Scott's *Fasti Eccl. Scot.* i. 287, 396, 399; authorities cited.] F. E.

CARLYLE, JANE WELSH. [See under CARLYLE, THOMAS, 1795-1881.]

CARLYLE, JOHN AITKEN, M.D. (1801-1879), younger brother of Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881) [q.v.], was born at Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, on 7 July 1801. 'A logic chopper from the cradle' is one of the descriptions given of him by his elder brother, whom at an early age he succeeded as a teacher at the Annan academy. Thomas Carlyle, when tutor to the Bullers, devoted a portion of his salary to enable John Carlyle to study medicine at the university of Edinburgh, where he took his degree of M.D. in or about 1825. Two years later the same brother sent him to complete his medical education in Germany, and maintained him for several years in London, where he tried to obtain practice as a physician. Failing in this he attempted literature, and contributed a little to 'Fraser's Magazine' and other periodicals. He helped his brother in translating Legendre's Geometry. In 1831, on the recommendation of his brother's helpful friend, Francis Jeffrey, he was appointed travelling physician to the Countess of Clare, with a salary of three hundred guineas a year and his expenses. In the following year he remitted money to his mother, and paid off his debt to his brother. Occasionally visiting England and Scotland, he spent some seven years in Italy with Lady Clare, in the intervals of his attendance practising for some time on his own account as a physician in Rome, where, during an outbreak of cholera, he gave his medical services gratuitously among the poor. Returning to England in 1837, he became in 1838 travelling physician to the Duke of Buccleuch, with whom he revisited the continent. By 1843 he had resigned this position, and, possessed of a moderate competency, abandoned almost entirely the practice of his profession, declining an invitation from Lady Holland, given at the suggestion of Lord Jeffrey, to become her physician in attendance. He lived for several years in lodgings near the Chelsea residence of his brother, to whom, medically and otherwise, he made himself very useful. The first instalment of what he intended to be an English prose translation of the whole of Dante's great poem appeared in 1849 as 'Dante's Divine Comedy, the Inferno, with the text of the original col-

lated from the best editions, and explanatory notes,' a volume which, under whatever aspect it is viewed, leaves little to be desired. The preface contains an estimate of Dante as a man and a poet, in which the influence of Thomas Carlyle is very conspicuous. After the preface come two appendices, useful contributions to the critical bibliography of the 'Divina Commedia,' and its commentators and translators. A second edition, revised, appeared in 1867, with a prefatory notice, in which Dr. Carlyle spoke of issuing two volumes more, containing translations of the 'Purgatorio' and the 'Paradiso.' But the hope was not fulfilled, though he had executed a considerable portion of the task. A third edition of the 'Inferno,' a reprint of the second edition, was issued in 1882.

In 1852 Dr. Carlyle married a rich widow with several children, and she died in 1854. After her death he resided for several years in Edinburgh, ultimately settling in Dumfriesshire. He devoted much of his time in later years to the study of the Icelandic language and literature. On the death of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Thomas Carlyle, he offered to take up his abode with his bereaved brother. The offer was declined. Complaints of his brother John's 'careless helter-skelter ways' occur not infrequently in Carlyle's annotations to the letters of his wife, while he bears testimony in them to Dr. Carlyle's 'good, affectionate, manly character and fine talents,' and his many letters to him, published by Mr. Froude, are uniformly affectionate in tone. By his friends, Dr. Carlyle was regarded as a man of amiable and tranquil disposition, as well as of ability and accomplishment.

In 1861 Dr. Carlyle edited his friend Dr. Irving's posthumous 'History of Scottish Poetry,' adding a little fresh matter to the text and notes, and appending a brief glossary of Scotch words occurring in the volume. In 1878 he made over to the acting committee of the Association for the Better Endowment of the University of Edinburgh 1,600*l.*, to found two medical bursaries of not less than 25*l.* each, now worth 32*l.* each, known by the founder's name, and tenable for one year.

Thomas Carlyle speaks of John in his will as having 'no need of money or help,' but left him a life-interest in the lease of the house at Chelsea, with his books and the fragments of his history of James I. He made him, too, his chief executor, and asked him to superintend the execution of the instructions in his will, saying, in respect to them, 'I wish him to be regarded as my second self, my surviving self.' Dr. Carlyle did not, however, survive his brother. He died at Dumfries, 15 Dec. 1879.

[Carlyle's *Reminiscences* (1881); Froude's *Thomas Carlyle, a History of the First Forty Years of his Life* (1882); Froude's *Thomas Carlyle, a History of his Life in London* (1884); *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle* (1883); *The Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and Ralph Waldo Emerson* (1883); *Thomas Carlyle's Printed Will* (1880); *Edinburgh University Calendar for 1879-80*; *Early Letters of Carlyle*, by C. E. Norton (1886)]. F. E.

CARLYLE, JOSEPH DACRE (1759-1804), Arabic scholar, born in 1759 at Carlisle, where his father practised as a physician, was educated at the Carlisle grammar school, and was then entered at Christ's College, Cambridge, whence he presently removed to Queens', proceeded B.A. in 1779, and was elected a fellow of Queens', took his M.A. degree in 1783, and B.D. in 1793. During his residence at Cambridge he profited by the instructions of a native of Bagdad, whose europeanised name was David Zamio, and became so proficient in oriental languages that he was appointed professor of Arabic on the resignation of Dr. Craven in 1795. In the meantime he had obtained some church preferment at Carlisle, and had succeeded Paley in 1793 as chancellor of that city. In 1792 he published in 4to the '*Rerum Ægyptiacarum Annales*,' translated from the Arabic of Yûsuf ibn Taghri Birdi, a meagre work of slight historical value; and in 1796, also 4to, '*Specimens of Arabian Poetry*' (with some account of the authors selected), translations in which a certain elegance of diction is more striking than the fidelity to the spirit and colour of the originals. In 1799 he was appointed chaplain to Lord Elgin's mission to Constantinople, with the special duties of learned referee; and he made a tour through Asia Minor, Palestine, Greece, and Italy, collecting Greek and Syriac manuscripts for a proposed new version of the New Testament, which unfortunately he did not live to accomplish. Returning to England in September 1801, he was presented to the living of Newcastle-on-Tyne; but his health had been seriously impaired by the fatigues of travel, and he also suffered from a special and painful malady, to which he succumbed on 12 April 1804. His '*Poems*' suggested chiefly by *Scenes in Asia Minor, Syria, and Greece*, together with some translations from the Arabic, were published after his death, 1805, 4to, with extracts from his journal and a preface by his sister. He had also almost completed an account of his tour through the Troad, which was never published, and had advanced so far in his Arabic Bible, revised from Walton's text, that it was issued at

Newcastle, edited by H. Ford, professor of Arabic at Oxford, in 1811.

[Gent. Mag. 1804, p. 390; Miss Carlyle's Preface to the Specimens of Arabic Poetry.]

S. L.-P.

CARLYLE, THOMAS (1803-1855), an apostle of the Catholic Apostolic church, was born at King's Grange, Kirkcudbrightshire, on 17 July 1803. His father was William Carlyle, and his mother Margaret Heriot, widow of William McMurdo of Savannah, Georgia. He was first educated at Annan academy, in company with Edward Irving, and afterwards at the Dumfries academy, studied at the Edinburgh University, and was called to the Scottish bar in 1824. By the death of John Carlyle of Torthorwald, in October 1824, the claim to the dormant title of Baron Carlyle devolved on Thomas Carlyle (CARLISLE's *Collections for a History of the Ancient Family of Carlisle*, London, 1822, 4to, pp. 140-1). In 1827 he published 'An Essay to illustrate the Foundation, the Necessity, the Nature, and the Evidence of Christianity, and to connect True Philosophy with the Bible. By a Layman,' and in 1829 'The Word made Flesh, or the True Humanity of God in Christ demonstrated from the Scriptures.' In the well-known 'Row heresy case,' when the Rev. John McLeod Campbell, minister of Row, Argyllshire, was tried and finally deposed by the courts of the church of Scotland in 1831, Carlyle acted during the various stages of the trial as legal counsel for Campbell (*Memoir of the Rev. J. McLeod Campbell, D.D.*, 1877, i. 77, 103, 115). Having much in common with the opinions of Dr. Campbell, he also sympathised with many of the views of his friend Edward Irving, and adopted and advocated those religious tenets taught by the Catholic Apostolic church. This church having been founded on 19 Oct. 1832, the appointment of the apostle proceeded, and in Edinburgh in April 1835 Carlyle was named the ninth apostle of the denomination, and in the same year gave up his practice at the bar, left Edinburgh, and settled with his wife at Albury, Surrey. He was one of the members of the assembly of the twelve apostles and seven prophets [see CARDALE, JOHN BATE]. In 1838 Prussia and North Germany, called 'The tribe of Simeon,' and supposed to represent 'quiet perseverance in accomplishing what is aimed at,' were allotted to Carlyle, who henceforth was known as 'The Apostle for North Germany.' In that country he therefore very frequently resided, and went about collecting and superintending congregations of converts, and while there made the acquaintance of Eerlach, Neander,

and other theologians. Among his converts were Herr Thiersch, the church historian, and Herr Charles J. T. Böhm, author of various works. The results of his acquaintance with the German language, literature, society, and religious thought were given in his work, 'The Moral Phenomena of Germany,' which appeared in 1845, and of which more than one edition was printed in German. This work having won him the acquaintance of Baron Bunsen, he introduced him to King Frederick William of Prussia, who had been much interested in reading the 'Moral Phenomena.' His work seriously impaired his health, and he died at Heath House, Albury, on 28 Jan. 1855, and was buried in Albury parish church on 3 Feb. He married on 7 Sept. 1826 Frances Wallace, daughter of the Rev. Archibald Laurie, D.D., minister of Loudoun, Ayrshire. She died at Pau on 22 Feb. 1874.

Carlyle's other writings not already mentioned were: 1. 'The Scottish Jurist. Conducted by T. Carlyle,' 1829. 2. 'The First Resurrection and the Second Death,' 1830. 3. 'Letter to the Editor of the "Christian Instructor,"' 1830. 4. 'A Letter to the King of Prussia,' 1847. 5. 'On the Sacrament of Baptism,' 1850. 6. 'The One Catholic Supremacy,' 1851. 7. 'A Short History of the Apostolic Work,' 1851. 8. 'The History of the Christian Church. By H. W. J. Thiersch. Vol. I. The Church in the Apostolic Age. Translated by T. Carlyle,' 1852. 9. 'The Jew our Law-giver,' 1853. 10. 'The Door of Hope for Britain,' 1853. 11. 'The Door of Hope for Christendom,' 1853. 12. 'Apostles given, lost, and restored,' 1853. 13. 'On the Office of the Paraclete in the Prayers of the Church,' 1853. 14. 'On Symbols in Worship,' 1853. 15. 'Our present Position in Spiritual Chronology,' 1853; another edition, 1879. 16. 'On the Epistles to the Seven Churches,' 1854. 17. 'Warning for the Unwary against Spiritual Evil,' 1854. 18. 'Shall Turkey live or die?' 1854. 19. 'Pleadings with my Mother, the Church in Scotland,' 1854. 20. 'Blicke eines Engländer in die kirchlichen und sozialen Zustände Deutschlands von T. Carlyle. Uebersetzt von B. Frh. von Richthofen,' 1870. 21. 'Collected Writings of the late T. Carlyle,' 1878.

A reference to Carlyle in the 'Reminiscences' (i. 312) of his famous namesake is not to be trusted; at any rate there is not the least ground for supposing that the advocate Thomas Carlyle ever intentionally contributed to the mistakes of identity there described. The story on which Carlyle's account is founded is told in the 'Memorials' of Janet Welsh Carlyle (i. 204).

[Miller's Irvingism, i. 14, &c. ii. 416; *Athenæum*, 14 May 1881, p. 654; Hare's *Life of Baroness Bunsen* (3rd ed. 1882), ii. 76; information received from the Rev. H. G. Graham, Glasgow.] G. C. B.

CARLYLE, THOMAS (1795–1881), essayist and historian, was born 4 Dec. 1795 at Ecclefechan in Annandale. He was grandson of a Thomas Carlyle, first a carpenter and afterwards a small farmer at Brownknowe, near Burnswark Hill. Francis, a brother of the elder Thomas, was a rough sailor of the Truncheon type. The brothers had been separated by a long quarrel, and among the earliest recollections of the younger Thomas was a sight of the granduncle, who was being carried upstairs to be reconciled with the dying grandfather. Both brothers were tough, irascible men, as much given to fighting as to working. Thomas married Anne Gillespie, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. The second son, James, born in 1757, inherited the paternal temper, and was roughly brought up, and allowed to ramble over the country shooting hares. He received early religious impressions from John Orr, schoolmaster and shoemaker, who was pious when sober, but often spent weeks at the pot-house. In 1773 James became apprenticed to a mason, William Brown, married to his eldest sister Fanny. He afterwards set up in business with a brother, built a house for himself in Ecclefechan, and there made a home for his father and brothers. In 1791 he married a cousin, Janet Carlyle, who died after giving birth to one son, John. Two years after her death (1794) James Carlyle married Janet Aitken. Their first child, Thomas, was followed by three sons and five daughters. The sons were John Aitken [q. v.]; Alexander (b. 1797), who emigrated to Canada, and died 1876; and James (b. 1805), who took the farm at Scotsbrig and survived his brothers. The daughters were Janet, who died in infancy; Margaret (b. 1803), died unmarried in 1830; Mary (b. 1808), who became Mrs. Austin; Jane, or 'craw Jean' (b. 1810), who married her cousin, James Aitken, in 1833; and Janet (b. 1813), who became Mrs. Hanning, and settled in Canada. James Carlyle was from the first steady, abstemious, and a thorough workman. His business prospered, and he joined the 'burghers,' a sect of rigorous seceders from the kirk, who had a 'heath-thatched' meeting-house in Ecclefechan. He was a man of remarkable force of mind and character, strong affections masked by habitual reserve, and the religious temperament characteristic of the stern Scotch Calvinist.

Thomas Carlyle learnt reading from his mother, and arithmetic (at five) from his fa-

ther. He was then sent to the village school. His English was reported to be 'complete' in his seventh year, and he was set to Latin. As the schoolmaster was incompetent he was taught by Johnstone, the burgher minister, and his son, an Edinburgh student. At Whitsuntide 1805 he was sent to Annan grammar school. He had already shown a violent temper, and his mother now made him promise not to return a blow. He had, consequently, to put up with much cruelty, until he turned against a tormentor, and, though beaten, proved himself to be a dangerous subject for bullying. The two first years, he says, were miserable. His school experience is reflected in '*Sartor Resartus*' (bk. ii. ch. iii.; see also '*Cruthers and Johnson*' in *Fraser's Mag.* January 1831). He learnt to read French and Latin and the Greek alphabet; he learnt a little geometry and algebra; and devoured all the books he could get. His father perceived the son's ability, and decided to send him to the university with a view to the ministry. Carlyle accordingly walked to Edinburgh—a hundred miles distant—in the November term 1809, and went through the usual course. He acquired some Greek and Latin; was disgusted with the uncongenial rhetoric of Thomas Brown upon the association philosophy; but made some real progress in mathematics under John Leslie, who earned his lasting gratitude by zealous help. He became a leading spirit among a small circle of friends of his own class. Their letters show remarkable interest in literary matters. One of them addresses him as 'Dean' and 'Jonathan,' implying that he is to be a second Swift. Another speaks of his 'Shandean turn of expression.' '*Tristram Shandy*' was one of his favourite books. Carlyle contemplated an epic poem. He still studied mathematics. He advised his friends sensibly, and was ready to help them from his little savings.

To fill up the interval which must elapse before his intended ordination, Carlyle obtained in 1814 the mathematical tutorship at Annan. He thus became independent, and was able to put by something from his salary of 60*l.* or 70*l.* a year. He was near his father, who had now settled in a farm at Mainhill, two miles from Ecclefechan. Here he passed his holidays; but his life at Annan was solitary, and chiefly spent among his books. His divinity course involved an annual address at Edinburgh. He delivered in 1814 'a weak, flowery, sentimental' sermon in English, and a Latin discourse (Christmas 1815), also 'weak enough,' on the question, '*Num. detur religio naturalis?*' On the last occasion he had a little passage of arms with

Edward Irving, to whom he now spoke for the first time at a friend's rooms. Irving was an old pupil of the Annan school, where Carlyle had once seen him on a visit. He had become a schoolmaster at Kirkcaldy. Some of the parents were discontented with his teaching, and resolved to import a second schoolmaster. Christieson (professor of Latin at Edinburgh) and Leslie recommended Carlyle, who thus in the summer of 1816 became a rival of Irving. Irving, however, welcomed him with a generosity which he warmly acknowledged, and they at once formed a close intimacy. Carlyle made use of Irving's library, where he read Gibbon and much French literature, and they made little expeditions together, vividly described in the 'Reminiscences' (vol. i.) To Irving's literary example Carlyle thinks that he owed 'something of his own poor affectations' in style (*Reminiscences*, i. 119).

Carlyle's school duties were thoroughly distasteful. His reserve, irritability, and power of sarcasm were bad equipments for a schoolmaster's work. He kept his pupils in awe without physical force, but his success was chiefly negative. He saw little society, but was attracted by a Miss Margaret Gordon, an ex-pupil of Irving's, probably the original of 'Blumine' in 'Sartor Resartus.' An aunt with whom Miss Gordon lived put a stop to some talk of an engagement. Miss Gordon took leave of him in a remarkable letter, in which, after a serious warning against the dangers of pride and excessive severity, she begs him to think of her as a sister, though she will not see him again. She soon married a member of parliament who became 'governor of Nova Scotia (or so)' and was living about 1840.

'Schoolmastering' had become intolerable. The ministry had also become out of the question, as Carlyle's wider reading had led to his abandonment of the orthodox views. In September 1818 he told his father that he had saved about 90*l.*, and with this and a few mathematical pupils could support himself in Edinburgh till he could qualify himself for the bar. He accordingly went to Edinburgh in December 1819 with Irving, who had given up his own school with a view to entering upon his ministerial functions. Carlyle had now begun to suffer from the dyspepsia which tormented him through life: 'A rat was gnawing at the pit of his stomach.' The consequent irritability already found vent in language of grotesque exaggeration where it is often difficult to distinguish between the serious and the intentionally humorous. The little annoyances incidental to life in mean lodgings are transfigured into

a haunting of the furies. The 'three most miserable years' of his life followed. He obtained a pupil or two and was employed by Brewster on the 'Encyclopædias.' He managed just to pay his way; but he soon gave up his law studies—always uncongenial—and found no other opening. The misery of the lower classes at this time of universal depression made a profound impression, and he sympathised with the general discontent. He was also going through a religious crisis. The collapse of his old beliefs seemed to leave him no escape from gloomy and degrading materialism. After much mental agony, he one day in June 1821, after 'three weeks of total sleeplessness,' went through the crisis described 'quite literally' in 'Sartor Resartus' (bk. ii. ch. vii., where the Rue St. Thomas de l'Enfer stands for Leith Walk). From this hour he dated his 'spiritual new birth,' though for four years more he had many mental struggles. Carlyle had now taken to German study, and his great helper in this crisis appears to have been Goethe. The serenity of Goethe probably attracted him by the contrast to his own vehemence. Goethe, as he thought, showed that the highest culture and most unreserved acceptance of the results of modern inquiry might be combined with a reverent and truly religious conception of the universe. Carlyle continued to revere Goethe, though the religious sentiments which he preserved, Scotch Calvinism minus the dogma, were very unlike those of his spiritual guide.

During this period of struggle Carlyle was supported by the steady confidence of his father, the anxious affection of his mother, and the cordial sympathy of his brothers and sisters. He was eagerly welcomed on occasional visits to Mainhill, and, though sometimes alarming his family by his complaints, always returned their affection and generally made the best of his prospects. To them he seldom said a harsh word. Another consolation was the friendship of Irving, now (October 1819) under Chalmers at Glasgow. He visited Irving in 1820, and at Drumlog Moor, whither Irving had walked with him on the way to Ecclefechan, explained to his friend the difference of faith which now divided them. The scene is vividly described in the 'Reminiscences' (i. 177). Carlyle walked fifty-four miles the next day, the longest walk he ever took. Irving did his utmost both to comfort Carlyle and to find him employment. Carlyle had applied in vain to London booksellers, proposing, for one thing, a complete translation of Schiller. Captain Basil Hall had offered to take Carlyle as a kind of scientific secretary, an offer which Carlyle

declined. Meanwhile Irving, on preaching experimentally in Hatton Garden, had made acquaintance with two sisters, Mrs. Strachey and Mrs. Charles Buller. Mrs. Buller consulted Irving upon the education of her two eldest sons, Charles [q. v.] and Arthur, afterwards Sir Arthur. Irving recommended Edinburgh University with Carlyle for a tutor, and in January 1822 Carlyle accepted the proposal. The two lads joined him in the following spring. His salary was 200*l.* a year. The parents of his pupils came to Edinburgh in the autumn of 1822. Carlyle lodged at 3 Moray Place, Pilrig Street, spending the day with his pupils. In the spring of 1823 the Bullers took Kinnaird House, near Dunkeld. Carlyle spent the rest of the year there with them, and on the whole happily, though occasionally grumbling at dyspepsia and the ways of fine ladies and gentlemen. At the end of January 1824 the Bullers finally returned to London, Carlyle staying at Mainhill to finish a translation of 'Wilhelm Meister.' At the beginning of June he followed the Bullers to London in a sailing ship, and found them hesitating between various schemes. After a week at Kew with Charles Buller, who was now intended for Cambridge, he resolved to give up his place. He had been much attracted by his pupil Charles, but to his proud spirit a life of dependence upon grand people, with constantly unsettled plans and with no definite outlook for himself, had naturally become intolerable.

His improved income had enabled him to help his family. Out of his 200*l.* a year he supported his brother John as a medical student in Edinburgh, and stocked a farm for his brother Alexander, besides sending many presents to his parents. He had been actively writing. He had translated Legendre's 'Geometry,' for which he received 50*l.*, and wrote in one morning an introduction on the doctrine of Proportion, of which he speaks with complacency. Irving, who had finally settled in London, in the summer of 1822 had mentioned Carlyle to Taylor, proprietor of the 'London Magazine.' Taylor offered him sixteen guineas a sheet for a series of 'Portraits of Men of Genius and Character.' The first was to be a life of Schiller, which appeared in the 'London Magazine' in 1823-4. An Edinburgh publisher, Boyd, accepted the translation of 'Wilhelm Meister.' Carlyle was to receive 180*l.* for the first edition, 250*l.* for a thousand copies of a second, and afterwards to have the copyright. Carlyle, therefore, accustomed to the severe economy of his father's house, was sufficiently prosperous. On leaving the Bullers he was thrown on his own resources.

He stayed on in London trying to find some occupation. In the summer of 1824 he spent two months at Birmingham with Mr. Badams, a manufacturer, of some literary knowledge and scientific culture. Badams hoped to cure Carlyle's dyspepsia by a judicious regimen, and though he failed to do much, Carlyle was touched by his kindness. (For Badams, see *Reminiscences*, ii. 164; Froude, ii. 176.) From Birmingham Carlyle went to Dover, where the Irvings were staying, and made a brief visit to Paris, in company with Mr. and Mrs. Strachey and Mrs. Strachey's cousin, Miss 'Kitty' Kirkpatrick. He remembered every detail with singular fidelity, and his impressions were of service in the history of the French revolution. On returning, he took lodgings in Islington, near Irving, and stayed there, occupied in publishing negotiations, till his return to Scotland in March 1825. His 'Schiller,' reprinted from the 'London Magazine,' was issued before his departure, bringing him about 100*l.*

Carlyle received strong impressions from his first view of London society. He judged it much as Knox judged the court of Mary, or St. John the Baptist (see Froude, ii. 334) the court of Herod. He is typified by Teufelsdröckh, 'a wild seer, shaggy, unkempt, like a baptist living on locusts and wild honey.' The rugged independence of the Scotch peasant, resenting even well-meant patronage, colours his judgments of the fashionable world, while an additional severity is due to his habitual dyspepsia. The circle to whom Irving had introduced him are described in the 'Reminiscences' with a graphic power in which a desire to acknowledge real kindness and merit struggles against a generally unfavourable opinion. Of Mrs. Strachey, indeed, he speaks with real warmth, and he admired for the present 'the noble lady,' Mrs. Basil Montagu, of whom there is a striking and generally favourable portrait (*Reminiscences*, p. 227). But the social atmosphere was evidently uncongenial. He still admired Irving, whom he always loved; but felt keenly that his friend was surrounded by a circle whose flattery was dangerous to his simplicity, and which mistook a flush of excitement for deep religious feeling. Yet Carlyle still believes that he will escape from the 'gross incense of preaching popularity' (Froude, i. 258). Carlyle formed a still more disparaging estimate of the men of letters. Upon these 'things for writing articles' he lavished his most exaggerated expressions of scorn. Coleridge was dawdling upon Highgate Hill, wasting his genius upon aimless talk; Hazlitt a mere Bohemian; Campbell's powers had left him; Charles Lamb (of whose pathetic



story he was ignorant, 'something of real insanity I have understood,' *Reminiscences*, ii. 166) had degenerated into a mere cockney idol, ruined by flattery. Southey and Wordsworth had 'retired far from the din of this monstrous city,' and Carlyle thought best to follow their example. If his judgment was harsh, it put new force into his resolution to deliver his own message to a backsliding generation, and to refuse at whatever cost to prostitute his talents for gain or flattery.

The most gratifying incident of this period was a letter from Goethe acknowledging the translation of 'Meister,' and introducing 'the Lords Bentinck' (one of them Lord George), whom Carlyle did not see. The translation had been successful. Carlyle had arranged to translate other selections from German writers, which ultimately appeared in 1827. He proceeded to carry out his scheme of retirement. His father took a farm called Hoddam Hill, about two miles from Mainhill, at a rent of 100*l.* a year. His brother Alexander managed the farm; and Carlyle settled down with his books, and after some idleness took up his translating. The quiet, the country air, and long rides on his 'wild Irish horse "Larry,"' improved his health and spirits, and justified his choice; but his life was now to be seriously changed.

JANE BAILLIE WELSH was descended from two unrelated families, both named Welsh. They had long been settled at the manor-house of Craigenputtock. Her father, John Welsh, descended through a long line of John Welshes from John Welsh, a famous minister of Ayr, whose wife was daughter of John Knox. The last John Welsh (b. 4 April 1776) was a pupil of one of the Bells, and afterwards became a country doctor at Haddington. His father, John Welsh of Penfillan (so called after his farm), survived him, dying in 1823. Dr. Welsh, in 1801, married Grace, or Grizzie, Welsh, daughter of Walter Welsh, a stock-farmer, who upon his daughter's marriage settled at Templand, near Penfillan. Walter's wife, a Miss Baillie, claimed descent from William Wallace. A John Welsh, often mentioned in the books upon Carlyle, was son of Walter, and therefore maternal uncle of Jane Baillie Welsh. He settled at Liverpool, became bankrupt through the dishonesty of a partner, and afterwards retrieved his fortune and paid his creditors in full. Jane Baillie Welsh (b. 14 July 1801) was the only child of her parents. From her infancy she was remarkably bright and self-willed. She insisted on learning Latin, and was sent to Haddington school. Irving came there as a master, lived in her father's house, and introduced her to

Virgil. On her tenth birthday she burnt her doll on a funeral pyre, after the model of Dido; at fourteen she wrote a tragedy, and continued for many years to write poetry. Her father, the only person who had real influence with her, died of typhus fever caught from a patient in September 1819, and her health suffered from the blow for years. She continued to live with her mother, to whom her father had left a sufficient income, and became known from her wit and beauty as 'the flower of Haddington.' She was sought by many lovers, and encouraged more than one, but cherished a childish passion for her tutor Irving. He had removed to Kirkcaldy, and there, while Miss Welsh was still a child, became engaged to Miss Martin. He continued to visit Haddington, and came to a mutual understanding with Miss Welsh. They hoped, it seems, that the Martins would consent to release him; but when this hope was disappointed, both agreed that he must keep to his engagement. Irving married in the autumn of 1823. Meanwhile, in June 1821, Irving had brought Carlyle from Edinburgh to Haddington, and there introduced him to Miss Welsh. Carlyle obtained permission to send her books, opened a correspondence, and saw her on her occasional visits to Edinburgh. Irving wrote some final letters of farewell to Miss Welsh in the autumn of 1822.

Carlyle, who was quite ignorant of this affair, was meanwhile becoming more intimate with Miss Welsh, who was beginning to recognise his remarkable qualities, and to regard him with a much deeper feeling than that which she had formerly entertained for Irving. In the summer of 1823, while he was at Kinnaird, she had told him emphatically that he had misunderstood a previous letter, and that she would never be his wife. Soon afterwards she executed a deed transferring the whole of her father's property, some 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year (FROUDE, iii. 237), which had been left to her, to her mother, in order that her husband, if she ever married, might not be able to diminish her mother's income. She also left the whole to Carlyle in case of her own and her mother's death.

For the next two years the intimacy gradually increased, with various occasional difficulties. In the spring of 1824 she had promised, apparently in a fit of repentance for a quarrel, that she would become his wife if he could achieve independence. Some remarkable letters passed during his stay in England. Carlyle proposed his favourite scheme for settling with her as his wife upon a farm—her farm of Craigenputtock, for example, then about to become vacant—and devoting himself to his lofty aspirations. Miss Welsh

answered by pointing out the sacrifice of comfort and social position to herself, and said frankly that she did not love him well enough for a husband. Yet she showed some relenting, and was unwilling to break entirely. The solution came by the strange interference of Mrs. Montagu, who, though a friend to Irving and Carlyle, was unknown to Miss Welsh. Mrs. Montagu warned Miss Welsh against the dangers of still cherishing her passion for Irving. In answer Miss Welsh stated her intention of marrying Carlyle. The lady protested, and exhorted Miss Welsh not to conceal the story from her new lover. Hereupon Miss Welsh sent the letter to Carlyle, who now for the first time became aware of her former feeling for Irving. Hitherto she had spoken of Irving so bitterly that Carlyle had remonstrated. He was startled into unwonted humility, and begged her to consider the risk of sacrificing herself to one of his 'strange dark humours.' For answer she came to see him in person (September 1825), and was introduced as his promised bride to his family, who received her with simple courtesy, and always remained on affectionate terms.

Carlyle now fell to work on his translations. Many difficulties remained. A dispute with the landlord led to the abandonment of Hoddam Hill by his father. The Mainhill lease also expired in 1826, and the Carlyles moved to Scotsbrig, a neighbouring farm. Carlyle was anxious to begin his married life, and had saved 200*l.* to start house-keeping. Some small schemes for regular literary employment fell through, but Carlyle thought that he might find some quiet cottage near Edinburgh where work would be possible. Various plans were discussed. Mrs. Welsh heartily disapproved of her daughter's match, thinking Carlyle irreligious, ill-tempered, and socially inferior. Miss Welsh, as the beauty of a small country town, was in a class superior to that of the Carlyles, though superior neither in income nor position to the society to which Carlyle had been admitted while her first love, Irving, was his most intimate friend. Mrs. Welsh consented at last to allow the pair to take up their abode with her. Carlyle declined on the ground that he must be master in his own house, and that the proposed arrangement would inevitably lead, as was only too probable, to disagreements. The mother and daughter had frequent disputes (FROUDE, iii. 86), not likely to be the milder for Carlyle's presence. The Carlyle family themselves declared that it would be impossible for Miss Welsh to submit to the rough conditions of life at Scotsbrig. At last Car-

lyle's original plan, which seems to have been the most reasonable, was adopted, and a house was taken at Comley Bank, Edinburgh. Mrs. Welsh was to settle with her father at Templand. The marriage expenses were paid for by the proceeds of the 'German Romances,' and the wedding took place at Templand, 17 Oct. 1826.

The marriage of two of the most remarkable people of their time had been preceded by some ominous symptoms. Carlyle's intense and enduring affection for his wife is shown in letters of extreme tenderness and by many unequivocal symptoms. It was unfortunately too often masked by explosions of excessive irritability, and by the constant gloom increased by his complete absorption in his work. From the first, too, it seems to have been less the passion of a lover than admiration of an intellectual companion. Mrs. Carlyle's brilliancy was associated with a scorn for all illusions and a marked power of uttering unpleasant truths. There can be no doubt that she sincerely loved Carlyle, though she is reported to have said that she had married 'for ambition' and was miserable. Her childlessness left her to constant solitude, and her mind preyed upon itself. The result was that a union, externally irreproachable, and founded upon genuine affection, was marred by painful discords which have been laid bare with unsparing frankness. Carlyle's habit of excessive emphasis and exaggeration of speech has deepened the impression.

The marriage started happily. The Carlyles lived in the simplest style, with one servant. Mrs. Carlyle was a charming hostess, and the literary people of Edinburgh came to see her and listen to her husband's astonishing monologues. The money difficulty soon became pressing. Carlyle tried a novel, which had to be burnt. He suggested a scheme for a literary Annual Register; but the publishers, disappointed in the sale of 'Meister' and 'Schiller,' turned a deaf ear. In spite of their difficulties the Carlyles refused a present of 60*l.* from Mrs. Welsh. Carlyle, however, began to think again of Craigenputtock, with fresh country air and exercise. His brother Alexander was willing to take the farm, where the tenant was in arrears, and Mrs. Welsh, now at Templand, approved the change, which would bring her daughter within fifteen miles of her. It was agreed that Alexander Carlyle should take the farm at Whitsuntide 1827, and that the Thomas Carlyles should occupy the house, which was separate from the farmhouse, as soon as it could be prepared. Meanwhile some gleams of prosperity helped to detain Carlyle at Edinburgh. His reputation was

rising. In August 1827 he received a warm acknowledgment from Goethe of his 'Life of Schiller,' with a present of books, medals, a necklace for Mrs. Carlyle, and a pocket-book for himself.

Carlyle had formed a more directly useful acquaintance with Jeffrey. An article sent by Irving's advice to the 'Edinburgh Review' had received no notice; but Carlyle, supplied with a letter of introduction from Procter (*Reminiscences*, ii. 21), resolved at last to call upon Jeffrey. Jeffrey was friendly, discovered a relationship to Mrs. Carlyle, to whom he became specially attached, and accepted articles for the 'Edinburgh.' Two, upon Jean Paul and on German Literature, appeared in June and October 1827, and the latter brought a flattering inquiry from Goethe as to the authorship. The slight improvement in his finances immediately encouraged Carlyle to send his brother John to study medicine in Germany. Jeffrey further tried by his interest with Brougham to obtain Carlyle's appointment to a professorship in the newly founded London University. He supported Carlyle in a candidature for the professorship of moral philosophy at St. Andrews, vacated by Dr. Chalmers. Testimonials were given not only by Irving, Buller, Brewster, Wilson, Leslie, and Jeffrey, but by Goethe. They failed, however, in consequence of the opposition of the principal, Dr. Nicol. Craigenputtock thus became almost a necessity; and the discovery that their landlord at Comley Bank had accepted another tenant decided them to move at the end of May 1828.

Carlyle hoped that in the seclusion of Craigenputtock he would be able to support himself by writings worthy of himself. He would not turn out a page of inferior workmanship or condescend to the slightest compromise with his principles. He struggled on for six years with varying success. He wrote the articles which form the first three volumes of the 'Miscellanies.' They appeared chiefly in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and in the 'Foreign Review' and 'Fraser's Magazine,' both new ventures. He wrote nothing which was not worth subsequent collection, and some of these writings are among his most finished performances. Down to the end of 1830 his work (except the article on Burns) was chiefly upon German literature, especially upon Goethe, with whom he continued to have a pleasant correspondence. His health was better than usual, the complaints of dyspepsia disappear from his letters; but the money question became urgent. His articles, always the slow product of a kind of mental agony, were his only resource. He

was still supporting his brother John, who returned to London about 1830, and could get no patients. In February 1831 Carlyle had only 5*l.*, and expected no more for months. He concealed his poverty from his brother, and did his best to encourage him. The demand for his articles had declined. German literature, of which he had begun a history, was not a marketable topic. His brother Alexander, to whom he had advanced 240*l.*, had failed at Craigenputtock; and after leaving it at Whitsuntide 1831 (FROUDE, ii. 144) was for a time without employment. Jeffrey's transference of the editorship of the 'Edinburgh Review' to Macvey Napier in the middle of 1829 stopped one source of income. In the beginning of 1831 Carlyle cut up his history of German literature into articles, and worked desperately at 'Sartor Resartus.' John had been forced to borrow from Jeffrey; and Carlyle resolved at last to go to London and try the publishers. He hoped to find encouragement for settling there permanently. He was forced to borrow 50*l.* from Jeffrey, and reached London 9 Aug. 1831. Neither Murray, nor the Longmans, nor Fraser would buy 'Sartor Resartus.' Carlyle found Irving plunged into dangerous illusions; Badams falling into difficulties and drink; and his old friends, as he thought, cold or faithless. A great relief, however, came through Jeffrey, who obtained an appointment for John as travelling physician to the Countess of Clare, with a salary of 300 guineas a year. Freed from this strain, Carlyle's income might suffice. Mrs. Carlyle was now able to join him in London (1 Oct. 1831), where they took lodgings at 4 Ampton Street, Gray's Inn Road, with a family named Miles, belonging to Irving's congregation. They saw Charles Buller, and now made acquaintance with J. S. Mill. Carlyle wrote his 'Characteristics,' which was accepted by Napier for the 'Edinburgh,' and his article upon Boswell's 'Johnson' for Fraser. Bulwer, now editing the 'New Monthly,' asked for articles, and Hayward got Lardner, as editor of the 'Cabinet Encyclopedia,' to offer 300*l.* for the 'History of German Literature.' The death of his father, 22 Jan. 1832, came upon Carlyle as a heavy blow. Though he had not obtained a publisher for 'Sartor Resartus,' he had established relations with some editors for future work; and he retired again for a time to the now vacant Craigenputtock, reaching it about the middle of April 1832. He set to work upon 'Diderot,' which he finished in October, and then made an excursion in Annandale. In November Mrs. Carlyle was called to the deathbed of her grandfather, Walter Welsh, at Templand. The solitude, the absence of books, and the weak-

ness of Mrs. Carlyle's health were making Craigenputtock unbearable; and in the winter they resolved to make a trial of Edinburgh. They settled there in January 1833; and Carlyle found books in the Advocates' Library which had a great effect upon his line of study. He collected the materials for his articles upon 'Cagliostro' and the 'Diamond Necklace.' Edinburgh society, however, proved uncongenial, and after four months he again went back to his 'Whinstane Castle' at Craigenputtock. Editors were once more becoming cold. 'Sartor Resartus' was appearing at last in 'Fraser's Magazine' (November 1833 to August 1834), Fraser having stipulated to pay only twelve guineas a sheet instead of twenty as before (the usual rate being fifteen). Fraser now reported that it 'excited the most unqualified disapprobation' (FROUDE, ii. 404). The dealers in literature were turning their backs upon him; though his fame increased in some directions. In August 1833 Emerson came to him with a letter from Mill. The Carlyles thought him 'one of the most loveable creatures' they had ever seen; and an unbroken friendship of nearly fifty years was begun. Carlyle corresponded with Mill, who approached him as a philosophical teacher; and their correspondence turned Carlyle's thoughts towards the 'French Revolution.' A visit from his brother John, the marriages of his sister Jean to James Aitken, a house-painter of superior abilities, and of his youngest brother James, now farming Scotsbrig, to whom Carlyle made over the debt of 200*l.* from Alexander, varied the monotony of Craigenputtock. In the winter of 1833-4 Carlyle took charge of a promising young William Glen, who gave him Greek lessons in return for lessons in mathematics. Carlyle, however, now at the lowest pecuniary ebb, became more and more discontented, and at last resolved to 'burn his ships' and settle in London.

Other proposals had failed. Jeffrey had tried to be helpful. He had proposed Carlyle as his successor in the editorship of the 'Edinburgh.' When this failed, he had offered to Carlyle an annuity of 100*l.* The offer was honourably declined, with Carlyle's usual independence, though his gratitude is weakened by his resentment for any kind of obligation. Jeffrey, when lord advocate, had thought of obtaining for him some appointment in London. He had also lent money both to John and Thomas, which was repaid at the earliest opportunity. Jeffrey, however, though admiring Carlyle's genius, had spoken contemptuously of his literary eccentricities. (For Jeffrey's opinion of Carlyle, see M. NAPIER'S *Correspondence*, p. 126.) He

was entirely out of sympathy with Carlyle's opinions, condemned his defiance of all conventions, and complained of him for being so 'desperately in earnest.' A growing coolness ensued, which came to a head when, in January 1834, Carlyle proposed to apply for the post of astronomical professor and observer at Edinburgh. Carlyle had shown mathematical ability, and was confident of his own powers. Jeffrey naturally replied that the place would have to be given to some one of proved ability. He added that a secretary of his own was qualified, and would probably get it on his merits, and proceeded to administer a very sharp lecture to Carlyle. He said that if he had had the power he would have appointed Carlyle to a rhetoric chair then vacant in some university. But the authorities had decided that the chair ought to be given to some man of great and established reputation, like Macaulay, for example. Carlyle's eccentricities would prevent him from ever obtaining any such position.

The lecture stung Carlyle beyond bearing. It left a resentment which he could not conceal, even when trying, long afterwards, to do justice to the memory of a friend and benefactor. A coolness due to another cause had probably made itself felt, though not openly expressed by Jeffrey. He had condemned Carlyle's eccentricity not only as a wilful throwing away of opportunities, but as involving cruelty to Mrs. Carlyle. Her life during the Craigenputtock years had been hard and injurious to her health. Carlyle speaks frequently in his letters of her delicacy. She seems to have suffered even more at London and Edinburgh than at Craigenputtock (FROUDE, ii. 352). But the life in a bleak situation, with one servant and an occasional boy, with the necessity of minute attention to every housekeeping detail, was excessively trying. Carlyle, accustomed to the rigid economy of his father's household, thought comparatively little of these trials, or rather (*Reminiscences*, ii. 150) thought that the occupation was 'the saving charm of her life.' Mrs. Carlyle had undertaken the duty of keeping a poor man's household with her eyes open; and severe economy was essential to his power of discharging his self-imposed task. Unluckily, though a stoical sense of duty made her conceal her sufferings from her husband, her love for him was not of the kind which could either make them a pleasure or prevent her from complaining at others. Jeffrey, who visited the Carlyles to Craigenputtock, saw what was hidden from Carlyle. The extreme solitude was unbearable to her wearied spirits. They were for months alone, without interruption from an

outsider. Carlyle frequently mentions long rides and drives with his wife; he consulted her upon all his books; and he remembered Craigenputtock as the scene of perhaps 'their happiest days.' But composition meant for him a solitary agony. His devotion to his labours left her to complete solitude for many hours and days; and she retained a most painful impression, possibly even exaggerated in her later confessions, of her trial during the six years (less two winters at Edinburgh and London). It is not easy, however, to see how, under the conditions, a better scheme could have been devised. It enabled Carlyle, at least, to go through his apprenticeship, and he was now to emerge as a master of his craft.

Carlyle reached London on 19 May 1834, settled in his old lodgings, and began house-hunting. He found a small old-fashioned house at 5 (now numbered 24) Cheyne Row, Chelsea, at a rent of 35*l.* a year. Mrs. Carlyle followed and confirmed his choice. They settled in the house (which he occupied till his death) on 10 June 1834, and he began work in tolerable spirits upon the 'French Revolution.' Leigh Hunt was his neighbour, and Carlyle forgave his cockneyism and queer Bohemian mode of life for his vivacity and kindness (see CARLYLE's 'Memoranda' upon Leigh Hunt in *Macmillan's Magazine* for July 1862). Irving paid his last visit to them about a month before his death (6 Dec. 1834). A final explanation had taken place between him and the Carlyles on their previous visit to London, revealing hopeless alienation upon religious questions. The old personal attachment survived, and in a touching article in 'Fraser's Magazine' (January 1835) Carlyle says that but for Irving he would never have known 'what the communion of man with man meant,' and thought him on the whole the best man he had ever found or hoped to find. Both Carlyles were now almost completely separated from Mrs. Montagu, and rather resented a letter written by her to Mrs. Carlyle upon Irving's death. Younger friends, however, were beginning to gather round Carlyle. Mrs. Carlyle reports that he is becoming a 'tolerably social character,' and losing the Craigenputtock gloom. Charles Buller visited him and took him to radical meetings, where the popular wrath gave him a grim satisfaction. Carlyle was a thorough radical in so far as the word implies a profound dissatisfaction with the existing order. He shared, or represented, an extreme form of the discontent which accumulated during the first quarter of the century against the existing institutions. He welcomed the Reform Bill agitation as the first movement towards the destruction of the old order. He

looked forward, indeed, to a reconstruction of principles and institutions which was entirely opposed to the views of the Mills and their associates. Yet he held that the 'whigs were amateurs, the radicals guild brethren' (FROUDE, ii. 90). Though limited in their philosophy, they were genuine as far as they went. Mill's respect and sympathy had touched him, and he was prepared to form some temporary alliance with the set of 'philosophical radicals.' He saw something of them, and calls Mill and one or two of his set the 'reasonablest people we have;' though disgusted by their views in regard to 'marriage and the like' (ib. 459). Mrs. Carlyle was at first 'greatly taken with' Mrs. Taylor, whose relations with Mill were now beginning and causing some anxiety to his friends and family. J. S. Mill was contemplating the 'London Review,' having become dissatisfied with the 'Westminster.' Carlyle had been told (January 1834) that W. J. Fox was to edit the new venture. He seems, however, to have had some hopes of being made editor himself, and was disappointed on finding that the other arrangement was to be carried out. It appears from Mill's 'Autobiography' (p. 199) that Molesworth, who provided the funds, had stipulated that Mill himself should be the real, if not the ostensible, editor; and this probably put a stop to any thought of Carlyle.

Carlyle now set to work upon the 'French Revolution,' suggested by Mill's correspondence, and for which Mill sent him 'barrowfuls' of books. His position was precarious, and he notes (February 1835) that it is now 'some twenty-three months since I have earned one penny by the craft of literature.' Emerson had invited him to take up lecturing in America, and for some time Carlyle occasionally leaned to this scheme. His brother John entreated him to accept a share of his earnings. Carlyle refused, though in the most affectionate terms, and at times reproaching himself for denying John the pleasure. At last he had finished his first volume, and lent the only copy to Mill. On 6 March 1835 Mill came to his house with Mrs. Taylor to make the confession that the manuscript had been accidentally destroyed. Mill awkwardly stayed for two hours. When he left, Carlyle's first words to his wife were that they must try to conceal from Mill the full extent of the injury. Five months' labour was wasted, and it was equally serious that the enthusiasm to which Carlyle always wrought himself up was gone and could hardly be recovered. He felt as if he had staked and lost his last throw. Mill was anxious to make up at least the pecuniary loss, and Carlyle ultimately accepted

100%. Slowly and with great difficulty Carlyle regained his mood and repaired his loss. A vague suggestion of some employment in national education came to nothing; he declined the editorship of a newspaper at Lichfield; and declined also, with some indignation at the offensive tone of patronage, an offer of a clerkship of 200% a year in Basil Montagu's office. He admired Montagu's faith that 'a polar bear, reduced to a state of dyspeptic digestion, might safely be trusted tending rabbits.' A visit of four weeks to his mother at the end of 1835, and a visit from John Carlyle in the summer of 1836, relieved his toils. At last, in the evening of 12 Jan. 1837, he finished his manuscript, and gave it to his wife, saying that he could tell the world, 'You have not had for a hundred years any book that comes more direct and flamingly from the heart of a living man. Do what you like with it, you —'

Six months elapsed before its publication. A few articles, the 'Diamond Necklace' (refused by the 'Foreign Quarterly' when written at Craigenputtock, and published in 'Fraser' in the spring of 1837), 'Mirabeau,' and the 'Parliamentary History of the French Revolution' (in the 'Westminster,' January and April 1837), supplied some funds. Miss Martineau, whose acquaintance he had made in November 1836, now suggested that he might lecture in England as well as America. With some other friends she collected subscriptions, and he gave a course of six lectures at Willis's Rooms upon 'German Literature' in May 1837 (a report of these lectures was published by Professor Dowden in the 'Nineteenth Century' for May 1881). He interested his audience and made a net gain of 135%. In May 1838 he repeated the experiment, giving a course of twelve lectures on 'The whole Spiritual History of Man from the earliest times until now,' and earning nearly 300%. In May 1839 he again lectured on the 'French Revolution,' making nearly 200%; and in May 1840, upon 'Hero-worship,' receiving again about 200%. The last course alone was published. The lectures were successful, the broad accent contributing to the effect of the original style and sentiment; and the money results were important. Carlyle felt that oratorical success was unwholesome and the excitement trying. He never spoke again in public, except in his Edinburgh address of 1868.

The first course had finally lifted Carlyle above want. The 'French Revolution' gained a decided success. The sale was slow at first, but good judges approved. Mill reviewed him enthusiastically in the 'Westminster,' and thinks (*Autobiography*, p. 217) that he

contributed materially to the early success of the book. Carlyle, exhausted by his work, spent two months at Scotsbrig, resting and smoking pipes with his mother. He saw the grand view of the Cumberland mountains as he went, and says: 'Tartarus itself, and the pale kingdoms of Dis, could not have been more preternatural to me—most stern, gloomy, sad, grand yet terrible, yet steeped in woe.' He returned, however, refreshed by the rest and his mother's society, to find his position materially improved, and to be enabled at once to send off substantial proofs of the improvement to his mother. Editors became attentive, and Fraser now proposed an edition of 'Sartor Resartus' and of the collected 'Essays.' America was also beginning to send him supplies. Emerson secured the publication for the author's benefit of the 'French Revolution' and the 'Miscellanies,' and it seems from the different statements in their correspondence that Carlyle must have received about 500% from this source in 1838–1842. The later books were appropriated by American publishers without recompense to the author. Carlyle had made some valuable friendships during these years, and his growing fame opened the houses of many well-known people. His relations to Mill gradually cooled; Mill's friends repelled him; though he still (1837) thought Mill 'infinitely too good' for his associates, he loved him as 'a friend frozen in ice for me' (FROUDE, iii. 108). The radical difference of opinions and Mill's own gradual withdrawal from society widened the gulf to complete separation. John Sterling had accidentally met Carlyle in Mill's company in February 1835 (apparently dated 1834 in Carlyle's 'Life of Sterling,' but Carlyle was then at Craigenputtock). Sterling had just given up the clerical career. He became a disciple of Carlyle, though at first with many differences, and gained the warmest affection of his master. An introduction to Sterling's father, with an offer of employment on the 'Times,' honourably rejected by Carlyle, followed. The friendship is commemorated in the most delightful of Carlyle's writings. Through Sterling, Carlyle came to know F. D. Maurice. The genuine liking shared by all who had personal intercourse with Maurice was tempered by a profound conviction of the futility of Maurice's philosophy. Another friend, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, was acquired about this time, and was always loved by Carlyle in spite of Mrs. Carlyle's occasional mockery. He made some acquaintance, too, with persons of social position. Lord Monteagle sought him out in 1838. He thus came into connection with Mr. James Garth Marshall, who in 1839 gave

him a horse and was always hospitable and friendly. Other friends were J. G. Lockhart, Connop Thirlwall, and Monckton Milnes, afterwards Lord Houghton, whom in 1841 and afterwards he visited at Fryston. The most important friendship was with William Bingham Baring, afterwards Lord Ashburton [q. v.], and his wife, Lady Harriet Baring. They appear first to have met in 1839. Carlyle was thus becoming known in society as well as sought out by young inquirers. Dinner-parties produced indigestion, and his resentment of patronage, fully shared by his wife, made him a rather dangerous guest. His conversation could be most impressive, though he was too intolerant of contradiction. He could not enjoy thoroughly, or tempered enjoyment with remorse, and the spasms of composition were followed by fits of profound gloom and dyspeptic misery.

The conclusion of the 'French Revolution' was followed by a period of rather desultory work. Two articles in the 'Westminster' (Scott and Varnhagen von Ense) were the chief product of 1838. In 1839 his collected essays first appeared; and in the winter he began to agitate for the formation of the London Library, now almost the only institution where any but the newest books can be freely taken out in the metropolis. The need of such a library had been strongly impressed upon him by his previous labours, and it was successfully started in 1840. Carlyle was its president from 1870 till his death. J. S. Mill had resigned the editorship of the 'Westminster' to a young Scotchman named Robertson (MILL, *Autobiog.* p. 207). He had previously asked Carlyle to write upon Cromwell. Robertson informed Carlyle that he meant to write the article himself. Carlyle was naturally annoyed; but his attention having been drawn to the subject, he began some desultory studies, which ultimately led to the composition of his next great book. Some occasional writings intervened. He had written what was intended as an article for Lockhart. It soon appeared, however, to be unsuitable for the 'Quarterly.' Lockhart 'dared not' take it. Mill would have accepted it for the 'Westminster,' which he was now handing over to Mr. Hickson (*ib.* p. 220). Mrs. Carlyle and John declared that it was too good for such a fate, and it appeared as a separate book, under the name 'Chartism,' at the end of 1839. It may be taken as Carlyle's explicit avowal of the principles which distinguished him equally from whigs, tories, and the ordinary radicals. A thousand copies were sold at once, and a second edition appeared in 1840. In 1841 he published the lectures on 'Hero-worship' delivered in the

previous year, and his other books were selling well. In 1841 he declined a proposal to stand for a professorship of history at Edinburgh; and in 1844 a similar offer from St. Andrews. He was no longer in need of such support. In 1842, while still preparing for 'Cromwell,' and greatly moved by the prevalent misery and discontent, he came across the chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond, published in 1840 by the Camden Society, and made the story of Abbot Sampson the nucleus of a discourse upon his familiar topics. It was written in the first seven weeks of 1843, and published as 'Past and Present' immediately afterwards. The brilliant picture of a fragment of mediæval life helped the rather confused mass of gloomy rhetoric, and the book made more stir than most of his writings, and has preserved a high position.

Meanwhile he was labouring at 'Cromwell.' He had first begun serious work in the autumn of 1840 (FROUDE, iii. 201). He was now making acquaintance with 'Dryasdust' for the first time. He had never been enslaved to a biographical dictionary; and the dreary work of investigating dull records provoked loud lamentations and sometimes despair. His thoughts lay round him 'all inarticulate, sour, fermenting, bottomless, like a hideous enormous bog of Allen.' He resolved at last 'to force and tear and dig some kind of main ditch through it.' In plain words, it seems, he gave up hopes of writing a regular history; burnt much that he had written; and resolved to begin by making a collection of all Cromwell's extant speeches and letters with explanatory comments. Having finished this, he found to his surprise that he had finished his book (*ib.* pp. 224, 234). He stayed in London during 1844 and 1845 till the task was done. The book appeared in the autumn of 1845, and was received with general applause. Carlyle's position as a leader of literature was now established. His income was still modest, but sufficient for his strictly economical mode of life. In 1843 he had a fixed income from Craigenputtock of 150*l.*, besides a fluctuating income from his books, ranging from 100*l.* to 800*l.* (*ib.* p. 420). After finishing the 'French Revolution' he visited Scotland almost annually to spend some weeks alone with his mother and family. In 1840 his holiday was sacrificed to the preparation for press of the lectures on 'Hero-worship,' when he took care to send to his mother part of the sums saved from travelling expenses. In 1844 he was kept at home by 'Cromwell.' He paid a few other visits: to the Hares in Sussex in 1840, to Milnes at Fryston in 1841, to an admirer named Redwood, near Cardiff, whence he visited Bishop Thirl-



wall in 1843; and in 1842 he took a five days' run across the Channel with Stephen Spring Rice in an admiralty yacht. His vivid description is partly given in *Froude* (iii. 259-273). Mrs. Carlyle sometimes went with him to Scotland and visited her relations, or stayed at home to superintend house-cleanings, periods during which his absence was clearly desirable. In London his appearances in society were fitful, and during his absorption in his chief works Mrs. Carlyle was left to a very solitary life, though she read and criticised his performances as they were completed. She gradually formed a circle of friends of her own. Miss Geraldine Jewsbury, attracted by Carlyle's fame, made their acquaintance in 1841 (*ib.* p. 208), and became Mrs. Carlyle's most intimate friend. Refugees, including Mazzini and Cavaignac (brother of the general), came to the house. Lord Tennyson, much loved by both, and Arthur Helps, who got on better with Mrs. Carlyle than with her husband, were other friends. John Forster, Macready, Dickens, and Thackeray are also occasionally mentioned. She was less terrible than her husband to shy visitors, though on occasion she could aim equally effective blows. Death was thinning the old circle. John Sterling died after a pathetic farewell, 18 Sept. 1844. Mrs. Welsh, Mrs. Carlyle's mother, died suddenly at the end of February 1842. Mrs. Carlyle, already in delicate health, was prostrated by the blow, and lay unable to be moved at the house of her uncle (John Welsh) in Liverpool. Carlyle went to Templand, where Mrs. Welsh had lived, and had to spend two months there and at Scotsbrig arranging business. His letters were most tender, though a reference to a possibility of a new residence at Craigenputtock appears to have shaken his wife's nerves. On her next birthday (14 July) he sent her a present, and never afterwards forgot to do so. She was deeply touched, and remarked that in great matters he had always been kind and considerate, and was now becoming equally attentive on little matters, to which his education and temper had made him indifferent. She went for a rest to Troston, a living belonging to Reginald Buller, son of their old friends the Charles Bullers, where Mrs. Charles Buller was now staying with her son. Charles the younger died in 1848, when Carlyle wrote an elegy to his memory, published in the 'Examiner.' Mrs. Buller read it just before she too died of grief.

In December 1845 the Carlyles visited the Barings at Bay House, near Alverstoke. Mrs. Carlyle became jealous of Lady Harriet's influence over Carlyle; and Lady Harriet, though courteous, was not sufficiently cordial

to remove the feeling. Each apparently misjudged the other. Mrs. Carlyle was weakly and irritable, and a painful misunderstanding followed with Carlyle.

In July 1846 she left him to stay with her friends the Paulets at Seaforth. She confided in Mazzini, who gave her wise and honourable advice. Carlyle himself wrote most tenderly, though without the desired effect. He saw that her feeling was unreasonable, but unfortunately inferred that it might be disregarded. He therefore persisted in keeping up his relations with the Barings, while she took refuge in reticence, and wrote to him in terms which persuaded him too easily that the difficulty was over. She visited the Barings with and without her husband, accepted the use of their house at Addiscombe, and preserved external good relations, while recording her feelings in a most painful journal, published in the 'Memorials.' This suppressed alienation lasted till the death of Lady Ashburton.

The publication of 'Cromwell' had left Carlyle without occupation, except that the discovery of new letters which had to be embodied in the second edition gave him some work in 1846. He had read Preuss's work upon Frederick in 1844, and was thinking of an expedition to Berlin after finishing 'Cromwell' (*Froude*, iii. 369). In February 1848 he notes that he has been for above two years composedly lying fallow. He mentions schemes for future work. The 'exodus from Houndsditch' meant a discourse upon the liberation of the spirit of religion from 'Hebrew Old Clothes.' This he felt to be an impossible task; the external shell could not as yet be attacked without injury to the spirit, and he therefore remained silent to the last. A book upon Ireland, one upon the 'Scavenger Age,' and a life of Sterling also occurred to him. In 1846 he paid a flying visit to Ireland in the first days of September, and saw O'Connell in Conciliation Hall. The outbreaks of 1848 affected him deeply. He sympathised with the destruction of 'shams,' but felt that the only alternative was too probably anarchy. He again visited Ireland in 1849, spending July there, and again meeting Gavan Duffy and others. His 'Journal' was published in 1882 (*ib.* iv. 3). He came home convinced that he could say nothing to the purpose upon the chaotic state of things, where he could discover no elements of order. His general views of the political and social state found utterance, however, in an 'Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question,' first published in 'Fraser's Magazine' in February 1849. It was a vehement denunciation of the philanthropic sentimentalism



which had ruined the West India islands and left the negro to sink into barbarism. Mill replied forcibly in 'Fraser,' and the separation between them became complete. In the course of 1850 Carlyle published the 'Latter-day Pamphlets,' the most vehement and occasionally savage assertions of his principles. Mr. Froude (iv. 41) describes him at this time as pouring out the still unpublished matter 'in a torrent of sulphurous denunciation.' His excitement carried him away into astonishing displays of grotesque humour and vivid imagination, while his hearers listened in silence or were overpowered by his rhetoric. The pamphlets gave general offence. Mr. Froude says (iv. 58) that the outcry stopped the sale for many months and even years. An outcry generally has the opposite effect. The truth rather seems to be that, in spite of their power and eloquence, the pamphlets were failures. Carlyle had too little experience of actual business to deliver telling blows. The denunciations were too indiscriminate to be biting, and the only satisfactory reform suggested, the miraculous advent of a hero and conversion of the people, was hardly capable of application to facts. The pamphlets were neglected as stupendous growls from a misanthropic recluse, though perhaps they were in reality neither misanthropic nor without a sound core of common sense.

In 1851 he at last set to work upon a life of Sterling, the final impulse coming, as Mr. Froude conjectures (iv. 61), from a conversation at Lord Ashburton's in which Carlyle and Bishop Thirlwall had an animated theological discussion in presence of Dr. Trench (the dean of Westminster), Sir John Simeon, and others. Carlyle's immediate purpose was to write an account of Sterling to supplant the life by Julius Hare, where the theological element had received, as he thought, undue prominence. He agreed with Emerson in the summer of 1848 (Froude, iii. 419) that Sterling must not be made a 'theological cockshy.' Carlyle wished to exhibit him as raised above the turbid sphere of contemporary controversy. The result was a book so calm, tender, and affectionate as to be in singular contrast with his recent utterances, and to be perhaps his most successful piece of literary work.

He was now slowly settling to a life of Frederick. In 1851 he tried the water-cure at Malvern, and made friends with Dr. Gully, but considered the cure to be a humbug. He visited Scotsbrig, and, after spending a few days at Paris with the Ashburtons, began seriously working at 'Frederick.' Six months of steady reading followed, during which he

secluded himself almost entirely. Repairs of the house maddened him in July, and, finding it impossible to stay, he visited Thomas Erskine at Linlathen, and sailed from Leith (30 Aug. 1852) to Rotterdam, whence, with Mr. Neuberg, a German admiral resident in London, for courier, he made a tour through Germany, much worried by noises and bugs, but acquiring materials for his work. The book, however, gave him much trouble, and caused the usual fits of despondency and irritability before it was started. He stayed in London through 1853, nailing himself to his work, through troubles of fresh paint and 'demon fowls' next door, while Mrs. Carlyle went to stay with John Carlyle at Moffat. She was at Scotsbrig during an alarming illness of his mother, and the sympathy called forth brought the husband and wife into closer relations for the time. On 4 Dec. he wrote to his mother a most affectionate letter, as he was leaving for the Grange. Mrs. Carlyle, who accompanied him, returned to Chelsea to make an arrangement for permanently quelling the 'demon fowls,' whose proprietors were coming to an end of their lease. She was better qualified for such negotiations than he, but appears to have resented the employment. He then heard of his mother's serious illness. He reached Scotsbrig on Friday, 23 Dec. 1853. She was able to recognise him, but died quietly on 25 Dec. aged about eighty-four. Carlyle had loved no one better, and had done all that a son could do to make a mother happy. He returned to shut himself up and try to settle to his work. The wrestle with 'Frederick' went on through 1854, with scarcely a holiday. A 'sound-proof' room, begun in 1853, built at the top of the house and lighted only from above (see Froude, iv. 136, 153; *Reminiscences*, ii. 238), gave him a retreat, where he remained buried for hours, emerging only at tea-time for a short talk with his wife, whose health became gradually weaker. After eighteen months' steady labour, he took a holiday with Edward Fitzgerald at Woodbridge (August 1855), and afterwards spent a little time at the Ashburtons' vacant house at Ad-discombe, where Mrs. Carlyle chose to leave him alone. In 1856 the Carlyles went to Scotland with the Ashburtons, when a miserable little incident about a railway journey caused fresh annoyance (Froude, iv. 181, 182). Carlyle went to Scotsbrig and the Gill (his sister Mary Austin's house near Annan), taking his work with him. A short visit to the Ashburtons in the highlands, and a dispute about the return home, caused fresh bitterness. The winter found him again at his work, and the days went by monotonously, a

long ride every afternoon on his horse Fritz being his only relaxation. Lady Ashburton's death (4 May 1857) removed a cause of discord, though it deprived him of a solace. Lord Ashburton's second marriage (17 Nov. 1858) to Miss Stuart Mackenzie brought a new and most valuable friendship to both the Carlyles. In July 1857 the first chapters of 'Frederick' were at last getting into print. Mrs. Carlyle took a holiday at Liverpool, and came back rather better. The old confidence returned with the removal of the cause of irritation. In the winter, however, her health showed serious symptoms, and Carlyle made great efforts to restrain his complaints. Mr. Larkin, a next-door neighbour, helped him in his work with maps, indices, and so forth. At last the first instalment of his book, on which he had been occupied for six or seven years, was finished. At the end of June he went to Scotland, and then in August and September visited Germany again, returning to Chelsea on 22 Sept. 1858, having fixed in his mind the aspects of Frederick's battle-fields. The first two volumes appeared soon after his return, and four thousand copies were sold before the end of the year. The fifth thousand was printed, and Carlyle had received 2,800*l*.

The later volumes of 'Frederick' appeared in 1862, 1864, and 1865. In 1859 he stayed at Aberdeen with Mrs. Carlyle, and in 1860 he visited Thurso. After that time his labours at 'Frederick' allowed him no respite. In August 1862 he speaks of the fifth volume as already in hand; but it swelled into two, and the final emergence was not till January 1865. The extraordinary merits of the book, considered as a piece of historical research, were recognised both in England and Germany. Military students in Germany, according to Mr. Froude (iv. 227), study Frederick's battles in Carlyle's history, a proof both of his careful study and of his wonderful power of observation. Emerson declared that 'Frederick' was the 'wittiest book ever written.' The humour and the graphic power are undeniable, though it is perhaps wanting in proportion, and the principles implied are of course disputable.

The later period of Carlyle's labours had been darkened by anxiety about his wife's health. In 1860 he had insisted upon the addition of another servant to the maid of all work with whom she had hitherto been contented. As he became conscious of her delicacy he became thoughtful and generous. In 1862 he sent her for a holiday to her intimate friends, Dr. and Mrs. Russell of Thornhill. She was a little better during the following winter, and, though weak, contrived to avoid exciting Carlyle's anxiety. In August

1863 she was knocked down by a cab. The accident had serious consequences which gradually developed themselves, though Carlyle for a time imagined that she was improving. The suffering grew to be intense, and Carlyle became awake to the danger. In March 1864 she was removed to the house of her family physician, Dr. Blakiston, at St. Leonard's. The death of Lord Ashburton on 23 March 1864 (who left Carlyle 2,000*l*.) saddened both. Carlyle remained for a time struggling with 'Frederick' till her absence became intolerable, and in the beginning of May he settled with her in a furnished house at St. Leonard's, still working hard, but taking daily drives with her. At last in desperation she determined, after twelve nights of sleeplessness, to go at all hazards to Scotland. She stayed there first at the Gill and afterwards with the Russells, slowly improving, and she finally returned in the beginning of October. Her apparent recovery affected some of her friends to tears. Carlyle bought her a brougham, having previously only been able to persuade her to indulge in an occasional hired carriage. She took great delight in it, and for the remainder of her life had no complaints to make of any want of attention. Carlyle fell into his usual depression after the conclusion of 'Frederick' (January 1865). He went with his wife to Devonshire for a time and afterwards to Scotland, returning in the winter. Mrs. Carlyle was better, occasionally dining abroad. At the end of 1865 Carlyle was elected almost unanimously to the rectorship of Edinburgh. He delivered the customary address, 2 April 1866. Professor Tyndall had taken charge of him during the journey, acting like the 'loyallest son.' The address, as Tyndall telegraphed to Mrs. Carlyle, was 'a perfect triumph.' The mildness of the tone secured for it a universal applause, which rather puzzled Carlyle and seems to have a little scandalised his disciples. Carlyle went to Scotsbrig and was detained by a slight sprain. Mrs. Carlyle had asked some friends to tea on Saturday, 21 April. She had gone out for a drive with a little dog; she let it out for a run, when a carriage knocked it down. She sprang out and lifted it into the carriage. The driver went on, and presently she was found sitting with folded hands in the carriage, dead. The news reached Carlyle at Dumfries. Mrs. Carlyle had preserved two wax candles which her mother had once prepared for a party at her house. Mrs. Carlyle had hurt her mother's feelings by economically refusing to use them. She had left directions, which were now carried out, that they should be lighted in the room

of death. She was buried at Haddington, in her father's grave. A pathetic epitaph by her husband was placed in the church (*Memorials*, iii. 341).

Henceforward Carlyle's life was secluded, and work became impossible. His brother John tried staying with him for a time, but the plan was given up. He stayed for a time with Miss Davenport Bromley, one of his wife's best friends, at Ripple Court, Walmer. He was moved to indignation by the prosecution of Governor Eyre, which he considered as punishing a man for throwing an extra bucket of water into a ship on fire. He joined the Eyre Defence Committee. In the winter he visited Lady Ashburton at Mentone, travelling again under the affectionate guardianship of Professor Tyndall, and returning to Cheyne Row in March. During this melancholy period he wrote most of the 'Reminiscences.' On returning he arranged a bequest of Craigenputtock, now his absolute property, to found bursaries at Edinburgh. He revised his collected works, which were now gaining a wide circulation. He put together and annotated Mrs. Carlyle's letters. In 1868 he had to give up riding; and about 1872 his right hand, which had long shaken, became unable to write. Seven years before his death all writing became impossible. An article on 'Shooting Niagara' in 'Macmillan's Magazine' 1867 showed his view of contemporary politics. On 18 Nov. 1870 he wrote a 'Defence of the German Case in the War with France,' which was warmly acknowledged (by some unknown authority) through Count Bernstorff, the ambassador, and separately printed. On 5 May 1877 he wrote a remarkable letter, stating in a few words his positive knowledge that a plan had been formed by Lord Beaconsfield's government which would produce a war with Russia. What his authority may have been remains unknown, nor can it be said how far the statement had any important influence in averting the danger.

Carlyle during these years had become the acknowledged head of English literature. He had a large number of applications of all kinds. He was generous even to excess in money matters. In February 1874 he received the Prussian Order of Merit, for his services as the historian of Frederick. In December 1874 Disraeli offered him, in very delicate and flattering terms, the grand cross of the Bath and a pension. Carlyle declined both offers in a dignified letter, though touched by the magnanimity of the 'only man,' as he said, of whom he had 'never spoken except with contempt.' On his eightieth birthday he received a congratu-

latory letter from Prince Bismarck, and a medal, with an address from many admirers led by Professor Masson. The gloom, however, deepened, and he would sometimes express a wish that the old fashion of suicide were still permissible. He specially felt the death of Erskine of Linlathen (30 March 1870). His brother Alexander died in Canada in 1876, asking in his last wanderings whether 'Tom' was coming home from Edinburgh. John died in December 1879. Carlyle still took pleasure in the writings and companionship of a few congenial friends, especially Mr. Ruskin, Mr. Froude, and Mr. Justice Stephen. The last two were his executors. His talk was still often brilliant, whether a declamation of the old fashion or a pouring forth of personal reminiscences. However harsh his judgments, he never condescended to retailing injurious anecdotes. He walked daily as long as he was able, and afterwards took drives in flies and omnibuses. His figure, much bent with age, was familiar to many London wayfarers. He gradually sank, and died on 4 Feb. 1881. A burial at Westminster Abbey was offered, but refused in accordance with his own wish, as he disapproved of certain passages in the Anglican service. He was buried, as he desired, in the old kirkyard at Ecclefechan, by his parents.

Many portraits and photographs of Carlyle exist. He always endeavoured to procure portraits of any one about whom he was writing, and seems to have been desirous to obtain good portraits of himself. According to Mr. Froude no portrait was really successful. He mentions one taken in 1836 (FROUDE, iii. 82) by Mr. Lewis. Mr. Froude says that Mr. Woolner's 'Medallion' is the best likeness of him 'in the days of his strength' (ib. 459). His portrait was also painted by Mr. Watts in 1869, by Mr. (now Sir J. E.) Millais in 1877, and by Mr. Whistler. A statue by Boehm, belonging to Lord Rosebery, a replica of which has been erected on the Chelsea Embankment near his old house, is a very striking likeness.

Every page of Carlyle's writings reveals a character of astonishing force and originality. The antagonism roused by his vehement iconoclasm was quenched by respect during his last years, only to break out afresh upon the appearance of the 'Reminiscences.' His style, whether learnt at home or partly acquired under the influence of Irving and Richter (see FROUDE, i. 396), faithfully reflects his idiosyncrasy. Though his language is always clear, and often pure and exquisite English, its habitual eccentricities offended critics, and make it the most dangerous of models. They are pardonable as the only

fitting embodiment of his graphic power, his shrewd insight into human nature, and his peculiar humour, which blends sympathy for the suffering with scorn for fools. His faults of style are the result of the perpetual straining for emphasis of which he was conscious, and which must be attributed to an excessive nervous irritability seeking relief in strong language, as well as to a superabundant intellectual vitality. Conventionality was for him the deadly sin. Every sentence must be alive to its finger's ends. As a thinker he judges by intuition instead of calculation. In history he tries to see the essential facts stripped of the glosses of pedants; in politics to recognise the real forces masked by constitutional mechanism; in philosophy to hold to the living spirit untrammelled by the dead letter. He thus cast aside contemptuously what often appeared to ordinary minds to be of the essence. Though no man was more hostile to materialism, he appeared as a sceptic in theology; and though more revolutionary in his aims than the ordinary radicals, they often confounded his contempt for ballot-boxes and parliamentary contrivances with a sympathy for arbitrary force. In truth, the prophet who reveals and the hero who acts could be his only guides. Their authority must be manifested by its own light, and the purblind masses must be guided by loyalty to heaven-sent leaders. No mechanical criterion can be provided, and the demand for such a criterion shows incapacity even to grasp the problem. The common charge that he confounded right with might was indignantly repudiated by him as the exact inversion of his real creed. That only succeeds which is based on divine truth, and permanent success therefore proves the right, as the effect proves the cause. But it must be confessed that the doctrine presupposes a capacity for 'swallowing all formulas,' or of overriding even moral conventions, in confidence of genuine insight into realities. The man who can safely break through ordinary rules must be guarded by a special inspiration, and by common observers the Cromwell must often be confounded with the Napoleon. Whatever may be thought of Carlyle's teaching, the merits of a preacher must be estimated rather by his stimulus to thought than by the soundness of his conclusions. Measured by such a test, Carlyle was unapproached in his day. He stirred the mass of readers rather by antagonism than sympathy; but his intense moral convictions, his respect for realities, and his imaginative grasp of historical facts give unique value to his writings. His autobiographical writings, with all their display

of superficial infirmities, are at least so full of human nature as to be unsurpassable for interest even in the most fascinating department of literature.

The following writings of Carlyle have never been collected:—

Articles in *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*: Vol. xiv.: 'Montaigne,' 'Lady M. W. Montagu,' 'Montesquieu,' 'Montfaucon,' 'Moore, Dr. J.,' 'Moore, Sir John.' Vol. xv.: 'Necker,' 'Nelson,' 'Netherlands,' 'Newfoundland,' 'Norfolk,' 'Northamptonshire,' 'Northumberland.' Vol. xvi.: 'Park, Mungo,' 'Pitt, W., Lord Chatham,' and 'Pitt, W.,' 1820–1823.

*New Edinburgh Review*: 'Joanna Baillie's Metrical Legends' (October 1821); 'Goethe's Faust' (April 1822).

*Fraser's Magazine*: 'Cruthers and Johnson' (January 1831); 'Peter Nimmo' (February 1831); 'Prefaces to Emerson's Essays,' 1841 and 1844.

The following have been collected in the 'Miscellanies':—

*Edinburgh Review*: 'J. P. F. Richter' (June 1827); 'State of German Literature' (October 1827); 'Life and Writings of Werner' (January 1828); 'Burns' (December 1828); 'Signs of the Times' (June 1829); 'Taylor's Historic Survey of German Poetry' (March 1831); 'Characteristics' (December 1831); 'Corn Law Rhymes' (July 1832).

*Foreign Review*: 'Life and Writings of Werner' (January 1828); 'Goethe's Helena' (April 1828); 'Goethe' (July 1828); 'Life of Heyne' (October 1828); 'German Playwrights' (January 1829); 'Voltaire' (April 1829); 'Novallis' (July 1829); 'J. P. F. Richter' again (January 1830).

*Foreign Quarterly Review*: 'German Literature of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' (October 1831); 'Goethe's Works' (August 1832); 'Diderot' (April 1833); 'Dr. Francia' (July 1843).

*Fraser's Magazine*: 'Richter's Review of Mme. de Staël's *Allemagne*' (February and May 1830); 'Four Fables, by Pilpay junior,' and 'Cui bono?' (September 1830); 'Thoughts on History' (November 1830); 'The Beetle' (February 1831); 'Schiller' (March 1831); 'Sower's Song' (April 1831); 'Tragedy of the Night-moth' (August 1831); 'Schiller, Goethe, and Mme. de Staël (trans.) and Goethe's Portrait' (March 1832); 'Biography' (April 1832); 'Boswell's Life of Johnson' (May 1832); 'The Tale from Goethe' (October 1832); 'Novelle' (November 1832); 'Quæ cogitavit,' on history again (May 1833); 'Count Cagliostro' (July and August 1833); 'Death of Edward Irving' (? February 1835); 'Diamond Necklace' (? January, February,

and March 1837); 'On the Sinking of the Vengeur' (July 1839); 'An Election to the Long Parliament' (October 1844); 'Thirty-five Unpublished Letters of Cromwell' (December 1847); 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question' (February 1849), reprinted 1853 separately; 'Early Kings of Norway' (January and March 1875); 'Portraits of John Knox' (April 1875). The last two together and separately.

*Westminster Review*: 'Nibelungen Lied' (July 1831).

*New Monthly Magazine*: 'Death of Goethe' (June 1832).

*London and Westminster Review*: 'Mira-beau' (January 1837); 'Parliamentary History of the French Revolution' (April 1837); 'Sir Walter Scott' (January 1838); 'Varnhagen von Ense' (December 1838); 'Baillie the Covenantanter' (January 1842); 'The Prinzenraub' (January 1855).

*Examiner*: 'Petition on Copyright Bill' (7 April 1839).

*Leigh Hunt's Journal*. 'Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago, a Fragment about Duels' (Nos. 1, 3, 6, 1850); *Keepsake for 1852* (Barry Cornwall's); 'The Opera'; *Proceedings of Society of Scotch Antiquaries*, i. pt. iii.; Project of a National Exhibition of Scotch Portraits' (1854).

*Macmillan's Magazine*: 'The American Iliad in a Nutshell' (August 1863); 'Shooting Niagara and After' (August 1867).

'Occasional and Miscellaneous Essays' (1839), printed in America, included all the above up to the date; those published later were added in subsequent editions, in a 2nd edition (5 vols.), 1840; 3rd edition, 1847; 4th edition, 1857. They are included in the 'Miscellanies' in collected editions of works.

Separate works are as follows: 1. 'Life of Schiller; first published in 'London Magazine' for October 1823, January, July, August, and September 1824; issued separately in 1825; second edition, 1845. 2. 'Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship' (3 vols. 1824). 3. 'Legendre's Elements of Geometry and Trigonometry' (translated with introductory chapter on doctrine of proportion), 1824. 4. 'German Romance,' 1827 (vol. i. 'Museum and La Motte Fouqué,' vol. ii. 'Tieck and Hoffman;' vol. iii. 'J. P. F. Richter;' vol. iv. 'Wilhelm Meister,' including the 'Travels,' now first published. The prefaces are included in the 'Miscellaneous Essays.' 5. 'Sartor Resartus,' first published in 'Fraser's Magazine' (bk. i. November and December 1833; bk. ii. February, March, April, June, 1834; bk. iii. July and August, 1834). Some copies were made up from

'Fraser's Magazine,' the first separate edition appeared at Boston in 1835, the first English edition in 1838. 6. 'French Revolution,' 3 vols. 1837; 2nd edition, 1839. 7. 'Chartism,' 1839. 8. 'Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History,' 1841. 9. 'Past and Present,' 1843. 10. 'Life and Letters of Oliver Cromwell,' 2 vols. 1845. 11. 'Latter-day Pamphlets:' (1) 'The Present Time' (1 Feb.); (2) 'Model Prisons' (1 March); (3) 'Downing Street' (15 April); (4) 'The New Downing Street' (1 May); (5) 'Stump Orator' (1 May); (6) 'Parliaments' (1 June); (7) 'Hudson's Statue' (1 July); (8) 'Jesuitism' (1 Aug.), 1850. 12. 'Life of Sterling,' 1851. 13. 'Friedrich II' (vols. i. and ii. 1858, vol. iii. 1862, vol. iv. 1864, vols. v. and vi. 1865). 14. 'Inaugural Address at Edinburgh,' 1866. 15. 'Reminiscences of my Irish Journey in 1849' (with preface by Mr. Froude), 1882. 16. 'Last Words of Thomas Carlyle' (with preface by J[ane] C[arlyle] A[itken]), 1882. The first collective edition (in 16 vols.) appeared in 1857-8. (For letters in newspapers and elsewhere see 'Bibliography of Thomas Carlyle' by H. R. Shepherd.)

[The main authorities for Carlyle's life are his *Reminiscences*, published by Mr. Froude in 1881; *Thomas Carlyle*, a history of the first forty years of his life, 2 vols. 1882; and *Thomas Carlyle*, a history of his life in London, 2 vols. 1884, both by J. A. Froude (cited above as Froude i. ii. iii. and iv.); *Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, 'prepared for publication by Thomas Carlyle, and edited by J. A. Froude,' 3 vols. 1883; see also *Correspondence of Thomas Carlyle and R. W. Emerson*, 2 vols. 1883, edited by Charles Eliot Norton, who also (1886) published a collection of Carlyle's early letters of 1826-36. Carlyle's *Reminiscences* and the *Memorials of Mrs. Carlyle* were entrusted to Mr. Froude for publication under circumstances described in the prefaces to these works, and in the *Life in London*, ii. 408-15, 464-7. Mr. Froude defends himself against the charge of improper publication in the *Life in London*, i. 1-7. Carlyle first gave him the manuscripts in 1871, and the will of 1873 left the decision as to publication with him; John Carlyle and John Forster, who were to be consulted, died before Carlyle. Shortly before Carlyle's death, in the autumn of 1880, Mr. Froude again had a consultation with Carlyle, who had 'almost forgotten what he had written;' but on having it recalled to his recollection, approved of the publication. Mr. Froude decided to carry out the publication, chiefly on the ground that this was Carlyle's persistent wish and 'supremely honourable' to him. It was an act of posthumous penance, and it was desirable that 'a frank and noble confession' should give the whole truth as to Mrs. Carlyle's grievances, which would 'infallibly come to light' in some

form. Without discussing the point, it is necessary to say that Carlyle, when writing, did not contemplate publication without careful revision. At the end of the original manuscript he says, in a passage omitted by Mr. Froude, presumably because superseded in his view by the later instructions, 'I solemnly forbid' my friends to publish 'this bit of writing as it stands here, and warn them that without fit editing no part of it should be printed (nor so far as I can order shall ever be), and that the "fit editing" of perhaps nine-tenths of it will, after I am gone, have become impossible' (Norton, *New Princeton Review* for July 1886). The following are notices by personal friends: Henry James, *Literary Remains*, some *Personal Recollections of Carlyle* (*Atlantic Monthly*, May 1881); Masson, Carlyle personally and in his writings, *Lond.* 1885 (*Lectures before Phil. Institute of Edinburgh*); Mrs. Oliphant, *Macmillan's Mag.* April 1881; H. Larkin in *British Quarterly* for July 1881, 28-84; Rio, A. F., *Epilogue à l'Art Chrétien* (1870), ii. 332-40; Sir Henry Taylor, *Autob.* i. 325-32; Mill's *Autob.* (1873), 174-6; G. S. Venables, in *Fortnightly Rev.* May 1883 and Nov. 1884; Wylie's *Thomas Carlyle, the Man and his Books*, 1881; Conway's *Thomas Carlyle*, 1881; Larkin's *The Open Secret of Carlyle's Life*, 1886. See also Sir James Crichton-Browne's *Froude and Carlyle*, 1903; Froude's *My relations with Carlyle*, 1903; Crichton-Browne and A. Carlyle's *Nemesis of Froude*, 1903. Cf. *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. iv. 145, 201, 226.]

L. S.

**CARLYON, CLEMENT** (1777-1864), physician, was born at Truro 14 April 1777, and educated at the grammar school, where Davy and Henry Martyn were among his schoolfellows. Having taken his degree at Pembroke College, Cambridge, he was appointed a travelling bachelor on the Worts foundation, and, proceeding to Germany, formed the acquaintance with Coleridge for which, apart from his merely local celebrity, he is now principally remembered. After completing his medical studies at Edinburgh and London, he settled in his native town, where he spent a long life of active beneficence. He was five times mayor of Truro, and was chiefly instrumental in the erection of the handsome memorial to Richard Lander, which is so great an ornament to the town. His autobiography, published under the title of 'Early Years and Late Reflections,' in 4 vols., between 1836 and 1858, is in parts exceedingly tedious, but is valuable for the numerous interesting particulars of Coleridge, Davy, and other men of eminence known to the writer. His 'Observations on the Endemic Typhus Fever of Cornwall' (1827) are esteemed, and effected much good in a sanitary point of view. He edited Cornaro and Bernard Gilpin, and wrote several

tracts on religious subjects. He died on 5 March 1864.

[Carlyon's *Early Years and Late Reflections*: *Gent. Mag.* June 1864, pp. 797-8; Boase and Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*.] R. G.

**CARMARTHEN, MARQUIS OF** (1631-1712. [See OSBORNE, THOMAS.]

**CARMELIANUS, PETER** (d. 1527), poet, born at Brescia about 1450, appears to have come to England after 1470, and to have been habitually resident there till death. Caxton printed about 1483 some contemporary correspondence between Pope Sixtus IV and the Venetian republic, which Peter edited: 'Sex perelegantissimæ epistolæ . . . per Petrum Carmelianum emendatæ' (repr. 1892). Peter wrote a poem on the life of St. Mary of Egypt, also during Richard III's reign (*Laud MS.* 501; COXE, *Catalogue*), with an epistle dedicatory to Sir Robert Brackenbury, constable of the Tower; in the epistle Richard is praised as a model king. But little more than a year after his death Carmelianus gives us a very different character of him in a poem written to celebrate the birth of Henry VII's son, Prince Arthur, in 1486, in which he charges the tyrant with the murder of Henry VI and his own nephews, and denounces him fiercely. The composition of two such works within the space of not more than three years at the utmost reflects a light upon the author's character which makes comment quite unnecessary. From the first he shows himself to be a court poet and nothing more, unless, indeed, it is something more that he was in clerical orders. The last-mentioned poem evidently earned, or was written in consideration of, a pension given him by the king on 27 Sept. 1486, which pension, the words of the grant state, 'he that shall be next promoted to the bishopric of Worcester is bound to yield to a clerk of ours at our nomination.' On 8 April 1488, in like manner, Henry VII granted him another pension which the elect abbot of Hyde was bound to pay to a clerk of the king's nomination. On the 23rd of the same month he obtained a patent of denization. He had also given him by the king on 15 Feb. just before a corrody in the priory of Christchurch. A year or two later he wrote, in the opinion of his fellow-poetaster Bernard André, a most witty poem in answer to Gaguin, the French historian and ambassador, who had revenged himself in satirical verse for the failure of his embassy to England. He became Henry VII's Latin secretary, and one of his chaplains. In this latter capacity he attended the king to his meeting with the Archduke Philip at Calais in 1500. In the former he was the keeper of the king's

correspondence with Rome, a circumstance to which Sherbourne, bishop of Chichester, called attention two years after his death, when Henry VIII was pushing inquiries touching the validity of the dispensation for his marriage with Catherine of Arragon (*Calendar, Henry VIII*, iv. 2406). But we do not find that he held this office after the accession of Henry VIII, who, however, recognising his merits in a different capacity, made him his lute-player, and gave him an annuity of 40*l.* (*ib.* i. 427, ii. 308).

It must have been about a year before Henry VII's death that he wrote a couple of poems to celebrate the espousal (*sponsalia*) of Charles, prince of Castile (afterwards the Emperor Charles V), with the king's daughter Mary. The marriage, though it never took effect, was arranged by treaty in 1507, and ambassadors came from the Emperor Maximilian in 1508 to conclude the marriage contract. An official account of their reception, and of the betrothal, was printed by Pynson in two separate forms, Latin and English, each without date of year; and the two poems of Carmelianus appeared as preface and conclusion to the Latin version. The treatise itself, of which a unique copy in vellum exists in the Grenville Library, is described in the catalogue as if it consisted simply of a poem of Carmelianus; but probably the title-page is wanting. The text of the narrative contained in it is precisely the same as that of the English version, of which a unique copy also exists in the British Museum, described by Sir Henry Ellis in the '*Archæologia*,' xviii. 33.

In 1511 we find Erasmus acknowledging (apparently with real satisfaction) a high compliment paid him by Carmelianus, who had called him '*doctorem doctissimus*' (*Calendar, Hen. VIII*, ii. 244). Unfortunately, however, he could not return the compliment; and when Carmelianus, in 1513, published another poem on the death of the King of Scots at Flodden, Erasmus and his correspondent Ammonius, Henry VIII's Latin secretary, could not help making merry over a false quantity which the unlucky author had very nearly put into print (*ib.* ii. 306; compare preface, p. xvii, footnote). In that year Carmelianus, as the king's tutor, went over in the 'middle ward' of the army with which Henry VIII invaded France. Meanwhile, he had been made archdeacon of Gloucester in 1511, and a few years later, probably on the deprivation of Cardinal Adrian de Castello [q. v.] in 1517, he was appointed prebendary of Ealdland in St. Paul's. This stall he resigned in 1526, the year before his death, at which time we find that he held livings

in the provostship of Beverley in the East Riding. He also had the prebend of Ampleforth in York given him as early as 1498, and appears to have held it till his death. Being thus largely benefited, in 1522 he was assessed, for the loan for a new war in France, at no less a sum than 333*l.* 6*s.* We also find that in 1524 (and perhaps for several years before) he was a prebendary of St. Stephen's, Westminster, and that in that year he sold to Roger Pynchestre, citizen and grocer of London, certain lands called Hartcombe, in the parishes of Kingston-upon-Thames and Ditton in Surrey, which he had bought of Stephen Coope two years before. On 13 Oct. 1526 he obtained a license to import 200 tuns of Gascon wine and Toulouse woad. In January 1527 he received a new-year's gift from the king; but he seems to have died towards the close of that year, as his successor in the York prebend was collated on 13 Jan. 1528. In addition to the poems referred to in the course of this notice we find an epigram written by Carmelianus on Dominic Mancini's poem (written in 1516), '*De Quatuor Virtutibus*,' which Alexander Barclay translated into English under the title of '*The Mirrour of Good Maners*.' Our author's epigram will be found at the end of Barclay's work, which was published along with his '*Ship of Fools*' in 1570.

[Memorials of Henry VII; Letters and Papers of the reigns of Richard III and Henry VII; Campbell's Memorials of Henry VII (all three of Rolls Ser.); *Calendar of Henry VIII*, vols. i-iv.; *Le Neve's Fasti* (Hardy).] J. G.

CARMICHAEL, FREDERICK (1708-1751), Scotch divine, son of Professor Gershom Carmichael of Glasgow University, was born in 1708. He took his M.A. degree on 4 May 1725, and taught the humanity classes during the illness of Professor Ross, 1726-8. On the death of his father in 1729 he was an unsuccessful candidate for the chair of moral philosophy. He was licensed by the Glasgow presbytery of the church of Scotland on 27 Sept. 1733, ordained at Monimail in March 1737, translated to Inveresk in December 1747, and died 17 Oct. 1751. He was the author of a '*Sermon on Christian Zeal*,' 1753, and '*Sermons on several Important Subjects*,' 1753, said to be of 'great merit.'

[*Hew Scott's Fasti Eccles. Scot.* i. 80, ii. 503; *Watt's Bibl. Brit.*] T. F. H.

CARMICHAEL, SIR JAMES, LORD CARMICHAEL (1578?-1672), was the third son of Walter Carmichael of Hyndford, by Grizel, daughter of Sir John Carmichael of Meadow-



flat. He was originally designated of Hyndford, but on purchasing the lands of Westeraw took his title from them, until, on succeeding his cousin, Sir John Carmichael of Carmichael [q.v.], he adopted the designation of the older branch of the family. Having in early life been introduced by the Earl of Dunbar at the court of James VI, he was appointed a cupbearer, afterwards carver, and then chamberlain of the principality. He was created a baronet of Nova Scotia on 17 July 1627, and the following year he subscribed the submission to Charles I. He was appointed sheriff-principal of Lanarkshire on 5 Sept. 1632, and in 1634 lord justice clerk, which office he resigned in 1636, on being made treasurer-depute. He was admitted an ordinary lord of session on 6 March 1639. His presence as treasurer-depute at the prorogation of parliament, by warrant of the king's commissioners, led to the presentation of a remonstrance against the same as illegal. On 13 Nov. he was named one of the commissioners for executing the office of lord high treasurer, and was at the same time appointed treasurer-depute, privy councillor, and lord of session, to be held *ad vitam aut culpam*. For his services to Charles I during the civil war, especially in lending him various sums of money, he received a patent on 27 Dec. 1647 raising him to the peerage by the title of Lord Carmichael; but the patent was not made public until 3 Jan. 1651, when it was ratified by Charles II. For his adherence to the engagement, he made a humble submission on 28 Dec. before the presbytery of Lanark, but was nevertheless deprived of his offices by the Act of Classes on 16 March 1649. That of treasurer-depute was, however, bestowed on his second son, Sir Daniel Carmichael. By Cromwell's act, in 1654, a fine was imposed on him of 2,000*l*. In Douglas's 'Peerage' it is stated erroneously that after the accession of Charles II he was sworn a privy councillor, and reappointed lord justice clerk, that office having been bestowed on Sir John Campbell of Lundy [q.v.] Carmichael died on 29 Nov. 1672, in his ninety-fourth year. By his wife Agnes, sixth daughter of John Wilkie of Foulden, he had three sons and four daughters. His eldest son, Sir William, after serving as one of the gens d'armes of Louis XIII, joined the committee of estates in Scotland, and commanded the Clydesdale regiment against the Marquis of Montrose at the battle of Philiphaugh in 1646. He died before his father in 1657, leaving a son, John [q.v.], who became second Lord Carmichael and first Earl of Hyndford. The first Lord Carmichael had two other sons and four daughters.

[Acts of Parliament of Scotland, vol. v. passim; Haig and Brunton's Senators of the College of Justice, 298-9; Douglas's Scottish Peerage, ii. 754-5; Irving's Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, ii. 17-21.] T. F. H.

**CARMICHAEL, JAMES** (*fl.* 1587), grammarian, was a Scotchman who published a Latin grammar at Cambridge in September 1587. He dedicated it to James VI—'Scotorum regi christianissimo gratiam et pacem à Domino.' Carmichael's work, 'Grammaticæ Latine de Etymologia,' &c., was from the press of the university printer, Thomas Thomas, M.A., a lexicographer himself, and its full title is given by Ames; it consists of 52 pp., and has some commendatory poems prefixed. There is a copy of it in the Bodleian.

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 22; Ames's *Topogr. Antiq.* (Herbert), iii. 1414, 1418.]

J. H.

**CARMICHAEL, JAMES WILSON** (1800-1868), marine painter, was born at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1800. At about the age of ten or eleven he went to sea. He returned, and was apprenticed to a shipbuilder, who employed him in drawing and designing. His early works are in water colours, but about 1825 he began also to paint in oils. Between 1838 and 1862 he was a frequent exhibitor at the Royal Academy, at the British Institute, and at the Suffolk Street Gallery. He made his first public appearance in the former year with a picture of 'Shipping in the Bay of Naples,' contributed to the exhibition of the Society of British Artists. In 1841 he sent to the Academy a drawing of the 'Conqueror towing the Africa off the Shoals of Trafalgar,' and in 1843 two drawings, 'The Royal Yacht with the Queen on board off Edinburgh,' and the 'Arrival of the Royal Squadron.' In the Water-Colour Collection at South Kensington there is one example of this painter; 'The Houses of Parliament in course of Erection.' About 1845, according to Redgrave, he left Newcastle for London. Probably about 1862 (at which date he ceased to exhibit in London) he went to Scarborough, and there died on 2 May 1868. In the north of England his work was highly thought of. There is a large painting by him in the Trinity House, Newcastle, 'The Heroic Exploit of Admiral Collingwood at the Battle of Trafalgar.' He appears as an author, having published 'The Art of Marine Painting in Water Colours,' 1859, and 'The Art of Marine Painting in Oil Colours,' 1864.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*; Cat. Engl. Coll. South Kensington Museum.]



**CARMICHAEL, SIR JOHN** (d. 1600), of Carmichael, a powerful border chief, was the eldest son of Sir John Carmichael and Elizabeth, third daughter of the fifth lord of Somerville. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir George Douglas of Pittendreich, sister of the regent Morton, and in 1581 he and his son Hugh were found guilty of a treasonable conspiracy in assembling two hundred men at the rocks of Braid, with the view of rescuing Morton from the castle of Edinburgh. They, however, escaped punishment by fleeing the kingdom, and having afterwards returned were attainted in 1584 for being concerned in the raid of Ruthven, when they again fled the kingdom. In August 1588 Carmichael was appointed captain-general of the troops of light horse raised to assist in resisting the threatened invasion by the Spaniards (*Register of the Privy Council*, iv. 315); and when his services were not found necessary, he was appointed warden of the west marches. He was one of the ambassadors sent to Denmark to negotiate the marriage between James VI and the Princess Anne of Denmark. In 1590 he was despatched on an important mission to Queen Elizabeth, with a result entirely satisfactory. In 1592 he resigned the wardenship in favour of the Earl of Angus; but on that nobleman resigning it in 1598, he was restored to the office. While on his way to Lochmaben, to hold a warden's court for the punishment of offences committed on the borders, he was attacked (16 June 1600) by a body of the Armstrongs and shot dead with a hacbut. For this murder Thomas Armstrong, nephew of Kinmont Willie [see **ARMSTRONG, WILLIAM**, *fl.* 1596], was executed in the following November, and Alexander Armstrong of Rowanburne in February 1606. According to Sir Walter Scott, tradition affirms the well-known ballad, 'Armstrong's Good Night,' to have been composed by Thomas Armstrong previous to his execution.

[Crawford's *Scottish Peerage*; Douglas's *Scottish Peerage*, ii. 752; Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vols. iii. iv. and v.; Irving's *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, i. 13-16.]

T. F. H.

**CARMICHAEL, JOHN**, second **LORD CARMICHAEL** and first **EARL OF HYNDFORD** (1638-1710), son of William, master of Carmichael, and Lady Grizel Douglas, third daughter of the first marquis of Douglas, was born on 28 Feb. 1638. He succeeded his grandfather as Lord Carmichael in 1672. In 1689 he was appointed by William one of the commissioners of the privy seal and a privy councillor. The following year he was

appointed William's commissioner to the first general assembly of the newly established church of Scotland. In 1693 he was appointed to the command of a regiment of dragoons, which he held till the peace of Ryswick in 1697. In December 1696 he was made secretary of state for Scotland, and in January 1696-7 was chosen commissioner by the general assembly. On 5 June 1701 he was created Earl of Hyndford. He resigned the office of secretary of state in June 1702, after the accession of Queen Anne. From 1702-5 he was colonel of a regiment of horse. He was one of the commissioners for the treaty of union, and favoured its execution. He died on 20 Sept. 1710. By his wife, Beatrice Drummond, second daughter of the third Lord Madderty, he had seven sons and three daughters.

[Douglas's *Scottish Peerage*, ii. 756; Irving's *Upper Ward of Lanarkshire*, i. 21-4; Luttrell's *Relation*, ii. iii. iv. v.] T. F. H.

**CARMICHAEL, JOHN**, third **EARL OF HYNDFORD** (1701-1767), diplomatist, son of James, second earl, and Lady Elizabeth Maitland, only daughter of John, fifth earl of Lauderdale, was born at Edinburgh on 15 March 1701. He entered the third regiment of foot-guards, in which he became captain in 1733. He succeeded to his father's title and estates on 16 Aug. 1737, and was chosen a representative peer on 14 March 1738, and again in 1741, 1747, 1754, and 1761. He was appointed one of the lords of police in March 1738, and constituted sheriff-principal and lord-lieutenant of Lanark on 9 April 1739. In 1739 and 1740 he acted as lord high commissioner to the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland. When Frederick II invaded Silesia in 1741, the Earl of Hyndford was sent to George II as envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary, to mediate between the king and Maria Theresa. Carlyle, in his 'Life of Frederick,' thus delineates his characteristics: 'We can discern a certain rough tenacity and horse-dealer finesse in the man; a broad-based, shrewdly practical Scotch gentleman, wide awake; and can conjecture that the diplomatic function in that element might have been in worse hands. He is often laid metaphorically at the king's feet, king of England's; and haunts personally the king of Prussia's elbow at all times, watching every glance of him like a British house-dog, that will not be taken in with suspicious travellers if he can help it; and casting perpetual horoscopes in his dull mind.' It was in a great degree owing to the patience and persistence of Hyndford that the treaty of

Breslau was finally signed on 11 June 1742. On its conclusion, Hyndford was nominated a knight of the Thistle, and was invested with the insignia of that order at Charlottenburg, on 29 Aug. 1742, by the king of Prussia, in virtue of a commission from George II. From Frederick he also received the gift of a silver dinner service, and was permitted the use of the royal Prussian arms, which now enrich the shield of the Carmichaels. In 1744 Hyndford was sent on a special mission to Russia, when his skilful negotiations greatly accelerated the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. He left Moscow on 8 Oct. 1749, and after his return to England was, on 29 March 1750, sworn a privy councillor, and was appointed one of the lords of the bedchamber. In 1752 he was sent as ambassador to Vienna, where he remained till 1764. On his return he was appointed vice-admiral of Scotland, when he gave up his office at the board of police. The remainder of his life was spent at his seat in Lanarkshire, where he devoted his attention to the improvement and adornment of his estate. While occupied with his diplomatic duties abroad, he continued to take a constant interest in agricultural affairs. To encourage his tenants in the improvement of their lands, he granted to them leases of fifty-seven years' duration, and also introduced clauses in the new leases which have since met with the general approval of agriculturists. The fine plantations on the estates have been reared from seeds brought by him from Russia. He died on 19 July 1767. He was twice married: first, to Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Admiral Sir Cloudisley Shovell, and widow of the first Lord Romney; and secondly, to Jean, daughter of Benjamin Vigor of Fulham, Middlesex. By his first wife he had a son, who died in infancy, and by his second he had no issue. The earldom passed to his cousin, John Carmichael. The title became dormant or extinct on the death of the sixth earl in 1817. His correspondence while ambassador abroad is in the 'State Papers,' and there are rough copies of it in the Additional MSS. in the British Museum.

[Douglas's Scottish Peerage (Wood), ii. 756-7; Irving's Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, i. 24-5; Carlyle's Frederick; Add. MSS. 11365-87, 15870, 15946.] T. F. H.

**CARMICHAEL, RICHARD** (1779-1849), surgeon, was born in Dublin on 6 Feb. 1779, being fourth son of Hugh Carmichael, solicitor, who was nearly related to the Scotch family of the earls of Hyndford. When he attained fortune, Carmichael spent much time and money in seeking to establish

the proof of his eldest brother's title to this earldom; but the loss or destruction of some indispensable family records rendered his efforts futile.

After a two years' apprenticeship to Peile, a well-known Dublin surgeon, and study at the Irish College of Surgeons, Carmichael passed the requisite examination, and was appointed assistant-surgeon (and ensign) to the Wexford militia in 1795, when only sixteen. This position he held, gaining considerable notice by his early skill and attention to his duties, till 1802, when the army establishment was reduced after the peace of Amiens. In 1800 he had become a member of the Irish College of Surgeons, and in 1803 he commenced practice in Dublin. In the same year he was appointed surgeon to St. George's Hospital and Dispensary, and in 1810 surgeon to the Lock Hospital. In 1816 he obtained the important appointment of surgeon to the Richmond, Whitworth, and Hardwicke Hospitals, an office which he held till 1836. Already in 1813, at the early age of thirty-four, he was chosen president of the Dublin College of Surgeons, a position he also held in 1826 and 1846. In 1835 he was elected a corresponding member of the Royal Academy of Medicine of France, being the first Irishman to receive that distinction.

In 1826 Carmichael, in conjunction with Drs. Adams and McDowell, founded the Richmond Hospital School of Medicine (afterwards known as the Carmichael School), and was for two years a principal, and afterwards an occasional lecturer. In addition to considerable donations in his lifetime, he bequeathed 8,000*l.* for its improvement, and 2,000*l.*, the interest to be given as prizes to the best students of the school. During the last ten years of his life (1839-49) he took deep interest in medical reform, strongly supporting the Medical Association of Ireland, of which he was president from its formation till his death. He aimed at securing for the medical student a good preliminary and a high professional education, and uniform and searching examinations by all universities and medical and surgical colleges. He also advocated the separation of apothecary's work from medicine and surgery as far as practicable. To promote its objects he placed 500*l.* in the hands of the Medical Association; but when it proved that the fund was not needed, he directed its transfer to the Medical Benevolent Fund Society. To this society, one much cared for by him, he left 4,500*l.* at his death. A piece of plate was presented to him in 1841 by 410 of his professional brethren, with an address expressing their sense of his unwearied zeal for the

interests of his profession and the advancement of medical science.

In addition to numerous pamphlets and papers in the medical journals, Carmichael published: 1. 'An Essay on the Effects of Carbonate of Iron upon Cancer, with an Inquiry into the Nature of that Disease,' London, 1806; 2nd edit. 1809. 2. 'An Essay on the Nature of Scrofula,' London, 1810 (of which a German translation was published at Leipzig in 1818). 3. 'An Essay on the Venereal Diseases which have been confounded with Syphilis, and the Symptoms which arise exclusively from that Poison,' 4to, 1814. The latter he made in an especial manner his own subject; and his practical views established important improvements in the treatment of those diseases, especially in regard to the administration of mercury. His work went through many editions. It was at first severely reviewed in the 'Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal' (xi. 380), the review being ably answered by Carmichael in the same volume.

Carmichael was originally a member of the established church; but in 1825 he joined a unitarian church. He was a handsome man, with a stern cast of countenance; and was all that was admirable in domestic life. He was drowned, on 8 June 1849, while crossing a deep arm of the sea between Clontarf and Sutton on horseback. Among his benefactions by will he left 3,000*l.* to the College of Surgeons, the interest to be applied as prizes for the best essays on subjects specified in the will. A list of his writings is given in the 'Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science,' ix. 497-9.

[Dublin Medical Press, 4 July 1849, p. 13; Dublin Quarterly Journal of Medical Science, ix. 493-504.] G. T. B.

**CARMYLYON, ALICE** or **ELLYS** (*n.* 1527-1531), painter, a foreigner settled in England, has been by some writers taken to be a woman, the christian name being occasionally spelt Alice, but there is no conclusive evidence either way. The name occurs in the following forms: Alice Carmillian, Alys Carmyllion, Alis Carmylian, Ellys Carmyan, and 'Elysyes the painter.' The surname is an anglicised form of Carmelianus, and there may have been some relationship between the painter and Petrus Carmelianus of Brescia, the poet [q. v.] The artist is described in various entries in account-books as 'paynter,' 'myllyner,' 'guylder,' and 'gonner.' This last is no doubt merely a copyist's mistake, the name next above in the list being that of a gunner. There are no other female painters mentioned in the

account-books of Henry VIII's reign, but in the next two reigns there was one, who is styled 'Mystres Levyn Terlynck, payntrix.' The use of this feminine form is a slight argument in favour of Carmylyon being a man, and so is the fact that all the other 'myllyners' attached to the court were of the same sex. On the other hand, Carmylyon's wages were 33*s.* 4*d.* a quarter, while those of the Hornebauds and Vincent Volpe ranged from 33*s.* 4*d.* a month to 5*l.* a quarter. This might point to the lower scale of wages paid to a woman, were it not that what was known of Carmylyon's work shows that it was by no means of a high class. It does not appear what foundation John Gough Nichols has for his remark that 'she appears to have been a painter in miniature' (*Archæol.* xxxix. 39), for all the notices discoverable refer to the banquetting-house at Greenwich, gilding vanes for the Tower, and working at 'twoo arches, a portall, a fountayne, and an arbour.' We may therefore conclude that decoration rather than miniature was her province. The dates 1539 and 1541 given by Nichols as the last payments to Carmylyon are mistakes for 1529 and 1531.

[Cal. State Papers, Hen. VIII, iv. 1395, v. 305, 307, vi. 5; *Archæologia*, xxxix. 39.]  
C. T. M.

**CARNABY, WILLIAM** (1772-1839), musical composer, was born in London in 1772 and educated in the Chapel Royal as a chorister under Dr. Nares and Dr. Ayrton. He was subsequently organist of Eye and of Huntingdon. In 1805 he took the degree of Mus. Bac. at Cambridge, where he entered at Trinity Hall. In July 1808 he proceeded Mus. Doc., on which occasion his exercise, described as 'a grand musical piece,' was performed at Great St. Mary's on Sunday, the 7th. Previous to this he had left Huntingdon and settled in London, where he lived at various times at 18 Winchester Row and 31 Red Lion Square. In 1823 he was appointed organist of the newly opened Hanover Chapel, Regent Street, at a salary of 50*l.* per annum, a post he occupied until his death, which took place at 7 Middlesex Place, New Road, on 7 Nov. 1839. Carnaby wrote a considerable amount of meritorious music; six songs dedicated to Lady Templetown, two books of songs dedicated to W. Knyvett, six canzonets for two voices to words by Shennstone, and a collection of vocal music dedicated to Viscountess Mahon are perhaps his best compositions, but he also wrote many songs, vocal duets, and pianoforte pieces which are always respectable, if not remarkably original.

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 316; Gent. Mag. 1808, 628; Musical World, 14 Nov. 1839; Times, 11 Nov. 1839; Luard's Cantabrigienses Graduat, 71; Brit. Mus. Music Cat.] W. B. S.

**CARNAC, SIR JAMES RIVETT** (1785-1846), governor of Bombay, entered the East India Company's service in 1801 as an officer of the Madras native infantry. His father, James Rivett, who in the same year assumed the name of Carnac, was at that time a member of council at Bombay, and by his influence the younger Carnac was appointed in 1802 aide-de-camp to Mr. Duncan, then governor of Bombay, and a few months afterwards was placed on the personal staff of the officer commanding a field force employed against a Mahratta chief in Guzarât. The remainder of his Indian service was passed entirely in the Bombay presidency. After being present in several actions, which ended in the defeat of the insurgent chief, he was appointed in August 1802 first assistant to the resident at the court of the Gaikwâr, and from that time until 1819, when he was compelled by ill-health to leave India, he was constantly employed in a political capacity, holding during the last two years of that period the important post of resident at Baroda. For his services as resident Carnac received the repeated thanks of the government of Bombay, of the supreme government, and of the court of directors. One of the objects to which he devoted much time and attention during this period of his life was the suppression of the practice of infanticide, then and afterwards very prevalent in Guzarât and in other native states. Like other Indian political officers, Carnac was frequently present at the military operations carried on in the earlier years of the century. Carnac retired from the Indian service as a major in 1822. In 1827 he was elected a director of the East India Company, and in 1835 served as deputy-chairman, and as chairman in 1836 and also in 1837. In 1836 he was created a baronet, and in 1838 was appointed governor of Bombay, which office he held rather less than two years, the state of his health compelling him to quit India finally on 27 April 1841. In 1837 he was elected member for Sandwich in the whig interest, but resigned his seat on his appointment to the Bombay government in the following year.

As a director of the East India Company Carnac fully justified the reputation for ability and zeal in the discharge of public duties which he had brought with him from India. His election to the chairmanship in two successive years was an honour rarely conferred, and proved the high estimation in

which he was held by his colleagues. While chairman of the court, Carnac was mainly instrumental in securing for Lord Wellesley the grant of 20,000*l.* which was made to that eminent statesman in 1837, in addition to the pension previously awarded to him. With Lord Wellesley, as well as with the Duke of Wellington, Lord Melbourne, and Lord Glenelg, Carnac carried on an active correspondence. During his brief tenure of the government of Bombay he appears to have won the esteem of all classes in that presidency. In recognition of his efforts to promote the education of the natives and their advancement in the public service, a scholarship, called the Carnac scholarship, was founded in the Elphinstone College at Bombay; his bust by Chantry was placed in the Town Hall, and a valuable service of plate was presented to him.

Carnac died at Rockcliffe, near Lymington, Hampshire, on 28 Jan. 1846, leaving a widow and several children.

[Phillippart's East India Military Calendar, 1824; Annual Register, 1846; Burke's Peerage and Baronetage; Bombay Gazette, 26 April 1841; private papers.] A. J. A.

**CARNAC, JOHN** (1716-1800), colonel, commenced his military service in the 39th foot ('Primus in Indis'), and, being in India when that regiment was ordered home in 1758, was admitted into the East India Company's service with the rank of captain. In 1760 Carnac, then a major, succeeded Colonel John Caillaud [q. v.] in command of the army at Patna, and in the following year won an important victory over the troops of the Emperor of Delhi and a French contingent commanded by M. Law, who with fifteen officers and fifty of his men was taken prisoner. The courtesy with which the French general was treated by the English commander appears to have astonished the natives, who at that time had but little acquaintance with European usages in war. The author of the 'Sir Mutakharin,' adverting to this incident, remarks: 'Nothing can be more modest and becoming than the behaviour of these strangers, whether in the heat of battle or in the pride of success.' Carnac was appointed a brigadier-general in May 1764. In 1765 he drove the Mahrattas across the Jumna. Returning to England in 1767, he was elected M.P. for Leominster. Four years later he was again in India, and rendered effective aid to Lord Clive in quelling a mutiny of the English officers in Bengal. In 1776 he was appointed member of council at Bombay, and, still filling that office in 1778, he was appointed one of the civil committee with the

army who early in the following year executed the unfortunate convention of Wargám. For his participation in this affair he was dismissed from the company's service. He appears to have remained in India until his death, which occurred at Mangalore in 1800 at the age of eighty-four.

[Philippart's East India Military Calendar, vol. ii.; Mill's History of India, vol. iii.; Marshman's History of India, vol. i.] A. J. A.

**CARNARVON, EARLS OF.** [See DORMER, ROBERT, first EARL, *d.* 1643; HERBERT, HENRY JOHN GEORGE, third EARL of the third creation, 1800-1849; HERBERT, HENRY HOWARD MOLYNEUX, fourth EARL, 1831-1890.]

**CARNE, SIR EDWARD** (*d.* 1561), diplomatist, was son of Howell Carne of Cowbridge in Glamorganshire, by his wife Cicely, daughter of William Kemys of Newport, and was lineally descended from Thomas Le Carne, second son of Ithyn, king of Gwent. He was educated at Oxford, where he became principal of Greek Hall, in St. Edward's parish, and was created D.C.L. in 1524. He acted as one of the commissioners for the suppression of the monasteries, and purchased Ewenny Abbey, in his native county, at its dissolution. His residence was at Landough Castle. Henry VIII employed him in several difficult diplomatic missions. In March 1530-1 he was at Rome in the capacity of 'excusator' of his majesty, who had been cited to appear personally or by proxy at the papal court in the matter of his divorce from Queen Catherine. Such a citation, it was contended, was contrary to the customs of the church and the privileges of christian princes (*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Dom., Henry VIII., v. 33*). Carne remained in Rome for several years. In 1538 he was one of the ambassadors sent to treat with the regent of the Low Countries; and again in 1541 he and Stephen Vaughan were sent as ambassadors to the queen regent of Flanders to procure the repeal of the imperial edict restrictive of English commerce. Subsequently he was resident ambassador in the Low Countries, and he received the honour of knighthood from the Emperor Charles V. He was returned for the county of Glamorgan to the parliament which met at Westminster on 12 Nov. 1554, in the first year of the reign of Philip and Mary, and, according to Browne Willis, he was again elected to the parliament which assembled at Westminster on 21 Oct. 1555, though the official list states that the return is defaced.

In 1555, when Philip and Mary had restored the ancient worship in England, they sent an embassy to Rome to give the cus-

tomary obedience to the pope. The embassy was composed of the Bishop of Ely, Lord Montagu, and Carne. When Montagu and the bishop returned to England, Carne remained as resident ambassador to Pope Paul IV, and continued in this capacity for nearly four years. On Elizabeth's accession to the throne he asked permission of the English government to leave Rome, as well on account of his old age as in order to see his wife and children again. On 9 Feb. 1558-9 this permission was granted by the council. Carne thereupon asked the pope for leave to depart, but this leave was refused to him on account of the hostile attitude Elizabeth was assuming towards Rome (Carne's original Letter from Rome, 1 April 1559, in *Cotton. MS. Nero B vi. f. 9*). It was then a common practice among sovereigns to retain an ambassador in the character of hostage. Little surprise therefore was caused by the detention of Carne, who was commanded by the pope to relinquish his office of ambassador and to assume the government of the English hospital at Rome. Elizabeth, indeed, tried to effect his release, but her efforts proved unavailing, and Carne remained at Rome, an exile from his native country, up to his death. This conduct towards an old, a poor, and an innocent man has naturally been considered harsh, though some persons, as Wood observes, suspected that 'the crafty old knight did voluntary chuse his banishment out of a burning zeal to the Roman catholic religion, and eagerly desired to continue' at Rome, 'rather than return to his own country, which was then ready to be overspread with heresy.' That this surmise was correct is shown by state papers which have been since brought to light. Philip, king of Spain, on being requested by Queen Elizabeth in 1560 to obtain her ambassador's release, ordered Francisco de Vargas, his representative at Rome, to inquire judiciously into the matter. Carne's account of his detention was that on Elizabeth's accession he, being a good catholic, had decided to live and die in the faith. He had asked Paul IV to detain him in order that the queen might not confiscate his property and persecute his wife and children. The pope granted his request, and, after the death of Paul, Pius IV followed the same course. Carne begged of Vargas that his story might be kept profoundly secret. The English ambassadors in Spain accordingly received an evasive reply, and Carne remained unmolested at Rome till his death on 19 Jan. 1560-1. He lies buried in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo, where his epitaph may still be read.

[*Archæologia Cambrensis* (1849), iv. 316; Aubrey's *Wiltshire* (Jackson), 296; Burke's *Landed Gentry* (1838), iv. 480; Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*; *Calendars of State Papers*; Camden's *Annales of Elizabeth* (1625-9), i. 18, 79; *Chronicle*, 6 April 1867, 38; Chytraeus, *Variarum Itinerum Deliciae*, 9; Cootes's *Civilians*, 20; Dodd's *Church Hist.* i. 530, also Tierney's edit. ii. 168 n.; Foley's *Records*, vi. pp. xxviii, xxix; Fuller's *Worthies* (Nichols), ii. 596; *Gent. Mag.* xciii. (i) 412, new series, xxxii. 516; Haynes's *State Papers*, 193, 245; Lingard's *Hist. of England*, vii. 253 n.; Addit. MSS. 25114, ff. 333-6, 344, 346, 28583, f. 183; Cole's MS. xxix. 130; Cotton MSS. Calig. E iv. 6, E v. 69, Galba B x. 89, 127, Nero B vi. 9; Lansd. MS. f. 116, art. 2; Murdin's *State Papers*, 752; Nicholas's *Glamorganshire*, 166; List of Members of Parliament (official return), i. 392; Thomas's *Hist. Notes*, 75, 350, 369; Williams's *Eminent Welshmen*; Willis's *Not. Parl.* iii. (2) 46, 53; Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 66, 67.] T. C.

**CARNE, ELIZABETH CATHERINE THOMAS** (1817-1873), author, fifth daughter of Joseph Carne, F.R.S. [q. v.], was born at Rivière House, in the parish of Phillack, Cornwall, on 16 Dec. 1817, and baptised in Phillack church on 15 May 1820. On her father's death in 1858, having come into an ample fortune, she spent considerable sums in charitable purposes, gave the site for the Elizabeth or St. Paul's schools which were opened at Penzance on 2 Feb. 1876, founded schools at Wesley Rock, Carfury, and Bosulow, three thinly populated districts in the neighbourhood of Penzance, and built a museum in which to exhibit to the public a fine collection of minerals which she had inherited from her parent. She was the head of the Penzance bank from 1858 to her decease. She inherited her father's love of geology, and wrote four papers in the 'Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall': 'Cliff Boulders and the Former Condition of the Land and Sea in the Land's End district,' 'The Age of the Maritime Alps surrounding Mentone,' 'On the Transition and Metamorphosis of Rocks,' and 'On the Nature of the Forces that have acted on the Formation of the Land's End Granite.' Many articles were contributed by her to the 'London Quarterly Review,' and she was the author of several books. She died at Penzance on 7 Sept. 1873, and was buried at Phillack on 12 Sept. Her funeral sermon was preached in St. Mary's Church, Penzance, by the Rev. Prebendary Hedgeland on 14 Sept. She was the author of: 1. 'Three Months' Rest at Pau in the Winter and Spring of 1859,' brought out with the pseudonym of John Altrayd Witttitterly in 1860. 2. 'Country Towns and the place they fill in Modern

Civilisation,' 1868. 3. 'England's Three Wants,' an anonymous book, 1871. 4. 'The Realm of Truth,' 1873.

[Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornub.* 60; 1113; *Daily News*, London, 10 Sept. 1873, p. 7; *Geol. Mag.* x. 480, 524 (1873).] G. C. B.

**CARNE, JOHN** (1789-1844), traveller and author, was born on 18 June 1789, probably at Truro. His father, William Carne, was a merchant and banker at Penzance, where he died on 4 July 1838; he married in 1780 Miss Anna Cock, who died on 8 Nov. 1822. His eldest brother was Joseph Carne [q. v.] Carne was a member of Queens' College, Cambridge, at different times both before and after his journey to the East, but he never resided long enough for a degree. He was admitted in 1826 to deacon's orders by Dr. Michael Henry Thornhill Luscombe, the chaplain of the British embassy at Paris, and a bishop of the episcopal church of Scotland; but, except during a few months' residence at Vevey in Switzerland, he never officiated as a clergyman. His father, a strict man of business, desired that his son should follow in his footsteps, but after a short trial of business, during which his literary abilities showed themselves, his father allowed him to follow his own inclinations. His first literary production was brought out anonymously in 1820, and was called 'Poems containing the Indian and Lazarus.' Carne resolved to visit the holy places, and accordingly left England on 26 March 1821. He visited Constantinople, Greece, the Levant, Egypt, and Palestine. In the latter country, while returning from the convent of St. Catharine, he was taken prisoner by Bedouins, but, after being detained for some days, was released in safety. On coming back to England he commenced writing for the 'New Monthly Magazine' an account of his travels, under the title of 'Letters from the East,' receiving from Henry Colburn twenty guineas for each article. These 'Letters' were then reproduced in a volume, dedicated to Sir Walter Scott, which went to a third edition. This book is noticeable for the fact that there is not a single date to be found in it, except that on the title-page. The publication of this work and his talents for society brought him into familiar intercourse with Scott, Southey, Campbell, Lockhart, Jerdan, and other distinguished men of letters. He next published 'Tales of the West,' 1828, 2 vols., treating of his native country. Among those who knew him his fame as a story-teller far exceeded his renown as a writer, and social company often gathered round him to be spellbound by

some exciting or pathetic narration. During the latter part of his life he resided chiefly in Penzance. Oppressed by the infirmities of a premature old age, he had ceased for some years before his death to engage in any literary pursuits. While preparing to set out for the shores of the Mediterranean he was attacked with a sudden illness and died at Penzance on 19 April 1844, when his remains were buried in Gulval churchyard. At the age of twenty-five, namely in 1824, he married Ellen, daughter of Mr. Lane, a drawing-master of Worcester. Her brother, Theodore Lane, an artist of much promise and an exhibitor at the Royal Academy, met with an untimely fate by falling through a skylight at the horse bazaar in Gray's Inn Lane on 21 May 1828, when his daughter Emma was adopted by her uncle. Mrs. Carne married, secondly, Mr. Henry Harrington Clay, and died at Penzance on 2 Feb. 1868, aged 67.

Besides the works already mentioned, Carne was the author of: 1. 'Stratton Hill, a Tale of the Civil War,' 1829, 3 vols. 2. 'Recollections of Travels in the East,' 1830. 3. 'The Exiles of Palestine, a Tale,' 1831, 3 vols. 4. 'Lives of Eminent Missionaries,' 1833, 3 vols. 5. 'Letters from Switzerland and Italy,' 1834. 6. 'Lives of Eminent Missionaries,' 1844. 7. 'Lives of Eminent Missionaries,' 1852, 3 vols. He was also a writer in the 'New Monthly Magazine,' the 'Forget-me-not,' the 'Gem,' the 'Keepsake,' and other works.

[Gent. Mag. June 1844, p. 656; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. i. 60, iii. 1113.]

G. C. B.

**CARNE, JOSEPH** (1782-1858), geologist, born at Truro, Cornwall, on 17 April 1782, was the eldest son of William Carne, a banker, and was educated at the Wesleyan school, Keynsham, near Bristol. His younger brother was John Carne [q. v.] He married on 23 March 1808 Mary Thomas, the daughter of William Thomas of Kidwelly, M.D., physician at Haverfordwest. After his marriage he lived for a short time at Penzance, and in 1810 or 1811 he removed to Rivière House, on being appointed manager of the Cornish Copper Company's smelting works at Hayle. His good business habits and quickness at figures well fitted him for this situation. From a very early period Carne showed a great love for mineralogy and geology. He was in the habit of walking round to the copper mines, and collecting specimens of the rarer ores, which the miners were glad to sell at low prices. He thus formed the nucleus of his unique mineralogical collection. Carne was a remarkably close ob-

server. He paid special attention to the granitic veins of St. Michael's Mount, and the vein-like lines of porphyritic rocks provincially termed 'elvans.' In 1816 and 1818 Carne communicated to the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall his investigation 'On Elvan Courses,' in which he satisfactorily establishes their general characters and fixes the probable dates of their intrusion into the granite masses and the clay-slates. 'The Granite of the Western part of Cornwall' and the 'Geology of the Scilly Isles' were additional communications made to the local geological society. After studying the formation of mineral veins he in 1818 communicated to the Geological Society of Cornwall a paper 'On the relative Age of the Veins of Cornwall.' The celebrated Werner was drawn by it into Cornwall, and he visited the mines of the county in company with Carne. This inquiry led, some years after, to the formation of a fund by subscription, which enabled Mr. William Jory Henwood to devote all his leisure, for many years, to personal observations in every mining field in Cornwall. These inquiries led to Carne's being elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 28 May 1818. In 1821 he published his paper 'On the Mineral Productions and the Geology of the Parish of St. Just.' This work led to the remarkable collection of the Cornish minerals which still exists in the possession of Mr. Charles Campbell Ross, formerly M.P. for St. Ives. Carne's paper 'On the Pseudo-morphous Minerals of Cornwall' is calculated to throw light on the mysterious changes which occur in minerals. In connection with this subject Carne also examined most of the varieties of tin ore which have been found in veins, and such as are peculiar to the diluvial deposits, which have been worked from the earliest historic times, in what are called 'stream works.' In 1846 a paper was read by Carne 'On the Remains of a Submarine Forest in the North-eastern part of the Mount's Bay,' and in 1851 'Notice of a Raised Beach lately discovered in Zennor' will be found in the pages of the 'Transactions of the Cornwall Geological Society,' vol. vii.

Carne also wrote on the history of copper mining, and on the improvements made in its metallurgy—on the discovery of ancient coins—on the formation of the blown sands of the north coasts of the county, and contributed to the Statistical Society of London a most useful paper, 'Statistics of the Tin Mines in Cornwall and of the Consumption of Tin in Great Britain.'

Carne was an honorary member of the Cambridge Philosophical Society. In 1837 he was

pricked for sheriff of the county. He was for many years the treasurer of the Cornwall Geological Society. From his accurate knowledge of the laws of mines and minerals, and his intimate acquaintance with local usages, he was referred to in most cases of difficulty.

All the Wesleyan chapels of West Cornwall sought Carne's assistance and advice. He took charge of Sunday schools, and always kept a large stock of books for the teachers. In 1820 Carne left Hayle, and went to Penzance to become a partner in his father's bank (Batten, Carne, & Carne). He always took considerable interest in the affairs of that town and of the county. He died at Penzance on 12 Oct. 1858.

[Gent. Mag. 1858, v. 638; Boase and Courtney's *Bibliotheca Cornubiensis*; Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, 1818-1861; De la Beche's Report on the Geology of Cornwall and Devon, 1839; Henwood's *Metaliferous Deposits of Cornwall and Devon*, 1843; Royal Society's Catalogue; Gilbert's *History of Cornwall*; personal knowledge.] R. H.-r.

**CARNE, ROBERT HARKNESS** (1784-1844), theological writer, son of John Carne, of St. Austell, Cornwall, mercer, was baptised at St. Austell parish church on 10 Oct. 1784, matriculated from Exeter College, Oxford, on 15 Jan. 1803, and graduated B.A. on 19 Nov. 1806. He afterwards served as curate of Crediton, Drewsteignton, and Torbryan in succession, and, the bishop then refusing to renew his license, he removed to Berkshire, where during twelve months he acted as a curate without holding any license. In 1820 the corporation of Marazion on Mount's Bay elected him to the lectureship of the chapel in that town, and the mayor wrote to Dr. Pelham, bishop of Exeter, announcing the election. The bishop in reply said: 'Mr. Carne knows that to his moral conduct I have nothing to object, indeed I have every reason to believe it exemplary, but to my conception the doctrines he maintains are not those of the church of England, nor are they, as I conceive, according to its discipline. I therefore cannot conscientiously license him, and without a license no clergyman is authorised to preach.' Carne then withdrew from the established church, giving as his chief reasons for his action the violence done to conscience and the invasion of the rights of private judgment. He held high Calvinistic doctrines 'upon conviction,' and had objections to some portions of the Athanasian Creed. After this Carne for some time acted as minister of the High Street Chapel, Exeter, and then withdrew to Jersey, where he spent the remainder of his

days, and, dying of apoplexy on 12 July 1844, was buried at St. Heliers on 16 July, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was the author of the following works: 1. 'Substance of Discourses delivered in the Churches of Crediton and Drewsteignton,' 1810. 2. 'A Series of Letters in Refutation of the Socinian Heresy,' 1815. 3. 'All the Elect People of God contemplated as Members of One Body,' 1817. 4. 'The Proper Deity and Distinct Personality, Agency, and Worship of the Holy Spirit,' 1818. 5. 'Reason for withdrawing from the National Establishment, with a Brief Statement of Doctrinal Sentiments,' 1820. 6. 'Sabellianism Revived,' 7. 'The Scripture Doctrine of Sanctification,' 8. 'The Two Covenants, or Law and Gospel,' 1828. 9. 'Examination of Pædobaptism for the Satisfaction of Pædobaptists,' 1830. 10. 'The Gospel Herald, a series of Discourses on the Glad Tidings of the Kingdom of God.' He was also a writer in the 'Morning Watch' in opposition to Edward Irving's opinions on 'The True Humanity of Christ.'

[Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornub.* i. 61, 62, iii. 1114; collected information.] G. C. B.

**CARNEGIE, SIR DAVID**, of Kinnaird, LORD CARNEGIE and EARL OF SOUTHESK (1575-1658), son of Sir David Carnegie of Panbride and Colluthie, one of the commissioners of the treasury, by his second wife, a daughter of Sir David Wemyss of Wemyss, was born in 1575. He succeeded his father in the family estates of Kinnaird in 1598. In 1601 he obtained license from the king to travel on the continent for a space of two years. When James VI of Scotland succeeded to the English crown, Carnegie was appointed to escort the queen into England, and received for his services the honour of knighthood. In 1604 he was nominated a commissioner to arrange a union between England and Scotland. In the general assembly of the kirk he was an active supporter of the ecclesiastical policy of the king, and on 25 May 1606 received a letter from him thanking him for his services. In 1609 he was nominated a commissioner for reforming the university of St. Andrews. In the parliament of 1612 he was one of the commissioners for the shire of Fife, and was appointed a commissioner for considering the penal laws and in reference to taxation. On 14 April 1616 the king recognised his special services to Scotland by creating him Lord Carnegie of Kinnaird, and in July following he was appointed a lord of session, which office he retained till the death of James I in 1625. He was one



of the royal commissioners to the Perth assembly in August 1618, when the obnoxious five articles were passed. In the parliament which met soon after, he was appointed commissioner for the plantation of kirks, as well as for the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, and in August 1630 he was nominated one of the commissioners of laws, to which he was reappointed in June 1633. At the coronation of Charles I in the abbey of Holyrood on 22 June 1633 he was created Earl of Southesk. He was an active supporter of the ecclesiastical policy both of James I and Charles I. In 1637 he endeavoured without success to bring about a conference between the bishops and Alexander Henderson and other ministers in reference to the Service Book (GORDON, *Scots Affairs*, i. 17). When his son-in-law the Earl of Montrose, in February 1639, came to Forfar to hold a committee for the subscription of the covenant abjuring episcopacy, the Earl of Southesk refused to subscribe, as well as to raise a quota of men to aid the covenanters (SPALDING, *Memorials of the Troubles*, i. 135). In March 1640 he and other prominent anti-covenanters were apprehended in Edinburgh and lodged in private houses under a nightly guard (*ib.* 200). He subscribed the bond of Montrose against Argyll in 1640, but after the reconciliation of parties which succeeded the king's visit to Scotland in 1641 he was nominated a privy councillor. On the triumph of the covenanters he submitted to their authority. By Cromwell's Act of Grace he was fined 3,000*l.* He died on 22 Feb. 1658, at the age of eighty-three.

[Douglas's *Peerage* (Wood), ii. 514; Fraser's *History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk* (1867), i. 70-134; Robert Baillie's *Letters and Journals*; Gordon's *Scots Affairs*; Spalding's *Memorials of the Troubles*; Acts of the Parliament of Scotland.]

T. F. H.

**CARNEGIE, SIR ROBERT** (*d.* 1566), of Kinnaird, judge and diplomatist, son of John Carnegie of Kinnaird, who fell at Flodden (9 Sept. 1513), by Jane Vaus, was in 1547 nominated an ordinary lord of session by the regent (the Earl of Arran), to whose party he had attached himself. The appointment seems to have been made in anticipation of the removal of Henry Balnaves [q. v.], then under suspicion of complicity in the murder of Cardinal Beaton. In the autumn of 1548 Carnegie was despatched to England to negotiate with the protector for the ransom of the Earl of Huntly, the chancellor of Scotland, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Pinkie Cleugh in the preceding year (10 Sept.). From London Carnegie

proceeded to Blois, where, with the bishop of Ross and Gavin Hamilton (abbot of Kilwynning), he conducted the negotiations which resulted, in 1551, in the creation of the regent duke of Chatelherault, with the understanding that he should resign the regency into the hands of the queen-mother. In the summer of 1551 he returned to Scotland, travelling through England under letters of safe-conduct granted by the protector, and was employed in negotiations relative to the settlement of the borders. On the accession to the regency of Mary of Guise (1553), he became clerk to the treasurer (thesaurar-clerk) at a salary of 26*l.* per annum. He was appointed (9 June of the same year) commissioner to enforce the observance of the statutes relating to forestalling and regrating at the approaching fair at Brechin, and on 18 Sept. was deputed, with Sir Robert Bellenden, to represent Scotland in another negotiation for a settlement of the border, as the result of which a treaty, the terms of which will be found in the 'Calendar of State Papers' (*Dom. Addenda*, 1547-65, p. 430), was concluded on 4 Dec. In 1557 another negotiation with the same object was opened, Carnegie being again employed. The commissioners met at Carlisle in the summer, but the negotiation was abruptly terminated by the queen regent. Carnegie was employed in 1553 in another attempt to settle the perennial border question. The precise date when he received the honour of knighthood is uncertain, but it was probably about 1552-3. The last meeting of the privy council which he attended was held on 1 Dec. 1565. He died on 5 July in the following year. He is described by Knox as one of those 'quha for faynting of the bretheris haitis, and drawing many to the Queeneis factioun against thair natyve countrey have declairit thameselfis enemies to God and traytouris to thair commune wealth' (*Hist. Reform.* i. 400, Bannatyne Club). By his devotion to the queen regent he profited largely, receiving from her several grants of lands in Forfarshire. His wife was Margaret Guthrie, of the Guthries of Lunan. He is supposed to be the author of a work on Scotch law, cited in Balfour's 'Practicks' (ed. 1754), p. 60, by the title of 'Lib. Carneg.'

[Lesley's *Hist. Scotl.* pp. 197, 220, 258; Reg. Counc. Scotl. i. 83, 141, 146, 150; Keith's *Hist. Scotl.* App. 115; Cal. State Papers (Scotl. 1509-1603), pp. 100, 105, 192 (*Dom. Addenda*, 1547-65), p. 430; Knox's *Works* (Bann. Club), i. 400, iii. 410-11; Strype's *Mem.* iii. pt. ii. 419, ad fin.; Reg. Mag. Sig. (1513-46), gg. 1465 2730; Brunton and Haig's *Senators of the College of Justice*.]

J. M. R.

**CARNEGIE, WILLIAM, EARL OF NORTHESK** (1758-1831), admiral, was the third son of George, sixth Earl of Northesk, admiral of the white, who died in 1792. He entered the navy in 1771 on board the *Albion*, with Captain Barrington, served afterwards with Captains Macbride in the *Southampton* and Stair Douglas in the *Squirrel*, and on 7 Dec. 1777 was made lieutenant into the *Apollo*. He was afterwards with Sir John Lockhart Ross in the *Royal George*, and in the *Sandwich* with Sir George Rodney, by whom he was made commander after the battle of 17 April 1780, though the commission was not confirmed till 10 Sept. He continued in the *West Indies*, commanding in succession the *Blast* fireship and the *St. Eustatius*, hired ship, till on 7 April 1782 he was advanced to post rank. He afterwards had command of the *Enterprise* frigate, which he brought home and paid off at the peace. By the death of his elder brothers, in 1788 he became Lord Rosehill. In 1790 he commanded the *Heroine* for a few months, in the Spanish armament, and in 1792 succeeded to the earldom on the death of his father. In 1793 he commanded the *Beaulieu* frigate, and afterwards the *Andromeda*, but only for a short time. In 1796 he was appointed to the *Monmouth* of 64 guns, in the *North Sea* fleet, one of the ships engaged in the following year in the mutiny at the *Nore*. Northesk was for some time detained on board, a prisoner in his cabin; he was afterwards brought before the committee of delegates on board the *Sandwich*, and employed by them to lay their demands before the king, receiving from their president a commission in the following terms: 'You are hereby authorised and ordered to wait upon the king, wherever he may be, with the resolutions of the committee of delegates, and are directed to return back with an answer within fifty-four hours from the date hereof. 6 June, 3 P.M.'

Northesk accordingly carried the propositions of the mutineers to the admiralty, and was taken by Lord Spencer to the king. The demands were rejected, and a message to that effect was sent down to the revolted seamen; but Northesk did not return, and shortly after the mutiny had been quelled he resigned the command of the *Monmouth*. In 1800 he was appointed to the *Prince* of 98 guns, in the *Channel* fleet, and commanded her till the peace. On the renewal of the war he was appointed to the *Britannia* of 100 guns, in the fleet off *Brest* under Admiral Cornwallis, and continued in her, on the same station, after his promotion to flag rank, 23 April 1804. In August 1805 he was de-

tached under Sir Robert Calder to reinforce the fleet off *Cadiz*, and on 21 Oct. commanded in the third post in the battle of *Trafalgar*. The *Britannia* was the fourth ship in the weather-line led by Nelson, and was thus early in the action, continuing closely engaged till the end, and sustaining a loss of fifty-two killed and wounded. Northesk's services on this occasion were acknowledged by his being nominated a knight of the Bath, the investiture taking place on 5 June 1806. He became vice-admiral 28 April 1808, and admiral 4 June 1814, but had no further service during the war. In 1821 he was constituted rear-admiral of Great Britain; from 1827-1830 was commander-in-chief at *Plymouth*; and died, after a short illness, on 28 May 1831. On 8 June he was buried in the crypt of *St. Paul's Cathedral*, where a plain slab marks his grave near Nelson's and Colingwood's. He sat in four parliaments as a representative peer of Scotland (1796, 1802, 1806, 1830). He married, 9 Dec. 1788, Mary, daughter of William Henry Ricketts, and niece of Lord St. Vincent, and had by her a very numerous family. The eldest son, then Lord Rosehill, was lost in the *Blenheim* with Sir Thomas Troubridge in February 1807.

[*Naval Chronicle*, xv. 441, with a portrait; *Ralfs's Nav. Biog.* ii. 400; *Marshall's Roy. Nav. Biog.* i. 198; *Gent. Mag.* (1831) vol. ci. pt. ii. p. 79.] J. K. L.

**CARNWATH, EARLS OF.** [See DALYELL, ROBERT, second EARL, *d.* 1654; DALYELL, SIR ROBERT, sixth EARL, *d.* 1737.]

**CAROLINE** (1683-1737), queen of Great Britain and Ireland, was born 1 March 1683, and baptised by the names of Wilhelmina Caroline. Her father, John Frederick, margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, died when she was four years of age, and his margravate was for seven years afterwards under the rule of minors. Thus, on the marriage in 1692 of his widow, Eleonora Erdmuthe Louisa, daughter of John George, duke of Saxe-Eisenach, to the elector John George IV of Saxony, Caroline accompanied her mother to Dresden. The extraordinary condition of manners and morals at the Saxon court had very nearly culminated in open bigamy on the part of Caroline's stepfather (see BÖTTIGER-FLATHE, *Geschichte von Sachsen*, 1870, ii. 265-70). After the death of the elector, in 1694, Caroline seems to have remained with her mother at Dresden or at Pretzsch, on the Elbe above Wittenberg, the estate settled on the electress in jointure, where she was visited by her daughter's guardian, the Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg (afterwards King Frederick I of Prussia), and his

charming wife, Sophia Charlotte, daughter of the Electress Sophia of Hanover (VARNHAGEN, 'Sophia Charlotte,' in *Biographische Denkmäler*, 3rd edit. 1872, iv. 278). In 1696 Caroline was left an orphan by the death of her mother, and after this event she seems to have spent some years under the care of her guardian and his consort at Berlin, though doubtless paying occasional visits to Ansbach and other courts. It must have been near the time of her mother's death that, if there be any truth in the story retailed by Horace Walpole (*Memoirs of the Last Ten Years of George II*, 4to, 1822, 158-9), Caroline fell in love with Frederick II, duke of Saxe-Gotha, who married in 1696, and whose daughter was afterwards married to Caroline's eldest son.

Caroline's sojourn with her guardian's wife, the Electress Sophia Charlotte (queen of Prussia from 1701), largely helped to mould her mind and character. Sophia Charlotte was a woman of unusual intellectual gifts, which had been fostered by the training given to her by her mother, and more especially by the influence of her mother's faithful friend, Leibniz, who during these years was a constant visitor at Berlin and at Lützenburg, the new château since famous under the name of Charlottenburg (VARNHAGEN and KLOPP, *Correspondance*, vol. iii. passim. See *ib.* iii. 104-5 Leibniz's tribute to Caroline's vocal powers). Sophia Charlotte entertained a warm affection for the young Ansbach princess, without whom Berlin seemed to her 'a desert' (see Leibniz's letter to the queen, 17 Nov. 1703, in KEMBLE, 322); and this affection was shared by the old Electress Sophia, who made Caroline's acquaintance at Berlin (*Correspondance*, iii. 100). Already, in October 1704, the old lady is found manifesting a wish that by marrying her grandson, the Electoral Prince of Hanover, Caroline might have been saved the trouble inflicted upon her in connection with a proposal of more brilliant promise. The scheme of marrying the Ansbach princess to the Archduke Charles, afterwards titular king of Spain and emperor under the designation of Charles VI, appears to have been entertained as early as 1698 (see Leibniz's letter to the Duchess Benedicta in KEMBLE, 322); but negotiations were not actually opened on the subject till about 1704, when the Elector Palatine, John William, solicited Caroline's hand for the archduke. As her conversion to the church of Rome was an indispensable preliminary for such a marriage, the jesuit father, Orbanus, a personage highly praised by Leibniz, was permitted to instruct her in the faith, and the Electress Sophia very

graphically describes the intelligent girl's disputations with her tutor, and her tears when the arguing had unsettled her mind (*Correspondance*, iii. 108). The old electress and Leibniz were supposed to have encouraged Caroline in her resistance (*ib.* iii. Introd. 39), and Leibniz certainly drafted for her the letter to the elector palatine, in which she declined further negotiations (*ib.* iii. 108-9). But 'Providence,' as Addison afterwards put it (see extract from the 'Freeholder,' No. 21, in COXE's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, ii. 270), 'kept a reward in store for such an exalted virtue,' and her 'pious firmness,' as it was styled by Burnet (*Own Times*, 1833 edit. v. §22), was not to go unrequited, 'even in this life.' After a decent interval the Hanoverian family and their relations resumed the project of a match between Caroline and the electoral prince, and by the close of the year she considered the Spanish project at an end (*Correspondance*, iii. 113; KEMBLE, 383), though it seems to have been transitorily resumed about March 1705 (*Correspondance*, iii. 119). Late in 1704 she had returned to Ansbach, and it was here that she learnt with the deepest sorrow of the death of her kind friend and protectress, Queen Sophia Charlotte of Prussia (see her letter to Leibniz, in KEMBLE, 435). Her stay at her native place was soon to come to an end; but she seems always to have retained a warm interest in the family from which she sprang (see the statement, probably true in substance, though certainly inaccurate, as to her kindness in her later years towards the infant margrave of Ansbach, in the *Memoirs of the Margravine of Ansbach*, 1826, i. 177-8).

On 2 Sept. 1705 Caroline was married to George Augustus, electoral prince of Hanover, who had visited Ansbach incognito a few weeks before, and had been captivated by the charms of her person and conversation (COXE, ii. 270, from the 'Marlborough Papers'). The ensuing nine years, which she spent as electoral princess at Hanover and its neighbourhood, were probably among the happiest in her life. Soon after her marriage she had an attack of the small-pox, from which she was in 1707 thought to have just escaped (KEMBLE, 448); but it neither altogether destroyed her personal charms (see WALPOLE's *Reminiscences*, 304), nor put an end to their power over her husband. Their eldest son, Frederick, afterwards prince of Wales, was born on 6 Jan. 1707, and their eldest daughter, Anne, afterwards princess of Orange, in 1709. Two other daughters were born, in 1711 and in 1713; and afterwards in England, between 1721 and 1724,

three more children, who survived to maturity, the eldest of these, afterwards known as the Duke of Cumberland, being the favourite of his parents. The Duke of Gloucester, whose birth in 1717 'transported' his father with joy (*Suffolk Letters*, i. 17), and gave rise to the family quarrel noticed below, died in infancy; another boy, born in the previous year, did not survive his birth.

Between the electoral princess and her grandmother, the old Electress Sophia, to whom she must largely have supplied the place of Sophia Charlotte, a warm esteem and affection continued to prevail, and her intimacy with Leibniz continued, though he was at this time much away from Hanover. Even in times of political anxiety she took comfort in the preface to his 'Deodyces' (*sic*, KEMBLE, 504; for other examples of her spelling, phenomenal even in that age, see her letters in the same collection, *passim*). But she was not absorbed in moral philosophy or in other literature. The electoral prince was far more eager for the British succession than his father, or probably even than his grandmother; and Caroline had already learned how to flatter her husband's foibles. She was, moreover, herself of an ambitious nature, and may be supposed to have been conscious of her capacity for the royal station to which, in common with the prince, she aspired. Towards this end her conduct seems to have been consistently shaped. Her progress in the English tongue was slow; for though as early as 1706 she had expressed a wish to study it (*Correspondance*, iii. 220-1), and in 1713 actually engaged an Englishwoman born in Hanover to read English to her (*ib.* iii. 411), she never seems to have learned to speak it with any degree of correctness. But to the political situation and its needs she was wide awake. In September 1712 she is found assuring Queen Anne of her gratitude (ELLIS's *Original Letters*, 2nd ser. iv. 267-8); but in December 1713 she writes to Leibniz very gloomily concerning the prospects of the succession. She may be concluded to have agreed with the step taken on her husband's behalf in England in May 1714, when his writ of summons to the House of Lords was demanded and granted. At all events, she shared in the excitement created at Hanover by the queen's irate letters to the Electress Sophia and the electoral prince, and declared that she had never experienced so intolerable an annoyance (see her letter in KEMBLE, 503-4, and in *Correspondance*, iii. 452-3). On 8 June, in consequence, as was widely believed, of her agitation from the same cause, the Electress Sophia died at Herrenhausen, in Caroline's arms (see the

narrative in *Correspondance*, iii. 457-62). The request of Leibniz, that she would accept him as a poor legacy from his old mistress (*ib.* 462-5), was not overlooked; she is found corresponding with him from England in 1715, when she attempted to obtain for him from George I the payment of arrears of salary due to him (KEMBLE, 528 seq.) But her most confidential correspondent after the death of the old electress seems to have been the favourite niece of the latter, the vivacious and warm-hearted Elisabeth Charlotte, duchess of Orleans, who declared Caroline to be possessed of a heart, 'a rare thing as times go' (VHSE, 251).

After the death of the Electress Sophia, Caroline's active interest in the British succession did not abate (*Memoirs of Ker of Kersland*, 3rd ed. 1727, i. 88 seq.); and her hopes had not long to wait for fulfilment. Before the close of 1714 the Princess of Wales had followed her husband and George I to England; already in November Addison rapturously commends his 'Cato' to her notice (see the lines in ADDISON'S *Miscellaneous Works*, 1736, ii. 124-6; and about the same time her first household appointments are sharply censured by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (*Letters and Works*, 2nd ed. 1837, i. 225). And likewise at a very early date in her English life her name was mixed up in a factious dispute concerning the religious beliefs of the new royal family, in the course of which she was branded as a Calvinist and a presbyterian, and declared to have refused to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England. These reports, though contradicted, may have contributed to the animosity with which she afterwards came to be regarded by the high church party (see R. PAULI, *Aufsätze zur englischen Geschichte*, neue (third) Folge (1833), 383-91). The first occasion, however, on which, after the accession of the house of Hanover in England, the Princess of Wales was called upon to take a side, was that of the open rupture between her husband and the king, his father, towards the close of 1717. George I did not love his daughter-in-law, whom to confidential ears he termed 'cette diablesse madame la princesse' (*Reminiscences*, 283), and she had shown herself as irreconcilable as had her husband, and carried her display of animosity against the king's party even into the neutral ground of a masquerade (LADY M. W. MONTAGU, i. 381). When the prince was banished from St. James's Palace, the princess, though in consideration of her condition leave was granted her to remain, preferred to accompany her husband; and the night from 2-3 Dec. was

spent by both in the house of Lord Grantham, the princess's great chamberlain (see the account, based upon a contemporary official narrative, in LORD HERVEY's *Memoirs*, iii. 279-282; also WALPOLE's *Reminiscences*, 290). Ten years afterwards, on the death of George I, it was Queen Caroline herself who, if Walpole is to be believed, discovered in the late king's cabinet Lord Berkeley's atrocious proposal to transport the Prince of Wales to America (*Reminiscences*, 289).

After his quarrel with the king, the Prince of Wales in 1718 hired, and in 1719 bought, as a summer residence, Richmond Lodge in Richmond Gardens, on the riverside near Kew. The villa had formerly been the Duke of Ormonde's (*Suffolk Letters*, i. 23 note; HERVEY, iii. 118). Ultimately both Richmond Lodge and Gardens became Queen Caroline's separate property (HERVEY, iii. 312 note); and it was here that in 1735 she caused to be constructed, in the absurd fashion of the times, the famous 'Merlin's Cave,' a grotto adorned with figures of Merlin and others, and supplied with a collection of books, of which Stephen Duck was librarian (*ib.* ii. 222 and note). As a town residence the prince and princess took Leicester House in Leicester Fields (*Reminiscences*, 295 and note). But Richmond was associated with Caroline's court more than any other place—more even than Kensington Gardens, whence was derived the title of the poem in which Tickell paid a tribute to 'England's daughter' and 'her virgin band.' Even after her accession to the throne her and her husband's life here was 'so much in private that they saw nobody but their servants' (HERVEY, i. 249); but this household and its immediate intimates included, besides a bevy of fair ladies, the most accomplished of the younger whig nobility, and not a few of such great wits of the day as were within reach. Pope himself, in 1717, celebrated the princess's 'maids' in his 'court ballad' entitled 'The Challenge;' but a more complete picture of 'Bellenden, Lepell, and Griffin,' and of the lively ways of these and other ladies around the princess, will be found in their own contributions to the 'Suffolk Letters' (see also *Reminiscences*, 300 seq., for a general survey of this court). Among the ladies attached to the court were Mrs. Selwyn and Lady Walpole; but the most influential personage there after the princess was her bedchamber-woman, Mrs. Howard, afterwards Lady Suffolk and mistress of the robes, and mistress *en titre* to George II both before and after his accession. With her the princess prudently established a *modus vivendi*, and though a species of party inevitably formed round the mistress, the con-

trolling influence over her husband remained with the wife. According to Lord Hervey (*Memoirs*, ii. 89-93), when in 1734 a rupture between the king and Lady Suffolk at last took place, Queen Caroline was 'both glad and sorry'; indeed, at one time she had been rather desirous to keep Lady Suffolk about the king than to leave a chance for a successor. Mrs. Clayton (afterwards Lady Sundon), another of the bedchamber-women, acquired great influence over the queen in later days, and was thought in especial to be the agent who introduced low church or 'heterodox' divines to her favour (*Suffolk Letters*, i. 62-3; *Reminiscences*, 307). Among the male members of the young court the most prominent were Lord Stanhope, from 1726 Lord Chesterfield, whose opposition to Walpole, coupled, it was said, with the discovery of his trust in Mrs. Howard by the queen, entailed upon him her lasting resentment (*ib.* 297; *Walpoliana*, i. 83-4; HERVEY, i. 322-4; and see CROKER's refutation of COXE in a note to *Suffolk Letters*); Lords Bathurst and Scarborough; Colonel, afterwards General, Charles Churchill; Carr, lord Hervey, and above all his younger brother John, who succeeded to the title in 1723. Lord Hervey was the most devoted of Queen Caroline's servants and friends; he says (ii. 46) that she called him always 'her child, her pupil, and her charge;' he was of the utmost use to her in her dealings with the king and with Walpole; he reported the debates to her; his society was the relief of her life; and he was even allowed to laugh at her without offence being taken (see his *jeux d'esprit*, ii. 323-46). After her death he wrote her epitaph (*ib.* iii. 334 note). Among the neighbours of the court at Richmond Lodge who at different times came into contact with it were Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Pope; Bolingbroke too was from 1725 intriguing close at hand. Gay had the *entrée*, though he thought it beneath him to accept the office of gentleman-usher to the Princess Louisa and Arbuthnot. Swift in his exile flattered himself with hopes founded on the interest shown in him and in Irish affairs by the princess on his visits to England in 1726 and 1727, but more especially on the supposed influence of Mrs. Howard (*Suffolk Letters*). Finally, it may be presumed that even in the earlier years of Caroline's English life the literary representatives of those opinions on religious matters which chiefly found favour there were occasionally admitted to her society.

The hopes of the 'Howard party,' which had thought that the ascendancy of the mistress would be firmly established on

the accession to the throne of George II, were altogether disappointed when that event was brought about by the sudden death of his father on 9 June 1727. Not only was Lord Bathurst disappointed of a coronet by the veto of Queen Caroline (*Reminiscences*, 296); but another friend of Mrs. Howard, Sir Spencer Compton, was, at the direct suggestion of the queen, deposed from the height of prime-minister-designate. At the reception held by the king and queen at Leicester House on the day after the notice of their accession had reached them, the queen carefully distinguished Lady Walpole, and the imbecility of Sir Spencer made it easy for her to give effect to her wish. Beyond a doubt she was strongly influenced by Walpole's offer, carried out by a parliamentary vote on 9 July following, to obtain for her from parliament a jointure of 100,000*l.* a year, in lieu of 50,000*l.* as proposed by Sir Spencer Compton. But there were other reasons which had long made her favourable to Walpole; she was fully capable of recognising his merits, she was on good terms with his supporter the Duke of Devonshire, and, while always respectful to her, he had never paid court to Mrs. Howard (COXE, ii. 284 seqq.; cf. *Walpoliana*, i. 86-7). From this time onward the part played by the queen in the political affairs of Great Britain may be said to have determined itself. Her support of Walpole was all but unfaltering. In 1730, as she observed the growing misunderstanding between Walpole and Townshend, she steadily adhered to the former, and helped to secure his victory (COXE, ii. 382-4; cf. *Reminiscences*, 306). In 1733 she not only supported the minister in his excise scheme so courageously as on its withdrawal to have the honour of being burnt in effigy with him by the London mob (HERVEY, i. 206), but she inspired the king with a steadfast resolution not to drop the author of the scheme with the scheme itself (*ib.* 193-5). In the South Sea Company inquiry which ensued in the lords, she eagerly strove, by private persuasions addressed to several peers, to avert a ministerial defeat (*ib.* 233). In the same and in the following year her action in the Polish succession question was affected by the arguments of Walpole and Hervey to such a degree that, though still in favour of war, she contrived to convince the king of the expediency of peace (*ib.* i. 262; 271-2, ii. 61; cf. COXE, ii. 207). It would seem, however, that before the election of 1734 the queen shared the king's temporary distrust in the prospects of the ministry (HERVEY, i. 339). During her later regencies the queen and Walpole did everything by themselves (*ib.* ii.

181), and in 1736 the queen aided the minister in inducing the king to abandon his scheme of a northern league (COXE, iii. 260). Such was the political intimacy between 'the king's two ears,' as Lord Hervey called them (ii. 107), that Walpole was jealous even of the confidence she reposed in the faithful Lord Hervey (HERVEY, iii. 234), and such her trust in the minister, that shortly before her death she recommended the king to his care instead of asking for him the favour of the king (COXE, iii. 386-7; *Reminiscences*, 307). The general character of the relations between the king and the queen were more paradoxical. It was said that the alkali of her temper sweetened the acid of his (HERVEY, iii. 85). She governed him primarily by his admiration for her person (*Reminiscences*, 304; HERVEY, i. 293-300), but almost equally by her complaisance, which knew no bounds (see, to quote but one instance, Lord Hervey's account, ii. 168, of her treatment of his passion for Madame de Walmoden, afterwards countess of Yarmouth). Lastly, she governed him by means of the tact which enabled her to appear *not* to govern the vainest of men (HERVEY, i. 334; *Reminiscences*, 305). In return he treated her, on the whole, as well as his essentially selfish nature and his vaingloriousness in matters of gallantry would allow. About 1735 a change for the worse was thought observable in his behaviour towards her (HERVEY, ii. 205), but she manifested much emotion when in December 1736 he was thought to have imperilled his life in a storm at sea (*ib.* iii. 6 seqq.); and when he lost her in the following year, there was no doubt as to the genuineness of his grief. In no sentiment was she more entirely at one with him than in her detestation of their eldest son, Frederick, prince of Wales. Even Croker cannot account for the early beginning or for the intensity of the queen's animosity against the prince (HERVEY, iii. 54 note; see, however, *ib.* 276 and ii. 370); nor does she seem ever to have heartily entered into the notable scheme in favour of her second son for severing Hanover from Great Britain, though it might in the event of her husband's death have secured her a convenient retreat (*ib.* iii. 220 seqq.). At the time of her death the popular imagination was greatly occupied with the fact that she refused an interview to her hated first-born, and Pope was at pains to preserve her refusal from oblivion in a classic sneer; but though she must be held personally responsible for the decision (*ib.* 307-8), there is something little short of hypocrisy in treating it as inexcusable. Her second son was beloved by both his parents; of the daughters, the Princess Caroline was

devoted to the queen (*ib.* iii. 209). Towards the princess royal her affection appears to have been warm rather than deep (*ib.* 334).

As a rule, the political opinions of Queen Caroline were in complete accord with those of her husband. Though at times eloquent in her praise of English institutions, she was a German princess at heart, 'always partial to the emperor' (*ib.* i. 273), jealous of the prerogative, and as fond of troops as was the king himself (*ib.* ii. 253). Walpole declared that she was in the habit of accusing him of 'partiality to England' (*ib.* ii. 63), and it is certain that 'the militant flame in her was blown' by such counsellors as the Hanoverian minister Hattorf (*ib.* ii. 38-9). Though true to the whig leader in the main, she had no love for the whigs as a party (*ib.* iii. 65), and had a strong dislike of the minister's brother Horace, of Newcastle (*iii.* 134-5), and of Carteret (*iii.* 161). She was liberal in sentiment towards Jacobites and Roman Catholics, and promised Swift to use her best endeavours for Ireland (*Suffolk Letters*, i. 700-1). Though she was at all times active in influencing appointments (COXE, ii. 268), her interest in politics most fully exhibited itself when she acted as regent during the king's absence in Hanover in 1729, 1732, 1735, and 1736-7. From first to last, much to the chagrin of the Prince of Wales, the king invariably appointed her to this office, and an act of parliament was passed for the express purpose of exempting her from taking the oaths (*ib.* ii. 296). More especially during his last absence she took an active part in the conduct of affairs, and showed great vigour in dealing with the troubles which arose during this period, and with the Edinburgh Porteous riots, and their consequences in particular. At the same time she conciliated the king's weakness by avoiding any display of state during his absence, and by residing out of town at Kensington, notwithstanding his pretended wishes to the contrary (HERVEY, ii. 362). Towards the church Queen Caroline's position was peculiar. The bench of bishops as a whole she treated *de haut en bas* (see her rebuke of them for their opposition to the Quakers' Tithe Bill in 1736, HERVEY, ii. 276); but for several members of it, such as Sherlocke, Secker, Butler, and Pearce, she entertained a strong regard. Her relations with Hoadly, whom Hervey maintains she hated, but whom she helped to promote to the see of Winchester, must have been of a more complex nature. She would gladly have placed on the bench Dr. Clarke, for whose learning and character she had the deepest respect, but he repeatedly declined (see as to her relations with Clarke,

and her 'arbitration' between him and Leibniz, COXE, ii. 273-4). It pleased the world and the wits who set it talking (see especially Croker's note to HERVEY, ii. 140) to impugn the orthodoxy of her creed. That she thought soberly on the highest subjects is shown by her letter to Leibniz concerning his 'Theodicee' (KEMBLE, 533-4); it was not her fault that she could not help, as he had hoped, to incline the church of England in the direction of a reunion of the protestant churches (*ib.* 541-5).

The health of Queen Caroline was seriously affected in the autumn of 1734 (the report of her death in 1731 was a mere stockjobber's invention; see *Wentworth Papers*, 474); and in August 1737, after receiving a letter offensive in form from the Prince of Wales, she fell ill of a violent fit of the gout (HERVEY, iii. 227). But the fatal illness which began on 9 Nov. of the same year had its origin in a rupture which she had for years carefully kept concealed, and for which a painful operation was performed, it is said, only two days too late. She died on 20 Nov. quite peacefully. Not long before her death she made a simple and touching declaration of her endeavours on behalf of the king and nation. There was much gossip as to her having declined to receive the sacrament; her last words were a request for prayer. The king lamented her with loud and half-selfish passionateness, but he scrupulously provided for her servants, declaring that he would have nobody feel her loss but himself. He was afterwards buried by her side in Henry VII's chapel in Westminster Abbey (COXE, iii. 377-80, chiefly from Dr. ALURED CLARKE's *Essay towards the Character of Queen Caroline*. By her will (*Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 35349, f. 1) she left all her property to the king, including the seat at Richmond, on which she had spent so much money (his, according to *Reminiscences*, 305), but it seems to have been an idle invention that she died rich. 'Caroline the Good' was a genuinely able and, notwithstanding her power of dissembling, a true-hearted woman. Her learning was not deep, but she was able to appreciate some of the best thought of her times, and she made some attempt to encourage poets and other men of letters by her patronage. She was not ill-read in French history, and took some interest in English literature, though she never learnt to speak English correctly, and conversed with her family in French. Of eminent men of science, Newton and Halley had her active goodwill; and she was a benefactress of Queen's College, Oxford. Of course she was for Handel with the king, and against the prince. Though



she was a stickler for etiquette, her conversation was as unrefined as her spelling was incorrect, but for these defects she need not be held responsible. She had a broad wit of her own, which she exercised freely on both friend and foe. She was not averse to the ordinary amusements of her times, and it was the king's taste which condemned her to spend most of her evenings 'knotting' and listening to his obsequatory talk. But she learnt to study other characters besides her husband's, and became, as Sir Robert Walpole phrased it, 'main good at pumping.' She was a good hater, as Chesterfield and others found; she was a faithful friend, and full of active sympathy for the unprotected. Her greatest error, as Horace Walpole truly observes, was that she cherished too high an opinion of her own power of dealing with others, so that her designs were more often seen through than she thought. Her greatest merit, and the source of the power which she wielded during a hard and joyless reign for the benefit of her husband and of the British nation, was her patience—the patience of a strong and not ungenerous mind.

The National Portrait Gallery contains a portrait of Caroline as Princess of Wales by Jervas, and another of her as queen by Enoch Seeman.

[Hervey's *Memoirs of the Reign of George II* from his Accession to the Death of Queen Caroline (ed. Croker), 3 vols. 1848, reprinted 1884; Cox's *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Sir Robert Walpole*, new ed. 4 vols. 1816; Lord Stanhope's *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht*, 5th ed. 1858, vols. i. and ii.; *Reminiscences*, written in 1788, in the *Works of Horatio Walpole*, earl of Orford, 5 vols. 1798; *Wentworth Papers (1705-39)*, edited by J. J. Cartwright, 1883; vol. i. of Dr. Doran's *Lives of the Queens of England of the House of Hanover*, 4th ed. 2 vols. 1875; vol. xviii. of *Vehse's Geschichte der deutschen Höfe, &c.*, Hamburg, 1858. For the earlier years of Queen Caroline see also vol. iii. of the *Correspondance de Leibniz avec l'électrice Sophie de Brunswick-Lüneburg*, 3 vols. Hanover, 1874; and *Kemble's State Papers and Correspondence, &c.*, from the Revolution to the Accession of the House of Hanover, 1857.]

A. W. W.

**CAROLINE MATILDA (1751-1775)**, queen of Denmark and Norway, was the ninth and youngest child of Frederick and Augusta, prince and princess of Wales. She was born at Leicester House in London, 22 July 1751, a little more than four months after her father's death. Her childhood was spent in the comparative seclusion of her mother's court, where she was well, though we may conclude by no means rigorously,

educated. Pleasant traditions attach themselves to this period of her life, at Kew and elsewhere (KEITH; L. WRAXALL). It came to a close with her engagement, announced to parliament 10 Jan. 1765, to Christian, prince royal of Denmark, son of Frederick V and his popular first wife Louisa, youngest daughter of George II of Great Britain. The match seems to have given satisfaction in England as 'adding security to the protestant religion;' but it possessed no special political significance. By the death of Frederick V, 14 Jan. 1766, Christian VII succeeded to the Danish throne, and 1 Oct. in the same year Caroline Matilda was married to him by proxy (her brother the Duke of York) at the Chapel Royal, St. James's. Two days afterwards she embarked from Harwich for Rotterdam, whence she proceeded to Altona and Roeskilde. From this place Christian VII conducted her to the palace of Frederiksberg, near Copenhagen, where her solemn entry and formal marriage followed 8 Nov. (*Annual Register* for 1766; MALORTIE, ii. 63-9). Her English and Hanoverian suite having quitted her at Altona, Caroline Matilda was left alone in a strange land among doubtful surroundings. Her popular reception had been warm; but the king was indifferent to her. Christian VII, a youth of feeble character and selfish disposition, was by self-indulgence beginning to reduce himself to a mental condition which in some measure justified Niebuhr's comparison of him to Caligula. Next by birth to the throne stood his stepbrother Frederick, the son of his father's second wife Juliana Maria, a princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. There is no reason whatever for supposing that Juliana Maria was either now or for some time afterwards animated by jealous or hostile feelings against the young queen (this supposition, of which the *Authentische Aufklärungen* are a main source, is refuted by REVERDIL, 327, and by the other evidence reviewed by WITTICH, 185-8); on the contrary, they and the other queen dowager, Sophia Magdalena, widow of Christian VI, lived together 'dans une grande intimité et dans un ennui paisible' (REVERDIL, 138). Queen Caroline Matilda took no interest in public affairs (*ib.* 162; cf. WITTICH, 26). Though she was from the first treated with coldness by her husband, her troubles began when Count von Holck, by taking advantage of the peculiarities in the king's temper, established himself as favourite; on 21 Dec. 1767 he was appointed marshal of the court. On the king's return from a journey to Holstein in the previous summer, on which he was not accompanied by the queen, he



was provided with a mistress; nor was any change in the situation brought about by the birth of an heir to the crown (afterwards Frederick VI), 28 Jan. 1768. Holck succeeded in ousting from office Frau von Plessen, the queen's mistress of the robes, who had gained her confidence and whose old-fashioned severity might have kept her from the path of error (REVERDIL, 73-4). From 6 May 1768 to 14 Jan. 1769 the king was on his travels in England, Paris, and elsewhere, while the queen remained at Frederiksberg, gaining the good-will of her neighbours by her kindness and her attention to her maternal duties (KEITH, i. 184). Christian VII's suite on his journey included John Frederick Struensee, a physician of Altona, who had been appointed surgeon-in-ordinary to the king for the occasion, and who on the return to Copenhagen was appointed to the post in permanency. From this point forward the ambitious adventurer's political rise began. His plan was at first by no means based upon any connivance with the queen; on the contrary, he relied upon the aid of a new royal mistress, who however died in the following August (N. WRAXALL's private journal ap. L. WRAXALL, i. 216; cf. REVERDIL, 147). Both this person and Struensee had been odious to the queen; and when about this time she consulted the latter on a supposed attack of the dropsy, it was the king who had obliged her to do so (*ib.* 148). Struensee advised amusement and exercise as the best cure, and these remedies answering, she naturally gained confidence in her physician. Struensee was beyond all doubt a man of unusual intelligence, and, as his confessions to Mûnter suffice to prove (*Conversion*, &c., 41-2), a convinced lady-killer. While the king encouraged an intimacy which kept the queen amused, Struensee seems to have exerted himself to bring about a better understanding between the royal pair, and by his efforts to have gained the approval of both. In January 1770 he was assigned rooms in the Christiansberg palace (L. WRAXALL, i. 221); and his successful inoculation of the crown prince early in the year raised him higher than ever in the royal favour (*Authentische Aufklärungen*, 40; the process was of quite recent introduction). He was now named councillor of conference and reader to the king and queen; and from this time the intimacy between the latter and Struensee must have rapidly reached its climax. Indeed, if certain evidence brought against the queen after her catastrophe is to be believed, the familiarity between her and Struensee had attracted the suspicions of her attendants

as early as the winter of 1769-70 (see Bang's indictment, ap. JENSSEN-TUSCH, 231 seq.) After this they had imposed restraint upon themselves, but only for a time; soon their intimacy was paraded before the capital (see the anecdote of the queen passing in her riding-habit on Struensee's arm by the corpse of the dowager Sophia Magdalena when it lay in state, May 1770, ap. WITTICH, 51, note), and revealed itself in the provinces, to which the court paid a visit in June (see the testimony of Prince Charles of Hesse ap. L. WRAXALL, i. 232).

During this visit, perhaps while the court sojourned at Travendahl, Struensee perfected his ambitious projects in company with Enevold von Brandt, a former royal page who had returned to the court, and with Shack Charles, count von Rantzau-Ascheberg, to whom Struensee owed his admission to the royal service and whose high official career had been arrested largely by Russian influence. Their intrigues resulted by the end of July in the dismissal of Holck and others, among whom were his sister Madame von der Lûhe, the mistress of the robes, and other ladies attached to the person of the queen. Shortly before this Caroline Matilda's mother, the dowager Princess of Wales, paid a visit to the continent, where for many reasons she wished to meet her daughter. The proposed meeting at Brunswick was, however, postponed; nor was it till August that mother and daughter met—for the last time—at Lüneburg. Struensee was in the queen's company, and the princess found no opportunity of doing more than requesting Woodford, the British minister to the Lower Saxon Circle, to make representations to the queen concerning her conduct; nor was the Duke of Gloucester, who shortly afterwards paid a visit to Copenhagen on the same errand, more successful (REVERDIL, 159-60). At Hirschholm, near Copenhagen, where the court spent the rest of the summer, the fall of Bernstorff, the chief minister of Denmark, was brought about. This change of government may be briefly described as disagreeable to the Russian and therefore agreeable to the Swedish, agreeable to the French and therefore disagreeable to the British, interest at Copenhagen. Hereupon, in defiance alike of national traditions and public feeling, the reforms of Struensee in court, state, and social life ran their course; and though 'there might be something "rotten" in the state of Denmark, there was nothing rusty' since the new brooms had been set to work (KEITH, i. 229). He was appointed master of requests December 1770; in the same month the council was suppressed by

a royal decree; 18 July 1771 he was made cabinet minister, and his orders were declared to have the same validity as if signed by the king; 22 July—the queen's birthday—he and Brandt were created counts. His administration met with universal obloquy. The queen shared his unpopularity, partly because he gave every possible publicity to her regard for him, which was the best security of his position, partly because her conduct seemed to furnish a strange comment on the spirit of her favourite's reforms. There seems indeed to have been little truth in the rumour as to the extraordinary license prevailing at her court. But the sovereigns were completely surrounded by Struensee's creatures, who belonged as a rule to his own class; the court, says Reverdil (271), who returned to Denmark about midsummer, had the air of servants in a respectable house sitting down to table in the absence of their masters. Struensee's attempts at retrenchment in court expenditure were counterbalanced by the extravagance of Brandt; and on one occasion which became notorious the queen seems to have shared with them in a gift from the royal treasury (Wiwet's indictment ap. JENSEN-TUSCH, 278-9). Reverdil found the king, whose condition was already near to imbecility, willing to allow the queen to conduct herself with the most open familiarity towards her favourite (260). Shrewd observers thought that the latter occasionally exhibited indifference towards the advances of the queen (ap. WITTICH, 184); but he well knew that her support was indispensable to him. Colonel (afterwards Sir Robert) Murray Keith, who arrived as British minister at the Danish court in June 1771, clearly perceived the condition of affairs, but behaved with great discretion, reserving his intervention for a 'dangerous extremity' (KEITH, i. 227-8). Even the news of the birth, 7 July, at Hirschholm of a princess (Louisa Augusta, afterwards married to Duke Frederick Christian II of Augustenburg) was coldly, if not suspiciously, received by the capital; the queen dowager was, however, ready to be a godmother at Caroline Matilda's request (*Authentische Aufklärungen*, 103). The queen nursed the infant herself. Indeed the maternal instinct was always strong in her, and although she was reproached for giving her son an early training, which by Struensee's advice was based on the principles of 'Emile' (REVERDIL, 264-5), it seems on the whole to have been successful.

The overthrow of Struensee was the result of a court intrigue, not of any popular movement; but some time before it was brought

about the wildest charges had been spread against the queen and him. It was said that they intended to shut up the king and proclaim the queen as regent—a rumour, as Charles of Hesse in repeating it points out, absurd in itself, as the king was rather a protection to them than an obstacle (WITTICH, 115 n.) Towards the end of 1771 they began to grow uneasy, and when early in September a malcontent body of Norwegian sailors made a tumultuous visit to Hirschholm the queen prepared everything for flight. Another panic followed in connection with a popular festival held at Frederiksberg 28 Sept.; if Reverdil is to be believed (287), this was caused by a real plot, of which Juliana Maria was at the bottom. In October Struensee thought it necessary virtually to abolish the liberty of the press, which had been one of his most striking reforms. Then Brandt himself, Struensee's confederate, engaged in a desperate scheme for the minister's removal; 'means would be found for consoling the queen' (FALCKENSKJOLD ap. WITTICH, 122). This danger was averted by a grotesque affray between the king and Brandt, which afterwards proved fatal to the latter; but Struensee's anxiety continued. About this time (according to the *Authentische Aufklärungen*, 122-3) he threw himself at the feet of the queen, imploring her to allow him for both their sakes to quit the country, but she induced him to remain. On the other hand, he told Reverdil, to whom he was not otherwise confidential, that his devotion to the queen alone kept him at his post (288). The same writer relates a characteristic anecdote how the queen, who had a pleasant voice, facetiously declared that when in exile she would gain her bread as a singer (290). Struensee's arbitrary system, however, continued; when, 30 Nov., the court migrated to Frederiksberg, military precautions were taken for its security, and Copenhagen itself was placed under effective control. Finally, an order for the disbandment of the guards as such led to their mutinous march to Frederiksberg on Christmas eve, and to scenes in the capital which left no doubt as to the sentiments of the population. It is said (by L. WRAXALL, ii. 78) that about this time Keith offered Struensee a large sum of money if he would leave the country; but there is no notice of any such proposal in Keith's 'Memoirs,' and he was probably too discreet to have made it. The court returned to Copenhagen 8 Jan. 1772. By this time the mine had been laid. Rantzau, discontented with his share of the spoils and with Struensee's unwillingness to adopt his political views, had determined to overthrow the favourite. He induced the dowager

queen Juliana Maria, who during the summer had watched the progress of affairs from Fredensborg, where she lived isolated with her son Frederick, to approve of the plot, by showing her forged evidence of a conspiracy between Struensee and the queen against the king (REVERDIL, 328). The details of Rantzau's scheme were settled in Juliana Maria's palace 15 Jan. (*ib.* 329), and its execution was fixed for the night from 16-17 Jan., after the termination of a masked ball in the Christiansborg palace. Though Rantzau himself hesitated at the last moment, the palace revolution was punctually and successfully carried out by himself and his confederates. Struensee, Brandt, and their chief actual or supposed abettors were placed under arrest, and on the same night the queen was with cynical brutality taken prisoner by Rantzau, accompanied by a body of soldiery under Major Castenskjold. With her little daughter in her arms she was hurriedly driven to Kronborg, a royal castle and prison on the Sound, near Elsinore, and there consigned to carefully guarded apartments. It is said that in the evening she saw in the distance Copenhagen illuminated in celebration of her disaster (*ib.* 336-8).

In solitude, relieved only by the presence of her infant daughter, whom she nursed through an attack of the measles, and by occasional visits from the faithful Keith, Caroline Matilda awaited her fate. The genuineness of her letters to Keith and to her brother, George III, is open to serious doubt (they are given by L. WRAXALL, ii. 205-7). Her attendants were persons whom she disliked (*ib.* ii. 203), and she had to listen to pulpit addresses, which must have been hard to bear (the best account of her period of confinement is stated by WITTICH, 143 note, to be that of SCHIERN in *Hist. Tidsskr.* iv. vol. ii. 776 seq.; see also COXE ap. ADOLPHUS, i. 544-5). During the course of her imprisonment she must have heard of the death of her mother, the dowager Princess of Wales, 8 Feb. 1772. The interrogatory of Struensee began 20 Feb., but it was not till the third day of his examination that, under pressure, he confessed to criminal familiarity with the queen; afterwards he sought to throw the blame as much as possible on her. Questions affecting the legitimacy of the Princess Louisa Augusta were, however, satisfactorily answered. Brandt, in his interrogatory, declared that Struensee had confessed his criminality to him (REVERDIL, 394-8). Hereupon a commission of four subjected the queen to an interrogatory at Kronborg; at the first visit, acting it is said on Keith's advice, she refused to answer, declaring that she acknow-

ledged no superior or judge besides the king. At the second, 9 March, Struensee's confession signed by him was shown to her, when she avowed herself guilty, and signed a written confession, generously taking the original blame upon herself (REVERDIL, 400-1; according to JENSSEN-TUSCH, 401-2, she was induced to sign by the assurance that her confession would mitigate Struensee's fate; while this, though possible, is improbable, the dramatic account of Falckenskjold, which is also that of the *Authentische Nachrichten*, 223-8, is almost certainly fictitious. Horace Walpole's account, *Journal of the Reign of George III*, i. 77-9, 90, is clearly untrustworthy. On the whole subject of the queen's examination and confession, see WITTICH, 222-32). On 24 March an indictment was preferred against the queen before a tribunal of thirty-five notables (it is given at length in JENSSEN-TUSCH, 226-40); on 2 April her defence was delivered (*ib.* 241-53; WITTICH notices that while her advocate Uldall here represents her as asserting her innocence the crime is admitted in his defence of Struensee. For the rest his pleas on behalf of the queen are in essence hardly more than technical); sentence was given on 6 April and communicated to the queen on the 8th. It declared her marriage with the king to be dissolved. Her name was hereupon removed from its place in the liturgy (the order of Matilda, which she had instituted on her birthday in January 1771, had been abolished immediately after the catastrophe). Capital sentences on Struensee and Brandt followed shortly afterwards, and were carried out 28 April. It is said that in her prison the queen intuitively knew the day of her favourite's doom.

In England the news of Caroline Matilda's arrest had created a passing excitement (see GIBBON's flippant letters to Holroyd in his *Miscellaneous Works*, ii. 72-6; cf. WALPOLE, i. 3, 42). At first George III's government took up a threatening attitude, but the public press made indignant comments on the supposed apathy of Lord North's administration (WALPOLE, i. 89; cf. L. WRAXALL, ii. 169). Soon, however, public feeling acquiesced in the manifest opinion of the initiated, that the affair had better be taken quietly. Keith's activity at Copenhagen had been acknowledged *pendente lite* by admission to the order of the Bath (KEITH, i. 121); but, as is now known, the diplomatic correspondence between the two courts at this stage gave rise to no very serious differences. While George III was informed of the evidence against his sister and of the necessity of removing her from the court after the sentence pronounced against her, he was assured that

every possible consideration would be extended to her, and that her name would not be mentioned in the sentences of Struensee and the other delinquents (SCHIERN ap. WITTICH, 252-3). The latter promise, at all events, was substantially kept. When, however, after the sentence of divorce, the Danish government proposed to banish Caroline Matilda to Aalborg in Jutland, the British ministry resolved to make at least a show of active intervention. The protests of Keith (i. 192) seem to have been followed by a threat of the rupture of diplomatic relations, and a squadron was ordered to sail for Copenhagen. But a few hours before the time fixed for its weighing anchor the news arrived that the Danish government had promised the liberation of the queen (cf. the account in WALPOLE, 90-1, where the king is said to have known his sister's story two years before the catastrophe). Keith had further obtained the grant to her of an annual pension of the value of 5,000*l.*, and notwithstanding the divorce she retained the title of queen (see Lord Suffolk's grandiloquent letters ap. KEITH, i. 286-9). Two frigates and a sloop were hereupon ordered to Elsinore by the British government, and on 3 May the queen, over whom after her enlargement a 'deputation of noblemen' had been appointed to hold watch, quitted the Danish shores under a royal salute. She had been obliged to part from her daughter, whom in the lines supposed to have been written by her at sea (KEITH, i. 299) she is absurdly made to commend to the care of Keith, the companion of her voyage.

At Stade, where Caroline Matilda arrived on 5 June, and where she parted with her Danish suite, she was received with much ceremony by the Hanoverian authorities, and held a reception on the day after her arrival. Hence she proceeded to the Göhrde, an electoral hunting-seat near Lüneburg, where she delayed for several months till the castle at Celle should have been put in order for her. On 20 Oct. she held a formal entry into this her destined residence, where a court was organised for her in due form, and whence she afterwards made occasional visits to Hanover of a ceremonial nature (cf. MALORTIE, ii. 73-88 for details). At Celle itself her life seems to have been a quiet one, though she received visitors, among them her sister, the Hereditary Princess Augusta of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, who, according to Wraxall, was set to watch her conduct by George III (*Posthumous Memoirs*, i. 372, 375). A small theatre (still in existence) was constructed in the castle for her amusement. She read German assiduously, and

requested her brother, George III, to send her some English books (KEITH, i. 304); but the memory of her sojourn is above all associated with the charming *jardin français* in the immediate neighbourhood of the castle, where stands the monument, with her medallion in relief, erected by the Lüneburg-Celle estates (cf. *Annual Register* for 1775). Sir Robert Keith, who visited her in November 1772, reported to Lord Suffolk that he had found her in a contented frame of mind and with no wish for any communications with the Danish court beyond what immediately concerned the welfare of her children (KEITH, i. 301-4). Another English visitor who first saw her in September 1774 was N. W. Wraxall, a young but travelled gentleman, ingenuously in search of adventure and employment. He returned in October as the secret agent of a number of Danish noblemen, exiles in Hamburg, and others, who were conspiring for a counter-revolution at Copenhagen, which should restore Caroline Matilda to the throne. To his written overtures she signified her assent through a gentleman in her confidence, but she declined to take any steps until the approval of George III should have been obtained. Wraxall returned to Celle on three subsequent occasions, when he had personal interviews with the queen, whom three emissaries from Copenhagen appear likewise to have reached. He failed, however, in London to obtain an audience from George III, or to elicit more than that the king, while approving the project, could not undertake to support it with money or otherwise till it should have been successfully executed. Wraxall was still waiting in London when the news reached him of Queen Caroline Matilda's death; but he afterwards held that the scheme would have been carried out with or without George III (see N. WRAXALL's *Posthumous Memoirs*, i. 372-414; and cf. L. WRAXALL's *Narrative*, i. 173-241, compiled from the above, his grandfather's private journal, and a manuscript entitled *Historical Narrative of the Attempt to restore the Queen*; with WITTICH's comments, 257-9. The existence of a Danish party in sympathy with the plan is corroborated by a letter of George III to Lord North; see STANHOPE, v. 309 note).

The death of Queen Caroline Matilda, which took place 11 May 1775, was caused by a sudden attack of inflammation of the throat. She was of a plethoric habit of body, and had not been ill for more than a week (see N. WRAXALL's account of her last days, based on the information of her valet Mantel, in *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin*,

&c. (1799), i. 77-87. He mentions the story, which also appears in BROWN'S *Northern Courts*, of her having, just before she was taken ill, inspected the corpse of a page who had died eight days previously, and also refers to the suspicions of poison which were rife at Celle with regard to her own death). A Lutheran clergyman (Pastor Lehzen) who attended her afterwards published an edifying account of her last days. The letter to George III declaring her innocence, said to have been written by her on her deathbed, is almost certainly spurious; her assertion in the same sense to the French pastor, Roques, rests on a secondhand statement made five years after her death (WITTICH, 231 note). She was buried in the vault of the town church at Celle, where her coffin with a Latin inscription, in which she is entitled Queen of Denmark and Norway, is still shown near those of the Celle dukes and that of her unfortunate grandmother Sophia Dorothea (for an account of her funeral see MALORTIE, 89-92). In England the news of her death met with little public comment; but the faithful N. Wraxall contributed a 'character' of her to the 'Annual Register' of the year. Though of late she had grown stout, she must have been very attractive in person; she was fair to a degree which exasperated her husband (WALPOLE, i. 91: 'elle est si blonde'); her likeness to her brother, George III, which at once struck observers (*ib.* 174), is very perceptible in her portrait at Herrenhausen. The queen's male costume on horseback has become famous (cf. JENSSEN-TUSCH, 73 note, as to her portraits at Copenhagen); the fashion was a common one.

[The existing English biographies of Caroline Matilda are that incorporated in vol. i. of the *Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir Robert Murray Keith*, edited by Mrs. Gillespie Smyth, 2 vols., London, 1849, and Sir C. F. Lascelles *Wraxall's Life and Times of Queen Caroline Matilda*, 3 vols., London, 1864. Both are uncritical, though the latter is valuable where based on the private papers of the author's grandfather, Sir Nathaniel W. Wraxall. The literature on Struensee's rise and fall and on Queen Caroline Matilda's relations to him is extremely large, and from the *Memoirs of an Unfortunate Queen* (London, 1776) onwards must be used with the greatest caution; and sensational versions of the story like that in vol. i. of John Brown's *Northern Courts* (London, 1818) may be left aside. It should in particular be noticed that every endeavour was made during the three-quarters of a century which ensued upon the catastrophe to make a complete review of the historical evidence on the subject impossible. By far the best survey of it, together

with a careful examination of special points, such as the queen's relations to Struensee, will be found in K. Wittich, *Struensee* (Leipzig, 1879). Here are only added the titles of some other works which have been used in the above article—*Authentische und höchstmerkwürdige Aufklärungen über die Geschichte der Grafen Struensee und Brandt* ('Germanien,' 1788); *Struensee et la Cour de Copenhague, 1760-72*; *Mémoires de Reverdil*, publiés par A. Roger (Paris, 1858); G. F. von Jenson-Tusch, *Die Verschwörung gegen die Königin Caroline Mathilde und die Grafen Struensee und Brandt* (Leipzig, 1864); N. W. Wraxall, *Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Dresden, &c., vol. i.* (London, 1799); *id.*, *Posthumous Memoirs*, vol. i. (London, 1836); C. E. von Malortie, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Braunschweig-Lüneburgischen Hauses und Hofes*, 2 Heft (Hannover, 1860); Horace Walpole, *Journal of the Reign of George III from 1771 to 1783*, edited by Dr. Doran (London, 1859), vol. i.; *Annual Register*, 1766, 1772, 1775; Adolphus, *History of England from the Accession of George III* (London, 1802), i. 541-5; Lord Stanhope, *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht* (5th edition, 1858), v. 306-9; Havemann, *Geschichte der Lande Braunschweig und Lüneburg* (Göttingen, 1857), iii. 579-82; C. F. Allen, *Histoire de Danemark*, trad. par E. Beauvois (Copenhagen, 1878), ii. 192-215.] A. W. W.

CAROLINE, AMELIA ELIZABETH, of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. (1768-1821), queen of George IV, second daughter of Duke Charles William Ferdinand of Brunswick and the Princess Augusta of England, sister of George III, was born 17 May 1768.

The few anecdotes told of her childhood show that she was kind, good-hearted, and charitable. The court of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel was one of the gayest in Germany, and it had very little of the stiff etiquette which was characteristic of the other North German courts. She was extremely fond of children, and would stop in her walks to notice them. The Duke of York had, during the campaign, seen much of his uncle, the Duke of Brunswick, and he was so charmed with the Princess Caroline, that he mentioned her to his brother the king and the Prince of Wales as a suitable bride for the latter. There was no prospect of the Duke and Duchess of York having any family, and the king was naturally most anxious that the succession to the throne should be indubitably settled by heritage in the direct line. Hard pressed on all sides, the prince consented, on condition of the liquidation of his debts, and a large addition to his income, to marry his cousin, then twenty-six years old. He stipulated that his income was to be raised from 60,000*l.* to 125,000*l.* per annum, of which

25,000*l.* per annum was to be set aside to pay his debts, which at that time amounted to 630,000*l.* Besides this he was to receive 27,000*l.* for preparations for the marriage, 28,000*l.* for jewels and plate, 26,000*l.* for the completion of Carlton House, and 50,000*l.* per annum as a jointure to her royal highness, of which, however, she would only accept 35,000*l.*

She left Brunswick on 30 Dec. 1794, but on her way was met by a messenger from Lord St. Helen's, telling her that the squadron sent to escort her had been obliged to return to England. For a few weeks she stayed at Hanover until her embarkation, which took place at Cuxhaven on 28 March 1795. She arrived at Greenwich about noon on 5 April, where she dressed, and then drove to St. James's, accompanied by Lady Jersey, who had been sent to meet her. Lady Jersey naturally became her most implacable enemy, and probably did more than any one else to estrange the prince from his consort. The marriage took place at 8 p.m. on 8 April in the Chapel Royal, St. James's. The prince's relations with Mrs. Fitzherbert and Lady Jersey—especially the latter—soon led to quarrels, and an appeal was made to the king to act as arbiter between them. Their matrimonial relations continued in this state until the birth of the Princess Charlotte Augusta [q. v.], on 7 Jan. 1796, when the prince deliberately forsook his wife. A formal separation between them was agreed on three months later, and it was only through the kind offices of the king that the princess was to have free access to her child during the first eight years of its life.

She left Carlton House and went to reside in strict privacy at an unpretentious residence, Shrewsbury House, near Shooter's Hill. In 1801 she removed to Montague House, Blackheath, where she entertained her friends, among whom were Sir John and Lady Douglas, Sir Sidney Smith, Captain Manby, &c. Hitherto there had been nothing against her moral character. But becoming very intimate with Lady Douglas, she foolishly talked some nonsense as to her being about to give birth to a child, which she intended to account for by saying she had adopted it. She already had several young protégés, and one named William Austin was singled out as being her own son. This rumour was spread by Lady Douglas, and in 1806 the king granted a commission, consisting of Lords Erskine, Grenville, Spencer, and Ellenborough, to investigate the matter. This was called 'the delicate investigation,' and at the conclusion of their labours they unhesitatingly repudiated the charge made against the princess,

although they censured her levity of manners on several occasions. For this also the king gently rebuked her, but he allotted her apartments in Kensington Palace, and often passed a whole day at Blackheath with her and his grandchild, the Princess Charlotte, a proceeding which certainly tended to widen the breach between him and the Prince of Wales. Still, although on friendly relations with the king, she never recovered her former footing at court, and when, after the death of the Princess Amelia in 1810, the king's health gave way, the intercourse between her and her daughter was much restricted. Her position suffered still more when, in 1811, the Prince of Wales was proclaimed regent, an accession of rank which brought to her no corresponding dignity.

Princess Caroline felt deeply the separation from her child. On 4 Oct. 1812 she went to Windsor with the intention of paying her daughter a visit, but was not permitted to see her, whereon she demanded an audience of the queen, which was immediately granted, but no satisfaction could be obtained. Her indignation knew no bounds, and she wrote a long and most impassioned letter of remonstrance to the regent on 12 Jan. 1813. This letter was laid before the privy council, and in their report they 'were of opinion that, under all the circumstances of the case, it is highly fit and proper, with a view to the welfare of her royal highness the Princess Charlotte, in which are equally involved the happiness of your royal highness in your parental and royal character, and the most important interests of the state, that the intercourse between her royal highness the Princess of Wales and her royal highness the Princess Charlotte should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.' The princess then addressed a letter to the speaker of the House of Commons on the subject, which was read to the house, and a debate was raised, but the sense of the house was that the regent was the sole judge of the conduct to be observed in the education of his daughter. On 8 March the princess received an intimation that her restricted visits to her daughter were to be discontinued, but by accident the mother and child met when out driving, and had some ten minutes' conversation; and on the death of the Duchess of Brunswick (who was living in England) on 23 March 1813, the regent permitted his daughter to visit her mother, and they passed two hours together. When, on 12 July, the Prince of Wales visited his daughter, and informed her that he was going to dismiss all her household, and that she must take up her residence at Carlton House, she fled at once

to her mother at Connaught House, only to find that the princess had gone to Blackheath. A messenger was despatched after her, and she immediately returned to comfort her daughter, but the counsels and advice of Brougham prevailed, and the princess obeyed her father's will.

Indignant at being excluded from court, and debarred from the society of her daughter, the Princess of Wales resolved to travel abroad, and she sailed for the continent, with the regent's sanction, in the Jason frigate on 9 Aug. She started with a suite mainly composed of English men and women, but from one cause or another they all shortly left her, and she did not fill their places worthily. After visiting her brother, Duke Frederick William of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, she turned her steps to Italy, and at Milan she engaged one Bartolomeo Bergami as her courier. Some infatuation led her to lavish upon this man every kind of favour it was in her power to bestow. He had served in some capacity on the *état major* of the force commanded by General Count Pino in the campaign of 1812-1814, and was offered the brevet rank of captain by Joachim, king of Naples, but refused it in order to remain in the service of the princess. His looks were in his favour, for his portraits show him as a handsome man. She raised him to be her equerry, her chamberlain, her constant companion, even at dinner; procured for him a barony in Sicily and the knighthood of Malta, besides several other orders, among which was one which she instituted, that of St. Caroline. She took his relatives into her service. Louis Bergami directed her household, Vallotti Bergami kept her purse, the Countess Oldi, Bergami's sister, was her lady of honour, and Bergami's child Victorine also travelled in her suite.

After living some time at Como, she visited many places, among others Tunis, Malta, Athens, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Jerusalem. Here she made her entry in somewhat theatrical style, and behaved with such levity that secret commissioners were sent from England to investigate her conduct. She was surrounded by spies, and, after her return to Italy, an attempt was made to seize her papers by surreptitious means.

On 6 Nov. 1817 the Princess Charlotte died, and the following year the Princess of Wales much desired to return to England, but she remained abroad for the next year and a half, and wintered at Marseilles in 1819. On hearing of the death of George III, 29 Jan. 1820, she proceeded to Rome, where, although queen consort, she was refused a guard of honour. She was never officially informed of the old king's death, and her name

was omitted in the prayers of the church of England. On her way to England early in 1820 she received at St. Omer a letter on behalf of the king, in which it was proposed to allow her 50,000*l.* per annum, subject to such conditions as the king might impose, which were that she was not to take the title of queen of England, or any title attached to the royal family of England, and that she was to reside abroad, and never even to visit England. It was not likely that these terms could be accepted, and she at once set out for Calais, and embarked the same night for England. She set sail next morning, 5 June 1820, and landed at Dover the same day at 1 p.m., being received with a royal salute, no instructions to the contrary having been given. She was welcomed most enthusiastically, and her journey to London was an ovation. On her arrival she went to live at the house of her friend Alderman Wood, in South Audley Street. Her unexpected arrival filled the king and his party with consternation, and next day he sent a message to the House of Lords, accompanied by the evidence collected by the Milan commission, requesting their lordships to give the matter their serious consideration. A committee was appointed, which reported, with regard to the charges made against the queen, that 'it is indispensable that they should become the subject of a solemn inquiry,' and on 5 July the Earl of Liverpool proposed the introduction of 'a bill entitled an Act to deprive her Majesty, Caroline Amelia Elizabeth, of the Title, Prerogatives, Rights, Privileges, and Exemptions of Queen Consort of this Realm, and to dissolve the Marriage between his Majesty and the said Caroline Amelia Elizabeth.' It was read a first time, and appointed to be read a second on 19 Aug. 1820, but this was only a preliminary sitting, the examination of the witnesses not taking place until 21 Aug. Brougham defended the queen. On 6 Nov. the House of Lords divided on the second reading of the bill—contents 123, non-contents 95; majority in favour of second reading, 28. On 8 Nov. the divorce clause was carried in committee by 67. On 10 Nov., the date of the third reading, the Earl of Liverpool suddenly announced that he was prepared to move that it be read that day six months. If the witnesses were not all perjured, the queen's relations with Bergami admitted only of the conclusion that she was guilty, and even her own friends and apologists were fain to admit that her conduct was open to the charge of grave indiscretion. Her friends claimed it as a triumphant acquittal, and Brougham's defence of the queen raised him to the summit of his profession. There can be but little doubt



that had the queen been found guilty, and divorced, George IV's position as king would have been imperilled. As it was, the popular feeling in her favour found a safety-valve in the presentation of addresses of sympathy, which poured in from all parts of the kingdom.

Her majesty was then living at Brandenburgh House, near Hammersmith, but on the abandonment of the bill she demanded a palace and establishment suited to her rank; the reply to which was that it was 'not possible for his majesty, under all the circumstances, to assign any of the royal palaces for the queen's residence,' and that until parliament met 'the allowance which has hitherto been enjoyed by the queen will be continued to her.' When parliament met, they voted her 50,000*l.* per annum.

On Wednesday, 30 Nov. 1820, she went in state, although unaccompanied by soldiers, to St. Paul's to return public thanks for her acquittal. 'The Queen's Guards are the People' was inscribed on one banner. According to the procedure prescribed for royal visits to the city, the gates of Temple Bar were closed, and opened on her arrival by the civic authorities, who accompanied the queen in procession to the cathedral. Addresses continued to pour in on her, but two attempts in parliament to restore her name in the liturgy failed.

The king was to be crowned with great pomp and ceremony at Westminster Abbey on 19 July 1821. The queen declared her intention to be present, and demanded that a suitable place should be provided for her, which was peremptorily refused. She persisted in presenting herself for admission, but was most firmly repulsed, and, not wishing to force an entrance, which would most assuredly have led to a riot, she returned home. This was her death-blow. She was taken ill at Drury Lane Theatre on the evening of 30 July, and died on the night of 7 Aug.

Yet not even with her death came peace. She desired in her will that she should be buried beside her father at Brunswick. The king ordered soldiers to escort the body. The city desired to show their respect to the royal corpse. The king decided that it should not go through the city; but through the city the people determined it should go, and through the city it ultimately went, not before a bloody encounter with the Life Guards at Hyde Park Corner, where they fired on the mob with fatal effect. The coffin duly arrived at Harwich, and Queen Caroline was laid to rest in the royal vault at Brunswick on 26 Aug. 1821.

[Nightingale's *Memoirs of Queen Caroline*, 1820; Adolphus's ditto, 1821; Wilks's ditto, 1822; Clerke's *Life of Her Majesty Caroline*, &c., 1821; Huish's *Memoirs of George IV*, 1830; Duke of Buckingham's *Memoirs of the Court of George IV*, 1859; Works of Henry, Lord Brougham, vols. ix. and x. 1873; *Journal of an English Traveller from 1814 to 1816, 1817*; *The Book*, 1813; *The Trial at Large of her Majesty Caroline*, &c., 1821; Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, contemporary newspapers, and numerous political tracts.] J. A.

CARON, REDMOND (1605?–1666), Irish friar and author, was born of a good family near Athlone, Westmeath, about 1605, and embraced the order of St. Francis in the convent there when about sixteen years of age. He afterwards studied philosophy at Drogheda in a monastery of his own order, and when the convents were seized by the government went to the continent, completing his studies at Salzburg and Louvain. For some time he held a chair in the latter university. Returning to Ireland as commissary-general of the recollects, he took the part of the loyal catholics against the supporters of O'Neill, and was in extreme danger of his life when he was saved by the interposition of the Earl of Castlehaven. He died at Dublin in May 1666, and was buried in St. James's Church. He was the author of the following chiefly controversial works: 1. '*Roma triumphans septicollis, quâ novâ hactenus et insolitâ Methodo comparativâ tota Fides Romano-Catholica clarissimè demonstratur, atque Infidelium omnium Argumenta diluuntur*,' Antwerp, 1635. 2. '*Apostolus Evangelicus Missionarium Regularium per universum Mundum expositus*,' Antwerp, 1653; Paris, 1659. 3. '*Controversiæ Generales Fidei contra Infideles omnes, Judæos, Mahometanos, Paganos et cujuscunque Sectæ Hæreticos*,' Paris, 1660. 4. '*Loyalty asserted and the late Remonstrance or Allegiance of the Irish Clergy and Laity confirmed and proved by the authority of Scriptures, Fathers, Expositors, Popes, Canons, &c.*,' London, 1662; and some other tractates which were never printed.

[Ware's *Works* (Harris), ii. 144–5.]

T. F. H.

CARPENTER, ALEXANDER, latinised as FABRICIUS (*J.* 1429), is known only as the author of the '*Destructorium Viti-rum*,' a treatise which enjoyed a considerable popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was six times printed before 1516, and was finally reprinted (at Venice) as late as 1582. Most of the editions bear simply the name of 'Alexander Anglus,' a designation which Possevinus (*Apparatus*



*Sacer*, i. 31, Cologne, 1608) took to refer to the famous Alexander of Hales; but the edition printed by Koberger at Nuremberg in 1496 states in the colophon that the 'Destructorium' was compiled 'a cuiusdam fabri lignarii filio,' and begun in 1429. A similar note, giving the same date, appears at the end of a copy of the book written in 1479, and belonging to the library of Balliol College, Oxford (cod. lxxxii). A more modern entry in this manuscript adds that the author was fellow of Balliol College, an assertion which was also made by Gabriel Powel (*Disputationes Theologicae et Scholasticae de Antichristo*, præf. p. 39, London, 1605), but was discredited by Anthony à Wood on the ground that no evidence was forthcoming in the college itself (*Hist. et Antiqq. Univ. Oxon.* ii. 75a, Oxford, 1674). Recent researches in the muniments have not discovered any trace of Carpenter's connection with the college.

Powel and after him Bale (*Script. Brit. Cat.* vii. 77, p. 566) claim Carpenter as a follower of Wycliffe; they both refer to book vi. ch. xxx. of the 'Destructorium' in proof of his theological position; but the language he uses in condemnation of sundry abuses in the church is not stronger than was frequently employed by the most correct churchmen of the middle ages, and does not permit us to describe him as a Wycliffite without more distinct evidence. Bale adds that Carpenter was the author of certain 'Homiliæ eruditæ,' of which nothing further is known.

[See also Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* p. 155.]

R. L. P.

**CARPENTER, GEORGE, LORD CARPENTER** (1657–1732), lieutenant-general, of the ancient family of Carpenter of Holme in Herefordshire, was born at Pitchers Ocul, Herefordshire, on 10 Feb. 1657. His father, a royalist soldier, was wounded at the battle of Naseby, and George, who was the youngest of seven children, commenced life as a page to the Earl of Montagu in his embassy to Paris in 1671. In the following year he rode as a private in the 3rd troop of guards, and shortly afterwards he was appointed quartermaster in Lord Peterborough's regiment of horse. In this regiment he served for seventeen years, and eventually became lieutenant-colonel, and with it he saw service both in the Irish campaign of 1690 and in Flanders. In 1693 he married the Honourable Alice Margetson, daughter of William, first viscount Charlemont, and widow of James Margetson, with a portion of whose dowry he purchased for 1,800 guineas the colonelcy of the King's dragoon

guards. With this regiment he served in Flanders. He was M.P. for Newtownards in the Irish House of Commons 1703–5. In 1705 Carpenter was appointed a brigadier-general under Peterborough, and performed the double function of quartermaster-general and general of cavalry in Spain. As a quartermaster-general he was said to have no equal, and as a general of cavalry he saved the baggage of the English army, and covered the retreat at the head of his dragoons after Almanza. He was wounded at Almenara, and was severely wounded in the mouth and taken prisoner while desperately defending the breach at Brihuega. He was promoted lieutenant-general in 1710, and on his return to England was one of the general officers who were resolved at all hazards to maintain the protestant succession. When George I had been proclaimed, Stanhope nominated Carpenter to go as ambassador to Vienna, but on the outbreak of the rebellion of 1715 he was entrusted instead with supreme command over all the forces in the north of England. He prevented the rebels from seizing Newcastle, and when he heard that they had advanced into Lancashire, rapidly followed them; found them at Preston, where General Wills was blockading them in a half-hearted way, and forced the whole rebel army to capitulate. On reaching London he was challenged by General Wills in February 1716, and a duel was with difficulty prevented by the Dukes of Montagu and Marlborough. In return for his services he was nominated governor of Minorca and commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland. In Jan. 1714–15 he was returned to parliament as M.P. for Whitchurch in Hampshire, and on 29 May 1719 he was created Lord Carpenter of Killaghy, co. Kilkenny, in the peerage of Ireland. In 1722 he was elected M.P. for Westminster, but did not seek re-election in 1727, and died at the age of seventy-five, on 10 Feb. 1732, and was buried at Ouselbury in Hampshire. His grandson was created Viscount Carlingford and Earl of Tyrconnel in the peerage of Ireland on 1 May 1761, but the earldom, viscounty, and barony became extinct on the death of the fourth earl, 26 Jan. 1853.

[Life of the late Right Honourable George, Lord Carpenter, London. Printed for Edward Curll, 1736, from which all other notices are borrowed; Lord Mahon's *War of the Spanish Succession in Spain*, for his services in Spain.]

H. M. S.

**CARPENTER, JAMES** (1760–1845), admiral, entered the navy in 1776 on board the *Foudroyant*, then commanded by Captain Jervis, afterwards Earl St. Vincent.

From the Foudroyant he was sent in the following year to North America in the Diamond frigate, and from her was transferred to the Sultan, in which he was present in the action off Grenada, 6 July 1779. In 1780 he was for some time in the Sandwich, bearing Sir George Rodney's flag, and was appointed from her to the Intrepid as acting lieutenant, in which capacity he was present in the action off Martinique, 30 April 1781, and in that off the Capes of Virginia, 5 Sept. 1781. He was not confirmed in his rank till 18 April 1782. In 1793 he was appointed to the Boyne, flagship of Sir John Jervis in the West Indies, and was promoted to the admiral to the command of the Nautilus, 9 Jan. 1794. He was then employed on shore at the reduction of Martinique, and on 25 March 1794 was posted to the command of the Bienvenu, prize-frigate, from which he was moved in rapid succession to the Veteran of 64 guns and the Alarm of 32. He continued actively employed in the West Indies till the following year, when he returned to England. In 1799 he was appointed to the Leviathan of 74 guns, bearing Sir John Duckworth's flag in the Mediterranean and afterwards in the West Indies, whence he was compelled to invalid; and, taking a passage home in a merchant ship, he was captured by a French man-of-war and carried to Spain as a prisoner. He was, however, shortly afterwards exchanged through the exertions of Lord St. Vincent, and for a short time had command of the San Josef. From 1803 to 1810 he had charge of the Devonshire Sea Fencibles, and in 1811 went out to Newfoundland in the Antelope, again as flag-captain to Sir J. T. Duckworth. It was only for a year, for on 12 Aug. 1812 he became a rear-admiral. He had no further service, but was advanced in course of seniority to be vice-admiral on 12 Aug. 1819, and admiral on 10 Jan. 1837. He died on 16 March 1845.

[O'Byrne's Nav. Biog. Dict.; Marshall's Royal Nav. Biog. ii. (vol. i. pt. ii.) 628; Gent. Mag. (1845), cxxvi. ii. 79.] J. K. L.

**CARPENTER, JOHN** (1870?-1441?), town clerk of London, son of Richard Carpenter, a citizen of London, and Christina, his wife, was probably born about 1870, and educated for the profession of law. On 20 April 1417 he was chosen town clerk or common clerk of the city, after having held an inferior post in the town clerk's office for some years previously. Carpenter was well acquainted with John Marchaunt, his predecessor, and was one of the executors of Mar-

chaunt's will in 1421. As town clerk Carpenter frequently addressed letters to Henry V on behalf of the corporation, and very soon after his appointment began a compilation of the laws, customs, privileges, and usages of the city, extracted from the archives of the corporation. This important work, which was entitled the 'Liber Albus,' was completed in November 1419, and was printed from the Guildhall manuscript for the first time in the Rolls Series in 1859. Carpenter was the intimate friend of the far-famed Sir Richard Whittington, who was lord mayor for the third time in 1419, and as one of the executors of Whittington's will was busily employed in 1423 and the following years in carrying out Whittington's charitable bequests. On 23 Feb. 1431 Carpenter and his wife, whose christian name was Katharine, received from the corporation an eighty years' lease of property in St. Peter, Cornhill, at a nominal rental; on 20 Nov. 1436 he was elected one of the representatives of the city in parliament; on 14 Dec. following he was granted a patent of exemption from all summonses to serve on juries or to perform other petty municipal duties. In 1438 Carpenter resigned the town clerkship; during his twenty-one years of office he was sometimes styled 'secretary,' a designation which no other town clerk is known to have borne. On 26 Sept. 1439 Carpenter was re-elected member of parliament for the city; but he had now resolved to retire from public life. On 3 Dec. following he obtained from Henry VI letters patent exempting him from all military and civil duties. He was thus relieved of the necessity of attending parliament and of receiving the honour of knighthood. On 10 June 1440 the mayor and aldermen voted Carpenter a gratuity of twenty marks, and in 1441 he defended the sheriffs in a lawsuit preferred against them by the dean of the collegiate church of St. Martin-le-Grand. In the same year Carpenter, conjointly with another John Carpenter [q. v.], afterwards bishop of Worcester, and John Somerset, chronicler of the exchequer, received from the crown a grant of the manor of Theobalds in Cheshunt, Hertfordshire. He probably died in 1441. On 8 March of that year Carpenter drew up a will disposing of his personal property, and a copy of this document is still extant. From it we learn that Carpenter lived in the parish of St. Peter, Cornhill, in whose church he desired to be buried. He left large sums of money, together with his jewels and household furniture, to his wife, and similar gifts to his brothers, Robert and John, and their children. To the religious foundations in and near London he also bequeathed gifts of

money, and the terms of his bequest indicate that he was a lay brother of the convent of the Charterhouse, London, and of the fraternity of the sixty priests of London. To his friends Reginald Pecock, William Clewe, John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester [q. v.], and other ecclesiastics, he left most of his books, which included Richard de Bury's 'Philobiblon' and some of Aristotle's works translated into Latin. Of his landed property no account is extant, and no mention is made of it in the will that now survives. But he undoubtedly owned large estates in the city, and made a careful disposition of them. Stow states in his 'Survey of London,' p. 110, that Carpenter 'gave tenements to the city for the finding and bringing up of foure poor men's children with meat, drink, apparell, learning at the schooles in the universities, &c., until they be professed, and then others in their places for ever.' This benefaction was duly executed by the corporation with little change for nearly four centuries. In the earliest extant book of the city accounts, dated 1633, a list of Carpenter's lands and tenements appointed for educational purposes is given, and the rental of the property then amounted to 49*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and the charges upon it to no more than 20*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* In the course of the following century the discrepancy between the two sides of the account increased rapidly. In 1823 the charity commissioners pointed out that only a fraction of the proceeds of the benefaction was applied according to the testator's wishes; in 1827 the court of common council increased the sum to be applied to the education and maintenance of four poor boys, and in 1833 it was resolved to apply 900*l.* per annum from the Carpenter bequest to the foundation and endowment of a new school and to the establishment of eight Carpenter scholarships for the assistance of pupils at the school and universities. This school, called the City of London School, was erected on the site of Honey Lane Market, and opened in 1837; it was removed in 1883 to the Thames Embankment. A statue of Carpenter as the virtual founder was placed on the principal staircase in the old building, and has been removed to the new. Orations in Carpenter's honour are given by the boys on the annual speechdays.

[Thomas Brewer's *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter* (London, 1856) gives very full particulars. Carpenter's *Liber Albus*, edited by H. T. Riley (1859), forms the first volume of the *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis* in the Rolls Series. Translations of the Norman French passages are given in the third volume of the *Munimenta*, together with a long letter by Carpenter (dated 20 Feb. 1432, and printed from

Guildhall Letterbook K), describing Henry VI's entry into the city of London after his return from France.] S. L.

CARPENTER, JOHN (*d.* 1476), bishop of Worcester, born probably at Westbury-on-Trym, Gloucestershire, was educated at Oriel College, Oxford, and proceeded D.D. About 1420 he became master of St. Antony's Hospital and School in the city of London, and was granted on behalf of the hospital several royal manors, and in 1440 the benefice of St. Benet Fink. He became prebendary of Lincoln in 1426 and provost of Oriel College in 1428, holding the office conjointly with the mastership of St. Antony's Hospital. About 1436 he was rector of St. Mary Magdalen in Old Fish Street, London, and with great liberality repaired some almshouses belonging to the parish. In consideration of this generous act Carpenter's name 'was to be inscribed on the altar in the church.' He was chancellor of Oxford University in 1437. On 20 Dec. 1443 he was appointed bishop of Worcester by papal bull, in succession to Thomas Bourchier (1404?-1486) [q. v.], and was consecrated at Eton on 22 March 1443-4. Carpenter was throughout his life a munificent benefactor to the village of Westbury. He elaborately rebuilt and richly endowed the college of priests attached to the church there. William Canynges of Bristol [q. v.] became dean of the college in 1469. Carpenter resigned his see a few weeks before his death. He retired to Northwick, and died there in 1476. He was buried, as he had directed, in Westbury Church. Much of his property was left to establish exhibitions at Oriel College. He is said to have built the gatehouse at Hartlebury Castle, the official residence of the bishop of Worcester. Carpenter was the intimate friend, and was probably the kinsman, of John Carpenter, town clerk of London [q. v.], who bequeathed to him several books on his death in 1441.

[Godwin, *De Præsul.* (1743), p. 467; Le Neve's *Fasti Eccl. Angl.* iii. 61; Newcourt's *Diocese of London*, i. 285, 299, 471; Thomas Brewer's *Life of John Carpenter*, town clerk of London. The John Carpenter who, according to Boase's *Oxf. Univ. Register* (i. 16), proceeded B.A. 28 Jan. 1451-2, and M.A. 4 Dec. 1455, cannot be identical with the bishop.] S. L.

CARPENTER, JOHN (*d.* 1621), divine, was born in Cornwall, it is believed at Launceston, and entered as a batler at Exeter College about 1570, but after a residence of four years left without taking a degree and became rector of Northleigh, near Honiton, in Devonshire. Here he continued throughout his life, and here he died in March 1620-

1621, when he was buried in the chancel of his church. He was father of Nathanael Carpenter [q. v.] He wrote: 1. 'A Sorrowful Song for Sinful Souls, composed upon the Strange and Wonderful Shaking, 6 April 1580,' London, 1580. 2. 'Remember Lot's Wife,' two sermons, 1588, dedicated to Mary, wife of Bishop Woolton. 3. 'A Preparative to Contemnation,' 1597. 4. 'The Song of the Beloved concerning His Vineyard,' 1599. 5. 'Contemplation for the Instruction of Children in the Christian Religion.' 6. 'Schelomonocham, or King Solomon, his solace,' 1606. 7. 'The Plaine Man's Spiritual Plough,' dedicated to Bishop Cotton.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 287-8; Boase and Courtney's *Bibl. Cornub.* pp. 63, 1115; Arber's *Stationers' Registers*, iii. 193, 235.]

W. P. C.

CARPENTER, LANT, LL.D. (1780-1840), unitarian divine, born at Kidderminster on 2 Sept. 1780, was the third son of George Carpenter (*d.* 12 Feb. 1839, aged ninety-one), carpet manufacturer, by his wife, Mary Hooke (*d.* 21 March 1835, aged eighty-three). Ann Lant was the maiden name of George Carpenter's mother. George Carpenter failed in business, and removed from Kidderminster, but Lant was left behind with his mother's guardian, Nicholas Pearsall, who adopted him, with a view to his becoming a minister. Pearsall was a strong unitarian, of much benevolence. He sent him to school, first under Benjamin Carpenter at Stourbridge, and then under William Blake [see under BLAKE, WILLIAM, 1773-1821] at the school of Pearsall's own founding in Kidderminster. In 1797 Carpenter entered the dissenting academy at Northampton under John Horsey, and was ranked in the second year of the five years' course. The Northampton academy was the immediate successor of that at Daventry, from which Belsham had retired on adopting unitarian views. Horsey was moderately orthodox, the classical tutor was a polemical Calvinist from Scotland. The arrangement did not work, the minds of the students became unsettled, and the trustees in 1798 abruptly closed the academy. In October of that year Carpenter with two fellow-students entered Glasgow College as exhibitioners under Dr. Williams's trust. His studies there, interrupted at the outset by an attack of rheumatic fever, lasted till 1801. He took the arts course (but did not graduate), adding chemistry and anatomy, for he had a scientific turn, and at one time thought of combining the duties of a physician and a dissenting minister. Divinity he studied for himself, especially during the

vacations. Circumstances prevented his continuing at Glasgow for the divinity course. He now thought of schoolkeeping as an adjunct to the ministry (he had already entered the pulpit), and in September 1801 he became assistant in the school of his connection Rev. John Corrie, at Birch's Green, near Birmingham. Next year he supplied for a time the pulpit of the New meeting, Birmingham, vacant by the resignation of John Edwards, but soon accepted the offer of a librarianship at the Liverpool Athenæum. This situation he held from the end of 1802 till March 1805, conducting at the same time advanced classes for young ladies, and occasionally preaching. He declined overtures from congregations at Ipswich, Bury St. Edmunds, Ormskirk, and Dudley, and an invitation (in 1803) to become literary tutor at Manchester College, York (this invitation was renewed in 1807, and again declined). On 9 Jan. 1805 he accepted a co-pastorate at George's meeting, Exeter, as colleague with James Manning, in succession to Timothy Kenrick. Manning was an Arian; Kenrick had been a humanitarian, and this was now Carpenter's standpoint. In philosophy he was a determinist, and an especial admirer of Hartley. At Exeter (where he soon married) Carpenter undertook an extensive pastorate and the cares of a boarding school with an unflinching fervour, method, and success, which were marvellous, considering his far from robust health. He brought out in 1806 a popular manual of New Testament geography. Applying to Glasgow in 1806 for the degree of M.A. by special grace, he was at once made LL.D. In August 1807 the temporary loss of his voice led him to send in his resignation; his congregation in reply gave him a year's freedom from pulpit work, and his colleague undertook the double duty. He employed his leisure in founding and managing a public library. His return to the pulpit in 1808 was followed by a controversy, in which his chief opponent was Daniel Veysie, B.D. In 1810 the congregation of the Mint meeting amalgamated with that of George's meeting; the Mint meeting trustees in 1812 wanted to place an organ in George's meeting, and this was done, not without considerable opposition. In 1813 Carpenter declined a pressing invitation to become colleague with John Yates at Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool (overtures from the same congregation were made to him in 1823). Another doctrinal controversy in which he had a share in 1814 was summed up in an epigram by Caleb Colton ('Lacon,' 1822, ii. 720). He remained at Exeter till 1817, taking an increasing part in public questions, especially

the agitation for the Roman catholic claims in 1813. In view of the approaching retirement of John Prior Estlin, LL.D., Carpenter was invited (28 Aug. 1816) to Lewin's Mead Chapel, Bristol, as colleague to John Rowe. The Exeter people made every effort to retain him, but in the summer of 1817 he removed to Bristol. The congregation was large and wealthy [for its earlier history see BURY, SAMUEL], but had lost cohesion. Carpenter drew its various elements together, developed its religious and philanthropic life, and gave it a hold upon the neglected classes of society. On the resignation of Rowe in 1832, Carpenter obtained as colleague (after a short interval) Robert Brook Aspland, M.A. [q. v.]; in 1837, the year following Aspland's removal, his place was filled by George Armstrong, B.A., a seceder from the church of Ireland. Carpenter did much to widen the spirit of his denomination. With one exception, the earlier unitarian tract and mission societies had been fortified with a preamble branding trinitarianism as 'idolatrous' and so limiting the unitarian name as to exclude Arians. As early as 1811, Carpenter endeavoured to expunge the preamble from the rules of the Western Unitarian Society; it took him twenty years to effect this change. But in 1825 three older metropolitan societies were amalgamated into the existing British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and to Carpenter is mainly due the disappearance from its constitution of the restrictive preamble. His polemical publications in reply to Magee and others were commended for their mildness by orthodox critics; for that very reason, perhaps, though able works, few of them were much read. Just before his arrival in Bristol, J. E. Stock, M.D., long a zealous convert to unitarianism (he had drafted the invitation to Carpenter), seceded to the Calvinistic baptists. Soon after this, Charles Abraham Elton, the well-known classical scholar, became a convert, and produced 'Unitarianism Unassailable,' and similar publications; but in a few years he published his 'Second Thoughts' and rejoined the established church. In 1822 Samuel Charles Fripp, B.A., a clergyman residing at Bristol, who had been a curate in Kent, announced his unitarianism from the Lewin's Mead pulpit, and remained steadfast to his new connections. Of Carpenter's own catechumens a considerable number, including some of his favourite pupils, ultimately joined the church of England. Many of the sterner unitarians regarded his influence as too evangelical. Much independence characterised his views; the rite of baptism he rejected altogether as a

superstition, substituting a form of infant dedication. In 1833 the Rajah Rammohun Roy, in whose monotheistic movement Carpenter was strongly interested, visited Bristol, but only to die. Carpenter preached his funeral sermon (afterwards published, with a memoir). He had given up his school in the spring of 1829. Of Carpenter as a schoolmaster there are two sketches by James Martineau, his pupil, and for a time his *locum tenens* (*Memoirs*, p. 342; *Life of Mary Carpenter*, p. 9). No master was ever more adored by his scholars, or more effective in the discipline of character. Bowring says: 'For many a year I deemed him the wisest and greatest of men, as he certainly was one of the best.' 'Christopher North' (who had been his fellow-student at Glasgow), when appointed in 1820 to the moral philosophy chair at Edinburgh, consulted him about the plan of his lectures and the literature of the subject (see his reply, *Memoirs*, p. 255). Carpenter is caricatured in Harriet Martineau's 'Autobiography,' 1877, vol. i. Till 1836 he took a leading part in all public work in Bristol, acting in politics as an independent liberal, and devoting much time to the encouragement of physical science. He was one of the chief organisers of the Bristol Literary and Philosophical Institution in 1822. By 1839 his constitution was completely exhausted under his unsparing labours. He left home on 22 July and was recommended by London physicians to travel. Accompanied by Freeman, a medical adviser, he went on the continent, but his health did not revive. He was drowned on the night of 5 April 1840 while going by steamer from Leghorn to Marseilles. He was not missed till morning, and it is supposed that he was washed overboard. His body was cast ashore near Porto d'Anzio, about two months afterwards, and was buried on the beach. He married on 25 Dec. 1805 Anna (d. 19 June 1856), daughter of James Penn of Kidderminster, and had six children, of whom the eldest was Mary [q. v.], the fourth William Benjamin [q. v.], and the youngest Philip Pearsall [q. v.]. His remaining son is Russell Lant, his biographer.

Of Carpenter there is an excellent portrait drawn by Branwhite, and engraved by Woodman, prefixed to his 'Memoirs;' but perhaps the best likeness of him is a small porcelain bust by Bentley, published in 1842. Among his publications, which numbered thirty-eight, besides four posthumous works and several contributed articles and works edited by him (see a full list in 'Memoirs,' appendix B), the most noteworthy are: 1. 'Unitarianism the Doctrine of the Gospel,' 1809, 8vo, 3rd edition 1823 (in the form

of letters to Veysie). 2. 'Systematic Education,' 2 vols. 1815, 8vo, 3rd edition 1822 (in conjunction with William Shepherd, LL.D., and Jeremiah Joyce; Carpenter's part includes the mental and moral philosophy). 3. 'An Examination of the Charges made against Unitarians . . . by the Right Rev. Dr. Magee,' &c. 1820, 8vo. 4. 'Principles of Education,' 1820, 8vo (reprinted from Rees's 'Cyclopædia,' much commended by the Edgeworths). 5. 'A Harmony, or Synoptical Arrangement of the Gospels,' &c. 1835, 8vo (the second edition, 1838, 8vo, is dedicated, by permission, to the queen). 6. 'Sermons on Practical Subjects,' 1840, 8vo (edited by his son; an abridged edition was brought out by Mary Carpenter in 1875).

[Memoirs, by Russell Lant Carpenter (his son), 1842; Memoirs of P. P. Carpenter, Ph.D. 1880 (by the same); family pedigrees are given in privately printed Memorials (1878) of Mary Carpenter (sister of Lant Carpenter); Monthly Repos. 1817, p. 481; Murch's History of Presb. and Gen. Bapt. Churches in West of England, 1835, pp. 117 sq., 409, 564; Christian Reformer, 1842, p. 371; Henderson's Memoir of Rev. G. Armstrong, 1859; Autobiographical Recollections of Sir J. Bowring, 1877, pp. 42-3; private information.] A. G.

**CARPENTER, MARGARET SARAH** (1793-1872), portrait-painter, daughter of Captain Alexander Geddes, born at Salisbury in 1793, first studied art from Lord Radnor's collection at Longford Castle, and obtained a gold medal from the Society of Arts for the study of a boy's head. She went up to London in 1814 and established herself as a portrait-painter of much reputation. In 1817 she married William Hookham Carpenter [q. v.], keeper of prints and drawings in the British Museum, upon whose death in 1866 her majesty granted her a pension of 100*l.* per annum. She died in London 13 Nov. 1872. Between 1818 and 1866 she exhibited 147 pictures at the Royal Academy, fifty at the British Institution, and nineteen at the Society of British Artists. Her last work was the portrait of Dr. Whewell. Among her other portraits were those of Lord Kilcoursey (1812), Mr. Baring (1815), Lord de Tabley (1829), and Archbishop Sumner (1852). Her portraits of Fraser Tytler, John Gibson, and Bonington are in the National Portrait Gallery. In the South Kensington Museum she is represented by 'Devotion—St. Francis' (a life-size study of the head of Anthony Stewart, the miniature painter), 'The Sisters' (portraits of her two daughters), 'Ockham Church' (a sketch), and 'An Old Woman spinning,' and also by a water-colour study from nature. A sister of Mrs. Carpen-

ter married W. Collins, R.A., and was the mother of Mr. Wilkie Collins.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Bryan's Dict. of Painters (Graves); Graves's Dict. of Artists; Catalogues of National Portrait Gallery and National Gallery at South Kensington Museum; Artists of Nineteenth Century; Art Journal, 1873.] C. M.

**CARPENTER, MARY** (1807-1877), philanthropist, the eldest child of Lant Carpenter, LL.D. [q. v.], by his wife, Anna Penn, was born at Exeter on 3 April 1807. Her father's teachings and example inspired her whole career. From him she inherited her industry, her warm benevolence, and simple piety; her concentration of energy she drew from herself. At a very early age she was introduced to the whole range of studies pursued in her father's school, gaining a sound classical and scientific training, and developing a taste for art. James Martineau sketches her as a schoolgirl (*Life*, 9). Accustomed to assist in teaching, and even on occasion taking her father's place before she had completed her fifteenth year, she left home in the spring of 1827 to act as a governess, first in the Isle of Wight, then at Odsey, near Royston. In August 1829 she rejoined her mother, and began with her a girls' school at Bristol, shortly after the close of Dr. Carpenter's school for boys. To this she added in 1831 the superintendence of the afternoon Sunday school. In 1833 the presence of Rammohun Roy, who ended his days at Bristol, and the visit of Joseph Tuckerman, D.D., the Boston philanthropist, turned her sympathy towards India and the ragged urchins of her own country. She was the means of founding in 1835 a 'working and visiting society,' of which she acted as secretary for over twenty years; and to this was added in 1841 a ministry to the poor, to which she had given the impulse in 1838. Her father's death in 1840 gave her a new motive for philanthropic work as his representative. Aided by John Bishop Estlin and Matthew Davenport Hill, she opened on 1 Aug. 1846 her ragged school in Lewin's Mead, one of the worst parts of Bristol, removing it in December to larger premises in 'a filthy lane called St. James's Back.' In August 1850 she purchased the court in which the school was situated, improved the dwellings, and laid out a playground. While thus engaged she was considering the necessity for schools of a different character, in which moral discipline might be applied to the reformation of young criminals. She corresponded on this subject with Matthew Davenport Hill and John Clay [q. v.], and published her

views in 1851. Her book, and her interviews in London and the north with advocates of reformatory principles, prepared the way for a conference, which was held in Birmingham on 9 and 10 Dec. 1851. Mary Carpenter was the soul of the meeting, but did not speak in public; she was always somewhat slow to countenance any innovations on the recognised sphere of woman's work. A committee was formed to carry out the resolutions of the conference; but it soon appeared that there was a radical divergence of view on the question whether the disciplinary treatment of juvenile delinquents should be partly punitive or purely restorative in its aim. Mary Carpenter believed that certain theological ideas fostered the demand for an element of retributive dealing, which she was anxious to exclude. She resolved to establish a reformatory school on her own principles. Meanwhile she gave evidence (in May 1852) before the parliamentary committee of inquiry on juvenile delinquency. On 11 Sept. her reformatory was opened at Kingswood. The house (built for school purposes by John Wesley) was purchased by Russell Scott of Bath, and furnished by Lady Byron. In December 1853 a conference on a larger scale was held in the Birmingham town hall. At the beginning of 1854 the first report of her Kingswood school was issued. On 10 Aug. the Youthful Offenders Act legalised the position of reformatory schools under voluntary managers. On 10 Oct. a separate reformatory school for girls was opened by Mary Carpenter at the Red Lodge in Park Row, Bristol, an Elizabethan mansion which had seen many vicissitudes. It is no wonder that, with all these responsibilities accumulated upon her, her health suddenly failed. Just before Christmas 1854 she was seized with a rheumatic fever, which incapacitated her for six months. As she was recovering, she wrote a gently characteristic letter (8 June 1855) to Harriet Martineau, expressive of her religious trust, and received a severely characteristic reply. The intercourse of the two friends remained unbroken. Mary Carpenter's religion was as little satisfactory to the Somersetshire magistrates as to Miss Martineau. The quarter sessions at Wells, moved by the diocesan board, refused (March 1856) to take cognisance of the Red Lodge, though the government inspector was fully satisfied with the religious teaching. A year and a half after her mother's death Mary Carpenter left the old home in Great George Street to occupy (December 1857) a house in Park Row, bought by Lady Byron, who purchased also other property for the development of the Red Lodge plans.

Meanwhile, Miss Carpenter was urging upon members of parliament the need of a measure such as the Industrial Schools Act, which became law in 1857, and the claims of existing ragged schools to participate in the educational grant. Among her best friends in the House of Commons were Lords Houghton [see MILNES, RICHARD MONCKTON] and Idesleigh. As if her hands were not yet full—she had resigned her Sunday school duty in 1856, but was still doing 'the work of three people on the food of half a one' (COBBE)—the difficulties in the working of the act induced her to undertake the establishment of a certified industrial school, mainly in order to show in what way the government provisions needed amendment. This school she opened (April 1859) in premises in Park Row purchased by Frederick Chapple, a Bristol boy who had made a fortune in Liverpool. Many of her proposals were adopted in the amended acts of 1861 and 1866. A third conference on ragged schools at Birmingham on 23 Jan. 1861 urged upon parliament their claims to further government aid. Although attacked by illness in the autumn of 1863, she planned and opened a workmen's hall in December of that year, and published a work on the convict system.

In the autumn of 1860 her sympathy with India had been rekindled by the visit of Joguth Chunder Gangooly, a young convert of the unitarian mission at Calcutta. The subsequent visits of Rakhal Das Haldar (1862), and of Satyendra Nath Tagore and M. Ghose (1864) convinced her that the condition of Indian women could be improved by judicious education. On 1 Sept. 1866 she left England for India, Ghose being among her travelling companions. Her plans and expectations were small, but no sooner had she arrived than her advice was sought by the Bombay government on the problems of education and prison discipline. At Madras and at Calcutta (where she interested herself in the monotheistic movement of Keshub Chunder Sen) similar calls were made upon her judgment and experience. Here she became for the first time a public speaker. Her general impressions were summed up in a communication (12 Dec. 1866) to the governor-general, Sir John Lawrence, on the subjects of female education, reformatory schools, and the state of the gaols. She left India on 20 March 1867. At home she took up again with zest all her old labours, but at once opened communications with the India Office, with a view to urge the home government to overcome 'the incubus of Indian red-tapeism.' In March 1868 she had the honour of an interview with the queen, and in October she



again started for India. Offering her gratuitous services to the government as superintendent of a female normal school at Bombay, she was soon in the midst of a band of lady coadjutors, English and native. Her health gave way in February 1869, and in April she returned to England. Her third visit to India, in the winter of 1869-70, was somewhat disappointing. She made up her mind that more was to be done by the influence she could exert at headquarters in this country than by personal work in India itself. At Bristol, in September 1870, she inaugurated, in connection with a second visit from Keshub Chunder Sen, a 'National Indian Association,' of which the Princess Alice ultimately became president. Its object was twofold—to enable Indian visitors to study the institutions of England, and to ripen English opinion respecting the wants of India. She was on the point of adding to her travels a visit to America to study the condition of prisons there, when an invitation to attend, as the guest of the Princess Alice, a congress (September 1872) at Darmstadt on women's work, opened the way for an examination of some of the reformatory systems of the continent. Her voyage to America was made in April 1873. She accepted an invitation to speak on prison reform in the largest church at Hartford, all the other churches being closed for the occasion. From the United States she proceeded to Canada, pointing out the defects in prison arrangements, and interesting herself warmly in the condition of the aborigines. Returning home in the autumn, she had a fresh subject for her applications to government—the state of the Canadian prisons. Her last journey to India was undertaken in September 1875, and lasted till 27 March 1876. Her impressions were now more hopeful. On all her great subjects she made careful reports to the authorities in India and at home, and saw many of her suggestions carried into law. In July 1876 parliament at length authorised her plan of allowing school boards to establish day-feeding industrial schools. She died 14 June 1877, and was buried in the Arno's Vale cemetery, Bristol. Among the mourners were two Hindu boys whose education she was superintending. A tablet to her memory, with an inscription by James Martineau, was placed in the north transept of Bristol Cathedral. An admirable likeness, engraved by C. H. Jeens, is prefixed to her 'Life.' Of her personal characteristics there is a brief glimpse (*Life*, p. 418) by the Rev. W. C. Gannett, who speaks of 'her great grey eyes, so slow and wise, yet so kind sometimes;' and a valuable detailed account, doing justice to her quaint

sense of humour and her capacity for art (*Theological Review*, April 1880, p. 279), by Frances Power Cobbe, who was associated with her for some time from November 1858 in her work at Red Lodge. In Harriet Martineau's autobiography there is a charming picture of Mary Carpenter acting as bridesmaid to one of her Red Lodge protégées. Mary Carpenter was a familiar figure at the Social Science congresses, and some of her ablest papers were read at these meetings. Her 'Life' gives many evidences of a true poetic vein. In early life she had written poems in the anti-slavery cause, which were printed in America, but her most touching verses were called forth by the loss of friends. Of her separate publications the following are the chief: 1. 'Meditations and Prayers,' 1845 (1st ed. anon.; five subsequent editions). 2. 'Memoir of Joseph Tuckerman,' 1848 (reprinted in 'American Unitarian Biography,' 1851, 8vo, ii. 29 sq., with corrections by Tuckerman's daughter, Mrs. Becker). 3. 'Ragged Schools, their Principles and Modes of Operation, by a Worker,' 1849 (reprinted from the 'Inquirer' newspaper). 4. 'Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes, and for Juvenile Offenders,' 1851, 8vo. 5. 'Juvenile Delinquents, their Condition and Treatment,' 1853, 8vo (dedicated to 'my three helpers in Heaven, my dear Father, Dr. Tuckerman, and Mr. Fletcher,' i.e. Joseph Fletcher, H.M. inspector of schools). 6. 'The Claims of Ragged Schools to Pecuniary Educational Aid from the Annual Parliamentary Grant, &c.,' 1859. 7. 'What shall we do with our Pauper Children?' &c., 1861. 8. 'Our Convicts, how they are made and should be treated,' 1864, 8vo, 2 vols. (this had the 'great honour' of being placed on the Roman 'Index Expurgatorius'). 9. 'Last Days in England of the Rajah Rammohun Roy,' 1866, 8vo. 10. 'Six Months in India,' 1868, 8vo, 2 vols. She published also an abridgement of the 'Memoir' of her father; and a 'Young Christian's Hymn Book,' with supplement.

[*Life and Work of Mary Carpenter*, 1879, by J. Estlin Carpenter (her nephew); authorities cited above.] A. G.

**CARPENTER, NATHANAEL** (1589-1628?), author and philosopher, son of John Carpenter (*d.* 1561) [q. v.], rector of Northleigh, Devonshire, was born there on 7 Feb. 1588-9. He matriculated at St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, on 7 June 1605; but was elected, on a recommendatory letter of James I, a Devonshire fellow of Exeter College on 30 June 1607. A second Devonshire candidate, Michael



Jermyn, obtained an equal number of votes, whereupon the vice-chancellor gave his decision in favour of Carpenter. The dates of Carpenter's degrees were B.A. 5 July 1610, M.A. 1613, B.D. 11 May 1620, D.D. 1626. During his residence at Oxford he is said to have become, 'by a virtuous emulation and industry, a noted philosopher, poet, mathematician, and geographer.' One of his pupils at the university was Sir William Morice, secretary of state 1660-8, a politician with religious views inclined to presbyterianism, which were probably inspired by his tutor's Calvinism. Carpenter's attainments attracted the notice of the chief divines of the age. Sutcliffe, dean of Exeter, nominated him a member of his new college at Chelsea, and Archbishop Ussher tempted him into Ireland, where he was appointed schoolmaster of the king's wards in Dublin, the wards being minors of property whose parents were Roman Catholics. Carpenter's death is said to have occurred at Dublin in the beginning of 1628, and his funeral sermon was preached by Robert Ussher, a brother of the archbishop. On his deathbed he regretted that he had 'so much courted the maid instead of the mistress,' meaning that he had spent his chief time in philosophy and mathematics and had neglected divinity.

His writings were numerous. The earliest of them, 'Philosophia libera triplici exercitationum decade proposita,' an attack on the Aristotelian system of philosophy, appeared at Frankfurt in 1621, under the disguise of N. C. Cosmopolitanus. Later editions were issued under his name in 1622, 1636, and 1675. His treatise of 'Geography delineated forth in two books,' published in 1625, and republished in 1635, contains many eloquent passages, especially a digression (p. 260 et seq.) in praise of the illustrious natives of 'our mountainous provinces of Devon and Cornwall.' Embodied in it are some pages of poetry, in which his 'Mother Oxford' recounts the advantages which he had derived from association with her, and reproaches him for his partiality to his native county. Three sermons entitled 'Achitophel, or the Picture of a Wicked Politician,' preached to the university of Oxford and dedicated to Ussher, are stated to have appeared in 1627, 1628, 1629, 1633, 1638, and 1642. The first edition was called in, and the passages against Arminianism were expunged. After his death there appeared (1633 and 1640) a sermon, 'Chorazin and Bethsaida's Woe,' which he had preached at St. Mary's, Oxford. The dedication by N. H. to Dean Winniffe asserts that but for 'a kinsman's (Jo. Ca.) friendly hand' the manuscript might have 'perished

on the Netherland shores,' as Carpenter's labours in optics did in the Irish Sea. A charisterium to Carpenter by Degory Wheare appears in the appendix to the latter's 'Pietas erga benefactores,' 1628. A manuscript by Carpenter entitled 'Encomia Varia' belongs to Trinity College, Dublin (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 4th Rep. app. p. 590).

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 421-2, Fasti, i. 337, 393; Prince's *Worthies* (1810), 173-5, 603; Boase's *Reg. of Exeter Coll.* pp. 55, 56, 211.] W. P. C.

CARPENTER, PHILIP PEARSALL (1819-1877), conchologist, youngest child of Lant Carpenter [q. v.], was born at Bristol in November 1819. His education began in his father's school, was continued at a proprietary institution called the Bristol College, and concluded at a presbyterian training college at York. He graduated B.A. in the university of London in 1841, and soon after became minister of a presbyterian congregation at Stand, whence he removed in 1846 to a congregation at Warrington, and there remained for fifteen years. He did not confine his activity to preaching, but was concerned in endless philanthropic schemes, some wise and useful, others ill-considered and unfruitful. He established a printing press, and disseminated his opinions by frequent leaflets, letters, magazines, and other publications. He learnt to swim in the canal, and instituted a swimming academy; he lectured on the necessity of proper drainage, and stood up for the preservation of ancient rights of way. He set a fine example of temperance in eating and of abstinence from wine, but he spoke of a public dinner to the officers of the militia as an expenditure for sensual gratification which could not be reconciled with christian sobriety, and he refused to lend a copy of a song, 'Mynheer van Dunk,' to a Christmas glee party because he would not encourage the singing of bacchanalian verses. He had always thought it a sin to drink wine, and soon came to believe it foolish to eat meat. When his house was robbed he published a handbill describing the candlesticks, silver spoons, and other property stolen, and informing the thieves that he had forgiven them; that if they liked to call he would converse with them, and that if they did not call they would have to meet him on the day of judgment. The current of his activity was at length turned into a definite channel. He had been instructed in natural science when a boy, had made a collection of shells, and had always had a taste for natural history. One day, in 1855, while walking down a street in Liverpool, Carpenter caught sight

of some strange shells in a dealer's window. He went in, and found that the specimens were part of a vast collection made by a Belgian naturalist named Reigen at Mazatlan in California. The collector had died, leaving his shells unsorted and unnamed. Carpenter bought them for 50*l*. There were fourteen tons of shells, each ton occupying forty cubic feet. The examination, description, naming, and classification of these shells was the chief work of the rest of Carpenter's life. By the comparison of hundreds of examples, 104 previous species were shown to be mere varieties, while 222 new species were added to the catalogue of the mollusca. Thenceforward, though he sometimes preached, made speeches, and wrote pamphlets, most of Carpenter's time was given to shells, and even when he received calls or paid visits he would wash and pack up shells during conversation. Their pecuniary value when named and arranged in series was great, but he never tried to grow rich by them, and his whole endeavour was to spread the knowledge of them and to supply as many public institutions as possible with complete collections of Mazatlan mollusca. A full report on them occupies 209 pages of the 'British Association Reports' for 1856, and further details are to be found in the same reports for 1863, and in the 'Smithsonian Reports' for 1860. He visited America in 1858, and in 1860, after his return to England, married at Manchester Miss Minnie Meyer. At the conclusion of the ceremony the wedded pair formally adopted a boy whom Carpenter had found in a refuge at Baltimore. In 1865 he sailed with wife and adopted son for America, settled in Montreal, and there lived to the end of his days. He took pupils, ceased to be a presbyterian, and became reconciled to the doctrines of the Anglican church. Shells occupied most of his time, and he was working at the Chitonidae, of which he had formed a great collection, when he was seized with an acute illness, and died on 24 May 1877. Carpenter once spoke of himself as 'a born teacher, a naturalist by chance.' The description should have been reversed. He had been fond of shells and of natural history from early boyhood, and the chance was only in the incident which gave him the opportunity of following his natural bent. His teaching was spoiled by his ignorance of what was ludicrous, and he used to imitate the movements of polyps with his arms and legs in a way which fixed his own grotesque attitudes on the memory of his pupils, but which drove their attention away from polyps. He was a virtuous man and a laborious, but was neither judicious nor profound.

[Memoirs (with portrait), edited by R. L. Carpenter, 1880; British Association Reports, 1856, &c.; personal knowledge.] N. M.

**CARPENTER, RICHARD** (1575-1627), divine, was born in Cornwall in 1575. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, on 28 May 1592, and took his degrees of B.A. on 19 Feb. 1595-6, B.D. 25 June 1611, and D.D. 10 Feb. 1616-17. He was elected to a Cornish fellowship at his college on 30 June 1596, and retained it until 30 June 1606, during which time he devoted his attention, under the advice of Thomas Holland, the rector of Exeter College, to the study of theology, and became noted for his preaching powers. In 1606 he was appointed by Sir Robert Chichester to the rectories of Sherwell and Loxhore, near Barnstaple, and it has been suggested that he was the Richard Carpenter who from 1601 to 1626 held the vicarage of Collumpton. While he was a tutor at Oxford, Christopher Trevelyan, a son of John Trevelyan of Nettlecombe, Somersetshire, who married Urith, daughter of Sir John Chichester of Devonshire, was among his pupils, and through this introduction to these families Carpenter married Susanna, his pupil's youngest sister, and obtained his benefice from Sir Robert Chichester. He died on 18 Dec. 1627, and was buried in the chancel of Loxhore Church, where a monument was erected to his memory.

Carpenter's literary productions were confined to theology. Hewas the author of: 1. 'A Sermon preached at the Funeral Solemnities of Sir Arthur Ackland,' 9 Jan. 1611-12. 2. 'A Pastoral Charge at the Triennial Visitation of the Bishop of Exon. at Barnstaple,' 1616. 3. 'Christ's Larum Bell of Love resounded,' 1616. 4. 'The Concionable Christian,' three sermons preached before the judges of the circuit in 1620, London, 1623. His learning is highly praised by Charles Fitzgeoffrey in his 'Affianæ,' and two letters addressed to him by Degory Wheare in 1603 and 1621 are in the 'Epistolæ Eucharisticæ' subjoined to the latter's 'Pietas erga Benefactores,' 1628. Some verses by Carpenter are printed in the 'Funebre Officium in memoriam Elizabethæ Angliæ reginæ' of the university of Oxford, 1603, and in the collection ('Pietas erga Jacobum Angliæ regem') with which that body in the same year welcomed the new king.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 418; Boase's Reg. of Exeter Coll. pp. 52-3, 210; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. pp. 63, 1115; Trevelyan Papers, pt. iii. (Camden Soc. 1872), pp. xxvi, 77, 84, 110-12, 138-40; Arber's Stationers' Registers, iii. 496, 596, iv. 81.] W. P. C.

CARPENTER, RICHARD (*d.* 1670?), 'theological mountebank,' was educated at Eton, and in 1622 elected to a scholarship at King's College, Cambridge. From the account of him in the 'Biographia Dramatica' it is to be inferred that he left the university without taking his degree. In his work, 'Experience, Historie, and Divinitie,' he says that he, 'being first a scholar of Eaton College and afterwards a student in Cambridge, forsook the university and immediately travelled.' In the same work he affirms that he was converted to Roman catholicism by an English monk in London, that he studied in Flanders, Artois, France, Spain, and Italy, and that he was subsequently ordained a priest by the hands of the pope's substitute in Rome. Having been a Benedictine monk at Douay for some time, he was sent as a missionary to England, where, after about a year, he returned to the protestant religion, was ordained, and, through the intervention of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Abbot), was presented to the small living of Poling, near Arundel, in 1635 (DALLAWAY, *Sussex*, ii. (pt. i.) 60). During his incumbency he was much annoyed by the Roman catholics in Arundel, who lost no opportunity of slandering him or holding him up to ridicule before his parishioners. In his 'Experience,' &c., he gives a high-flown account of his reasons for becoming a protestant, but his enemies affirmed that his change of creed was in 'order to gain a wife,' and that 'he had run away with the wife of the man with whom he lodged.' There is no reason to suppose that he was married at this time. At the outbreak of the civil war he threw up his living and became an itinerant preacher, his chief aim seeming to be to widen the breach between the king and the parliament as much as possible. Disappointed by his lack of success, he quitted this way of life, and going over to Paris he again became reconciled to the Romish church, and made it his business to rail at protestantism. Returning to England, he joined the independents, and Dodd's 'Church History' records that 'he played his pulpit pranks according to the humour of the time, and became a mere mountebank of religion. He shortly afterwards married and settled at Aylesbury, where he had relations, and used to preach in a very fantastical manner, to the great mirth of his auditors.' Towards the latter part of his life he became very serious, and, in company with his wife, embraced catholicism for a third time, which religion he is supposed to have professed at the time of his death. He is known to have been alive in 1670, but is believed to have

died during that year. Wood, who was intimately acquainted with him, says 'that he was a fantastical man that changed his mind with his cloths, and that for his juggles and tricks in matters of religion he was esteemed a theological mountebank.' Dodd affirms that 'he wanted neither wit nor learning, which, notwithstanding, lay under a frightful management through the iniquity of the times and his own inconstant temper.' His chief work was: 1. 'Experience, Historie, and Divinitie,' &c. 1640; republished with additions in 1648 as 'The Downfall of Antichrist,' a queer mixture of autobiography and religion, full of classical quotations and absurd stories. After the Restoration he wrote a comedy called: 2. 'The Pragmatical Jesuit,' of which Langbaine speaks with some commendation. Prefixed to this play is his portrait in a long habit; a previous one, however, exhibits him as a formal cleric with a sad and mortified countenance. He also wrote: 3. 'The Anabaptist washt and washt, and shrunk in the Washing,' 1653. 4. 'The perfect Law of God, being a Sermon and no Sermon, preached and yet not preached,' 1652 (published while he was an independent). 5. 'Astrology proved harmless, useful, pious,' 1653. 6. 'The Last and Highest Appeal; or an Appeal to God against the new Religion Makers, Dressers, Menders, and Vendors amongst us,' &c. 7. 'The Jesuit and the Monk; or the Serpent and the Dragon,' 1656. 8. 'Rome and her Jesuits,' 1663.

A RICHARD CARPENTER is mentioned by Elias Ashmole, who prints in his 'Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum,' 1651, an English poem, detailing various alchemical prescriptions, under the title of 'The Worke of Richard Carpenter.' This is from the 'Sloane MS.' 288, No. 8, where the piece is entitled 'The Prologue of R. C. of the Philosopher's Stone,' and described as the opening lines of a lost work by Thomas Charnock (1524?-1581) [q. v.], doubtless Carpenter's contemporary (TANNER, *Bibl. Brit.*; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*)

[*Biographia Britannica*; Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. 419, 420, ed. Bliss; Harwood's *Alumni Eton*. p. 223; Granger's *Biog. Hist. of England*, iii. 345, 3rd edit.; Dodd's *Church History*, 1737; Langbaine's *Account of the Dramatic Poets*, 1691; Baker's *Biog. Dramatica*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 88.]

A. C. B.

CARPENTER, RICHARD CROMWELL (1812-1855), architect, was born 21 Oct. 1812, educated at Charterhouse, and articled to Mr. Blyth. He first exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1830, sending a 'Design for a Cathedral Transept,' and between that year and 1849 exhibited nine works. Among his earliest buildings were the churches

of St. Stephen and St. Andrew at Birmingham; among his later St. Paul, Brighton, and St. Mary Magdalen, Munster Square, London. He also executed restorations at Chichester Cathedral, Sherborne Abbey, and designed St. John's College, Hurstpierpoint, Sussex. He died in Upper Bedford Place, Russell Square, 27 March 1855.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Graves's Dict. of Artists.] C. M.

**CARPENTER, WILLIAM** (1797-1874), miscellaneous writer, son of a tradesman in St. James's, Westminster, was born in 1797. He received no school education, but at an early age entered the service of a bookseller in Finsbury, first as an errand-boy, and then as an apprentice. By persevering self-study he acquired several ancient and modern languages, and devoted himself with special eagerness to biblical subjects. While at Finsbury he made the acquaintance of William Greenfield, editor of Bagster's 'Polyglot Bibles.' With him he edited for some time the 'Scripture Magazine,' which was afterwards expanded into the 'Critica Biblica' (4 vols. 1824-7). Devoting himself entirely to literary pursuits, he wrote a number of works on theological and general subjects, and was connected in succession with numerous periodicals. He was editor of the 'Shipping Gazette' in 1836, of the 'Era' in 1838, of the 'Railway Observer' in 1843, of 'Lloyd's Weekly News' in 1844, of the 'Court Journal' in 1848, of the 'Sunday Times' and 'Bedfordshire Independent' in 1854. He also edited a morning paper. As a journalist he issued a publication entitled 'Political Letters' (1830-1). This he maintained was not liable to the stamp duty on newspapers, and he issued it partly to try the question. A prosecution followed at the instance of the authorities in the court of exchequer. At the trial (14 May 1831) Carpenter defended himself, was convicted, and was imprisoned for some time in the king's bench (Report of Trial prefixed to *Collected Political Letters*). From his prison he edited the 'Political Magazine' (September 1831 to July 1832, republished as 'Carpenter's Monthly Political Magazine,' 1832).

Carpenter threw himself with great zeal into the cause of political reform. In connection with this he wrote 'An Address to the Working Classes on the Reform Bill,' 1831; 'The People's Book, comprising their chartered rights and practical wrongs,' 1831; 'The Electors' Manual,' 1832; 'The Political Text Book, comprising a view of the origin and objects of government, and an examination of the principal social and political in-

stitutions of England,' 1833; 'Peerage for the People,' 1841; 'The Corporation of London as it is, and as it should be,' 1847. Between 1851 and 1853 Carpenter was honorary secretary to the Chancery Reform Association, for which he wrote a good deal. He also wrote a little treatise, 'The Israelites found in the Anglo-Saxons,' 1872. Carpenter was troubled with defective eyesight, and was, notwithstanding his remarkable activity, in somewhat poor circumstances for some time before his death, which took place at his residence in Colebrooke Row, Islington, 21 April 1874.

Carpenter published: 1. 'Sancta Biblica' (a collection of parallel passages), 3 vols. 1825, dedicated to George IV. 2. 'Calendarium Palestinae, exhibiting the Principal Events in Scripture History,' 1825. 3. 'A Popular Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures,' 1826. 4. 'Old English and Hebrew Proverbs explained and illustrated,' 1826. 5. 'A Reply to the Accusations of Piracy and Plagiarism, in a letter to the Rev. T. H. Horne,' 1827. 6. 'An Examination of Scripture Difficulties,' 1828. 7. 'Scripture Natural History' (1828, republished Boston, U.S., 1833; Latin translation, Paris, 1841). 8. 'Popular Lectures on Biblical Criticism and Interpretation,' 1829. 9. 'A Guide to the Practical Reading of the Bible,' 1830. 10. 'Anecdotes of the French Revolution of 1830,' 1830. 11. 'A Popular History of Priestcraft abridged from W. Howitt's Book,' 1834. 12. 'A Reply to W. Howitt's Preface to the Abridged History of Priestcraft,' 1834. 13. 'The Life and Times of John Milton,' 1836. 14. 'The Biblical Companion,' 1836. 15. 'Relief for the Unemployed; Emigration and Colonisation considered,' 1841. 16. 'Clark's Christian Inheritance' (5th ed. 1843). 17. 'A Comprehensive Dictionary of English Synonyms' (6th ed. 1865). 18. 'An Introduction to the Reading and Study of the English Bible' (3 vols. 1867-8). The following have also been included in a list of Carpenter's works: 'Mneio-philæ, a Dictionary of Facts and Dates,' 'Critical Dissertation on Ezekiel's Temple,' 'Wesleyana,' 'Life of Cobbett' (whom he knew intimately); 'Small Debts, an Argument for County Courts,' 'Machinery and the Working Classes,' 'The Condition of Children in Mines and Factories.' He also edited and abridged Calmet's 'History of the Bible.' His scriptural treatises have been very popular in America.

[Men of the Time, 8th edit. 1872, pp. 192-3; Sunday Times newspaper, 3 May 1874, p. 8, col. 1; Brit. Mus. Cat.; Preface to Introduction to the Reading and Study of the English Bible.]

F. W.-2.

CARPENTER, WILLIAM BENJAMIN (1813-1885), naturalist, was the fourth child and eldest son of Dr. Lant Carpenter [q. v.], and brother of Mary and Philip Carpenter [q. v.] He was born at Exeter on 29 Oct. 1813. His father removed to Bristol in 1817; young Carpenter received his early education there in his father's notable school, and acquired both exact classical and scientific knowledge. He was anxious to be a civil engineer, but sacrificed his inclination when pressed to become the pupil of Mr. Estlin, the family doctor. He passed some time in the West Indies as companion to Mr. Estlin, and his experience of social conditions preceding the abolition of slavery led him to be throughout life a cautious and moderate rather than an ardent reformer.

After some preliminary work at the Bristol Medical School, Carpenter entered University College, London, in 1833, as a medical student, and it is significant of a mania for lectures then encouraged that he often attended thirty-five lectures a week, as his note-books show. He also attended the Middlesex Hospital for some time. After obtaining the Surgeons' and Apothecaries' diplomas in 1835 he went to the Edinburgh Medical School and commenced researches on physiology. He wrote papers which showed a marked tendency to seek large generalisations and to bring all the natural sciences to the elucidation of vital functions. His early papers, 'On the Voluntary and Instinctive Actions of Living Beings' ('*Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal*,' xlviii. 1837, pp. 22-44), 'On the Unity of Function in Organised Beings' ('*Edinburgh New Philosophical Journal*,' xxiii. 1837, pp. 92-116), 'On the Differences of the Laws regulating Vital and Physical Phenomena' (*ib.* xxiv. 1838, pp. 327-53), which obtained the Students' Prize of 30*l.*, and 'The Physiological Inferences to be deduced from the Structure of the Nervous System of Invertebrated Animals' (graduation thesis, 1839), the latter of which obtained the notice of Johannes Müller, the first physiologist of the day, who inserted a translation of it in his 'Archives' for 1840, were the precursors of his great work, 'The Principles of General and Comparative Physiology,' published in 1839. This was the first English book which contained adequate conceptions of a science of biology. A second edition was called for in 1841, and it was recognised that the author was a man of no ordinary mental grasp and range of study.

Before his graduation at Edinburgh Carpenter had become lecturer on medical jurisprudence at the Bristol Medical School, and he afterwards lectured there on physio-

logy also. He found the anxieties of general medical practice too great for his keen susceptibilities, and undertook further literary work, including a useful and comprehensive 'Popular Cyclopædia of Science,' 1843. In 1844 he removed to London, gaining the post of Fullerian professor of physiology at the Royal Institution, and being elected a fellow of the Royal Society in the same year. He was appointed lecturer on physiology at the London Hospital, and professor of forensic medicine at University College. He was also for some years examiner in physiology and comparative anatomy at the University of London, and Swiney lecturer on geology at the British Museum. From 1847 to 1852 he edited the 'British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review,' and from 1851 to 1859 he was principal of University Hall, the residence for students at University College. In 1856, on appointment as registrar of the University of London, he resigned his lectureships, and thenceforward was the chief worker in the great development of that university till his resignation in 1879, when he received the distinction of a C.B. He was appointed a crown member of the senate on the next vacancy, and continued an active member till his death, which occurred on 19 Nov. 1885, from severe burns received by the accidental upsetting of a makeshift spirit-lamp while he was taking a vapour bath.

Carpenter was one of the last examples of an almost universal naturalist. Some of his most valuable and laborious work was done in zoology. In a series of papers and reports to the British Association, commencing in 1843, and to the Royal, Microscopical, and Geological Societies, he gave the results of his own and others' inquiries into the microscopic structure of shells. These were followed by a set of four memoirs in the 'Philosophical Transactions,' 1856-60, on the foraminifera. In 1862 the Ray Society published his 'Introduction to the Study of the Foraminifera,' in which he was largely assisted by Professors W. K. Parker and T. Rupert Jones; it is a memoir of fundamental importance on the subject. As late as 1882 he contributed an important paper on Orbitolites to the 'Philosophical Transactions.' Marine zoology also largely interested him, and out of his summer excursions to Arran, when he studied the feather-stars, grew a large scheme of deep-sea exploration. In the spring of 1868 he studied the crinoids near Belfast with Professor Wyville Thomson, and in the same year they explored the fauna and other phenomena of the sea-bottom between the north of Ireland and the Faroe islands in the Lightning. This was followed

by further explorations in the Porcupine (1869 and 1870), and in the Shearwater (1871), in which he traversed the Mediterranean and the Atlantic between Great Britain and Portugal, and by the Challenger expedition under Wyville Thomson, in the preparations for which Carpenter took an active part.

Some of Carpenter's most important zoological contributions related to the question of the animal nature of *Eozoön canadense*, as found in masses in the Laurentian rocks of Canada. He contributed numerous papers on this subject to the Royal Society, the 'Canadian Naturalist' (ii. 1865), the 'Intellectual Observer' (vii. 1865), 'Philosophical Magazine' (1865), 'Geological Society's Quarterly Journal,' &c. For some years before his death he had been collecting materials for a monograph on *Eozoön*, which he did not complete. Another favourite subject of his research was the structure, embryology, and past history of the feather-stars and crinoids, in which he demonstrated important facts of structure and physiology which were long controverted. His chief paper was 'On the Structure, Physiology, and Development of *Antedon rosaceus*' ('Philosophical Transactions,' 1866, pp. 671-756). Among his services to zoology, and in a lesser degree to botany, may be reckoned his work on 'The Microscope and its Revelations,' 1866, which reached a sixth edition in 1881. His zoological and botanical and other contributions to the 'Cyclopædia of Science' were afterwards published in separate volumes in Bohn's 'Scientific Library.' The 'Comparative Physiology' of his early 'Physiology' was published separately as an enlarged fourth edition in 1854.

In addition to his principal book, Carpenter's contributions to physiology were chiefly to the mental and the physical aspects of the science. His early papers were followed by others: 'On the Mutual Relations of the Vital and Physical Forces' ('Philosophical Transactions,' 1850), and 'On the Application of the Principle of Conservation of Force to Physiology' ('Quarterly Journal of Science,' i. 1864). His great work on physiology attained a fifth edition in 1855, and has subsequently been edited by Mr. Henry Power. A smaller 'Manual of Physiology,' 1846, reached a fourth edition in 1865. In 1874 Carpenter expanded the chapters of his previous work on mental physiology into a treatise, 'The Principles of Mental Physiology' (fourth edition, 1876). His views on the relation of mind and brain were acute and in advance of his time. While unsparing in his exposures of quackery in phrenology,

mesmerism, electro-biology, and spiritualism, he did much to educate the public in sound views of mental processes, and especially to bring into prominence the importance of those operations of which we are unconscious. In 1851, in the 'Proceedings of the Royal Institution,' i. 147-53, he wrote 'On the Influence of Suggestion in Modifying and Directing Muscular Movement, independently of Volition,' and in 1868 (*ib.* v. 338-45) 'On the Unconscious Activity of the Brain.' He made the subject of unconscious cerebration (his own phrase) a speciality, further discussing it in a lecture at Glasgow in 1875, 'Is Man an Automaton?' It is worth noting that while editor of the 'Medico-Chirurgical Review' he published a criticism of Noble's 'Physiology of the Brain,' which had the effect of converting Dr. Noble. He was one of the editors of the 'Natural History Review' (1861-5).

Carpenter's deep-sea explorations led him into an extensive field of marine physics. He developed in this country the doctrine of a general oceanic circulation, due largely to heat, cold, and evaporation, which had been previously little suspected. His more important papers on this question are contained in the 'Royal Society's Proceedings,' xvii. xx.; 'Geographical Society's Proceedings,' xv. 1871; 'British Association Reports,' xli. xlii. xliii. His views were persistently assailed by Mr. James Croll and others, but have been sustained by many other writers.

Carpenter's incessant industry enabled him to take part in many public movements with effect. In 1849 he gained a prize for an essay 'On the Use and Abuse of Alcoholic Liquors' (1850), and he wrote further 'On the Physiology of Temperance and Total Abstinence' (1853). He was a singularly lucid lecturer on scientific subjects, and organised the Gilchrist scheme of popular science lectures, which has been of great value in spreading sound scientific knowledge and awakening interest in science among the working classes. He was a zealous champion of vaccination and other scientific measures for checking disease, and wrote many magazine articles on such topics. He was a large contributor to various cyclopædias. His labours received numerous marks of high distinction, including a royal medal of the Royal Society (1861), the Lyell medal of the Geological Society (1883), the LL.D. of Edinburgh (1871), the presidency of the British Association (1872), and the corresponding membership of the Institute of France (1873).

In person Carpenter was above middle height, of quiet and somewhat formal man-

ner, spare, keen-eyed, and tenacious-looking. He was an active member of the unitarian church at Hampstead, at which he played the organ and conducted the psalmody for some years. He regarded miracles not as violations of natural order, but as manifestations of a higher order. His acceptance of Darwin's views of evolution was somewhat limited and reserved. He believed that natural selection leaves untouched the evidence of design in creation. In philosophy he especially clung to the reality of an independent will beyond automatism. He was well versed in literature and philosophy, and this no doubt influenced his scientific writing, which was always lucid and often highly ratiocinative. Carpenter was married in 1840, and left five sons, including William Lant Carpenter and Philip Herbert Carpenter (1852-1891) [see SUPPLEMENT].

[Obituary notices : *Nature*, 26 Nov. by Prof. Ray Lankester; *Inquirer*, 14 Nov., by sons of Dr. Carpenter; *Times*, *Daily News*, *Standard*, 11 Nov.; *Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 Nov., by Grant Allen, incorrect in several points; *Athenæum*, *Christian Life*, *Lancet*, 14 Nov. 1885. *English Cyclopædia*, *Biography*, ii. 91.] G. T. B.

**CARPENTER, WILLIAM HOOKHAM** (1792-1866), keeper of prints in the British Museum, the only son of Mr. James Carpenter, a bookseller and publisher of some note established in Old Bond Street, was born in Bruton Street, London, on 2 March 1792. He was apprenticed to his father's business, and was engaged in it until 1817, when he married Miss Margaret Sarah Geddes [see **CARPENTER, MARGARET SARAH**] (second daughter of Captain Alexander Geddes of Alderbury, Wiltshire), who obtained distinction as a portrait-painter. He now set up in business for himself in Lower Brook Street, and published, among other books, Spence's '*Anecdotes*,' edited by Singer, and the first portion of Burnet's '*Practical Hints on Painting*;' but not succeeding, he again joined his father. Carpenter had considerable talent for drawing, and a taste for art, which was fostered by his intimacy with Andrew Geddes, A.R.A., an accomplished etcher, and which had been first awakened by his own early associations. His father had a large collection of paintings, and dealt largely in publications on art, while he also was acquainted with many artists and engravers, to whom he gave commissions for illustrating books. From the time when Carpenter gave up his own business till 1845 he seems to have had a good deal of spare time, much of which he spent in studying the prints and drawings of the great masters in the British Museum.

For a short time he held the post of secretary to the Artists' Benevolent Fund. In 1844 he published '*Pictorial Notices*,' consisting of a memoir of Sir A. Van Dyck, with a descriptive catalogue of the etchings executed by him, and a variety of interesting particulars relating to other artists patronised by Charles I., London, 1844, 4to (a French translation of this work by L. Hymans was published at Antwerp, 1844, 4to). In 1845 he was appointed keeper of the department of prints and drawings in the British Museum. Carpenter held this post till his death, and during his twenty-one years' tenure of office very greatly increased the interest and value of the collections under his care. He got together a number of objects illustrating the history of engraving, especially the early niellated silver plates and sulphur casts. Of the latter he procured for the museum no less than sixteen: only twenty-five are at present known to be anywhere existing. Besides filling many lacunæ in the general collection of engravings and etchings, he brought together a large series of etchings by modern painters, both English and foreign, and greatly increased the series of engraved English portraits. He made many important additions to the then existing collection of drawings, especially works by the great masters. He also formed an important collection of drawings by deceased British artists. Among his acquisitions may be mentioned: The Coningham collection of early Italian engravings, obtained in 1845; selections of Rembrandt's etchings from the collections of Lord Aylesford and Baron Verstolk, and some valuable Dutch drawings procured from the latter collection in 1847; various fine drawings by the old masters, many of which had belonged to Sir Thomas Lawrence, procured at Messrs. Woodburn's sale; some drawings of Michelangelo, obtained from the Buonarroti family; and a volume of drawings by Jacopo Bellini, purchased in 1855 at Venice. In 1854 Carpenter had been sent to Venice by the trustees of the British Museum to report upon the last-named volume. His attention to his duties was unremitting, and in the last month of his life he was watching with interest the progress of some public sales at which he had given commissions. He died at the British Museum on 12 July 1866, aged 74.

Carpenter's knowledge of prints and drawings gained him a wide reputation in Europe. In 1847 he was elected a member of the Academy of Fine Arts at Amsterdam, and in 1852 a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, on the council of which he served in 1857-8. He was also a trustee of the National Portrait Gallery from the time of its formation in



1856. In connection with the work of his department, he published 'A Guide to the Drawings and Prints exhibited to the Public in the King's Library' [at the British Museum], of which there were editions in 1858, 1859, and 1862, 8vo.

[Gent. Mag. (4th ser. 1866), ii. 410, 411; Men of the Time (6th ed.), 1865; Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq. (2nd ser.), iii. 480 (President's Address, 30 April 1867); Statutes and Rules of the British Museum, 1871; Cat. of Nat. Portrait Gallery.] W. W.

**CARPENTIERE** or **CHARPENTIERE**, — (*d.* 1737), statuary, was much employed by the Duke of Chandos at Canons. He was for some years principal assistant to Van Ost, the modeller of the statue of George I, once at Canons and afterwards in Leicester Square. Carpentière afterwards set up for himself, and towards the end of his life kept a manufactory of leaden statues in Piccadilly. He was over sixty when he died in 1737.

[Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting (Dallaway and Wornum).] C. M.

**CARPENTIERES, CARPENTIER, or CHARPENTIERE, ADRIEN** (*fl.* 1760–1774), portrait painter, was one of the artists who signed the deed of the Free Society of Artists in 1763. He sent pictures to the exhibitions of that society and to those of the Society of Artists and the Royal Academy (fourteen works in all) between 1760 and 1774, both inclusive. He is said to have been a native of France or Switzerland who settled in England about 1760. He died at Pimlico about 1778 at an advanced age. No connection has been traced between him and Carpentière or Charpentière [*q. v.*] A portrait of Roubiliac by him is in the National Portrait Gallery, which has been engraved by Chambers in line and by Martin in mezzotint. His own portrait is in Salters' Hall.

[Pye's Patronage of British Art; Cat. of the National Portrait Gallery; Bryan's Dict. of Painters and Engravers (Graves); Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Pilkington's Dict. of Painters; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Edwards's Anecdotes of Painters.] C. M.

**CARPUE, JOSEPH CONSTANTINE** (1764–1846), surgeon and anatomist, was born in London on 4 May 1764. His father, a gentleman of small fortune, lived at Brook Green, and was descended from a Spanish catholic family. Young Carpue was intended for the priesthood, and was educated at the Jesuits' College at Douay. At the age of eighteen he commenced an extended continental tour. He saw much of Paris, both before and after the revolution. Carpue

was of a somewhat erratic disposition, and, having decided against the church, thought first of becoming a bookseller, that he might succeed his uncle, Lewis, of Great Russell Street, Covent Garden, the schoolfellow and friend of Pope. Later he felt strongly attracted in succession to the bar and the stage, being an enthusiastic student of Shakespeare. At last he fixed on surgery, and studied at St. George's Hospital. On becoming qualified he was appointed staff-surgeon to the Duke of York's Hospital, Chelsea, which appointment he held for twelve years, resigning on account of his objection to foreign service. His association with Dr. Pearson at St. George's Hospital led to his becoming an ardent vaccinator. In order to promote vaccination he visited many English military depôts; and finally, on his resignation of the hospital, he was appointed surgeon, with Pearson, of the National Vaccine Institution, a post he held till his death.

Carpue was, however, most distinguished as an anatomical teacher, although never on the staff of a medical school. At the Duke of York's Hospital he spared no trouble in perfecting his anatomical knowledge; and he commenced teaching in 1800, owing to an accidental observation of a medical student. His fee from the first was invariably twenty guineas. For many years he had an overflowing class. He gave three courses of daily lectures on anatomy, and lectured twice a week in the evenings on surgery. He made his pupils take a personal share in his demonstrations, and his readiness with chalk illustrations procured him the sobriquet of the 'chalk lecturer.' He took a most affectionate interest in his pupils. Carpue lectured till 1832. Early in his career he carried out the wish of Benjamin West, P.R.A., Banks, and Cosway, to ascertain how a recently killed corpse would hang on a cross. A murderer just executed was treated in this manner, and when cool a cast was made (*Lancet*, 1846, i. 167).

In 1801 Carpue published a 'Description of the Muscles of the Human Body,' and in 1816 an 'Account of Two Successful Operations for Restoring a Lost Nose from the Integument of the Forehead.' In 1819 he published a 'History of the High Operation for the Stone, by Incision above the Pubis.' He also studied medical electricity, and in 1803 brought out 'An Introduction to Electricity and Galvanism, with Cases showing their Effects in the Cure of Disease.' He kept a fine plate (electrical) machine in his dining-room, and made many experimental researches on the subject.

Carpue was introduced to and much appreciated by George IV, both before and after his



accession to the throne. He was consulting surgeon to the St. Pancras Infirmary, but never received any recognition from the College of Surgeons, either by election to the council or to an examinership. He was a fellow of the Royal Society. He died on 30 Jan. 1846, in his eighty-second year, having been much shaken in an accident on the South-Western Railway soon after its opening.

Carpue was a warm and faithful friend, abstemious and regular in habits, and a great admirer of simplicity in manners and appearance. He ordered his funeral to be of the simplest kind possible.

J. F. South, many years surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital, and twice president of the London College of Surgeons, gives the following uncomplimentary account of Carpue. He speaks of a private school, 'conducted by a clever but very eccentric person, Joseph Carpue, a very good anatomist, who had but few pupils, and carried on his teaching by the very unusual method of catechism—for instance, he described a bone, and then made each pupil severally describe it after him, he correcting the errors whilst the catechisation proceeded. . . . Poor Carpue's school came to grief, and he then turned popular politician, but was not more successful in that character. I remember him, a tall, ungainly, good-tempered, grey-haired man, in an unfitted black dress, and his neck swathed in an enormous white kerchief, very nearly approximating to a jack-towel.'

[Lancet, 1846, i. 166-8; Feltoe's Memorials of J. F. South, 1884, p. 102.] G. T. B.

CARR, JOHN (1723-1807), architect, called Carr of York, was born at Horbury, near Wakefield, in May 1723. He began life as a working man and settled in York, where he attained a considerable reputation as an architect of the 'Anglo-Palladian' school, and amassed a large fortune. Among the buildings he erected are the court-house and the castle and gaol at York; the crescent at Buxton; the town hall at Newark, Nottinghamshire; Harewood House, near Leeds; Thoresby Lodge, Nottinghamshire; Oakland House, Cheshire; Lytham Hall, near Preston; Constable Burton, Baseldon Park, and Farnley Hall in Yorkshire; the east front and west gallery of Wentworth Castle, near Barnsley; the mausoleum of the Marquis of Rockingham at Wentworth; and the bridge over the Ure at Boroughbridge. He also built at his own expense the parish church of his native village, where he was buried. He was mayor of York in 1770 and 1785, and died at Askham Hall, near York, 22 Feb.

1807, aged 84, leaving property to the amount of about 150,000*l*.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878; Gent. Mag. 1807; Fergusson's History of Modern Architecture.] C. M.

CARR, JOHN (1732-1807), translator of Lucian, was born at Muggleswick, Durham, in 1732. His father was a farmer and small landowner or statesman. He was educated at the village school, and then privately by the curate of the parish, the Rev. Daniel Watson. Subsequently he was sent to St. Paul's School. He became an usher in Hertford grammar school under Dr. Hurst, and succeeded him in the head-mastership, which he held until about 1792, with a good reputation. He is said to have been a candidate for the head-mastership of St. Paul's, but to have failed from the lack of a university degree. In 1773 he published the first volume of his translations from 'Lucian,' which reached a second edition in the following year. He published a second volume in 1779, followed by three more between that year and 1798. The reputation of this work, which on the whole is executed with accuracy and spirit, obtained for him the degree of LL.D. from the Marischal College of Aberdeen, at the instance of Dr. Beattie. He seems to have felt that his literary pursuits had been too trifling, and he takes pains in the preface to the second volume of Lucian to assure the world that it was the work only of evening hours when graver duties were over; and that it was undertaken to put out of his thoughts the annoyances of the day, an excuse which schoolmasters will understand. Besides his Lucian he wrote: 1. 'A Third Volume of Tristram Shandy,' in imitation of Sterne, 1760. 2. 'Filial Piety,' a mock-heroic poem, 1763. 3. 'Extract of a Private Letter to a Critic,' 1764. 4. 'Epponina,' a dramatic essay addressed to ladies, 1765, the plot of which is founded on the account of Epponina, wife of Julius Sabinus, given in Tacitus (H. 4, 67), and Dio Cassius (66, 3, and 16). From 1805 till death he was prebendary of Lincoln. He died 6 June 1807, and was buried in St. John's Church, Hertford.

[Gent. Mag. lxxxii. 602; Nichols's Anecdotes, iii. 168; Baker's Biog. Dram.] E. S. S.

CARR, SIR JOHN (1772-1832), writer of 'tours,' a native of Devonshire, was born in 1772. He was called to the bar at the Middle Temple, but from reasons of health found it advisable to travel, and published accounts of his journeys in different European countries, which, though without much

intrinsic merit, obtained a wide circulation on account of their light, gossipy style, and the fact that in this species of literature there was then comparatively little competition. In 1803 he published 'The Stranger in France, a Tour from Devonshire to Paris,' which, meeting with immediate success, was followed in 1805 by 'A Northern Summer, or Travels round the Baltic, through Denmark, Sweden, Russia, part of Poland, and Prussia, in 1804;' in 1806 by 'The Stranger in Ireland, or a Tour in the Southern and Western parts of that country in 1805,' soon after which he was knighted by the Duke of Bedford, then viceroy of Ireland; and in 1807 by 'A Tour through Holland, along the right and left banks of the Rhine, to the south of Germany, in 1806.' In 1807 his 'Tour in Ireland' was made the subject of a clever *jeu d'esprit* by Edward Dubois, entitled 'My Pocket Book, or Hints for a Ryghte Merrie and Conceited Tour in 4to, to be called "The Stranger in Ireland in 1805, by a Knight Errant," and dedicated to the paper-makers.' For this satire the publishers, Messrs. Vernor, Hood, & Sharpe, were prosecuted in 1809, but Carr was nonsuited. In 1808 there appeared 'Caledonian Sketches, or a Tour through Scotland in 1807,' which was made the subject of a witty review by Sir Walter Scott in the 'Quarterly Review;' and in 1811 'Descriptive Travels in the Southern and Eastern parts of Spain and the Balearic Isles [Majorca and Minorca] in the year 1809.' Lord Byron—who had met Carr at Cadiz, and had begged 'not to be put down in black and white'—refers to him in some suppressed stanzas of 'Childe Harold' as 'Green Erin's knight and Europe's wandering star.' Besides his books of travels Carr was the author of 'The Fury of Discord, a poem,' 1803; 'The Seaside Hero, a drama in three acts,' 1804 (on the supposed repulse of an anticipated invasion, the scene being laid on the coast of Sussex); and a volume of 'Poems,' 1809, to which his portrait was prefixed. He died in New Norfolk Street, London, on 17 July 1832.

[Gent. Mag. ci. pt. ii. 182-3; Annual Register, lxxiv. 211.] T. F. H.

CARR, JOHNSON (1744-1765), landscape painter, a pupil of Richard Wilson, died of consumption in his twenty-second year on 16 Jan. 1765. He was of a respectable family of the north, and obtained several premiums given by the Society of Arts for drawings by youths under the age of nineteen, receiving the first prize in 1762 and 1763.

[Edwards's Anecdotes; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878.] C. M.

CARR, NICHOLAS, M.D. (1524-1568), classical scholar, descended from a good family, was born at Newcastle in 1524. At an early age he was sent to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he studied under Cuthbert Scot, afterwards bishop of Chester. He subsequently migrated to Pembroke Hall, where his tutor was Nicholas Ridley, and proceeded B.A. in 1540-1, being soon afterwards elected a fellow of Pembroke Hall, and commencing M.A. in 1544. On the foundation of Trinity College in 1546 he was nominated one of the original fellows, and the following year he was appointed regius professor of Greek. His lectures on Demosthenes, Plato, Sophocles, and other writers gained for him a high reputation for scholarship. Although he had formerly composed a panegyric on Martin Bucer, which was sent by him to John (afterwards Sir John) Cheke, he subscribed the catholic articles in 1555, and two years later he was one of those who bore witness on oath against the heresies and doctrine of Bucer and Fagius (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Townsend, viii. 274). From this period he seems to have been attached to the ancient faith. He took the degree of M.D. in 1558, and began to practise at Cambridge as a physician, though for four years he continued to read the Greek lecture, at the end of which period he appointed Blithe of Trinity College to lecture for him. He was obliged to resort to the study of medicine in order to maintain his wife and family, the stipend of the Greek professor being insufficient for that purpose. He occupied the house in which Bucer died, and there Carr also died on 3 Nov. 1568. He was buried in St. Michael's Church, but as the congregation was very large, consisting of the whole university, the funeral sermon was preached at St. Mary's by Dr. Chaderton [q.v.], after which the congregation returned to St. Michael's. A handsome mural monument of stone, with inscriptions in Latin and English, was erected to his memory in St. Giles's Church.

His works are: 1. 'Epistola de mortē Buceri ad Johannem Checum,' London, 1551, 1681, 4to; reprinted in Bucer's 'Scripta Anglicana,' Basle, 1577, fol. p. 867, and in Conrad Hubert's 'Historia vera de vita M. Buceri,' Strasburg, 1562, 8vo. 2. 'Duæ epistolæ Latine doctori Chadertono,' 1566. MS. Cai. Coll. Cantab. 197, art. 52. 3. 'Eusebii Pamphili de vita Constantini,' Louvain, 1570, 8vo; Cologne, 1570, fol.; ex recensione Suffridi Petri, Cologne, 1581, fol.; ex recensione Binii, Cologne, 1612, fol. The fourth book only was translated by Carr; the others were translated by John Christopherson, bishop of

Chichester. 4. 'Demosthenis Græcorum Orationum Principis Olynthiæ orationes tres, et Philippicæ quatuor, e Greco in Latinum conversæ. Addita est etiam epistola de vita et obitu eiusdem Nicolai Carri, et carmina, cum Græca, tum Latina in eundem scripta,' London, 1571, 4to. Carr's autograph manuscript of this translation is in the Cambridge University Library, Dd. 4, 56. 5. 'De scriptorum Britannicorum paucitate, et studiorum impedimentis oratio; nunc primum ædita. Ejusdem ferè argumenti aliorum centones adjiçuntur,' London, 1576, 12mo; edited by Thomas Hatcher. Carr left some other works in manuscript.

[Life, by Bartholomew Dodington, prefixed to the translation of Demosthenes, and the brief memoir, by Thomas Preston, at p. 68 of the same work; Addit. MSS. 5803, f. 49, 5865, f. 63 b; Foxe's Acts and Monuments (Townsend), viii. 262, 271, 274, 288; Blomefield's Collect. Cantab. 64; Cooper's Athens Cantab. i. 262, 555; Strype's Memorials (fol.), ii. 244, 282, 302, 316; Strype's Smith (8vo), 14; Strype's Cheke (fol.), 63, 74, 112; Smith's Cat. of Caius Coll. MSS. 114; Tanner's Bibl. Brit. 155.] T. C.

CARR, R. (fl. 1668), engraver, imitated the style of Hollar with no great success. There is a map of England dated 1668 etched by him.

[Strutt's Dict. of Engravers.] C. M.

CARR, RICHARD, M.D. (1651-1706), physician, was son of Griffith Carr of Louth in Lincolnshire. He was born in 1651, and went from the grammar school of Louth to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where he entered as a sizar 31 May 1667, graduated B.A. 1670, and M.A. 1674. He became master of the grammar school of Saffron Walden in 1676, but in 1683 went to Leyden to study physic, and in 1686 proceeded M.D. at Cambridge. He was created a fellow of the College of Physicians by James II's charter, and was admitted in 1687. He died in September 1706, and was buried in St. Faith's Church, under St. Paul's Cathedral. He is known as the author of 'Epistolæ medicinales variis occasionibus conscriptæ,' which was published in 1691. The book is dedicated to the College of Physicians, and received the imprimatur of the president and censors. The epistles, eighteen in number, do not contain much medical information, but are written in a readable, popular style, as if addressed to patients rather than to physicians. The first is on the use of sneezing powders, the second on smoking tobacco, the third, fourth, seventh, fifteenth, and seventeenth on various points of dietetics, including a grave refutation of the doctrine that it is well to

get drunk once a month. The eighth recommends a visit to Montpellier for a case of phthisis, while the fifth and sixth discuss the remedial virtues of the Tonbridge and Bath waters, and seven others are on trivial medical subjects. The fourteenth is on the struma, and in it Carr mentions that Charles II touched 92,107 persons between 1660 and 1682, and respectfully doubts whether they all got well. The most interesting of the epistles is the third, which is on the drinks used in coffee-houses, namely, 'coffee, thee, twist (a mixture of coffee and tea), salvia, and chocolata.' Carr shows some acquaintance with the medical writings of his time, and speaks with admiration of the 'Religio Medici.' The impression left after reading his epistles is that he was a doctor of pleasant conversation, not a profound physician, but one whose daily visit cheered the valetudinarian, and whose elaborate discussion of symptoms satisfied the hypochondriac.

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. (1878), i. 470; Carr's Epistolæ; Magdalene Coll. Admission Book.] N. M.

CARR, ROBERT, EARL OF SOMERSET (d. 1645), or KER, according to the Scottish spelling, was a younger son of Sir Thomas Ker of Ferniehurst, by his second wife, Janet, sister of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleugh. In Douglas's 'Peerage,' ii. 134, it is stated that he 'served King James in the quality of a page, and, attending his majesty into England, was invested with the order of the Bath at his coronation.' This last statement, though usually adopted, is erroneous. A list of the knights made at the coronation in Howes's continuation of Stow's 'Chronicle,' p. 827, gives the name of Sir Robert Carr of Newboth. If, as can hardly be doubted, Newboth is an English corruption of Newbottle, the person knighted was (as stated in Nichols's 'Progresses,' i. 222, note 5) the Robert Ker who subsequently became the second earl of Lothian.

Robert Carr accompanied James to England as a page, but, being discharged soon after his arrival, went into France, where he remained for some time. Soon after his return, being in attendance upon Lord Hay or Lord Dingwall at a tilting match, he was thrown from his horse and broke his arm in the king's presence. James recognised his former page, and, being pleased with the youth's appearance, took him into favour (WILSON, in KENNET, ii. 686) and knighted him on 23 Dec. 1607.

James was anxious to provide an estate for his new favourite. Somewhere about

this time Salisbury suggested to the king a mode of benefiting Carr without injury to himself (*The King to Salisbury*, undated, *Hatfield MS.* 134, folio 149). Though Raleigh had conveyed the manor of Sherborne to trustees to save it from forfeiture, a flaw had been discovered in the conveyance. The land was therefore legally forfeited in consequence of Raleigh's attainder (*Memoranda of the King's Remembrancer*, Public Record Office, Mich. Term, 7 James I, 253), and on 9 Jan. 1609 it was granted to Carr, the king making a compensation, the adequacy of which is a subject of dispute, to the former owner (GARDINER, *History of England*, ii. 47).

In the winter session of 1610, Carr, irritated by the feeling displayed in the commons against Scottish favourites, incited his master against the house, and did his best to procure the dissolution which speedily followed (*Correspondence in the Hatfield MS.* 134). On 25 March 1611 he was created Viscount Rochester (*Patent Rolls*, 9 James I, Part 41, No. 14), being the first Scotchman promoted by James to a seat in the English House of Lords, as the right of sitting in parliament had been expressly reserved in the case of Hay. In the same year he was made K.G.

In 1612, upon Salisbury's death, Rochester, who had recently been made a privy councillor, was employed by James to conduct his correspondence, without the title of a secretary (cf. *Court and Times of James I*, 171, 173, 179). James seems to have thought that a young man with no special political principles would not only be a cheerful companion, but a useful instrument as well, and would gradually learn to model himself upon his master's ideas of statesmanship. He forgot that conduct is often determined by other motives than political principles. The new favourite was already in love with the Countess of Essex, a daughter of the influential Earl of Suffolk, and a great-niece of the still more influential Earl of Northampton, the leader of the political catholics.

In the beginning of 1613 Lady Essex was thinking of procuring a sentence of nullity of marriage, which would set her free from a husband whom she detested, and enable her to marry Rochester. Her relatives, the chiefs of the Howard family, who had hitherto found Rochester opposed to their interests, grasped at the suggestion, and on 16 May a commission was appointed to try the case. James threw himself on the side of his favourite, and on 25 Sept. the commissioners pronounced, by a majority of seven to five, in favour of the nullity (*State Trials*, ii. 785).

When Rochester began his courtship of Lady Essex, he had given his confidence to Sir Thomas Overbury, a man of intelligence and refinement. At first Overbury assisted Rochester in 'the composition of his love-letters' (WINWOOD, *Memorials*, iii. 478), but afterwards, perhaps when he had discovered that his patron contemplated marriage instead of an intrigue with a lady whose relations were the leaders of the Spanish party in England, Overbury threw all his influence into the opposite scale, and exposed himself to the fatal anger of Lady Essex.

The king, too, was jealous of Overbury's influence over his favourite, and suggested to him a diplomatic appointment. Overbury, on refusing to accept it, was committed to the Tower (Chamberlain to Carleton, 29 April 1613, *State Papers*, Dom., lxxii. 120). There seems to be little doubt that both Rochester and Northampton were consenting parties to the imprisonment. Their object is a matter of dispute. On the whole, the most probable explanation is that they merely wanted to get him out of the way for a time till the divorce proceedings were at an end (see GARDINER, *History of England*, ii. 178-80).

Lady Essex's wrath was much more dangerous. She made up her mind that Overbury must be murdered to revenge his personal attack upon her character. She obtained the admission of a certain Weston as the keeper of Overbury in the Tower, and Weston was instructed to poison his prisoner. Weston, it seems, did not actually administer the poison, and Lady Essex is usually supposed—for the whole evidence at this stage is contradictory—to have mixed poison with some tarts and jellies which were sent by Rochester to Overbury as a means of conveying letters to him, the object of which was to assure him that Rochester and Northampton were doing everything in their power to hasten his delivery. Rochester, too, occasionally sent powders to Overbury, the object of which was said to be to give him the appearance of ill-health so that his friends might urge the king to release him. The evidence on the point whether the tarts were eaten by Overbury is again conflicting, but the fact that he did not die at the time seems to show that they remained untasted. Later on poison was administered in another way, and of this Overbury died. Whether Rochester was acquainted with the lady's proceedings can never be ascertained with certainty, though the evidence on the whole points to a favourable conclusion (GARDINER, *History of England*, ii. 183-6).

At the time, at all events, no one guessed at the existence of this tragedy. Rochester

was created Earl of Somerset on 3 Nov. 1613 (*Patent Rolls*, James I, Part 5, No. 20, misdated in NICOLAS, *Hist. Peerage*), and on 23 Dec. he received a commission as treasurer of Scotland (*Paper Register of the Great Seal*, Book I, No. 214, communicated by T. Dickson, esq., chief of the historical department of the Register House, Edinburgh), and on 26 Dec. he was married in state to the murderess. Courtiers vied in making costly presents to the pair.

Somerset was now trusted with political secrets above all others. His head was turned by his rapid elevation, and he threw himself without reserve into the hands of Northampton and the Spanish party. At first he advocated a plan for marrying Prince Charles to a Savoyard princess, but as soon as Sarmiento, the Spanish ambassador, whose later title was Count of Gondomar, arrived in England, he made overtures to the new envoy to secure an alliance with Spain.

In the parliament of 1614 Somerset's vote was given, as might have been expected, against any compromise with the commons in the dispute on the impositions, and a few weeks after the dissolution he was made lord chamberlain, a post which brought him into immediate connection with the king.

Somerset's importance might seem the greater as Northampton had just died. He was acting lord keeper of the privy seal in Northampton's place on 30 June 1614. His arrogance, combined with his open adoption of the principles of the Spanish party, set against him the statesmen, such as Ellesmere and others, who wished to maintain a close connection with the continental protestants. By these men a new candidate for the post of favourite, George Villiers, who first saw the king in August 1614, was brought to court. Though James in November 1614 showed that he had no intention of abandoning Somerset, the fact that he made Villiers a cupbearer so irritated the favourite that he grew morose and ill-tempered even to James himself.

James was much hurt. Early in 1615 he pleaded with Somerset, entreating him to continue to return his friendship (James to Somerset, HALLIWELL, *Letters of the Kings*, ii. 126), and in April he consented to place in Somerset's hands the negotiation which was going on with Spain on the subject of the prince's proposed marriage with the Infanta Maria, taking it from the ambassador at Madrid, Sir John Digby, to whom it had been originally entrusted.

Though it was not likely that Somerset's adversaries were aware of this secret trust, they must have perceived signs of James's continued favour towards him, and obtaining

the support of the queen, who was personally jealous of the favourite, they persuaded James, on April 13, to make Villiers a gentleman of the bedchamber. Whatever may have been the exact reason of James's conduct, he had no intention of abandoning Somerset, and possibly only meant to warn him against persistence in his harsh and unreasonable temper. Somerset, exposed as he was to hostility both as a Scotchman and as a favourite, was made by his sense of insecurity more querulous than before. In July James refused to make an appointment at Somerset's entreaty (Chamberlain to Carleton, July 15, *Court and Times of James I*, i. 364), and about the same time sent him a letter in which his dissatisfaction was expressed. 'I have been needlessly troubled this day,' he wrote, 'with your desperate letters; you may take the right way, if you list, and neither grieve me nor yourself. No man's nor woman's credit is able to cross you at my hands if you pay me a part of that you owe me. But how you can give over that inward affection, and yet be a dutiful servant, I cannot understand that distinction. Heaven and earth shall bear me witness that, if you do but the half your duty unto me, you may be with me in the old manner, only by expressing that love to my person and respect to your master that God and man crave of you, with a hearty and feeling penitence of your by-past errors' (James to Somerset, HALLIWELL, *Letters of the Kings*, 133).

The knowledge of the existence of bad feeling between the favourite and his master made Somerset's enemies more hopeful of effecting his overthrow. Somerset accordingly directed Sir Robert Cotton to draw out a pardon sufficiently large to place him in safety. Upon the refusal of Yelverton, the solicitor-general, to certify its fitness for passing the great seal (CORROX's *Examinations*, Cotton MSS. Tit. B vii. 489), Somerset ordered a still larger pardon to be drawn up, which Ellesmere, the lord chancellor, refused to seal. On 20 July 1615 the matter was fully discussed at the privy council in the presence of the king, and at the end of the debate James insisted upon Ellesmere's sealing the pardon. After the king had left the council, however, private influence was brought to bear on him, and the pardon was left unsealed (Sarmiento to Lerma, 29 July-8 Aug. *Madrid Palace Library MSS.* 20-30 Oct. *Simancas MSS.*)

Not many weeks after this scene information that Overbury had been murdered was brought to Winwood, the secretary of state, who was one of Somerset's opponents. Helwys, the lieutenant of the Tower, hearing that

something was known, told his story to Winwood, and on 10 Sept. repeated it in a letter to the king, who directed Coke to examine the affair. Lady Somerset's name was soon implicated in the charge of poisoning, and that of her husband was subsequently involved in it. On 13 Oct. a commission was issued to the chancellor and other persons of high rank to inquire.

As soon as Somerset knew himself to be suspected, he left James at Royston and came up to London to justify himself. He wrote to James finding fault with the composition of the court of inquiry, and threatening him with the loss of the support of the Howard family if he persisted in the course which he was taking. James answered that the investigation must continue, and on 17 Oct. the commissioners wrote to the earl and countess directing them to remain in their respective apartments. On that evening Somerset burnt a number of his own letters to Northampton, written at the time of the murder, and directed Cotton to affix false dates to the letters which he had received at the same time from Northampton and Overbury. Though these orders were subsequently withdrawn, the fact that they had been given was very damaging to Somerset; but his conduct is not absolutely inconsistent with the supposition that, being a man of little judgment, he was frightened at the prospect of seeing letters relating to tricks purposed to be put on Overbury interpreted in the light of subsequent discoveries. On the next day Somerset was committed to the Dean of Westminster's house.

The inferior instruments, the warders, were tried and executed, and in the ordinary course of things the trial of Somerset and his wife would have followed soon. It was, however, postponed, apparently in order that investigation might be made into Somerset's relations with the Spanish ambassador, and also perhaps because Lady Somerset gave birth at this time to a daughter, who afterwards became the mother of Lord Russell.

The prisoners were to be tried in the high steward's court. A few days before the time appointed, Somerset, who had been urged by the king to declare himself guilty, threatened to bring some charge against James himself. James met the attack by refusing to hear further from the prisoner in private till after the trial, and Somerset then declared that he would not come to the trial at all, on the plea, it would seem, of illness.

On 24 May the countess pleaded guilty, and received sentence of death. On the 25th Somerset, though he at first pretended to be unable to leave the Tower, to which he had

been removed some weeks previously, was brought to Westminster Hall. That Somerset was accessory to Overbury's murder before the fact, and consequently guilty of murder, was strongly urged by Bacon, who, as attorney-general, conducted the prosecution, and Bacon was backed by Montague and Crew. Bacon had no difficulty in showing that Somerset had taken part in a highly suspicious plot, and he argued that there was no motive leading Somerset to imprison Overbury unless he had meant to murder him, as, if Overbury had been allowed to 'go beyond sea' as an ambassador, he would have been disabled by distance from throwing hindrances in the way of the marriage. The argument throws light on Bacon's habit of omitting to notice difficulties in the way of a theory which he has once accepted, but it is certainly not conclusive against Somerset. If Overbury had wished to give evidence of the conduct of Lady Essex, which might have influenced the commissioners who sat to decide on the nullity of her marriage, he might easily have done so by letter from the most distant embassy, while it would have been impossible for him to communicate his knowledge from the Tower, where both Helwys, the lieutenant, and Weston, his own immediate keeper, were Somerset's creatures.

Montague had charge of the most serious part of the case. He proved that Somerset had sent powders to Overbury, and he tried to show, though not very successfully, that Somerset had poisoned the tarts which had been sent.

In a case of circumstantial evidence the business of the counsel of the defence is not only to show that the facts proved do not fit the theory of the prosecution, but to show that they do fit another theory which is compatible with the innocence of the accused. The main weakness of the argument of the counsel for the crown was that they proved too much. Somerset, according to their showing, was constantly trying to poison Overbury, and yet all his efforts signally failed. Powder after powder, poisoned tart after poisoned tart, were sent, and yet Overbury would not die. At last an injection was administered by an apothecary's boy, and Overbury succumbed at once. Yet no tittle of evidence was advanced to connect this last act with Somerset.

On the other hand, the proceedings become explicable if we suppose that Somerset, with Northampton as his adviser, merely wanted to silence Overbury while the nullity suit was proceeding, and to impress him with the belief that he and Northampton were advocating his cause with the king, in order

that when he was released he might not bring with him an angry feeling. This would explain the constant letters and messages, and even the sending of medicine to produce illness, which might work upon the king's feelings.

Lady Essex would naturally regard the affair from another point of view. Overbury's attack upon her character was an insult to be avenged, and she may very well have seized the opportunity afforded to her by her lover's plot to effect her purpose. We do not know enough of her character to say whether she was likely to preserve silence with her husband even after her design was carried out or not, and it is, of course, quite possible that she may have told him what was going on, even before the final act. If so, the anxiety which he showed to keep out of sight all evidence relating to his own proceedings would be more intelligible than ever. Under these circumstances there is no wonder, even if Somerset was not guilty, that his defence should have broken down in some points. The only question which can be raised is whether his failure to sustain his argument was owing to the reality of his guilt, or whether it was only what might fairly be expected from a man called on to fight an unequal battle against trained lawyers, and conscious that his part in the intrigue of Overbury's imprisonment was such as to lay him open to the worst suspicions (for the more favourable view see GARDINER, *History of England*, ii. 353; for the less favourable, SPEDDING, *Letters and Life of Bacon*, v. 328. References to the original authorities are given in both these works, and most of them will be found in AMOS, *Great Oyer of Poisoning*, a book of no critical value). The court, besides, was hostile, and the verdict of guilty, which was ultimately given, was probably inevitable.

James had no intention of allowing either the earl or the countess to be executed. On 13 July 1615 a pardon was granted to the lady (*State Trials*, ii. 1005). Somerset was informed that his life would be spared, and a letter is extant (*Cabala*, i. 1) from the obscure phrases of which it would seem that an offer was made to him of leaving him at least part of his property if he would accept the intercession of a person unnamed, who was probably Villiers. Somerset, however, refused to do this, and strongly reasserted his innocence. Perhaps in consequence of this firmness, both he and his wife were kept in the Tower till January 1622, when they were allowed to exchange their captivity for residence at certain fixed places. At last Somerset received a formal pardon. The

statement, often made, that James thought of taking him again into favour when he was displeased with Buckingham's conduct in 1624, is absolutely without foundation.

In 1630 Somerset once more came before public notice, as being prosecuted in the Star-chamber, together with other more important personages, for having, in the preceding year, passed on to the Earl of Clare a paper written long before by Sir Robert Dudley, recommending James to establish arbitrary government. On 29 May he and the others implicated were told that, in consequence of the birth of the king's son, who was afterwards Charles II, the proceedings would be dropped (*State Trials*, iii. 396). After this Somerset remained in obscurity till his death, which took place in July 1645.

[Gardiner's *History of England*, 1603-42, and the authorities quoted in the text.] S. R. G.

CARR, ROBERT JAMES (1774-1841), bishop of Worcester, the son of the Rev. Colston Carr, a schoolmaster at Twickenham, who was afterwards vicar of Ealing, was born in 1774 at Twickenham, received his primary education in his father's school, and afterwards went to Worcester College, Oxford. In 1797 he married Nancy, daughter of John Wilkinson of Roehampton, by whom he had a numerous family, of which only four children survived him. In the following year he was ordained by the Bishop of Salisbury, and, after holding some unimportant preferments for a short time, he was presented to the vicarage of Brighton. In 1806 he graduated M.A. While he was vicar of Brighton his eloquence commended him to the prince regent, and their friendship lasted till the death of George IV. He was prebendary of Salisbury 1819-24, of Chichester 1821-4, and of Hereford 1822-4; in 1820 was appointed dean of Hereford, and graduated B.D. and D.D. In 1824 he was consecrated bishop of Chichester, and with his bishopric held a canonry in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was also appointed clerk to the closet, an honorary position which he held until the accession of Queen Victoria, when he was dismissed on account of a strict adherence to his political principles. In 1831 he was translated to the bishopric of Worcester, in fulfilment, as it was understood at the time, of a promise made by the late king. Carr was the prelate who attended George IV during his last illness. He devoted himself almost entirely to his episcopal duties, and, although constant in his attendance at the House of Lords, took little interest in politics. He was one of the bishops who voted against the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, and, if

he did not speak against the measure, allowed his opinions to be seen by the number of petitions against it which he presented. Although strict in the enforcement of religious observances, he had a decided leaning towards the evangelical school of thought. He died 24 April 1841, at Hartlebury Palace, near Worcester, from paralysis, and was buried in the churchyard of the parish. His only published works were sermons preached for charitable objects.

[Annual Register, 1841; Times; Record; Worcestershire papers.] A. C. B.

**CARR, ROGER** (*d.* 1612), divine, supposed to have been the son of a London printer of the same names, was matriculated as a sizar of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, on 22 Nov. 1566, and went out B.A. 1569-70. On 23 Jan. 1572-3 he was instituted to the rectory of Little Raine in Essex, on the presentation of Henry Capel, esq. About 1583 he was suspended by Aylmer, bishop of London, for not wearing the surplice. He subsequently conformed to the orders of the church, and held the before-mentioned benefice till his death, which occurred shortly before 20 Jan. 1611-12.

It is believed that he was the author of: 1. 'The Defence of the Soul against the strongest Assaults of Satan, by R. C.,' London, 1578, 8vo. 2. 'A Sermon on Joh. xix., by R. C.,' London (T. Lawe and T. Nelson), n. d., 8vo. 3. 'A godlie Form of Household Governance: for the ordering of private Families, whereunto is adjoynd the severall duties of the husband towards his wife: and the wivies duty toward her husband, &c. Gathered by R. C.,' London, 1598, 1600, 8vo. Dedicated to Robert Burgaine of Roxall [Roxwell?].

[Ames's Typogr. Antiq. (Herbert), 707, 868, 1294; Cooper's Athenæ Cantab. iii. 53; Davids's Essex Nonconformity, 111; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 342; Maitland's Index of Early Printed Books at Lambeth, 18; Newcourt's Repertorium, ii. 480.] T. C.

**CARR, THOMAS**, alias **MILES PINKNEY** (1599-1674). [See **CARRE, THOMAS**.]

**CARR, WILLIAM HOLWELL** (1758-1880), art connoisseur, was the son of Edward Holwell, apothecary of Exeter, who died at Exmouth on 28 March 1793, aged 66, by his wife, Isabella Newte. He was born at Exeter in 1758, and baptised at St. Martin's Church in that city on 4 April 1759, receiving the christian name of William after his uncle, the Rev. William Holwell, vicar of Thornbury, Gloucestershire, and prebendary of Exeter. He matriculated at Exe-

ter College on 2 March 1776, and was elected to a Petreian fellowship on 30 June 1778. His degrees were: B.A. 1783, M.A. 1784, B.D. 1790. While holding his fellowship he obtained leave to travel abroad (30 April 1781), and it was during this foreign tour that he began to form his collection of pictures. The rich benefice of Menheniot in Cornwall became vacant in November 1791, and Holwell was instituted on 13 Jan. 1792, but he never resided at his living, and was said to have taken orders with the object of accepting this preferment. A year after his institution (14 Jan. 1793) he resigned his fellowship. On 18 May 1797 he married in London Lady Charlotte Hay, eldest daughter of James, earl of Errol, by Isabella, daughter of Sir William Carr of Etal, Northumberland, and in 1798 the estate of Etal became her property. She thereupon (20 Nov. 1798) obtained royal authority for herself, her husband, and her male issue, to take the name and arms of Carr, but she died in London on 9 Feb. 1801, three days after the birth of her only child, William Carr. A protracted lawsuit took place over the estate of Etal, but a settlement, mainly in favour of the rights of her husband and their child, was ultimately effected, and lasted until the death of the child at Ramsgate on 15 Sept. 1806. Holwell Carr died in Devonshire Place, London, on 24 Dec. 1830, and was buried at Withcombe Raleigh, near Exmouth. Throughout his life he was a patron and connoisseur of the arts. From 1797 to 1820 he exhibited at the Royal Academy, as an honorary exhibitor, landscape views of his own painting. His collection of pictures, principally of the Italian school, he left to the nation with the stipulation that a proper gallery should be provided for them. To Exeter College he gave in 1785 a picture, painted by himself, of Sir William Petre, and to the college library he presented the editio princeps of Homer, printed at Florence in 1488. He left 500*l.* to Menheniot parish for the education of twelve boys and girls as a memorial of his wife. In the church of that parish are monuments for himself and his wife.

[Gent. Mag. p. 370, 1831; Boase's Reg. of Exeter Coll. pp. lxx, 111-12, 200, 215; Parochial History of Cornwall (1870), iii. 313-14; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878, p. 71; Miscell. Geneal. et Herald, ii. 416-17.] W. P. C.

**CARRE, THOMAS** (1599-1674), catholic divine, whose real name was **MILES PINKNEY**, belonged to an ancient family at Broomhill in the bishopric of Durham. He was sent when very young to the English college of Douay, was admitted among the clergy *per*



*tonsuram* 13 June 1620, and was ordained priest by special dispensation 15 June 1625. Afterwards he was appointed procurator of the college, and he held that office till 1634, when he undertook the project of founding a monastery of canonesses of St. Augustin at Paris, where he resided as their confessor till his death. The foundation of this monastery cost him much time and labour. 'Tis recorded that he crossed the seas sixty times between England and France to bring it to perfection, and bestowed all his time, money, interest, learning, and piety for forty years together to the same purpose.' Being seized with a palsy he became almost unserviceable for nearly twelve years before his death, which occurred in the monastery, then situate in the Rue des Fossés Saint Victor, Paris, on 31 Oct. 1674.

Carre was for many years a canon of the English chapter, and the clergy never failed to consult him in matters of consequence. He was a great friend of Richard Crashaw the poet. Arras College in Paris was in 1667 much augmented by him, though it was not completed till many years later, when Dr. John Betham [q. v.] was appointed to preside over it. Carre was greatly respected by the court of France, especially by Cardinal Richelieu, who was a munificent benefactor to the English catholics abroad through his mediation.

His works are: 1. 'A Treatise of the Love of God,' 2 vols., Paris, 1630, 8vo, translated from the French of St. Francis of Sales. 2. 'The Spiritual Conflict,' 1632, translated from the French of Bishop Camus. 3. 'The Draught of Eternity,' 8vo, 1632, a translation from the French of Bishop Camus. 4. 'The Principall Points of the Faith of the Catholike Chyrch. Defended against a writing sent to the King by the 4 Ministers of Charenton. By the most eminent Armand Ihon de Plessis, Cardinal Dyke de Richeliev. Englished by M. C., Confessor to the English Nuns at Paris,' Paris, 1635, 8vo. 5. 'Of the Following of Christ,' written in Latin by Thomas à Kempis, Paris, 1636, 8vo. 6. 'Occasional Discourses,' Paris, 1646, 8vo. 7. 'Thomas of Kempis, Canon Regvlar of S. Avgvstine's Order, his Sermons of the Incarnation and Passion of Christ. Translated out of Latine,' Paris, 1653, 12mo. 8. 'Thomas of Kempis, his Soliloquies translated out of Latine,' Paris, 1653, 12mo. 9. 'A Christian Instryction composed longe agoe, by that most eminent Cardinall Armand Iohn de Plessis, Cardinall of Richeliev,' newly translated, 3rd ed., Paris, 1662 (misprint for 1662). 10. 'Meditations and Prayers on the Life, Passion, Resvrrrection, and Ascension of our Saviour Iesus-Christ. Written in Latine by Thomas

of Kempis,' Paris, 1664, 12mo. 11. 'Sweete Thoughtes of Jesvs and Marie, or Meditations for all the Sundays and Feasts of our B. Saviour and B. Virgin Mary; for the use of the daughters of Sion,' 2 parts, 8vo, 1665. 12. 'Pietas Parisiensis, or a short description of the Pietie and Charitie comonly exercised in Paris. Which represents in short the pious practises of the whole Catholike Chvrch,' Paris, 1666, 12mo. An abridgment of this work was published by Abraham Woodhead in 'Pietas Romana et Parisiensis,' Oxford, 1687, 4to, which work elicited 'Some Reflections,' with a 'Vindication of Protestant Charity' by James Harrington, Oxford, 1688, 4to. 13. 'The Funerall Sermon of the Queen of Great Britanie,' Paris, 1670, 8vo.

[Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 293; Addit. MS. 24491, f. 251 b; Palatine Note-book, iii. 102, 174; Jones's Popery Tracts, 434; Husenbeth's Colleges and Convents on the Continent, 18; Bibl. Heberiana, ii. 1016, 1017.] T. C.

CARRE, WALTER RIDDELL (1807-1874), topographer, was descended from the old family of Riddell of Riddell, in the county of Roxburgh, immortalised by Scott in the 'Lay of the Last Minstrel' as 'ancient Riddell's fair domains.' He was the second son of Thomas Riddell of Carrieston, and was born at Edinburgh on 4 Aug. 1807. After completing his education at the high school of Edinburgh, he entered a mercantile house in London, where he remained till 1848, when he took up his residence in Hertfordshire. Some years afterwards he succeeded by the will of his uncle, Admiral Robert Riddell Carre, to the estate of Cavers Carre in Roxburghshire, when he assumed the additional surname and arms of Carre. From this time he devoted much of his attention to researches into family and county records, and the biography of 'worthies' connected with the Borders, giving the result of his studies occasionally in popular lectures, and in contributions to the newspapers and to 'Notes and Queries.' He also took an active interest in various Border societies. He was a justice of the peace and a commissioner of supply for the county of Roxburgh. He died in December 1874. He was the author of 'Border Memories; or, Sketches of Prominent Men and Women of the Border,' published posthumously in 1876, with a biographical sketch by James Tait.

[Tait's Memoir, as above.]

T. F. H.

CARRICK, EARL OF (1253-1304). [See BRUCE, ROBERT DE VII.]

CARRICK, JOHN DONALD (1787-1837), song writer and journalist, was born

at Glasgow in April 1787; his father was originally of Buchlyvie, Stirlingshire ('Biographical Sketch' to CARRICK's *Laird of Logan*, p. ix). Carrick was early put into the office of Nicholson, a Glasgow architect, which office he left about 1805 for a clerkship in a counting-house (*ib.* x). In 1807 he ran away, and walked to London, where a Scotch tradesman gave him a trial as shopboy. In 1809 he obtained employment with Spodes & Co., potters in Staffordshire, who had extensive warehouses in London; and with them he acquired sufficient knowledge of china to return to Glasgow, 1811, and set up business in Hutcheson Street. There he also took to writing, producing several humorous Scotch songs, and his 'Life of Wallace' for the young; but in 1825 a prolonged litigation led to his insolvency. As agent to manufacturers he subsequently visited the highlands, and acquired the Gaelic language. On returning to Glasgow in 1828 he was engaged as sub-editor of the 'Scots Times,' contributed articles to the 'Day,' a Glasgow daily paper, which lasted only six months; and produced, 1830, his extended 'Life of Sir William Wallace of Elderslie,' 2 vols., this forming vols. liii. and liv. of Constable's 'Miscellany.' In 1832 he edited and partly wrote 'Whistle-Binkie, or the Piper of the Party,' a collection of humorous songs. In 1833 he accepted the full editorship of the 'Perth Advertiser,' but quarrelled with the managing committee in a year, and in February 1834 started the 'Kilmarnock Journal.' Carrick again fell out with the proprietors, and was attacked by paralysis of the mouth; in 1835 he returned to Glasgow, his health completely shattered. He edited and contributed to the 'Laird of Logan,' a collection of Scotch tales and witticism, which appeared in 1835. From Rothesay he contributed some papers to the 'Scottish Monthly Magazine,' and announced a new work, 'Tales of the Bannock Men;' but he died 17 Aug. 1837, aged 50. A comedy was left by him in manuscript, with the title 'Logan House, or the Laird at Home.' A new edition of the 'Laird of Logan,' accompanied by an anonymous 'Biographical Sketch,' came out in 1841; and 'Whistle-Binkie' has appeared in numerous issues in 1838, 1839, 1842, 1845, 1846, 1853, and as late as 1878, much enlarged.

[Biographical Sketch to the *Laird of Logan*, ed. 1841, pp. 9-12, 14, 20-23, 26, 27; Preface to Carrick's *Life of Sir William Wallace of Elderslie*, ed. 1830, p. vi.] J. H.

**CARRICK, THOMAS** (1802-1875), miniature painter, was born on 4 July 1802 at Upperby, near Carlisle in Cumberland. He was the second child of John Carrick,

cotton-mill owner of that city, by his wife, Mary Anderson. He was educated at the Carlisle grammar school, and by his uncle, the Rev. John Topping. As an artist Carrick was entirely self-taught; his skill in portraiture was evidenced at an extraordinarily early age. Having quarrelled with one of the members of his family, he suddenly quitted his home, and was taken into the employment of a chemist in Carlisle named Brunel, who soon began to take great interest in his advancement. Carrick eventually became himself a chemist in his native city. His heart was so entirely given over to painting, however, that he much neglected his business. He had been painting miniatures for several years before he had ever seen a miniature from any hand but his own. The first that then came under his notice was one from the easel of Sir William Charles Ross. Carrick had already painted the likenesses of many well-known persons in the north country; among these was Charles Kean when he was just beginning to win popularity as a provincial actor. Carrick in 1829 married Mary Mulcaster, by whom he had five children. Being by that time in thoroughly good repute at Carlisle as a miniature painter, he soon afterwards gave up his business, and in 1836 moved to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In November 1839 he removed with his family to London. Two years afterwards he began to exhibit at the Royal Academy. Among his most remarkable sitters were Sir Robert Peel and Lord John Russell, the poets Rogers and Wordsworth, Caroline Norton and Eliza Cook, Farren and Macready, Lablache and Longfellow. He was painting at the same time (in the early part of 1844) Daniel O'Connell, Blomfield the bishop of London, and Robert Owen the socialist. His vivacity as a conversationalist, and his store of anecdotes, enabled him to awaken the interest of his sitters and seize the characteristic expression. His miniature of Thomas Carlyle was notable as one of his most brilliant successes; yet while it was in progress Mrs. Carlyle more than once exclaimed that she was sure it would never be like her husband, seeing that she had never heard him laugh so much or so heartily as when he was sitting to Mr. Carrick. Carrick was simple-minded and unambitious. Though more than once offered an associateship in the Royal Academy, he invariably declined it. From 1841 to 1866 he annually exhibited the full number, eight, of his miniatures. Photography having virtually annihilated the art of miniature painting, Carrick in 1868 abandoned his profession, and withdrew to Newcastle. There, seven years later, he died on 31 July 1875. Thirty

years previously the prince consort had presented him with a medal in reward for his invention of painting miniatures on marble. Immediately before the close of his career in the metropolis the Royal Academy awarded him the Turner annuity, which just then happened to be vacant.

[Personal knowledge; memoranda by Carrick's daughter, Isabel Allom; Royal Academy Catalogues, 1841-66.] C. K.

**CARRIER, BENJAMIN.** [See **CARIER.**]

**CARRINGTON, SIR CODRINGTON EDMUND** (1769-1849), chief justice of Ceylon, was descended from an old Norman family, one of whom, Sir Michel de Carrington, was standard-bearer to Richard Cœur-de-Lion. The family at an early period settled at Carrington in Cheshire, but a branch afterwards emigrated to Barbadoes. Codrington was the son of Codrington Carrington, of the Blackmoor estate in that island, and the eldest daughter of the Rev. Edmund Morris, rector of Nutshalling, the friend of Lady Hervey, and was born at Longwood, Hampshire, on 22 Oct. 1769. He was educated at Winchester school and called to the bar at the Middle Temple on 10 Feb. 1792. In the same year he went to India, where, being admitted an advocate of the supreme court of judicature, he for some time acted at Calcutta as junior counsel to the East India Company, and made the acquaintance of Sir William Jones. He returned on account of his health in 1799, and in 1800, while in England, he was called upon to prepare the code of laws for the island of Ceylon, and shortly afterwards was appointed the first chief justice of the supreme court of judicature thereby created, the honour of knighthood having been conferred on him before he embarked on his outward voyage. In 1806 he was compelled from ill-health to resign his office, and for the same reason had to decline other important colonial appointments. Having purchased an estate in Buckinghamshire, he became a magistrate and deputy-lieutenant of that county, where he acted for many years as chairman of the quarter sessions. He was created D.C.L. and elected F.R.S., F.S.A., and honorary member of the Société Française Statistique Universelle. On the occasion of the Manchester riots he published in 1819 an 'Inquiry into the Law relative to Public Assemblies of the People,' and he was also the author of a 'Letter to the Marquis of Buckingham on the Condition of Prisons,' 1819, and other smaller pamphlets. In June 1826 he was elected tory M.P. for St.

Mawes, which he continued to represent till 1831. During his last years he resided chiefly at St. Helier's, Jersey. He died at Exmouth on 28 Nov. 1849.

[Annual Register for 1850 (xc.), pp. 196-7; information from the family; Gent. Mag. 1850, ii. 92-3; Brit. Mus. Catalogue.] T. F. H.

**CARRINGTON, FREDERICK GEORGE** (1816-1864), journalist, was the third son of Noel Thomas Carrington [q. v.], and was about fourteen years of age at the time of his father's death. He was placed under the protection of his eldest brother, Mr. Henry E. Carrington, the proprietor of the 'Bath Chronicle,' and devoted the literary talent of which he showed early promise to journalistic literature. He was principally engaged in contributions to the West of England journals, such as the 'Bath Chronicle,' 'Felix Farley's Bristol Journal,' the 'Cornwall Gazette,' the 'West of England Conservative,' the 'Bristol Mirror,' the 'Gloucester Journal,' and the 'Gloucestershire Chronicle.' He was for several years both editor and proprietor of the last-named paper. He also contributed to various magazines, and wrote treatises on 'Architecture' and 'Painting' for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. To the eighth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' he supplied the topographical descriptions of Gloucestershire and other counties. He died at Gloucester on 1 Feb. 1864, aged forty-seven, and was buried in the cemetery at that place. He left a wife and six children.

[Gent. Mag. 1864, xvi. (3rd ser.) 535; Gloucestershire Chronicle, 6 Feb. 1864.] L. C.

**CARRINGTON, LORD** (1617-1679). [See **PRIMROSE, SIR ARCHIBALD.**]

**CARRINGTON, first BARON** (1752-1838). [See **SMITH, ROBERT.**]

**CARRINGTON, NOEL THOMAS** (1777-1830), Devonshire poet, was the son of a retail grocer at Plymouth, where he was born in 1777. Shortly after his birth his parents removed to Plymouth Dock, and for some time he was employed as a clerk in the Plymouth dockyard, but he found the occupation so irksome that he entered as a seaman on board a man-of-war. In this capacity he was present at the defeat of the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent by Sir John Jervis 14 July 1797. After his term of service expired he settled at Maidstone, Kent, where for five years he taught a public school. In 1809, at the solicitation of several friends, he established a private academy at Plymouth Dock.

which he conducted without intermission until six months before his death, 2 Sept. 1830. At an early period of his life Carrington began to contribute occasional pieces in verse to the London and provincial papers. His poems are chiefly descriptive of the scenery and traditions of his native county, and are characterised by no small literary grace, although without striking individuality in matter or manner. In 1820 he published separately 'The Banks of the Tamar,' and in 1826 'Dartmoor.' His collected poems, with a short memoir prefixed, appeared posthumously in two volumes in 1831.

[Memoir prefixed to his *Collected Poems*; *Gent. Mag. ci. pt. i.* 276-9; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*]

T. F. H.

**CARRINGTON, RICHARD CHRISTOPHER** (1826-1875), astronomer, second son of Richard Carrington, the proprietor of a large brewery at Brentford, was born at Chelsea on 26 May 1826. He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1844; but, though destined for the church, rather by his father's than by his own desire, his scientific tendencies gradually prevailed, and received a final impulse towards practical astronomy from Professor Challis's lectures on the subject. This change in the purpose of his life was unopposed, and he had the prospect of ample means; so that it was purely with the object of gaining experience that he applied, shortly after taking his degree as thirty-sixth wrangler in 1848, for the post of observer in the university of Durham. He entered upon his duties there in October 1849, but soon became dissatisfied with their narrow scope. The observatory was ill supplied with instruments, and the leisure left him for study served only to widen his aims. Bessel's and Argelander's star-zones, above all, struck him as a model for imitation, and he resolved to complete by extending them to the Pole. Desirous of advancing so far beyond his predecessors as to include in his survey stars of the tenth magnitude, he vainly applied for a suitable instrument, and at last, hopeless of accomplishing any part of his design at Durham, or of benefiting by any further stay, he resigned his position there in March 1852. He had not, however, been idle. Some of his observations, especially of minor planets and comets, made with a Fraunhofer equatoreal of  $6\frac{1}{2}$  inches aperture, had been published, in a provisional state, in the 'Monthly Notices' and 'Astronomische Nachrichten,' and the whole were definitively embodied in a volume entitled 'Results of Astronomical Observations made at the Observatory of the University, Durham, from October 1849 to April 1852' (Durham, 1855).

His admission as a member of the Royal Astronomical Society, 14 March 1851, conveyed a prompt recognition of his exceptional merits as an observer.

In June 1852 he fixed upon a site for an observatory and dwelling-house at Red Hill, near Reigate, Surrey. In July 1853 a transit-circle of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet focus, reduced in scale from the Greenwich model, and an equatoreal of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches aperture, both by Simms, were in their places, and work was begun. Already, 9 Dec. 1853, Carrington presented to the Astronomical Society, as the result of a preliminary survey, printed copies of nine draft maps, containing all stars down to the eleventh magnitude within  $9^\circ$  of the Pole (*Monthly Notices*, xiv. 40). Three years' steady pursuance of the adopted plan produced, in 1857, 'A Catalogue of 3,735 Circumpolar Stars observed at Redhill in the years 1854, 1855, and 1856, and reduced to Mean Positions for 1855.' The work was printed at public expense, the decision to that effect of the lords of the admiralty rendering unnecessary the acceptance of Leverrier's handsome offer to include it in the next forthcoming volume of the 'Annales' of the Paris observatory. It was rewarded with the gold medal of the Royal Astronomical Society, in presenting which, 11 Feb. 1859, Mr. Main dwelt upon the eminent utility of the design, as well as the 'standard excellence' of its execution (*ib.* xix. 162). It included a laborious comparison of Schwed's places for 680 stars with those obtained at Redhill, and an elaborate dissertation on the whole theory of corrections as applied to stars near the pole. Ten corresponding maps, copper-engraved, accompanied the catalogue.

Meanwhile Carrington had adopted, and was cultivating with his usual felicity of treatment, a 'second subject' at that juncture of peculiar interest and importance. While his new observatory was in course of construction, he devoted some of his spare time to examining the drawings and records of sun-spots in possession of the Astronomical Society, and was much struck with the need and scarcity of systematic solar observations. Sabine's and Wolf's discovery of the coincidence between the magnetic and sun-spot periods had just then been announced, and he believed he should be able to take advantage of the pre-occupation or inability of other observers to appropriate to himself, by 'close and methodical research,' the next ensuing eleven-year cycle. He accordingly resolved to devote his daylight energies to the sun, while reserving his nights for the stars. Solar physics as a whole, however, he prudently excluded from his field of view.

He limited his task to fixing the true period of the sun's rotation (of which curiously discrepant values had been obtained), to tracing the laws of distribution of maculae, and investigating the existence of permanent surface-currents. Adequately to compass these ends, new devices of observation, reduction, and comparison were required. Leaving photography to his successors as too undeveloped for immediate use, he chose a method founded on the idea of making the solar disc its own circular micrometer. An image of the sun was thrown upon a screen placed at such a distance from the eyepiece of the 4½-inch equatoreal as to give to the disc a diameter of 12 to 14 inches. In the focus of the telescope, which was firmly clamped, two bars of flattened gold wire were fastened at right angles to each other, and inclined about 45° on either side of the meridian. Then, as the inverted image traversed the screen, the instants of contact with the wires of the sun's limbs and of the spot-nucleus to be measured were severally noted, when an easy calculation gave its heliocentric position (*ib.* xiv. 153).

In this manner, during seven and a half years, 5,290 observations were made of 954 separate groups, many of which were besides accurately depicted in drawings. By the sudden death of his father, however, in July 1858, and the consequent devolution upon Carrington of the management of the brewery, the complete execution of his project of research was frustrated. He continued for some time to supervise the solar work he had previously carried on in person; but in March 1861, seeing no prospect of release from commercial engagements, he thought it advisable to close the series. The results appeared in a 4to volume, the publication of which was aided by a grant from the Royal Society. Its title ran as follows: 'Observations of the Spots on the Sun from November 9, 1853, to March 24, 1861, made at Redhill' (London, 1863). Never were data more opportunely furnished. Perhaps more effectually than the pronouncements of spectrum analysis, they served to revolutionise ideas on solar physics.

Efforts to ascertain the true rate of solar rotation had been continually baffled by what were called the 'proper motions' of the spots serving as indexes to it. Carrington showed that these were in reality due to a great 'bodily drift' of the photosphere, diminishing apparently from the equator to the poles (*ib.* xix. 81). There was, then, no single period ascertainable through observations of the solar surface. By equatorial spots the circuit was found to be performed in about

two and a half days less than by spots at the (ordinarily) extreme north and south limits of 45°. The assumed 'mean period' of 25·38 solar days applied, in fact, only to two zones 14° from the equator; nearer to it the time of rotation was shorter, further from it longer, than the average. Carrington succeeded in representing the daily movement of a spot in any heliographical latitude  $l$ , by the empirical expression  $865' + 165 \cdot \sin \frac{7}{4} (l - 1^\circ)$ . But he attempted no explanation of the phenomenon. It formed, however, the basis of Faye's theory (1865) of the sun as a gaseous body ploughed through by vertical currents, which finally superseded Herschel's idea of a flame-enveloped, but cool, dark, and even habitable globe.

Carrington's determinations of the elements of the sun's rotation are still of standard authority. The inclination of the solar equator to the plane of the ecliptic he fixed at 7° 15'; the longitude of the ascending node at 73° 40' (both for 1850). A curious peculiarity in the distribution of sun-spots detected by him about the time of the minimum of 1856, afforded, as he said, 'an instructive instance of the regular irregularity and the irregular regularity' characterising solar phenomena (*ib.* xix. 1). As the minimum approached, the belts of disturbance gradually contracted towards and died out near the equator; shortly after which two fresh series broke out, as if by a completely new impulse, in comparatively high latitudes, and spread equatorially. No satisfactory rationale of this curious procedure has yet been arrived at. It is, nevertheless, intimately related to the course of sun-spot development, since Wolf found evidence of a similar behaviour in Böhm's observations of 1833-6, and it was perceived by Spörer and Secchi to recur in 1867.

While still in his apprenticeship at Durham, Carrington repaired to Sweden on the occasion of the total solar eclipse of 28 July 1851, and made at Lilla Edet, on the Göta river, observations printed in the Royal Astronomical Society's 'Memoirs' (xxi. 58). The experience thus gained was turned to public account in the compilation of 'Information and Suggestions addressed to Persons who may be able to place themselves within the Shadow of the Total Eclipse of the Sun on September 7, 1858,' a brochure printed and circulated by the lords of the admiralty in May 1858. The eclipse to which it referred was visible in South America. Besides his friend, Mr. Hodgson, he was the sole witness of the extraordinary solar outburst of 1 Sept. 1859. His account of an observation memorable in the history of solar

physics is contained in the 'Monthly Notices' for November 1859 (xx. 13). A visit to the continent in 1856 gave him the opportunity of drawing up a valuable report on the condition of a number of German observatories (*Monthly Notices*, xvii. 43), and of visiting Schwabe at Dessau, to whose merits he drew explicit attention, and to whom, in the following year, he had the pleasure of transmitting the Astronomical Society's gold medal. He fulfilled with great diligence the duties of secretary to that body, 1857-62, and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on 7 June 1860.

But the lease by which he held his powers of useful work was unhappily running out. A severe attack of illness in 1865 left his health permanently impaired, and, having disposed of the brewery, he retired to Churt, Surrey, where, on the top of an isolated conical hill, 60 feet high, locally known as the Middle Devil's Jump, in a lonely and picturesque spot, he built a new observatory (*ib.* xxx. 43). Its chief instrument was a large altazimuth on Steinheil's principle, but there are no records of observations made with it. He no longer attended the meetings of the Astronomical Society, and his last communication to it, 10 Jan. 1873, was on the subject of a 'double altazimuth' of great size which he had thoughts of erecting (*ib.* xxxiii. 118). A deplorable tragedy, however, supervened. On the morning of 17 Nov. 1875 Mrs. Carrington was found dead in her bed, as it seemed, through an overdose of chloral. The event, combined perhaps with the censure on a supposed deficiency of proper nursing precautions conveyed by the verdict of the coroner's jury, told heavily on her husband's spirits. He left his house on the day of the inquest, and returned to it after a week's absence, only to find it deserted by his servants. He was seen to enter it, 27 Nov., but was never again seen alive. After a time some neighbour gave the alarm, the doors were broken open, and his dead body was found extended on a mattress locked into a remote apartment. A poultice of tea-leaves was tied over the left ear, as if for the relief of pain, and a post-mortem examination showed death to have resulted from an effusion of blood on the brain. A verdict of 'sudden death from natural causes' was returned. Thus closed a life which had not yet lasted fifty years, and held the promise of even more than it had already performed.

Carrington's manuscript books of sun-spot observations and reductions, with a folio volume of drawings, were purchased after his death by Lord Lindsay (now Earl of Crawford), and presented to the Royal As-

tronomical Society (*ib.* xxxvi. 249). To the same body Carrington bequeathed a sum of 2,000*l.* Among his numerous contributions to scientific collections may be mentioned a paper 'On the Distribution of the Perihelia of the Parabolic and Hyperbolic Comets in relation to the Motion of the Solar System in Space,' read before the Astronomical Society, 14 Dec. 1860 (*Mem. R. A. Soc.* xxix. 355). The result, like that of Mohn's contemporaneous investigation, proved negative, and was thought to be, through uncontrolled conditions, nugatory; yet it perhaps conveyed an important truth as to the original connection of comets with our system.

[*Monthly Notices*, xiv. 13, xviii. 23, 109, xix. 140, 161, xxxvi. 137; *Mem. R. A. Soc.* xxvii. 139; *Times*, 22 Nov. and 7 Dec. 1875; *R. Soc. Cat. Sc. Papers*, vols. i. and vii.; *Introductions to Works.*] A. M. C.

**CARROLL, ANTHONY** (1722-1794), jesuit, born in Ireland on 16 Sept. 1722, entered the Society of Jesus at Watten, near St. Omer, in 1744, and was professed of the four vows in 1762. He had been sent to the English mission about 1754, and for some time he was stationed at Lincoln. After the suppression of the order in 1773 he accompanied his cousin, Father John Carroll (afterwards the first archbishop of Baltimore), to Maryland. Returning to England in 1775, he served the missions of Liverpool, Shepton Mallet, Exeter, and Worcester. On 5 Sept. 1794 he was knocked down and robbed in Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, and carried speechless to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where he died at one o'clock the following morning. He translated some of Bourdaloue's sermons under the title of 'Practical Divinity,' 4 vols., London, 1776, 8vo.

[*Foley's Records*, vii. 117; *Gent. Mag.* lxiv. (ii.) 1055; *Oliver's Jesuit Collections*, 239; *Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall*, 259; *Backer's Bibl. des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus* (1869), 1095.] T. C.

**CARRUTHERS, ANDREW** (1770-1852), Scotch catholic prelate, was born at Glennmillan, near New Abbey in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, on 7 Feb. 1770. He studied for six years in the Scotch college at Douay, whence he returned to Scotland on the outbreak of the French revolution. After a short time spent in superintending the studies at the seminary of Scalán, he was sent to complete his theology at Aberdeen under the direction of the Rev. John Farquharson, late principal of the Scotch college at Douay, and he was advanced to the priesthood in 1795. He was stationed first at Balloch,

near Drummond Castle, in Perthshire, then at Traquair in Peeblesshire, and afterwards at Munches and at Dalbeattie in his native county. In 1832 he was made vicar-apostolic of the eastern district of Scotland, and consecrated at Edinburgh as bishop of Ceramis, *in partibus infidelium*, on 13 Jan. 1833. He died at Dundee on 24 May 1852.

[Gordon's Catholic Church in Scotland, 474, with portrait; Catholic Directory (1885), 61; Dick's Reasons for embracing the Catholic Faith (1848).] T. C.

**CARRUTHERS, JAMES (1759-1832)**, historian, brother of Bishop Andrew Carruthers [q. v.], was a native of New Abbey in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright. He was educated in the Scotch college at Douay, and on his return to Scotland was ordained priest and appointed to the extensive charge of Glenlivet. Afterwards he was stationed successively at Buchan in Aberdeenshire, at Presholme in the Enzie, at Dumfries, and at New Abbey, where he died on 14 Feb. 1832. He wrote: 1. 'The History of Scotland from the earliest period of the Scottish Monarchy to the Accession of the Stewart Family, interspersed with Synoptical Reviews of Politics, Literature, and Religion throughout the World,' 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1826, 8vo. 2. 'The History of Scotland during the reign of Queen Mary until the accession of her son James to the crown of England,' Edinburgh, 1831, 8vo.

[Catholic Magazine and Review (Birmingham, 1832), ii. 379; Edinburgh Catholic Magazine (1832-3), i. 24; Gordon's Catholic Church in Scotland, 533.] T. C.

**CARRUTHERS, ROBERT (1799-1878)**, miscellaneous writer, born at Dumfries 5 Nov. 1799, was the son of a small farmer in the parish of Mousewald. He received only a scanty education, and was early apprenticed to a bookseller in Dumfries. He showed, however, a taste for literature, which procured him the regard of McDiarmid, the well-known editor of the 'Dumfries Courier.' His apprenticeship over, he removed to Huntingdon as master of the national school, and there he wrote and published what remains the only 'History of Huntingdon' (1824), for which the corporation of the borough placed its records at his disposal. In 1827 appeared anonymously his selections from Milton's prose works, 'The Poetry of Milton's Prose.' In 1828, on the recommendation of McDiarmid, he was appointed editor of the 'Inverness Courier,' which he made the most popular journal in the north of Scotland by the attention which he gave in it, not only to the material interests of the

highlands, but to their antiquities and social history. In 1831 he became the proprietor of the 'Courier,' which he conducted on moderate liberal principles. In 1843 he published selections from his contributions to it, 'The Highland Note-book, or Sketches and Anecdotes.' In its columns appeared the 'Letters on the Fisheries,' the work which first made Hugh Miller known, and Carruthers otherwise befriended Miller. In 1851 appeared in the 'National Illustrated Library' his edition of Boswell's 'Journal of a Tour in the Hebrides,' with useful notes upon the places and persons mentioned. In the 'National Illustrated Library' also appeared in 1853 Carruthers's edition of 'The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope,' in four volumes, the first of which contained a memoir of Pope, with extracts from his correspondence. The memoir, much enlarged and partly rewritten, was published in 1857, in Bohn's 'Illustrated Library,' as 'The Life of Alexander Pope, with Extracts from his Correspondence,' and in the same library appeared in 1858 a revised edition of the 'Poems.' Carruthers is best known as editor and biographer of Pope. To the variorum notes in the edition of the 'Poems' he added many of his own, with some of George Steevens and Wilkes not previously printed. Even the first edition of the 'Life' was fuller than any previous one, and was enriched by interesting extracts from Pope's correspondence with Teresa and Martha Blount preserved at Mapledurham, which Carruthers had been permitted to examine, a privilege enjoyed by no other person then living. A second examination of this correspondence and the publication in the interval of some of the results of Mr. Dilke's researches into Pope's biography enabled him to correct in the edition of 1857 grave errors of his own and of others.

In 1843-4 was issued the Messrs. Chambers's 'Cyclopædia of English Literature,' in which most of the original matter was written by Carruthers, co-operating with Robert Chambers; the third edition, 1876, was 'originally edited by Robert Chambers, revised by Robert Carruthers.' For the same publishers he edited, nominally in conjunction with William Chambers, their Bowdlerised 'Household Edition' of Shakespeare, 1861-3. To the third edition of Robert Chambers's 'Life of Sir Walter Scott,' 1871, Carruthers furnished an appendix of interesting 'Abbotsford Notanda, or Sir Walter Scott and his Factor,' containing letters and reminiscences of Scott from the correspondence and papers of William Laidlaw, Scott's factor and amanuensis at Abbotsford, reprinted from 'Chambers's Journal' and the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' Carruthers

was also a contributor to the 'North British Review,' and wrote for the eighth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' a number of biographies, among them those of Queen Elizabeth, William Penn, Lord Jeffrey, and the Ettrick Shepherd. He wrote the memoir of Falconer prefixed to the 'Shipwreck' (1858 and 1868), and of James Montgomery (1860) and Gray (1876) prefixed to editions of their poems. He delivered several series of lectures before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution. In April 1871 he received the degree of LL.D. from the university of Edinburgh, and in the November of the same year he was entertained at a public banquet, when he was presented with a portrait and bust of himself.

Carruthers was the friend or correspondent of several of his eminent contemporaries. Rogers furnished him with some material for his edition of Pope, and Macaulay asked for and received from him on highland matters information which was duly acknowledged in the 'History.' When Thackeray visited Inverness to lecture on the Four Georges, the acquaintance which he made with Carruthers, who is said to have resembled him in face, ripened into considerable intimacy. Carruthers died at Inverness on 26 May 1878, busy to the last with the newspaper which he had edited for more than half a century. His fellow-townsmen honoured him with a public funeral.

[Carruthers's writings; obituary notices in the Inverness Courier of 30 May and in the Scotsman of 28 May 1878.] F. E.

**CARSE, ALEXANDER** (A. 1812-1820), painter, was a native of Edinburgh, where he enjoyed a good reputation as a painter. About 1812 he came to London, and in the ensuing years exhibited several pictures at the Royal Academy and at the British Institution. His pictures chiefly represented scenes from Scottish domestic life, often of a humorous character. His colouring and drawing met with very favourable criticism. He resided for some years in Grenville Street, Somers Town, but seems about 1820 to have returned to Edinburgh, where he continued to paint for some years. He is sometimes described as 'Old Carse,' which seems to point to his being the father of William Carse [q. v.] The date of his death has not been ascertained. A picture by him has recently been presented to the Scottish National Gallery.

[Graves's Dict. of Artists; Catalogues of the Royal Academy and the British Institution; Annals of the Fine Arts, i. 423, ii. 44; information from Mr. J. M. Gray.] L. C.

**CARSE, WILLIAM** (A. 1818-1845), painter, was a native of Edinburgh, and seems to have been the son of Alexander Carse [q. v.] In 1818 he was a student at the British Institution, and resided with Alexander Carse at Grenville Street, Somers Town. His first pictures were cattle pieces in the style of Paul Potter, but later he devoted himself to subject pictures, chiefly scenes from lowly Scottish life. In the years 1820-9 he exhibited pictures at the Royal Academy, the British Institution, and the Suffolk Street Exhibition. During the latter part of his residence in London he resided in Southampton Crescent, Euston Square. About 1830 he returned to Edinburgh, and exhibited pictures in the Royal Scottish Academy up to 1845, after which date he cannot be traced.

[Graves's Dict. of Artists; Catalogues of the Royal Academy and the British Institution; Annals of the Fine Arts, iii. 598; information from Mr. J. M. Gray.] L. C.

**CARSEWELL, JOHN** (A. 1560-1572), bishop of the Isles, was in his earlier years chaplain to the Earl of Argyll and rector of Kilmartin. When the assembly of the kirk, on 20 July 1560, appointed superintendents of the various districts of Scotland, Carsewell was appointed superintendent of Argyll and the Isles (KNOX, *Works*, ii. 87; CALDERWOOD, *History*, ii. 11). He was also dean of the Chapel Royal of Stirling (KER, *History*, Appendix, p. 128). In his capacity of superintendent of Argyll he was appointed by the assembly, in 1567, to 'take satisfaction' from Argyll for separation from his wife, and for 'other heinous offences' (CALDERWOOD, ii. 397). In July 1569 he was rebuked by the assembly for accepting the bishopric of the Isles, and for attending a parliament 'holden by the queen after the murder of the king' (*ib.* ii. 491). He died some time before 20 Sept. 1572.

[Keith's Scottish Bishops, 307-8; Calderwood's History of the Church of Scotland, vols. ii. and iii.] T. F. H.

**CARSON, AGLIONBY ROSS** (1780-1850), classical scholar and rector of the high school of Edinburgh, was born at Holywood, Dumfriesshire, in 1780. He was educated at Wallace Hall endowed school, in the parish of Closeburn, and at the university of Edinburgh, which he entered in 1797. In 1801 he was elected rector of the grammar school of Dumfries, and in 1806 a classical master of the high school of Edinburgh, of which he became rector in 1820. In 1826 he received the degree of LL.D. from the university of



St. Andrews. On account of failing health he resigned the rectorship of the high school 9 Oct. 1845, and he died at Edinburgh 4 Nov. 1850. He was the author of a work on 'The Relative, Qui, Quæ, Quod,' and published editions of 'Mair's Introduction,' 'Turner's Grammatical Exercises,' 'Phædrus,' and 'Tacitus.' He was also a contributor to the 'Classical Journal,' the 'Scottish Review,' and the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' His portrait by Sir John Watson Gordon is in the hall of the high school.

[Steven's History of the High School; Anderson's Scottish Nation.] T. F. H.

**CARSON, ALEXANDER (1776-1844),** baptist minister, was born near Stewartstown, co. Tyrone, in 1776. His parents were Scottish Calvinistic presbyterians, settled in Ireland, who consecrated their son to the ministry at an early age. He was sent to a classical school, and afterwards to the university of Glasgow, where he made himself a good Greek scholar—'the first scholar of his time,' says Robert Haldane. He proceeded B.A. and M.A. At twenty-two he was ordained pastor of the presbyterian congregation at Tobermore, near Coleraine. His rigid Calvinism caused a disagreement with his hearers, who inclined to Arianism. After a time Carson resigned the pastorate, shook off the shackles of presbyterianism, and published his 'Reasons for Separating' in 1804. Part of his congregation followed him. For some years he preached in barns and in the open air. In 1814 they built a small meeting-house, in which he devotedly laboured for thirty years. In the intervals of his ministry he employed his pen in vindicating the principles of his belief, and published books on biblical interpretation, Transubstantiation, the Trinity, &c. In 1827 he had a sharp controversy with Samuel Lee, professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, and published a book entitled 'The Incompetency of Prof. Lee for translating the Holy Scriptures,' followed by a reply to Lee's answer. In attempting to refute Haldane's 'New Views of Baptism' he converted himself, and afterwards published (1831) a book on 'Baptism, its Mode and Subjects.' Of this he printed an enlarged edition in 1844; it was subscribed for by four hundred baptist ministers. The whole impression was rapidly disposed of, and a new edition of ten thousand copies called for. By his writings and the publication of his books Carson became widely known; and so much were they esteemed in America that two universities simultaneously bestowed upon him the honorary degree of LL.D. He also became well known nearer home by travelling through

most of the English counties, preaching as he went on behalf of baptist missions. Returning from his last tour in 1844, while waiting at Liverpool for the steamer to Belfast, he fell over the edge of the quay, dislocated his shoulder, and was nearly drowned. He was rescued and taken to the steamer; but on his arrival at Belfast he was unable to proceed further, and after eight days he died, on 24 Aug. 1844, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. His remains were removed to 'Solitude,' his residence near Tobermore, and buried near the chapel where he had preached, and where six months before he had buried his wife. A collection of Carson's works has since been printed in six stout volumes. At the end of the sixth volume is a copious collection of extracts from sixteen different notices of Carson and his writings, in which he is said to be a second Jonathan Edwards, and the first biblical critic of the nineteenth century.

[Coleraine Chronicle, 24 and 31 Aug. 1844; Baptist Magazine, 1844, pp. 185-91, 525; G. C. Moore's Life of Alexander Carson, 1851; Douglas's Biographical Sketch of Alexander Carson, 1884.] J. H. T.

**CARSON, JAMES, M.D. (1772-1843),** physician, a Scotchman, was originally educated for the ministry, but his inclination leading him to the study of physic, he attended medical classes at Edinburgh, and graduated doctor of medicine there in the autumn of 1799 (inaugural essay, 'De Viribus quibus Sanguis circumvehitur'). He then removed to Liverpool, where he remained for the greater part of his professional career. In 1808 his name came prominently before the public in connection with the case of Charles Angus, a Liverpool merchant, who was charged with the murder of Miss Margaret Burns under what appeared to be circumstances of peculiar atrocity. At the trial held at Lancaster assizes on 2 Sept. of that year Carson in Angus's behalf stoutly maintained his opinion as to the cause of death against that of the four medical witnesses called for the crown, among whom was Dr. John Bostock the younger [q. v.] In the result a verdict of 'not guilty' was returned. Some angry pamphleteering ensued, and Carson defended himself in 'Remarks on a late Publication entitled "A Vindication of the Opinions delivered in Evidence by the Medical Witnesses for the Crown on a late Trial at Lancaster,"' 8vo, Liverpool, 1808. He continued at Liverpool, and subsequently held several appointments there. He died at Sutton, Surrey, 12 Aug. 1843 (*Annual Register*, 1843, p. 286). He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society

on 1 June 1837, having many years previously communicated a paper 'On the Elasticity of the Lungs' (*Phil. Trans.* cx. 29-44). Carson's other writings are: 1. 'Reasons for colonizing the Island of Newfoundland,' 8vo, 1813. 2. 'A Letter to the Members of Parliament on the Address of the Inhabitants of Newfoundland to the Prince Regent,' 8vo, 1813. 3. 'An Enquiry into the Causes of the Motion of the Blood,' 8vo, Liverpool, 1815 (second and enlarged edition under the title of 'An Inquiry into the Causes of Respiration,' &c., 8vo, London, 1833). 4. 'A New Method of slaughtering Animals for Human Food,' 8vo, London, 1839.

[Dict. of Living Authors, 1816, p. 56; Brit. Mus. Cat.] G. G.

**CARSTARES, WILLIAM** (1649-1715), Scottish statesman and divine, was the eldest of nine children of John Carstares, minister of Cathcart, near Glasgow, where William was born on 11 Feb. 1649, and Janet Mure of Glanderston, a branch of the Mures of Caldwell. His father, who had been at the battle of Dunbar, where he was taken prisoner by Cromwell, was exchanged soon after for a prisoner in the hands of General Leslie, and became conspicuous for his zealous preaching in Glasgow 'against the times,' which, in spite of the presbyterian clergy, had declared themselves in Scotland, as in England, for Cromwell. 'Let the Lord own him for His' is the first notice of William Carstares's existence in a letter from his father to his sister-in-law, Katherine Wood, a few days after the birth of his first-born. He was sent when young to board with Sinclair, the minister of Ormiston in East Lothian, a scholar of repute, in whose family Latin was spoken. In 1663 he entered the college of Edinburgh, where he studied with credit under William Paterson, then regent, and afterwards clerk of the privy council, and graduated in 1667. His father—an ardent Remonstrant, as the party was called which insisted on the acceptance of the covenant and extirpation of prelacy as well as popery by Charles II against the resolutions, who were content with the recognition of the presbyterian polity—took part in the rising at Rullion Green for which he was forfeited. He had to protect himself by keeping out of the way, hiding probably in the highlands, perhaps in Holland, but the traces of his life are obscure. To Holland, at all events, the safest refuge from the persecution which Scotland suffered, he sent his son. 'William Carstares, *Scoto-Britannus*,' appears in the 'Students' Album' at Utrecht in 1669, and he was still there in March 1672. He studied Hebrew under Leus-

den, and divinity under Witsius, and was probably ordained in the Dutch church, though the record of his ordination has not been preserved. In Holland he was introduced by the pensionary Fagel to William of Orange, already on the look-out for the ablest instruments to further his designs in Britain. In 1672 he went to London, and two years later, in a letter to his sister Sarah, after expressing disappointment that he had been forced to be so expensive to his parents by his study there, expresses the hope that 'it may be at least in providence I may have some door opened whereby I may be in a capacity to do some little service in my generation, and not always be insignificant in my station; but, alas, what service can I do, in what will God accept from me who have lived for so many years in the world and yet for no end.' His ambition was cut short by his arrest and examination before Lauderdale on no desperate charge, probably on the suspicion that he had a share in distributing a pamphlet entitled 'An Account of Scotland's Grievances by reason of the D. of Lauderdale's Ministrie,' and his connection with the exiles in Holland. Though nothing was proved, his answers were deemed unsatisfactory, and he was sent to Scotland, where he was kept prisoner in Edinburgh Castle without trial for five years. There is a pretty anecdote that a boy of twelve, son of the governor, whose good-will he gained by telling him stories, supplied him with paper, pens, and ink, and carried his letters. He is said to have solaced his captivity by reading the 'History of De Thou.' At last, in August 1679, when Monmouth and James were trying to conciliate the Scotch by clemency, he was released. During the next few years he seems to have lived chiefly in England, but made a visit to Ireland in 1680. On 6 June 1682 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Kekewich of Trehawk in Cornwall. In 1682 and, after a visit to England, again in 1683 he returned to Utrecht, leaving his wife in England. His movements at this time are difficult to trace with accuracy, as was natural, for he was actively engaged in the plots then rife, of which Holland was the centre. He went by the name of 'Mr. Red' in the cipher correspondence of the plotters, but though cognisant of the Rye House plot it did not meet his approval. It was the bolder scheme for a general rising in England and Scotland, of which Shaftesbury, Russell, and Argyll were the leaders, in which he acted as agent. At this time he appears to have visited Scotland, where his brother-in-law, Dunlop, was preparing to escape from the troubles of the times by

emigrating to Carolina, and thence to have gone to London, where, along with Baillie of Jerviswood, Fletcher of Saltoun, and James Stewart of Coltness, he endeavoured to raise money for Argyll's contemplated expedition to Scotland. The necessary money, which Argyll had fixed at 30,000*l.*, was not to be got, and it was thought expedient that Carstares should return to Utrecht. He there had many meetings with both the English and Scotch exiles; but there was a want of unanimity in their counsels, and Carstares advised delay. The discovery of the Rye House plot, which led to the execution of Lord Russell on 21 July, was followed in a few days by the capture of Carstares, who had again crossed the Channel, and was seized at Tenterden in Kent, where he was in hiding under his mother's name of Mure. On his refusal to take the corporation oath and abjure the covenant he was sent to prison, and after a fortnight's imprisonment removed to London, where he was twice examined before a committee of the council. He was thence transmitted to Scotland, as he himself thought, and the event proved, 'because it was judged that violent tortures which the law of England, at least the custom, does not admit of, would force to anything.' On 14 Nov. he was committed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. After lying there some time in the hope of a voluntary confession, Spence, one of his associates, was, under torture, forced to name Carstares as participant in Argyll's plot, and the same instrument, the thumbkins, with the threat of the boot, joined with Lord Melfort's assurance that his depositions should not be used against any person, induced him to make a deposition as to his knowledge of the plot. Contrary to the promise embodied in a minute somewhat modified in form, declaring only that Carstares was not to be brought 'as a witness,' the privy council published an abstract, and used it at the trial of Baillie of Jerviswood, who was found guilty and executed. Carstares expostulated, but without any effect, against the breach of faith in using his depositions, and, declining payment of his expenses during imprisonment, returned by way of England to Holland. After a tour in the Low Countries and the Rhine, he settled for a short time at Cleve, and in the winter of 1686-7 at Leyden, where he was appointed second minister of the Scottish congregation and chaplain of William of Orange. He accompanied William in his voyage to Torbay, and conducted the thanksgiving service on the beach where the troops landed. From this time Carstares was seldom long absent from William. He had apartments at court,

and accompanied the king as chaplain in his campaigns. When the jealousy of others attacked him, 'Honest William Carstares' was the only answer the king deigned to make to these detractors. He was nicknamed by the Jacobites 'the cardinal,' and, especially in Scotch affairs, his advice was constantly taken. He had the courage to offer it even when not asked if he deemed it useful to his country's interest. The revolution settlement, by which the Scottish presbyterian church was established, was pre-eminently the result of his counsels. William himself was disposed to favour the episcopal form of church government, or at least some compromise between it and presbyterianism, but Carstares satisfied him that this was impossible. His 'Hints to the King' were founded on the argument that 'the episcopal party were generally disaffected to the revolution . . . whereas the presbyterians had almost to a man declared for it, and were, moreover, the great body of the nation.' Carstares was sent to consult with Lord Melville, the commissioner in Edinburgh, and, having rejoined the king after the victory of the Boyne at the siege of Limerick, returned with him to London. When there the draft of the proposed Scottish Act of Settlement of the church was forwarded by Melville and considered clause by clause by the king and Carstares, who suggested modifications embodied in remarks, which William dictated to him and which were adopted. One of them is a sufficient example of their tendency: 'Whereas it is said their majesties do ratify the presbyterian church government to be "the only government of Christ's church in this kingdom," his majesty deems it may be expressed otherwise, thus: "To be the government of the church in the kingdom established by law."'

On the knotty point of patronage Carstares advised against its abolition, but Melville took the opposite view, and William gave a reluctant assent to the act for repealing patronage.

In 1691 Carstares accompanied William to Flanders. It was at this time that the measures which led to the massacre of Glencoe were determined on, but the only reference to them in Carstares's correspondence is an approval of Lord Breadalbane's scheme to distribute money among the chiefs, so that he appears to be free from the stain which rests on the memory of the Master of Stair and William. The next two years he was again with the king in the Flanders campaigns, and received from him a gift of the ward of Lord Kilmarnock. 'I am apt to think it will have much to do,' he writes

to his brother-in-law Dunlop, the principal of Glasgow, 'to defray two campaigns, but I have a very good master.' In the spring of 1694, having been absent from London when William had agreed to instructions being sent to Scotland for exacting the oaths of allegiance and assurance from all ministers before admitting them to the church courts, and to depose those who refused, Carstares arrived before the messenger was despatched, and is said to have had the courage to countermand him. He immediately went, though it was midnight, to the king's bedchamber at Kensington, asked pardon for what he had done, and after explaining his reasons, founded on the abhorrence of the Scottish clergy to any civil oath, not only obtained it, but was allowed to issue in the king's name an order dispensing with the oaths. Such is the statement of his first biographer and relative, McCormick, who derived his information from Mr. Charles McKie, afterwards professor of history in Edinburgh, who lived in Carstares's house during his student years, and though possibly somewhat coloured it is consistent with the characters of both Carstares and William. Carstares was again with William on the continent in 1695-6, and continued to be consulted by him, as his voluminous correspondence shows, on all Scotch business, including the appointment of the officers of state and judges down to his death. He was especially zealous in the interests of the ministers, but all he could procure was a pittance of 1,200*l.* a year, taken from the thirds of the benefices of the church, to be divided among the poor ministers, which it required renewed exertion in the next reign to get paid. He tried to persuade his master, but without effect, to visit Scotland; but he dissuaded him more successfully from the appointment of a permanent council for Scotland in London. Carstares was himself undoubtedly the best councillor a foreign king could have, for he was intimately acquainted with all classes of his countrymen, and gave his advice without fear, favour, or self-interest, regarding only the interests of William and of Scotland. 'As for Mr. Carstares,' William said not long before his death, 'I have known him long, and I know him thoroughly, and I know him to be a truly honest man.'

With the accession of Anne the direct political influence of Carstares ceased, but he was appointed principal of the university of Edinburgh in 1703, and showed his sterling character by devoting himself with equal zeal to the duties of the smaller as of the larger sphere. The large-minded spirit in which he administered the university was

proved by his exertions to obtain a chair for Calamy, his scheme for the education of English nonconformists under the care of a warden in the university of Edinburgh, and his suggestion that Glasgow should get professors of theology and philosophy from Holland, 'for good men are to be found there.' He revised the statutes of the university, and by his courteous manner proved equally acceptable to the students, professors, and town council, which was then the patron, and regulated the government of the college. It appointed him minister of the Grey Friars' Church, and as the principal's office required him to give lectures on divinity once a week during session, his life must have been a busy one. But though he was respected as a professor and preacher, his talents were those of an administrator and statesman, and he left no works to vindicate his fame as a man of learning. As might be expected, he used his great influence to procure the passage of the Treaty of Union, which had been a favourite project of William. It was chiefly due to him that the opposition of the presbyterian clergy was overcome. An anonymous letter, supposed to be from a member of the cabinet, declared that 'the union could never have had the consent of the Scotch parliament if you had not acted the worthy part you did.'

As a member of the assembly of 1704 he took part in the committee for preparing the forms of process which still, with some modifications, regulate the procedure in the courts of the church. Next year he was elected moderator, and for the first time made a prepared speech on taking the chair, a practice which has been since followed. 'Lord Portland,' writes Lord Seafield to him, 'asked kindly about you. I told him you governed the church, the ministry, and all your old friends here. He said it was a satisfaction to him to know that you and I, in whom King William reposed so great a trust, were still in such consideration in the present reign.'

In the summer after the Act of Union was passed Carstares went to London, where he had an audience with the queen, who thanked him for his services and presented him with one of the silver medals cast in commemoration of it.

Next year (1708) he was again chosen moderator of the assembly, and in his opening address prudently avoided reference to the union, still distasteful to many of his brethren, but directed their attention to the danger of a French invasion in support of 'the pretences of St. Germain.' Calamy, in his 'Autobiography,' gives some interesting particulars of Carstares during his visit in

1709 to Edinburgh to receive the degree of D.D., mentioning the respect with which he was listened to in the assembly, where he was usually 'one of the last to speak and for the most part drew the rest unto his opinion,' his courtesy to opponents, and the 'harmony between the principal and masters of the college, they expressing a veneration for him as a common father, and he a tenderness for them as if they had all been children.' A trifling anecdote indicates his kindly and considerate charity. A poor ejected curate of the episcopal church was persuaded to accept a suit of new clothes Carstares had made for himself, under the pious subterfuge that the tailor had mistaken his measure. But Carstares was a stout presbyterian, and could not show the same charity to the episcopal church, of whose Jacobite leanings he was no doubt honestly afraid. In the affair of Green-shields, the Irish curate who ventured to read the liturgy in Edinburgh in public, for which he was imprisoned by the magistrates, whose decision was affirmed by the Scotch court, though reversed on appeal to the House of Lords, he drafted the address from the assembly to the queen, which though more moderate than some of his brethren desired, asserted the exclusive rights of the presbyterian establishment. In 1711 he was for the third time moderator, an honour without parallel, and in his address answered the charge of persecution of the episcopalians by the quotation, 'Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione quærentes?' This assembly, alarmed by the conduct and character of the tory ministry and the queen's supposed favour for the Stuarts, passed an act recommending prayers 'for the Princess Sophia and the protestant house' along with those for the queen. It also passed another requiring a stricter formula of subscription from the clergy. The question of the restoration of patronage having been mooted, Carstares was sent on a deputation to London to protest against it; but in spite of their remonstrances an act for that purpose and another for the toleration of Scots episcopal ministers and the use of the liturgy in Scotland, to which they were equally hostile, were carried in the parliament of 1712. On his return home he counselled moderation to his brethren, whose feelings, heated by these acts, had been brought to a climax by the requirement of the abjuration oath. This oath, under cover of an engagement to support the line of heirs in the English Act of Settlement, by which the monarch must be a member of the English church, was deemed inconsistent with the presbyterian establishment. Carstares set the example of taking

the oath, with a declaration that 'nothing was intended by it inconsistent with the doctrine, worship, discipline, or government of the church established by law,' and he induced the assembly in 1713 to pass an act charging ministers and people to abstain 'from all diverse courses upon occasion of different sentiments and practices about the said oath.' The government appreciated so much his conduct at this dangerous juncture that they consulted him as to who should be named commissioner, and by his advice appointed the Duke of Atholl. On the death of Queen Anne, Carstares was sent on a deputation from the assembly to congratulate George I on his accession, when Carstares made the usual complimentary speech. 'Some allege,' Wodrow writes, when the printed speech had come to Scotland, 'there is too much of compliment and the courtier, and too little of the minister in that to the king.' Since the days of Knox the ideal of the presbyterian minister's address to the sovereign was exhortation and rebuke, not courtesy or ceremony. On his return Carstares was for the last time elected moderator in the assembly of 1715, and during its sittings distinguished himself as usual by conduct worthy of the title of his office. An attack of apoplexy in August ended in his death, which he awaited 'with great peace and serenity,' on 28 Dec. 1715. He was buried in the Grey Friars' churchyard, next to his father's grave, and beside that of Alexander Henderson. His wife was buried in the same place in 1724. They had no children, but Carstares usually had some young relation or friend in his house who was studying at the university. He had a Scotchman's attachment to his kindred, and his letters, especially to his sister, show an affectionate heart not injured by worldly prosperity. A benevolent scheme of his for the support of the deprived nonjurors was ruined through the lukewarmness of the government, who would not grant the necessary funds. In the crowd at his funeral two ejected curates were observed lamenting the loss of their benefactor, who had supported their families out of his own purse. More a statesman than a divine, there has seldom been an ecclesiastic of any church who has taken part in politics with greater honour to himself and advantage to his country than Carstares. A portrait of Carstares by Ackman has often been engraved. Another portrait is in the university of Edinburgh.

[Carstares' State Papers, to which M'Cormick's Memoir is prefixed; Rev. R. H. Story's Life of Carstares; Sir A. Grant's Story of the University of Edinburgh; Macaulay's Hist.] Æ. M.

**CARSWELL, SIR ROBERT** (1793-1857), physician and pathologist, was born at Paisley, Scotland, on 3 Feb. 1793. He studied medicine at the university of Glasgow. While a student he was distinguished for his skill in drawing, and was employed by Dr. John Thompson of Edinburgh to make a collection of drawings illustrating morbid anatomy. In pursuance of this scheme Carswell went to the continent, and spent two years (1822-3) working at the hospitals of Paris and Lyons. He returned to Scotland, and took his degree of M.D. at the Marischal College, Aberdeen, in 1826. After this he went again to Paris, and resumed his studies in morbid anatomy under the celebrated Louis. About 1828 he was nominated by the council of University College, London, professor of pathological anatomy, but before entering on his teaching duties was commissioned to prepare a collection of pathological drawings. He accordingly remained at Paris after receiving this commission till 1831, when he had completed a series of two thousand water-colour drawings of diseased structures. This collection is still preserved at University College. Carswell then came to London and undertook the duties of his professorship. He was in addition appointed at the same time, or soon afterwards, physician to the University College Hospital. He did not, however, at once engage in practice, but occupied himself with the preparation of a great book on pathological anatomy, the plates for which were furnished from his large store of pathological drawings, and put upon the stone by himself. This, the work on which the author's reputation rests, was published in 1837 as '*Illustrations of the Elementary Forms of Disease*,' a fine folio, with remarkably well executed coloured plates, which still holds its place as a standard work. The illustrations have, for artistic merit and for fidelity, never been surpassed, while the matter represents the highest point which the science of morbid anatomy had reached before the introduction of the microscope. About 1836 Carswell entered on private practice, but did not meet with much success, and as, in addition, his health was not strong, he was in 1840 induced to resign his professorship, and to accept the appointment of physician to the king of the Belgians. The rest of his life was spent at Laeken, near Brussels, and was occupied in official duties and charitable medical attendance on the poor, but interrupted by several journeys to the south in search of health. Carswell made no further contributions to medical science. He was knighted in July 1850 by Queen Victoria for his

services to Louis-Philippe when an exile in this country. He married Mlle. Marguerite Chardenot, who survived him, but left no issue. He died on 15 June 1857, after a lingering illness caused by chronic lung disease. Carswell was highly distinguished as a morbid anatomist, and perhaps no such anatomist was ever a better artist. His work has permanent value, and he had considerable influence as a teacher, though the abrupt termination of his scientific career prevented him from taking a leading place in the profession. He wrote, besides his great work: 1. '*On Melanosis*' (with W. Cullen), '*Trans. Med.-Chir. Society of Edinburgh*,' 1824, p. 264. 2. '*Researches on the Digestion of the Walls of the Stomach after Death*,' '*Edinb. Med. and Surg. Journal*,' xxxiv. 282, 1830, previously communicated in French to the Académie de Médecine, Paris. 3. In Forbes's '*Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine*' the articles: Induration, Melanosis, Mortification, Perforation, Scirrhus, Softening, Tubercle.

[*Dictionnaire Encyclopédique des Sciences Médicales* (Dechambre), xii. 701 (from communications by the widow, Lady Carswell); *Proceedings Royal Med.-Chir. Soc.* ii. 62, 1858.] J. F. P.

**CARTE, SAMUEL** (1653-1740), divine and antiquary, born at Coventry in 1653, was educated at the grammar school of that town and at Magdalen College, Oxford. He was vicar of Clifton-upon-Dunsmoor in Warwickshire, and afterwards of St. Martin's, Leicester, and rector of Eastwell, Lincolnshire and prebendary of Lichfield from 1682 till death. He died, aged 87, on 16 April 1740. He was known as an antiquary, and a manuscript description by him of the antiquities of Leicester is preserved in the Bodleian, which, however, is said to be but a slight composition. He corresponded with the leading antiquaries of the day, and his assistance is acknowledged by Browne Willis in the preface to his '*Mitred Abbots*,' and by J. Throsby in his '*History and Antiquities of Leicester*.' He published (1) two sermons in 1694 and 1705. (2) '*Tabula Chronologica Archiepiscopatum et Episcopatum in Anglia et Wallia, ortus, divisiones, translationes, &c., breviter exhibens, una cum indice alphabetica nominum quibus apud autores insinuantur*,' fol., without date.

[Nichols's *Illustrations*, ii. 471, 726; Lowndes's *Bibl. Man.*] E. S. S.

**CARTE, THOMAS** (1686-1754), historian, son of Samuel Carte [q. v.], was born at Clifton-upon-Dunsmoor, Warwickshire, where he was baptised by immersion 23 April 1686. He was admitted at Univer-

sity College, Oxford, 8 July 1698, and took his degree of B.A. in 1702. Afterwards he was incorporated at Cambridge, and took his M.A. degree from King's College in 1706. Shortly afterwards he took holy orders, and was appointed reader at the abbey church, Bath, in 1707. In 1712 he is said to have made the tour of Europe, as tutor to a nobleman. He was a strong Jacobite, and his opinions involved him in more than one controversy, and on several occasions got him into trouble with the government. The first of these controversies arose from a sermon preached by him at the abbey church, Bath (when he was reader), on 30 Jan. 1713-14; he then defended Charles I from the common charge of having secretly instigated the Irish rebellion and massacre of 1641. For this he was attacked by Henry Chandler (or Chaundler), father of Samuel Chandler [q.v.], who was a dissenting minister at Bath. Carte's reply was published in May 1714, with the title: 'The Irish Massacre set in a Clear Light;' it is reprinted in the 'Somers Tracts,' iii. 369. Carte, refusing to take the oaths to George I, adopted a lay habit. At the Jacobite rising of 1715 he appears to have been suspected by the government. He concealed himself in the house of a Mr. Badger, curate of Coleshill, and does not seem to have been molested there, for he acted occasionally at Coleshill as a clergyman. His continued connection with the Jacobite party is shown by his intimacy with Atterbury, to whom he is said to have acted as secretary. In his defence before the House of Lords Atterbury denied having seen him, 'except very rarely, for two or three years past.' But the bishop had crossed out this passage in the draft of his speech, and he acknowledges that he obtained a living for his brother, John Carte, from the chapter of Westminster (NICHOLS, *Correspondence of Atterbury*, ii. 140). Atterbury was committed to the Tower 24 Aug. 1722, and in the gazette of the 15th of the same month a proclamation appeared, offering a reward of £1,000 for Carte's apprehension, in which he was described as 'about thirty-two years of age, of a middle stature, a raw-boned man, goes a little stooping, a sallow complexion, with a full grey or blue eye, his eyelids fair, inclining to red, and commonly wears a light-coloured peruke.' The description, however, was declared by Dr. Rawlinson, who knew him, to be quite opposite to the truth. Meanwhile, Carte had escaped to France, where he lived under the name of Phillips, and gaining access to the best libraries, he devoted himself to collecting materials for illustrating a translation of the 'History of Thuanus' (de Thou). These materials were

purchased in 1724 at a considerable price by Dr. Mead for the edition of 'Thuanus' published at his expense in London, in seven folio volumes, in 1733, under the editorship of S. Buckley, and with a Latin address to Mead signed by Carte, who appears also to have made the index for the book. In 1728 Carte was allowed to return to England on the intercession of Queen Caroline. He now devoted himself to an expansion of his early pamphlet, in vindication of Charles I, in regard to the Irish rebellion. This he did in his 'Life of James, Duke of Ormonde,' in 2 vols. fol., 1736, preceded by a third volume in the previous year, containing a collection of original letters of Wentworth, Ormonde, and others connected with Ireland. He labours to prove that the pretended commission given by Charles at Oxford (12 Jan. 1644-5) to Lord Glamorgan (Lord Herbert) for treating with the Irish catholics, was a forgery of Glamorgan's. The book is still of value from the mass of materials which his diligence collected. Yet Dr. Johnson's criticism must be allowed to have some justification: 'The matter is diffused in too many words; there is no animation, no compression, no vigour. Two good volumes in duodecimo might be made out of two in folio' (CROKER, *Boswell*, v. 24, ed. 1859). In a letter to Swift, dated 11 Aug. 1736, on sending him his 'Ormonde,' Carte sketches his plan for his other voluminous work, 'The History of England.' He complains that Rapin had had no knowledge of the documentary sources of English history beyond those published in Rymer's 'Foedera;' that the Cottonian MSS., the rolls of parliament, and the contents of the Paper Office had been quite neglected by him, and that therefore there was room for a history founded on the study of these. In the midst of his work at this history he had to take action against some Dublin booksellers who were pirating his 'Life of Ormonde.' He found that the only way he had of defeating them was to serve upon them an order of the House of Lords, which had been passed in 1721 in regard to Curll's printing the 'Life and Works of the Duke of Buckingham,' declaring it a breach of the privileges of the house for any one to print an account of the life, the letters, or other works of a deceased peer without the consent of his heirs or executors. This served Carte's immediate purpose, but he exerted himself to obtain a new act of parliament securing an author a property in his works, and in 1737 published 'Further Reasons addressed to Parliament for rendering more effectual an Act of Queen Anne relating to Vesting in Authors the Rights



of Copies, for the Encouragement of Learning. By R. H.' The encouragement that Carte received in preparing his History was extraordinary. In October 1738 he says, in a letter to Dr. Zachary Grey, that he already had 600*l.* a year promised for seven years; that he hoped fifteen Oxford colleges would subscribe (apparently only five did so, see the dedication of vol. i.), and that then he shall try Cambridge. He had, in April of that year (1738), published 'A General Account of the Necessary Material for a History of England, the Society and Subscriptions proposed for the Expenses thereof, and the Method wherein Mr. Carte intends to proceed in carrying on the said Work,' 4*to*. Later in the same year he went to Cambridge to seek for materials and help. Cambridge is not mentioned in his dedication, and therefore he probably got nothing there of material aid. He was the guest of Sir John Hynde Cotton at Madingley, whose great collection of pamphlets of the period of the great rebellion he reduced to order, and had bound in volumes. The next six years (1738-44) were almost incessantly employed in pushing on his work, much of which he carried on in Paris, where he diligently searched the royal archives, then under the care of the Abbé Sullier. This work was varied as usual with controversy. In 1741-2 he wrote a thick pamphlet of 214 pages, 8*vo*, in answer to 'A Letter of a Bystander to a Member of Parliament,' which he called 'A Full Answer to a Letter of a Bystander, wherein his False Calculations and Misrepresentations of Facts in the Time of Charles II are refuted. By R. A., Esq.' This was answered again by a 'Gentleman of Cambridge' in a 'Letter to Mr. Thomas Carte,' London, 1744, in which the writer says: 'You were so rash as to appear yourself publicly in the support of it at an eminent coffee-house; you there declared you were Mr. Carte, the author of the "Full Answer to the Bystander," and that you came there on purpose to vindicate it from any observations. You know what followed. You were driven thence with a birchen rod, and abandoned the place with shame and confusion.' The 'birchen rod' refers to arguments of Dr. Thomas Birch, who, among his many books, had written on Charles I and Ireland in opposition to Carte. Carte replied again in 'A Full and Clear Vindication of A Full Answer to a Letter from a Bystander.' The year 1744 was again a period of some trouble to Carte. In March he had a lawsuit with his brother Samuel and sister Sarah about a clause in his father's will which removed him from his executorship and inheritance in case he were troubled by the

government. He, however, won his cause (ATKINS, *Reports*, iii. 174). Shortly afterwards, upon an alarm of a French invasion to support a Jacobite rising, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and Carte was arrested. He was not long retained in custody, being released on 9 May, 'confined,' he said, 'for he knew not what, and released he knew not why.' His subscriptions, however, went on. In July the common council of London voted him 50*l.* for seven years, for which, according to Horace Walpole, who ridicules the proceeding, four aldermen and six common-councilmen were to inspect his materials and the progress of his work (*Letters to Sir H. Mann*, i. 381). In October the Goldsmiths', Grocers', and Vintners' Companies gave 25*l.* each for seven years. In August (1744) he printed 'A Collection of the several Papers published by Thomas Carte, in relation to his History of England,' 8*vo*. In 1746 he issued proposals for printing his History; and the first volume appeared in December 1747. It was not prepossessing in point of style; but it was so great an advance on previous histories, in the extent of the original material used and quoted, that it would have commanded success but for an unlucky note, inserted at p. 291, on a passage concerning the unction of our kings at their coronation. In this note (which his friends vainly pleaded was not by his hand), he asserted his belief in the cure of the king's evil in the case of a man named Christopher Lovel of Bristol, by the touch of the Pretender, or, as he called him, 'the eldest lineal descendant of a race of kings who had, indeed, for a long succession of ages cured that disease by the royal touch.' The cure was said to have been effected at Avignon in November 1716. This raised a storm among the anti-Jacobite party. Carte was attacked in several pamphlets, and a writer in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (1748, p. 13) professed to have investigated the case and found it, of course, entirely false. The man had been temporarily cured by the change of air and regimen, but had suffered a relapse on his return and died when on a second voyage. The practical result to Carte was the withdrawal of the grant from the common council of London by a unanimous vote on 7 April 1748 (*Gent. Mag.* 1748, p. 185), and an immediate neglect of his work. In spite of such discouragement he persisted in his enterprise, and the next two volumes appeared in 1750 and 1752, and a fourth in 1755, after his death. Carte died of diabetes on 2 April 1754, at Caldecott House, near Abingdon, and was buried in the church of Yattendon, near Newbury, on 11 April. He was a man of mean appearance, but of cheer-



ful and social disposition. He worked with indefatigable industry from early morning until evening. His historical collections were left to his wife, a daughter of Colonel Arthur Brett, who, in turn, left them to her second husband, Nicholas Jernegan, for his life, and afterwards to the Bodleian. Jernegan, after receiving large sums for the use of them, among others as much as 200*l.* from Lord Hardwick, and 300*l.* from Macpherson, who used them for his 'History' and 'State Papers' (1775), finally disposed of them to the Bodleian for a good price, during his lifetime, at some period subsequent to 1775. Besides the works mentioned above, Carte published: 1. 'Preface to a Translation, by Mrs. Thomson, of the History of the Calamities of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England,' by Michael Baudier, 1736. 2. 'Advice of a Mother to her Son and Daughter.' Translated from the French of the Marchioness de Lambert. 3. 'The History of the Revolutions of Portugal from the foundation of that kingdom to the year 1567; with letters of Sir Robert Southwell during his embassy there to the Duke of Ormonde, 1740. 4. 'Preface to Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, Normands et François, conservés dans les Archives de la Tour de Londres,' fol. 1743. This preface, according to Lowndes, was afterwards cancelled by order of the French government. A new edition of his History was published at Oxford in 1851, 6 vols. 8vo.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 471-518, and elsewhere; Nichols's Illustrations of Lit. Hist. v. 152-66; Gent. Mag. 1748; Biographia Britannica, ed. Kippis; Hearne's Remains, ii. 154, ed. 1869.] E. S. S.

**CARTER, EDMUND** (*n.* 1753), topographer, was a poor disabled writing-master, who, while keeping school by St. Botolph's Church in Cambridge, conceived the design of compiling a history of the university and county, an undertaking for which he was by no means qualified. Among others whom he applied to for aid was William Cole, who treated his humble labours with contempt; but afterwards he was greatly assisted by the Rev. Robert Smyth, rector of Woodstone, near Peterborough, and occasionally by Dr. Newcome, master of St. John's College, Cambridge, who communicated some of Baker's manuscripts, and by the Rev. Robert Masters, to whom Carter used to send the whole budget of his correspondence. Carter, 'having a small family and a bad wife,' was forced to desert his school at Cambridge, and settled for some time during the compilation of his histories at Ware in Hertfordshire, whence he removed to Chelsea, where he taught a

school as he had done at Ware. The date and place of his death are not known; his widow died in Enfield workhouse on 15 Sept. 1788 (*Gent. Mag.* lviii. ii. 841).

Carter was the author of: 1. 'The History of the County of Cambridge from the Earliest Account to the Present Time,' 8vo, Cambridge, 1753 (reprinted and brought down to date by William Upcott, 8vo, London, 1819). Although badly arranged and full of errors, the book is not altogether destitute of interest. Under each parish are the particulars of the ravages committed in the churches by the wretched fanatic William Dowsing and his rabble soldiery, appointed, under a warrant from the Earl of Manchester in 1643, to destroy and abolish all the remains of popish superstition in them, a task which they performed very effectually. 2. 'The History of the University of Cambridge from its Original to the year 1753,' 8vo, London, 1753. In the British Museum is a copy filled with additions and corrections as for a second edition in the author's beautiful handwriting.

[Manuscript notes by Craven Ord and Dr. R. Farmer in copies of Carter's Hist. Univ. Camb. in Brit. Mus.; Gough's British Topography, i. 193, 218; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 694, v. 47, 48, vi. 112, 201.] G. G.

**CARTER, ELIZABETH** (1717-1806), poet and miscellaneous writer, was born at Deal in Kent on 16 Dec. 1717. She was the eldest daughter of the Rev. Nicholas Carter, D.D., perpetual curate of Deal Chapel, and one of the six preachers at Canterbury Cathedral, by his first wife, Margaret, only daughter and heiress of Richard Swayne of Bere Regis, Dorsetshire. Her mother lost her fortune, which had been invested in the South Sea stocks, and died of a decline when Elizabeth was about ten years old. Her education was undertaken by her father, who was a good Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar. So slow at first was she in learning the dead languages that, weary of teaching her, he frequently entreated her to give up the attempt. By incessant application, however, she overcame her natural incapacity for learning. She read both late at night and early in the morning, taking snuff, chewing green tea, and using other means to keep herself awake. By this vigorous course of study she injured her health, and as a consequence suffered from frequent and severe headaches for the rest of her life. Beginning with Latin and Greek, she afterwards learnt Hebrew, French, Italian, Spanish, and German; later in life she taught herself Portuguese and Arabic. She took a great interest in astronomy, ancient and modern history, and ancient geography, played both the spinnet

and German flute, and worked with her needle to the last days of her life. That she was a good housewife we have the authority of Dr. Johnson. It is related in Boswell (v. 229) that the Doctor, on hearing a lady commended for her learning, said, 'A man is in general better pleased when he has a good dinner on his table than when his wife talks Greek.' 'My old friend, Mrs. Carter,' he added, 'could make a pudding as well as translate Epictetus from the Greek, and work a handkerchief as well as compose a poem.' Before she was seventeen she commenced writing verses, and the riddle which appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for November 1734 (p. 623) is probably her first published piece. She continued to contribute to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for some years, her contributions generally appearing under the name of 'Eliza.' In 1738 'Poems upon particular Occasions' (London, 4to), a small pamphlet of twenty-four pages containing a collection of eight of her poems, was published by Cave, the originator of the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and a friend of her father's. This pamphlet, which is now rare, bears the name neither of author nor publisher, but contains a cut of St. John's Gate on the title-page. It was through Cave that Mrs. Carter was introduced to Dr. Johnson, who, being of opinion that 'she ought to be celebrated in as many different languages as Lewis le Grand' (Boswell, i. 93), wrote a Greek epigram to Eliza, which appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for April 1738 (p. 210). The friendship thus commenced lasted nearly fifty years, until Johnson's death in 1784. She contributed two articles to the 'Rambler,' No. 44 being on 'Religion and Superstition,' and No. 100 on 'Modish Pleasures.' In 1739 she published her anonymous translation of 'Examen de l'essay de Monsieur Pope sur l'homme,' by Jean Pierre de Crousaz. This translation, which had for its title 'An Examination of Mr. Pope's Essay on Man, translated from the French of M. Crousaz' (A. Dodd, London, 12mo), was erroneously attributed to Dr. Johnson (Boswell, i. 107). In the same year appeared her anonymous translation of Francesco Algarotti's 'Newtonianismo per le dame,' under the title of 'Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy Explained for the use of the Ladies. In Six Dialogues on Light and Colour. From the Italian of Sig. Algarotti' (2 vols. London, Cave, 12mo). Both these translations have become very scarce; and though Mrs. Carter never willingly referred to them in after life, they were undoubtedly useful to her in making her known to her contemporaries. In 1741 she became acquainted with Miss

Catherine Talbot, granddaughter of Dr. William Talbot, bishop of Durham, which led to an introduction to Dr. Secker, then bishop of Oxford, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, with whom Miss Talbot resided. It was at the request of these friends that Mrs. Carter undertook the translation of Epictetus. This was commenced in the summer of 1749, but was not finished until December 1752. The translation was not originally intended for publication, and was sent in sheets as it was written to Miss Talbot. At the suggestion of the bishop, Mrs. Carter added an introduction and notes to the manuscript, and in April 1753, at the request of her friends, it was published by guinea subscription. The subscription was so successful that 1018 copies were struck off at once, and 250 more were printed afterwards, the result of the publication being a gain to Mrs. Carter of nearly 1,000*l*. The title of the first edition was 'All the Works of Epictetus which are now extant, &c.' (London 4to). The fourth edition, which was published after her death, contains the last alterations of the translator taken from her manuscript notes, and has a slightly altered title. In 1762 she published her 'Poems on several Occasions' (London, 8vo), which she dedicated to William Pulteney, earl of Bath, and prefaced with some highly panegyric verses by Lord Lyttelton. In this collection only two of the poems which appeared in the former volume, viz. 'In Diem Natalem' and the 'Ode of Anacreon,' are to be found. A second edition was published in 1766, and a third in 1776, the latter edition containing seven additional poems. A fourth edition was published in Dublin in 1777, and in London in 1789. In the second volume of Pennington's 'Memoirs' the two collections of poems are printed, together with eight other pieces which had not been published before. During the summer months of 1763 Mrs. Carter, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Montagu and Lord Bath, visited France, Germany, and Holland, an interesting account of the trip being given in her letters to Miss Talbot. In the following year she lost her friend Lord Bath, in 1768 her old patron Archbishop Secker, and in 1770 her correspondent Miss Talbot. On 23 Oct. 1774 her father died. Mrs. Carter had passed the greater part of her life with him, and for the last twelve years of his life had lived with him in a house at Deal, which she had purchased. In October 1782, at the request of Sir William Pulteney, who, out of regard for Lord Bath's old friend, had settled an annuity of 150*l*. a year upon her, she accompanied Miss Pulteney to Paris. This was her last visit

to the continent, she being then sixty-five years of age, and no longer very active. For several years afterwards, however, she travelled through various parts of England with her friend Miss Sharpe. In 1791 Mrs. Carter was introduced to Queen Charlotte at Lord Cremorne's house at Chelsea. In 1796 a certain Count de Bedée, a stranger to Mrs. Carter, published 'Twelve Poems translated into French; Six in Prose and Six in Verse, selected from the works of Miss Eliza Carter, intitled Poems on several Occasions' (London, 8vo). About nine years before her death she was attacked by an illness from which she never entirely recovered. In the summer of 1805, though her mental faculties remained unimpaired, her bodily weakness increased very much. In accordance with her annual custom, she went up to London for the winter, and on 19 Feb. 1806 died in her lodgings in Clarges Street, Piccadilly, in the eighty-eighth year of her age. She was buried in the burial-ground belonging to Grosvenor Chapel; and a monument was erected to her memory in Deal Chapel. She was never married. In 1807 her nephew and executor, Montagu Pennington, published her memoirs, in which were included the new edition of her poems before alluded to, some miscellaneous essays in prose, together with her 'Notes on the Bible,' and 'Answers to Objections concerning the Christian Religion.' In 1809 'A Series of Letters between Mrs. Elizabeth Carter and Miss Catharine Talbot from the year 1741 to 1770, to which are added Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Vesey between the years 1763 and 1787' (London, 8vo, 4 vols.), appeared, and in 1817 'Letters from Mrs. Elizabeth Carter to Mrs. Montagu, between the years 1755 and 1800, chiefly upon Literary and Moral Subjects' (London, 8vo, 3 vols.)

Mrs. Carter was more celebrated for the solidity of her learning than for any brilliant intellectual qualities; and it is as a Greek scholar and the translator of Epictetus that she is now best remembered. She used to relate with pleasure that Dr. Johnson had said, speaking of some celebrated scholar, that 'he understood Greek better than any one he had ever known, except Elizabeth Carter.' Her poems have ceased to be read and are not of very high order, the 'Dialogue between the Body and the Mind' being perhaps the most successful. Her letters display considerable vigour of thought, and now and then a transient flash of humour. Though by no means a woman of the world, she possessed a large amount of good sense, and, though more learned than her fellows, was a thoroughly sociable and amiable woman.

Her acquaintance with Mrs. Montagu commenced at a very early period of their lives, and on the death of her husband in 1775 Mrs. Montagu settled an annuity of 100*l.* upon her friend. Among Mrs. Carter's other friends and correspondents were Burke, Reynolds, Richardson (who introduced her 'Ode to Wisdom' into his 'Clarissa'), Savage, Horace Walpole, Bishops Butler and Porteus, Dr. Beattie, Hannah More, and most of the other literary characters of the time. Several portraits were taken of her by different artists; an engraving from a cameo by Joachim Smith will be found in the first volume of the 'Memoirs' (i. 501 note), and the National Portrait Gallery has a pleasing crayon drawing by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

[Pennington's *Memoirs of the Life of Mrs. Elizabeth Carter* (2nd ed. 1808); Gausson's *A Woman of Wit and Wisdom*, 1906; Sir E. Brydges's *Censura Literaria* (1815), vii. 176-201, viii. 190-200, x. 277-95; Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vols. v. and viii.; Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Croker, 1831); Chalmers's *Biog. Dict.* (1813), viii. 301-5; *Gent. Mag.* 1806, vol. lxxvi. pt. i. pp. 190-1; *Encyclopædia Britannica* (9th ed.), v. 141; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*] G. F. R. B.

CARTER, ELLEN (1762-1815), artist and book illustrator, was the daughter of Walter Vavasour of Weston in Yorkshire, and Ellen his wife, daughter of Edward Elmsall of Thornhill in the same county. She was born in 1762, and baptised at St. Olave's Church, York, on 16 May of that year. At an early age, though a protestant, she was placed in a convent at Rouen, with which her family had been connected for some generations. Though strongly affected by the surrounding influence of the Roman catholic religion, she never actually forsook her own religion, and after her return to her native country became well known for her piety and devotion to her church. In November 1787 she was married at Thornhill to the Rev. John Carter, then curate of that place, afterwards head-master of Lincoln grammar school, and incumbent of St. Swithin's in the same city. Mrs. Carter was devoted to artistic pursuits, and particularly excelled in drawing the human figure. She drew illustrations for the 'Archæologia,' the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and other similar works. A print was published from a design by her, entitled 'The Gardener's Girl,' intended as a companion to Thomas Barker's 'Wood-boy.' Her drawings are frequently met with in private collections. Her devotion to her art told on a constitution that was never strong, and the untimely death of her eldest son in the Peninsula gave her a shock from

which she never recovered. She died on 22 Sept. 1815, and was buried in the churchyard of St. Peter's in the East Gate, Lincoln.

[Gent. Mag. 1815, lxxxv. 374; Redgrave's Dict. of English Artists; Foster's Yorkshire Pedigrees; information from Rev. A. R. Madison.] L. C.

**CARTER, FRANCIS** (d. 1783), traveller, made a journey through Moorish Spain in 1772. In 1777 he published, in two volumes, 'A Journey from Gibraltar to Malaga, with a view of that Garrison and its Environs, a particular account of the Towns in the Hoya of Malaga, the antient and natural History of these Cities, of the Coast between them, and of the Mountains of Ronda. Illustrated with medals of each municipal town and a chart; perspective and drawings taken in the year 1772.' Richard Gough, writing under date '6 March 1776,' says that 'Arabia Jones' (i.e. Sir William Jones) corrected the proof-sheets of the book. The plates were sold in a separate volume; but the work was reissued in 1778 in two volumes, with the plates inserted. Carter was well known as a collector of Spanish coins and Spanish books. Many of the former he purchased from the collection of Flores, the well-known medalist. He was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries on 1 May 1777, and soon afterwards began an elaborate 'historical and critical account of early printed Spanish books.' His plan embraced a full history of Spanish literature, nearly the whole of which was represented in his own library. He completed the work in manuscript, and printed the first sheet, but died immediately afterwards at Woodbridge, Suffolk, on 1 Aug. 1783. A friend, 'Eugenio,' contributed to the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for October of the same year (pp. 843-5) a specimen of this undertaking, with the promise of a continuation, which was not fulfilled. A letter from Carter, giving anecdotes of Dr. William Battie [q. v.], is printed in Nichols's 'Anecdotes,' iv. 607.

[Gent. Mag. 1783, pt. ii. 716, 843; Nichols's Lit. Anecdotes, iii. 237-8, iv. 607, viii. 618.] S. L.

**CARTER, GEORGE** (1737-1794), painter, was born at Colchester, and baptised on 10 April 1737 at St. James's Church in that town. He is described in the register as son of George and Elizabeth Carter. He received his early education at the local free school, and first came to London as a servant. He then became shopman to a mercer of the name of King, and subsequently entered into partnership in the same trade in Chandos

Street, Covent Garden. This business proving a failure, he devoted himself to painting, and sent several pictures to the exhibitions. Having gained the interest and assistance of other artists, he started on a course of foreign travel, eventually settling down at Rome to study and form his style. In 1778 he returned to London and set up as an 'historical portrait painter.' He exhibited numerous pictures on various subjects at the exhibitions up to a few years before his death. They do not seem to have found purchasers or suited the taste of the public, for in 1785 Carter opened an exhibition in Pall Mall of a collection of his own pictures, thirty-five in number; these he described in a catalogue in very extravagant terms, which excited great hostility from his critics and much derision from the public. He stated that they were all painted without commission and for the most exalted motives, and that either the whole or any part of the collection was at the disposal of any intending purchaser. Though grandiose in conception, and of varying excellence of execution, his pictures do not seem to merit the lack of approbation which was their lot. Like many others of the same date and school their memory is preserved by the first-class engravers of that period, most of them being engraved at the artist's own expense. Among the best known of his works are: 'The Fisherman going out' and 'The Fisherman's Return,' both exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1773, and engraved in mezzotint by John Jones; 'A Wounded Hussar on the Field of Battle,' exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1775, and engraved in mezzotint by Valentine Green; 'Industry' and 'Indolence,' both engraved in mezzotint by John Jones; 'The Apotheosis of Garrick,' with portraits of contemporary actors, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1790, and engraved in 1783 by S. Smith and J. Caldwell; 'The Death of Sir Philip Sidney,' engraved in mezzotint by John Jones; 'The Death of Captain Cook,' intended as a pendant to West's 'Death of General Wolfe,' and engraved by Hall, Thornthwaite, and J. R. Smith; 'Two Children begging,' exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1774, and engraved in mezzotint by J. R. Smith; 'The Adoration of the Shepherds,' brought by the artist from Rome in 1778, exhibited at the Royal Academy, and presented by the artist to his native church of St. James at Colchester, where it still hangs. He also painted among many others some scenes from Sterne's 'Sentimental Journey,' some views of 'Gibraltar,' two scenes from Shenstone's 'Schoolmistress,' and numerous portraits. Late in life he retired to

Hendon, and in 1791 published 'A Narrative of the Loss of the Grosvenor, East Indianman,' with plates. He died at Hendon in 1794, and was buried there on 19 Sept. in that year.

[Redgrave's Dict. of English Artists; Edwards's Anecdotes of Painters; Heineken's Dictionnaire des Artistes, vol. iii.; Fiorillo's Geschichte der Malerey in Gross-Britannien; Catalogues of the Royal Academy and other Exhibitions; Morant's History and Antiquities of Colchester; Registers of St. James's Church, Colchester, and of Hendon Church; Brit. Mus. Cat. of Printed Books.]

L. C.

**CARTER, HARRY WILLIAM** (1787-1863), physician, was born at Canterbury on 7 Sept. 1787, being the son of William Carter, M.D., formerly fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. After education at the King's School, Canterbury, he went to Oriel College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. 1807, M.A. 1810, M.B. 1811. In 1812 he was elected a Radcliffe travelling fellow, and spent several years afterwards on the continent. He became fellow of the London College of Physicians in 1825. He settled at Canterbury, was appointed physician to the Kent and Canterbury Hospital in 1819, and retired from practice in 1835, after this date residing at Kennington Hall, near Ashford, where he died on 16 July 1863.

In 1821 Carter published 'A Short Account of some of the Principal Hospitals of France, Italy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, with remarks on the Climate and Diseases of these Countries.' He also contributed some essays to the 'Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine.'

[Munk's Coll. of Phys. 1878, iii. 301.]

G. T. B.

**CARTER, HENRY**, otherwise **FRANK LESLIE** (1821-1880), son of Joseph Carter, glove manufacturer, was born at Ipswich in 1821. He passed his boyhood in his father's factory to learn the glove-making business, and that he might perfect himself in it was sent to London at seventeen years of age to the care of an uncle who had an extensive drapery establishment. Both at Ipswich and in London he indulged in a taste for drawing, sketching, and engraving, particularly on wood, and to escape the reproaches of his father and uncle, who had destined him for trade, he concealed his identity by the use of the name 'Frank Leslie.' In his twentieth year he began to practise art as his only pursuit in life. At this time also he married, the issue of the marriage being three sons; this union was, however, unfortunate from the commencement, and after nearly twenty years'

continuance ended in a separation in 1860. In his career as an artist he first entered the establishment of the 'Illustrated London News,' whose engraving department was entrusted to his charge, and here he mastered the details relating to an illustrated paper. He emigrated to New York in 1848, and shortly after his arrival had his name, Henry Carter, changed into 'Frank Leslie' by a special act of the legislature. His first connection in America was with 'Gleason's Pictorial,' but in 1854, having accumulated a small capital, he began publishing on his own account. He commenced with the 'Gazette of Fashion,' which was soon afterwards followed by the 'New York Journal.' He purchased the 'Journal' for a low figure, and then by skilful management made it a paying property. The work, however, with which his name is more intimately associated in the public mind is 'Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,' the first number of which was issued on 14 Dec. 1855. In this periodical he produced illustrations of current history, together with pictures copied from European journals. He invented for his establishment a new system of engraving large pictures. Finding that the constant work of an engraver was required for two weeks to produce a double-page illustration, he had the wood block cut into thirty-two squares and employed an engraver for each square. By this means the work was done in twenty-four hours, and the success of this method was at once so clearly apparent that it has long been generally adopted by the proprietors of illustrated newspapers. In 1865 he started the 'Chimney Corner,' the editing of which he entrusted to his second wife. He married her after the separation from the first had been legally effected, she also having been divorced from her husband, Ephraim George Squier, the archæologist. To her he assigned likewise the editing of the 'Lady's Magazine,' a continuation and enlargement of the 'Gazette of Fashion.' To these he then added in rapid succession the 'Boys' and Girls' Weekly,' 'Pleasant Hours,' the 'Lady's Journal,' edited also by Mrs. Leslie, the 'Popular Monthly,' the 'Sunday Magazine,' the 'Budget of Wit and Chatterbox,' and 'Die illustrierte Zeitung.' From these various publications, which proved generally profitable, he gathered a great deal of money. From the 'Chimney Corner' alone he is said to have cleared in one year 50,000 dollars. The war between the North and South was to him a field of most abundant harvest, the circulation of his papers, chiefly those that were illustrated, having during that period very greatly increased. He spent the money

which poured into his office with great liberality. He owned a magnificent residence about midway between Saratoga and Lonely Lake, surrounded by an estate of six hundred acres. Here he extended his hospitality to his numerous friends and fairly squandered his money, and the result was inevitable. In September 1877 he saw ruin staring him in the face. His property had to be surrendered into the hands of a receiver, he himself being retained as general manager of the publishing business, with an allowance of twenty per cent. of the profits for his own use. One of his heaviest trade losses was on the publication of the 'Historical Register of the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876,' a valuable work, but far from a commercial success. In April 1879, by some judicial proceedings, he was enabled to recover a large portion of his business. The American Institution of New York awarded him the medal for wood-engraving in 1848; the state of New York appointed him her commissioner for the fine arts department in the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and again in 1876; the state of New York named him commissioner to the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia, where his brother commissioners from the other states elected him their president. His employes for some time numbered upwards of three hundred, and the money paid for their work exceeded 6,000 dollars weekly. He was beloved by them all, as the manner in which he treated them was always remarkably kind, and whenever occasion offered most discriminating and generous. He died of cancer at his residence, Fifth Avenue, New York, on 10 Jan. 1880. Other works brought out by him and not previously mentioned were: 'F. Leslie's Pictorial History of the American Civil War,' edited by E. G. Squier, 1862; 'F. Leslie's Illustrated Almanack and Repository, 1866;' 'The Paris Exposition, Report on Fine Arts, by F. Leslie,' 1868; and 'California: a Pleasant Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate,' written by his wife, M. Florence Leslie, in 1877.

[New York Times, 11 Jan. 1880; Appleton's Annual Cyclopædia, 1880, pp. 427-9.]

G. C. B.

CARTER, JAMES (1798-1855), engraver, was born in the parish of Shoreditch in 1798, and in his youth gained the silver medal of the Society of Arts for drawing. He was first articled to Mr. Tyrrel, an architectural engraver, but later on abandoned this class of engraving for landscapes and figures. In this style he attained great proficiency, although he does not appear to have had any instruc-

tion after he quitted Mr. Tyrrel. From 1830 to 1840 he was employed largely on engravings for the annuals, especially Jennings's 'Landscape Annual,' for which he executed several plates after Samuel Prout, David Roberts, and James Holland. He was also employed by Weale, the fine art publisher, in numerous architectural works. When the engravings from the Vernon Gallery appeared in the 'Art Journal,' Carter was entrusted with the task of engraving 'The Village Festival,' painted by Goodall. This was followed in the same series by engravings from 'The Angler's Nook,' painted by Nasmyth, and 'Hadrian's Villa,' painted by Richard Wilson; these works gave so much satisfaction, that Mr. E. M. Ward specially requested that he should be employed to engrave his picture of 'The South Sea Bubble,' and subsequently employed him on his own behalf to engrave his picture of 'Benjamin West's First Essay in Art.' This plate he completed but a short time before his death, which occurred at the end of August 1855, probably hastened by his devotion to his work. Like many workers in the same profession, Carter found it very unremunerative, and made no provision for a numerous family. Besides the engravings already mentioned, he engraved among others a plate from his own design of 'Cromwell dictating to Milton the Despatch on behalf of the Waldenses' and a portrait of Sir Marc Isambard Brunel, after Samuel Drummond.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of the English School; Le Blanc's Manuel de l'Amateur d'Estampes; Art Journal, 1855.] L. C.

CARTER, JOHN, the elder (1554-1635), divine, born at Wickham, Kent, in 1554, was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, under Dr. Thomas Byng [q. v.], through the generosity of a Mr. Rose of Canterbury. After taking his degree Dr. Byng offered Carter rooms in his own house to enable him to continue his studies, and he thus became intimate with Dr. Chaderton [q. v.], Lancelot Andrewes [q. v.], and Nathaniel Culverwel [q. v.]. In 1583 he became vicar of Bramford, Suffolk, and performed his pastoral duties with great zeal. His avowal of puritanism raised up enemies in his parish, and after many disputes with his bishop he was removed to the rectory of Belstead, also in Suffolk, in 1617. He died on 21 Feb. 1634-5. Samuel Carter of Ipswich preached the funeral sermon. His son, John Carter the younger [q. v.], drew up an anecdotal life of his father, which attests Carter's piety, good-humour, and wit. It was first published in 1653 under the title of 'The Tombstone, or a Broken and Imperfect

Monument of that worthy Man, Mr. John Carter,' London, with dedications to 'the Lady Frances Hobarte,' and others. It was republished in Samuel Clarke's 'Collection of the Lives of Ten Eminent Divines' in 1662.

A fine portrait, engraved by Robert Vaughan, is prefixed to each edition of the life. Carter was the author of 'A Plaine and Compendious Exposition of Christ's Sermon on the Mount,' London, 1627, and of an unpublished petition to James I for the removal of burdensome ceremonies.

[Davy's *Athenæ Suffol.* i. 327, in *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 19165; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*; Clarke's *Lives*; Carter's *Tombstone*, as above.] S. L.

CARTER, JOHN, the younger (*d.* 1655), divine, son of John Carter the elder [q. v.], born in his father's parish of Bramford, was admitted to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1596, proceeded B.A. 1599, and M.A. 1603. He was chosen by the parishioners curate or assistant minister of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, in 1631; was appointed one of the four lecturers in 1633 to preach the Tuesday lectures at St. Peter's according to the order of the assembly; and in 1638 became parish chaplain or head minister, which post he retained for nearly fifteen years. In three sermons, preached before the Norwich corporation, in celebration of the guild festivals of 1644, 1647, and 1650 (see *The Nail and the Wheel*, 1647; *A rare sight, or the Lyon*, 1650), he vehemently attacked the magistrates for their weak-kneed devotion to presbyterianism. The violence of his language and his fanatical denunciations of monarchy caused his removal from the ministry, and at the close of 1653 he calls himself 'preacher of the Gospel, and as yet sojourning in the city of Norwich.' He was afterwards minister of St. Lawrence, Norwich, and died in that city on 10 Dec. 1655. John Collings, B.D., preached the funeral sermon on 14 Dec. Carter wrote the memoir of his father entitled 'The Tombstone' in 1653.

[Davy's *Athenæ Suffol.* i. 393, in *Brit. Mus. Addit. MS.* 19165; Masters's *Hist. of C. C. Camb.* p. 264; Blomefield's *Norfolk*, iv. 188-9; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*] S. L.

CARTER, JOHN (1748-1817), draughtsman and architect, the son of Benjamin Carter, a marble-carver established in Piccadilly, was born on 22 June 1748. At an early age he was sent to a boarding-school at Battersea, and afterwards to one in Kennington Lane, and at this period, according to one of his biographers, 'his genius began

to unfold itself in practising musick on the English flute, and making attempts at drawing.' Carter had always a love for music, and mention is made of two operas named 'The White Rose' and 'The Call of St. Oswald,' 'which he not only wrote [apparently for private theatricals], but set to musick, and painted the scenery adapted to them,' exhibiting them 'upon a small stage.' Leaving school when only about twelve, he went home to his father, 'under whose roof he prosecuted the art of design, making working drawings for the men.' About 1764 (his father having died), Carter was taken into the office of a Mr. Joseph Dixon, surveyor and mason, with whom he remained for some years. In 1774 he was employed to execute drawings for the 'Builder's Magazine,' a periodical edited by Newbery of St. Paul's Churchyard, and for this he continued to draw until 1786. In one of its numbers he published a design for a sessions house, which was afterwards copied by some unscrupulous person, who sent it in as his own original design, on the occasion of a competition for the building of a sessions house on Clerkenwell Green. This copied drawing was successful, and the building was erected in accordance with it, while a new design which Carter himself sent in for the competition was rejected by the judges. In 1780, on the recommendation of the Rev. Dr. Lort, Carter was employed by the Society of Antiquaries to do some drawing and etching. He was elected a fellow of the society in March 1795, and worked much for it as its draughtsman. In 1780 he had drawn for Richard Gough, afterwards his great patron, the west front of Croyland Abbey Church, and many other subjects, which were inserted in Gough's 'Sepulchral Monuments' and in his other works. Gough, in the preface to his 'History of Croyland Abbey' (1783), and in the preface to his 'Sepulchral Monuments' (1786), speaks highly of Carter's abilities. In 1781, and later, Carter also met with other patrons and friends, among whom were John Soane, the architect, the Rev. Dr. John Milner, Sir Henry Charles Englefield, William Bray, F.S.A., Sir Richard Colt Hoare, the Earl of Exeter, and Horace Walpole. His first important published work was his 'Specimens of Ancient Sculpture and Painting,' published in parts (folio size) from 1780 till 1794. The engraved title-page of vol. i. is 'Specimens of the Antient Sculpture and Painting now remaining in this Kingdom, from the earliest period to the reign of Henry ye VIII., consisting of Statues, Bassorelieves . . . Paintings on Glass and on Walls. . . . A description of each subject, some of which

by Gentlemen of Literary [*sic*] abilities, and well versed in the Antiquities of this Kingdom, whose names are prefixed to their Essays. . . . The Drawings made from the original Subjects, and engrav'd by John Carter, Nov. 1st, 1780.' The dedication of this volume is to Horace Walpole, the patron of the book, and is dated November 1786. Vol. ii. is dedicated to the Earl of Exeter, and its title-page is dated 1787; a postscript to the whole work is dated 'London, May 1794' (a new edition, with index, appeared in 1838, 2 vols. in one, folio). In his introduction to the 'Specimens' Carter states that, 'having explored at different times various parts of England for the purpose of taking sketches and drawings of the remains of ancient sculpture and painting, his aim is to perpetuate such as he has been so fortunate as to meet with by engraving them.' While the 'Specimens' was in progress, Carter also published 'Views of Ancient Buildings in England' (drawn and engraved by himself), 6 vols. London, 1786-93, 16mo (republished as 'Specimens of Gothic Architecture, and Ancient Buildings in England, comprised in 120 views,' 4 vols. London, 1824, 16mo). In 1795 he began another extensive work, 'The Ancient Architecture of England' (1795-1814, folio). Part i. deals with 'The Orders of Architecture during the British, Roman, Saxon, and Norman aeras'; its engraved title-page is dated London, 1795, and its dedication (to H.R.H. the Duke of York) 1806. Part ii., 'The Orders of Architecture during the reigns of Henry III., Edward III., Richard II., Henry VI., Henry VII., and Henry VIII.' was not completed. Its title-page is dated 1807, but the engravings bear dates from 1807 to 1814. A new and enlarged edition of this work was published in 1845 (two parts, folio) by John Britton, who has remarked that 'Carter was the first to point out to the public the right way of delineating the component and detached parts of the old buildings of England. His national work on Ancient Architecture occupied him more than twenty years.' The arrangement of the architectural specimens chronologically was also an important feature in Carter's book, and prepared the way for subsequent writers on the sequence of styles. Between 1795 and 1813 Carter was further engaged in preparing 'plans, elevations, sections, and specimens of the architecture' of various ecclesiastical buildings, which were published at intervals by the Society of Antiquaries, viz., St. Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, 1795, &c.; Exeter Cathedral, 1797, &c.; the abbey church of Bath, 1798; Durham Cathedral, 1801; Gloucester Cathedral, 1809;

St. Albans Abbey, 1813. One other work of Carter's, of considerable importance, remains to be noticed, namely, the series of papers published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' from 1798 to 1817, with the odd title of 'Pursuits of Architectural Innovation.' These papers partly consist of a series of attacks upon his contemporaries, who had been, or were likely to be, concerned in the 'restoration' or destruction of various ancient buildings and monuments. They were simply signed 'An Architect,' but Carter's authorship could not well be concealed. In the first article of the series (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxxviii. pt. ii. 1798, pp. 764-5) he declares that it is necessary that the attention of antiquaries should be directed to 'those remains of our country's antient splendour which may, from time to time, give way to the iron hand of architectural innovation.' It has been remarked by Pugin that Carter's 'enthusiastic zeal' was 'undoubtedly effectual in checking the mutilation of ancient monuments.'

Carter practised little as an architect; a list of some minor works which were carried out from his designs may be found in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1817 (pt. ii. p. 365; cf. *Gent. Mag.* 1818, vol. lxxxvii. pt. i. pp. 273-6). Towards the autumn of 1816 his health began to decline. In the spring of the following year dropsy made its appearance, and he died in Upper Eaton Street, Pimlico, on 8 Sept. 1817, aged 69. He was buried at Hampstead, an inscribed stone to his memory being placed on the south side of the church. His collection of drawings, antiquities, &c., was sold by auction at Sotheby's on 23-5 Feb. 1818, and produced the sum of 1,527*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* It included a series of sketches 'relating to the antiquities of England and South Wales, from the year 1764 to 1816, in 26 volumes,' the outcome of his summer excursions during more than fifty years.

Carter was a bachelor, and is described as being 'reserved' in manner, and 'frugal, even to parsimony.' He was rather irascible in temper, and had the reputation of being a quarrelsome man. He was dogmatic, and obstinate in maintaining his own antiquarian theories—habits of mind partly due perhaps to his very imperfect education. He knew no language but his own, and this want of knowledge also much interfered with his archæological inquiries, though he had the advantage of being assisted in his published works by men more learned than himself, such as Richard Gough and Dr. John Milner. It is also recorded of him, however, that 'as a companion he was blameless' and 'pleasing,' and that 'his integrity was incorruptible.' The statements that Carter was an



Irishman and of the Roman catholic religion (REDGRAVE, *Dict.*; MATHIAS, *Pursuits of Literature* (7th ed.), Dial. iv. l. 297 and note) seem to be erroneous (see *Gent. Mag.* 1818, vol. lxxxviii. pt. i. pp. 273-6). It has also been erroneously stated that there is a memoir of him by the Rev. W. J. Dampier. This refers to John Carter (1815-1850) [q. v.]

[Obituary notices in *Gent. Mag.* for 1817 (pt. ii.), pp. 363-8, and an additional memoir, chiefly extracted from the *New Monthly Mag.*, in *Gent. Mag.* for 1818, vol. lxxxviii. (pt. i.) pp. 273-6. The *Gent. Mag.* contains numerous other references to Carter, for which see its *General Index* (1787-1818), vol. iii., s.v. 'Carter' and 'Architectural Innovation'; Nichols's *Illustrations of Lit. Hist.* (several reff. in index to vol. viii.) and his *Literary Anecdotes* (reff. in the *Indices*); Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists*. For the bibliography compare Lowndes's *Bibliog. Manual*; Allibone's *Dict. Eng. Lit.*; Univ. Cat. of Books on Art (South Kensington Mus.), and the *Brit. Mus. Catalogue*.] W. W.

CARTER, JOHN (1815-1850), a silk-weaver, who, having lost by accident the power of using hands, learned the art of drawing by holding the pencil or brush in his mouth, was born of humble parents at Coggeshall, in the county of Essex, on 31 July 1815. After attending the dame's school and the national school of the village, he was sent in his thirteenth year to an endowed school, where he remained two years. Here he gave some evidence of his remarkable artistic gifts by a tendency to scribble figures on his desk or copybook instead of doing his lessons; but, on account of untoward circumstances, his gifts were not developed further. On leaving school he was apprenticed to a silk-weaver, and after his marriage in 1835 pursued the business on his own account. In May 1836, while climbing a tree in search of birds, he fell forty feet to the ground, receiving such serious injury to the spine as to deprive him of nearly all power of muscular motion below the neck. Having accidentally learned that a young woman who had lost the use of her hands had learned to draw with her mouth, he resolved if possible to turn his artistic gifts to account in a similar way. By dogged perseverance he mastered all the technicalities of drawing without personal instruction, and acquired such proficiency as would have done credit to him even had he possessed the use of his hands. He devoted himself chiefly to line-drawing, and, by holding the pencil or brush between his teeth, was able to produce the most accurate and delicate strokes. With the help of an attendant to supply his materials, he produced

drawings of great beauty and of thorough artistic finish in every detail. On 21 May 1850 the small carriage in which he was drawn was accidentally overturned, and his system received so severe a shock that he never recovered, dying on 4 June following. The Rev. W. J. Dampier, vicar of Coggeshall, published a memoir in 1850 (reissued in 1875). A list of eighty-seven of Carter's drawings is given, with the names of the owners. They include drawings after Albert Dürer, Raphael, Rembrandt, Vandyke, and Landseer. They resemble line-engravings, and, as Mr. Richmond tells the author of the book, the power of imitation is most extraordinary.

[Dampier's *Memoir*; *Life* by F. W. Mills, 1868.] T. F. H.

CARTER, LAWRENCE (1672-1745), judge, was born at Leicester in 1672. His family came originally from Hitchin in Hertfordshire. His father, Lawrence Carter, married Mary, daughter of Thomas Wadland of Newark, Leicester, the solicitor to whom he was articulated; was M.P. for the town in several parliaments of William III (see LUTTRELL, vi. 6, 11, 14), of whom he was a firm supporter, and in 1685 projected and carried out a system of water supply for Leicester. The son became a member of Lincoln's Inn, and on 1 Sept. 1697 was unanimously elected recorder of his native town in succession to Sir Nathan Wright, which office he held till 1729. He represented Leicester in parliament thrice, in 1698, 1701, and 1722, and Beeralston in 1710, 1714, and 1715; but no speeches of his are extant. In 1715 he was counsel for the crown against several of the rebel prisoners, first at Liverpool with Sir Francis Page, king's serjeant, and then at Carlisle on a special commission with Mr. Baron Fortescue. Before leaving town Fortescue was promised a fee of 500*l.*, and as Carter had had the same fee as Page at Liverpool he applied to the treasury for the like treatment with Fortescue at Carlisle. In Dec. 1715 he became solicitor-general to the Prince of Wales, afterwards George II, was appointed serjeant-at-law in 1724, and was made king's serjeant 30 April, and knighted 4 May in the same year. On 16 Oct. 1726 he was raised to the bench of the court of exchequer in succession to Baron Price, and continued in the office till his death. He lived in Redcross Street, Newark, Leicester, in a house built on the site of the collegiate church, which was destroyed at the Reformation. He was highly esteemed in the town, and with his half brother Thomas was a trustee of the Holbech charity. He died 14 March

1745, and was buried in the church of St. Mary de Castro. He was never married, and his estates passed to his half brother Thomas. There is a portrait of him in Thoresby's 'Town of Leicester,' p. 175.

[Foss's Lives of the Judges; Leicester Borough Records; Parl. History, 5, 219; Gent. Mag. xv. 164; Nicholls's Leicestershire, i. 49, ii. 318; Redington's Treasury Papers, 1714, ccvii. No. 6.]

J. A. H.

**CARTER, MATTHEW** (fl. 1660), loyalist, was a gentleman of position and influence in the county of Kent. When the loyal inhabitants of that county rallied round the king's standard in May 1648 in the last desperate attempt to defeat the parliamentarians, Carter was chosen quartermaster-general of all the forces, and in the memorable events that followed bore a conspicuous part. At the surrender of Colchester on the ensuing 27 Aug., after a defence of seventy-six days, he was thrown into prison by the parliament. During his long confinement he wrote an account of the scenes of which he had been an eye-witness, under the title of 'A Most True and Exact Relation of That as Honourable as unfortunate Expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester. By M. C. A Loyall Actor in that Engagement, Anno Dom. 1648. Printed in the Yeere 1650,' 12mo. This valuable tract was seen through the press by the author's friend, 'Sir C. K.,' possibly Sir Charles Kemeyes, bart., of Kevanmably in Glamorganshire. It fearlessly exposes the cruel deeds of Fairfax and his subordinates. An edition was issued at Colchester without a date, but probably about 1770, by the Essex antiquaries, the Revs. Philip Morant and Thomas Luffkin, with cumbrous additions, which do not add to the value of Carter's simple and telling narrative. Of this edition several reprints were published (Gough, *British Topography*, i. 348-9). Carter was also the author of a useful little compilation from the best writers on heraldry, which he called 'Honor Redivivus; or an Analysis of Honor and Armory,' 12mo, London, 1655. It reached a second edition in 1660 (reprinted in 1669), and a third in 1673, and for many years continued to be the most popular text-book with all who studied heraldry. The pretty plates by R. Gaywood are reduced copies of the whole-length figures in Milles's 'Catalogue of Honour' (Moule, *Bibliotheca Heraldica*, pp. 144, 153, 187). Carter died between the appearance of the reprint of the second edition in 1660 and the third edition in 1673.

[Cromwell's History of Colchester, i. ch. iv.; Notes and Queries, 4th ser. xii. 308; 5th ser.

vii. 147; Gent. Mag. lxi. i. 299; Smith's Bibl. Cantiana, pp. 72-3.] G. G.

**CARTER, OLIVER** (1540?-1605), divine, was probably a native of that part of Richmondsire which is in the county of Lancaster. He was admitted a scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, on the Lady Margaret's foundation, in November 1555; he was B.A. 1559-60; fellow, 18 March 1562-3; M.A., 1563; senior fellow, 28 April 1564; and college preacher, 25 April 1565, William Fulke also serving in the same capacity. He was B.D. in 1569. Later in life the title S.T.P. is found attached to his name. His first known promotion was to a preacher's place in the collegiate church of Manchester. This was after June 1571; his appointment as fellow there has been placed too early by Churton and others. His name first appears in the local records on the occasion of the baptism of his child Sarah on 6 Oct. 1573, when he is called 'Mr. Olyver Carter.' Herle, the warden of the college, complaining of the bitter antagonism of the Roman catholic population of the district, described in a letter to Lord Burghley, dated in April 1574, how 'our preacher, who is a bachelor of divinity,' was riding out on 14 March to one of the neighbouring chapels, when he was assaulted and wounded. Carter seems at first to have connived with Herle in making unfavourable grants of the college lands upon long leases and small rents, though soon after he resisted the spoliation. One of these questionable grants was that by which the warden and the fellow-chaplains, September 1575, bestowed the stewardship of the lands and property of the college upon Edmund Trafford, esq. and his heirs; this document, signed by the warden, Carter, and two other fellows, is still preserved among the muniments of the De Trafford family at Trafford Hall. Funds were not always available for the payment of the stipends of the members of the foundation; and it is suggestive to find, with respect to Carter, that it was about this time that he was assisted out of the money provided by the bounty of Robert Nowell. The executors of that benevolent man, one of them his brother, the famous dean of St. Paul's, lent 'to one Mr. Carter, a preacher at Manchester,' 40s., 'to be repayed again the 20th March A° 1575,' i.e. 1575-6. Soon after he borrowed 40s. more, when his entire debt was 4l. On 20 Nov. 1576 there was a further loan of 5l. Carter's introduction to the college occurred at a critical point in its history, being then in so pitiful a condition that it was near dissolution. The warden, said by some to have been a papist, was non-

resident; the fabric of the church was in decay; there had been no election of churchwardens from 1563 to 1571; painted pictures, in spite of the regulations to the contrary, still adorned the walls; and the only plate the church possessed was one broken chalice. Carter bitterly complained to Burghley, with whom he seems to have been intimate, on the condition of the college and parish; but he was unable to bring about any measures of relief until he enlisted the sympathy of Dean Nowell, in whom he found a ready 'compassion for the college, the town, and country,' i.e. county. Carter was already a fellow, and acting apparently as sub-warden, when, in 1576, he was plaintiff in a suit in the Duchy Court against Herle, concerning his unpaid stipend. His great charges in this 'most necessary suit' are alluded to by Dean Nowell (28 Oct. 1576), who, with Carter, was named fellow of the collegiate body by the new charter of 1578. Carter is met with in 1579 as befriending Thomas Sorocold, 'scholar of Manchester,' who afterwards wrote the popular 'Supplications of Saints.' The only book which came from Carter's pen was of a controversial character, being a reply to a work by Dr. Richard Bristow, called 'Motives to the Catholic Faith,' 1574, afterwards issued in 1576 and called 'Demandaunts to be proposed of Catholikes to the Heretickes.' This double title explains Hollinworth's otherwise puzzling statement that Carter 'writ a book in answer to Bristow's "Motives."' The reply came out in 1579, and was entitled 'An Answere made by Oliver Carter, Bachelor of Divinitie, vnto Certaine Popishe Questions and Demawndes' (London, 8vo). It was printed by Thomas Dawson for George Bishop, and was entered on the Stationers' Hall Registers 4 Feb. 1578-9, by Mr. Bishop the younger, warden of the company (ii. 346). It is a very rare book, the only known copies being those in the University Library, Cambridge, and the Chetham Library, Manchester. Dr. White refers to it in his 'Way to the True Church,' 4to, 1624 (§ 13). Fulke also replied to Bristow's work. Carter dedicated his 'Answer' to his very good lord, Henry, earl of Derby, at whose houses in Lancashire in subsequent years he, with other prominent ministers, was a frequent guest or preacher. In 1581, during the wardenship of Bishop Chaderton [q. v.], Carter was conferring with Lord Burghley about the surrender of the college leases granted in Herle's time. The bishop on 1 Sept. 1585 nominated 'Mr. Carter, B.D., and preacher of Manchester,' one of the moderators of the monthly assemblies, called 'Propheesyings,' to meet in

each deanery. In 1590 he instituted an action in the Duchy Court concerning the tithes of his parish. In the same year he set his name to a remarkable paper drawn up by the Lancashire ministers of his neighbourhood, describing what are called the 'enormities' of the ecclesiastical state, enumerating many matters that called for reform; and he signed also a letter to the archbishop of York urging action in the same direction. Both letters, which give a curious picture of old religious customs, are printed in the 'Chetham Miscellanies,' vol. v. On 31 May 1595 it was charged against him, at an inquiry at his church, that being 'the preacher there' he made wills, and was a common solicitor in temporal causes. He was highly shocked that year at the news of the coming of Dr. Dee to be warden; in July Dee notes that he had had a letter from him. On Dee's arrival a very bitter hostility arose between them; Carter would not consent to the use of an organ in the church, which Dee favoured, nor would he agree to the payment of money for Dee's house-rent. Other scandalous quarrels occurred in the chapter-house and the church. In January 1597 Carter was threatening Dee with a prosecution in London. On Sunday, 25 Sept. that year Dee alludes to Carter's 'impudent and evident disobedience' in the church (not 'dissoluteness,' as printed in the Camden Society's edition of the 'Diary').

The circumstances of Carter's death were long remembered in Manchester. 'Hee fell sicke in the pulpit as hee was preaching of God's providing a succession of godly ministers, on Matt. ix. 38; and Mr. William Burne went up immediately into the pulpit, and God assisting him, preached on the same text—a visible and present proofe of Mr. Carter's doctrine.' His health was probably affected by the visit of a pestilence that year, of which there is a suggestive record in the register of burials. He made his will on 22 Feb. 1604-5. He was interred in the chancel of the church on 20 March 1604-5, being called 'one off the foure ffellowes of ye colledg;' and three days afterwards Mrs. Jane Dee, 'wyffe to ye Righte Wor. John Dee,' was buried.

Carter's 'Answer' to Bristow shows him to have been a man of learning and familiar with books. His co-fellow, John Buckley, near whom he was buried, in 1593 bequeathed him a copy of Tremellius's Bible, and Carter appraised Buckley's valuable library. Richard Hollinworth, in the following century, who had conversed with persons who knew Carter, says that he preached solidly and succinctly. Campion, referring to the ministers of the neighbourhood, singles out Carter as one that

boasted much of his learning, and as one who laboured to win converts. Canon Raines says that it is 'clear that Carter was a man of extensive reading, and wrote ably and strongly, though upon the whole temperately, against his subtle and harassing theological opponents. He thoroughly understood the points of difference between himself and them, and was not disposed to lessen their importance; but there is no evidence that he was a vain man, or that he boasted of his attainments, although he had to thank Cambridge and his own industry for possessing no mean store of learning.' He was twice married, his first wife, 'Eme,' being buried in 1590; the second wife was one Alice . . . , one of his executors. There were at least seven children of the first marriage, of whom Dorothy, Abraham, John, and Mary survived. Hollinworth says that the sons walked in the godly ways of their father. Abraham had property at Blackley, where the father frequently preached; he married and had a child baptised there in 1603, and was buried there in 1621. John, baptised at Manchester on 26 Feb. 1580-1, became in 1606 vicar-choral of Christ Church, Dublin, and in the following year prebendary of St. Michan's in the same cathedral; but of the latter he was deprived by Archbishop Jones in 1613 (Corron, *Fasti*, ii. 73, 83), when all record of him is lost. This apparently is the son Hollinworth refers to when he says that he was preferred to a bishopric in Ireland, and that he was noted for the number of persons whom he baptised. The name Oliver Carter, it is curious to note, occurs in the Irish 'Fasti' in the following century.

[Stanley Papers (Chetham Soc.), ii. 128-32; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 394, 554; Mayor's *St. John's*, vol. i.; Raines's MSS. xxii. 54, 132, xxiv. 67, xxv. 164, xli. 103; Chetham Miscel. v. 16-17 (Chetham Soc. vol. xvi.); Strype's *Annals*, 8vo, ii. ii. 68, 546, 548, 710-11; Strype's *Parker*, ii. 12; Churton's *Nowell*, 253-6; Hollinworth's *Mancuniensis*, ed. 1839, pp. 87, 106-8; Hibbert-Ware's *Foundations of Manchester*, i. 87, 106-8; J. E. Bailey's *Dee's Diary*, 4to, pp. 24, 80; Grosart's *Account of the Executors of Robert Nowell*, 169-70, 256-7; *Duchy Calendar*, iii. 4, 237, 286; *Booker's Hist. Blackley*, pp. 47, 64-6.] J. E. B.

**CARTER, OWEN BROWNE** (1806-1859), architect and draughtsman, spent most of his life at Winchester, where he had a large local practice as an architect. About 1829-30 he travelled to Egypt in company with Mr. Robert Hay of Linplum, and resided for some length of time at Cairo. There he executed a large number of architectural and topographical drawings, several of which are pre-

served in the Print Room at the British Museum. A selection of these drawings was lithographed under Carter's superintendence by J. C. Bourne and others, and published in 1840 by Mr. Hay in a folio volume entitled 'Illustrations of Cairo.' In 1845, when the Archæological Institute visited Winchester, Carter acted as one of the secretaries to the architectural section. He read a paper on the church of East Meon, Hampshire, and at the final meeting he received a special vote of thanks for the drawings he had supplied. In 1847 and 1849 he exhibited architectural drawings at the Royal Academy. He published some works of local interest, such as 'Picturesque Memorials of Winchester,' 1830. He also contributed to 'Weale's Quarterly Papers on Architecture' articles on the painted glass windows of Winchester Cathedral, on Beaulieu Abbey, and on the churches of Penton Meausey, Headbourne, Worthey, and Bishopstone. All these articles were accompanied by illustrative drawings. Carter died at Salisbury on 30 March 1859, aged 53.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of English Artists*; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*, 1760-1880; *Gent. Mag.* 3rd ser. vi. 550; *Hampshire Chronicle*, 2 April 1859; *Royal Academy Catalogues*; Weale's *Quarterly Papers on Architecture*; *Proceedings of the Archæological Institute*, 1845; *Catalogue of the Library of the Royal Institute of Architects*.] L. C.

**CARTER, PETER** (1530?-1590), writer on logic, was a native of Lancashire, and took the degree of B.A. at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1553-4. In the following year he was elected a fellow of that college on Mr. Ashton's foundation. He commenced M.A. in 1557, and afterwards became master of the school at Preston in his native county, where he was buried on 8 Sept. 1590. He wrote 'Annotationes in Dialectica Joan. Setoni,' London, 1563, 12mo, dedicated to Edward, earl of Derby, K.G.; printed with Seton's book, London, 1570, 1572, 1574, 1577, 1584, 1587, 1599; Cambridge, 1631, 12mo; London, 1639, 8vo.

[Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.*; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 382; *Addit. MS.* 24492, f. 19 b; *Palatine Note Book*, iii. 46.] T. C.

**CARTER, RICHARD** (d. 1692), rear-admiral, is said to have been lieutenant of the Cambridge in 1672, with Captain Herbert, afterwards Earl of Torrington, and to have been promoted from her by Prince Rupert to command the *Success*, from which, early in 1673, he was moved to the *Crown* of 42 guns. In April 1675 he was appointed to the *Swan*, and in January 1677-8 was moved into the *Centurion*, which was employed in the

Mediterranean, more especially against the Barbary corsairs, till she was paid off 24 Oct. 1681. In August 1688 he was appointed to the Plymouth, a third-rate, continued in her during and after the revolution, and commanded her in the unfortunate battle of Beachy Head, 30 June 1690. During the summer of 1691 he commanded the Vanguard, a ship of the second rate, and early in the following year was promoted to be rear-admiral of the blue squadron. In April he was sent with a few ships to scour the coast of France, and returned to the fleet in time to take part in the battle of Barfleur on 19 May. At the beginning of the action the blue squadron was some distance to leeward, and hopelessly out of the fight; but towards the afternoon a shift of wind permitted it to lay up to the enemy, and eventually to get to windward of them, thus placing them between two fires. But in doing this there was for a short time some sharp fighting, in which Carter was killed. It was freely said by many, both before and after the battle, that Carter was in the interest of King James, that his taking service under William was a base pretence, and that he had received 10,000*l.* to take his division over to the French. In support of this statement not one single piece of evidence has ever been adduced. In the Macpherson State Papers there is no mention of it. In life Carter was a poor man, and he died poor; so far from attempting to hand his division over to the enemy, he fell while executing the manoeuvre which insured their ruin, and as he died his last words were an exhortation to his men to fight bravely, fight to the last. The story may be pronounced a libel on a brave man. The body of the admiral was buried at Portsmouth with ceremonial honour. He had been lieutenant-governor of Southsea Castle since 1682.

[Charnock's Biog. Navalis, i. 389; Macaulay's Hist. iv. 222, 236, 242.] J. K. L.

CARTER, THOMAS (d. 1795), sculptor, worked at Knightsbridge, and there attracted the attention of the painter Jervas, who gave him some money and a breakfast, procured him patronage, and so helped him to fortune. In 1755, when a committee was first formed to consider the founding of a Royal Academy, Carter was a member of it. He was Roubilliac's first employer in England. He appears to have been a man of great industry, if of inconspicuous merit. He worked chiefly upon tombstones, memorial tablets, &c. The bas-relief on Lord Townshend's monument in Westminster Abbey is by him. His name occurs once as the exhibitor of an architectural subject (presumably a drawing) at the

Royal Academy in 1787. He died 5 Jan. 1795.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists.]

CARTER, THOMAS (or C. T. CARTER, as he is called on the title-page to 'The Milesian') (1735?-1804), musical composer, was born in Dublin about 1735. He was the elder son of Timothy Carter, who became a member of the choir of Christ Church Cathedral in March 1740. According to O'Keefe (*Recollections*, ii. 36-7), Thomas Carter received his musical education as a chorister in Christ Church Cathedral. In December 1751 he was appointed organist of St. Werburgh's, a post he held until September 1769, when he was sent by the Earl of Inchiquin to study music in Italy. Soon afterwards Carter went to India, where for a short time he was musical director of the Calcutta Theatre. On his return to Great Britain he settled in London, where he set music to Bate's 'Rival Candidates,' which was produced at Drury Lane on 1 Feb. 1775. This was followed on 20 March 1777 by 'The Milesian,' a two-act opera written by Isaac Jackman. In 1782 Carter wrote music for Pilon's 'Fair American,' which was played at Drury Lane on 18 May; for this work Baker (*Biographia Dramatica*, ii. 210) says that Carter received no payment, and that Pilon had to abscond to avoid the consequences. For Palmer's Royalty Theatre, in Goodman's Fields, Carter wrote an incidental pastoral, 'The Birth Day, or Arcadian Contest,' and 'The Constant Maid,' besides several songs and glees. His last operatic work was 'Just in Time,' the book of which was by Thomas Hurlstone, Carter himself contributing some verses for a song in the last act. This work was produced at Covent Garden for Munden's benefit on 10 May 1792, with Incledon in the principal character. Besides these works Carter wrote a song, 'When we're married,' for Lord Barrymore's theatre at Wargrave, which was introduced by Mrs. Bland in 'The Surrender of Calais' (1791); in 1783 he contributed an epilogue song to Mrs. Cowley's 'Bold Stroke for a Husband,' and at various times published several collections of glees, catches, and songs, in one of which his best-known composition, 'O Nanny, wilt thou gang wi' me,' appeared. Carter died in London on Friday, 12 Oct. 1804. He was undoubtedly a clever musician, but his improvidence and carelessness were such that he was in perpetual difficulties. An improbable story of his having forged a Handel manuscript and sold it for twenty guineas appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' after

his death, and has been often repeated by his biographers.

Most of the accounts of his life which have appeared are full of extraordinary blunders, principally caused by there having been another Thomas Carter, also a musician, who was his contemporary. This individual died of liver complaint on 8 Nov. 1800, aged 32. The 'Dictionary of Musicians' (1827) and 'Georgian Era' (iv. 526) have transferred the younger Carter's age, liver, widow, and children, to the elder musician, thus creating a remarkable confusion. Another error is the statement that in Italy Carter attracted the attention of Sir William and Lady Hamilton. Sir William Hamilton went as envoy to Naples in 1764, but was not made a K.B. until 1772, and was unmarried until long after Carter had left Italy. To add to this confusion, a third Thomas Carter, also a musician, was living in Dublin at the beginning of the century. This individual can be traced to 1809, but there can be no doubt that the author of 'O Nanny' died in London at the date given above. In 1847 a claim was made by a grandson of Joseph Baildon on behalf of his grandfather as the composer of 'O Nanny,' but this has been completely disposed of (*Musical Times*, 1878, p. 502), as it has been proved that Baildon's setting is totally different from Carter's.

Thomas Carter had a younger brother named Sampson, who was a chorister in St. Patrick's Cathedral until 1766. He subsequently settled in Dublin as a music-master, took the degree of Mus. Doc. at the Dublin University, and in 1797 was appointed a vicar choral of St. Patrick's. He probably died about 1814.

[Information from Major G. A. Crawford and Sir R. P. Stewart; Genest's Hist. of the Stage; Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 317; Gent. Mag. 1800, 1117; 1804, 986, 1165; 1847, 376, 481, 604; Nichols's Illustr. of Lit. vii. 594; Cotton's Fasti Eccles. Hib. ii. 210; Townsend's Calendar of Knights; Quarterly Musical Mag. v. 127.]

W. B. S.

CARTER, THOMAS (d. 1867), military writer, entered in 1839 as a temporary clerk at the Horse Guards, and subsequently rose to the position of first clerk in the adjutant-general's office. He assisted Mr. Cannon in the preparation of the historical records of the British army, and after that gentleman's retirement edited the published records of the 26th (Cameronians) and 44th regiments, and a new edition of the records of the 13th light infantry. These works, however, were not treated as official publications. Carter was author of 'Curiosities of War,' London,

1860, and 'Medals of the British Army,' London, 1861-2, and was a constant contributor to 'Notes and Queries.' He died on 9 Aug. 1867.

[War Office Lists; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

H. M. C.

CARTER, WILLIAM (d. 1584), printer, son of John Carter, a draper of London, was put apprentice to John Cawood [q. v.] for ten years from the feast of the Purification, 1562-3, as appears from the register of the Stationers' Company, which, however, makes no further mention of him. For some time he acted as amanuensis to Dr. Nicholas Harpsfield, the catholic divine, and he was concerned in printing and publishing several of their books. His secret press was at last discovered by the vigilance of Aylmer, bishop of London, who wrote thus to Lord Burghley on 30 Dec. 1579: 'I have founde out a presse of pryntynge with one Carter, a verye lewed fellowe, who hath byne dyvers tymes before in prison for printinge of lewde pamphlets. But nowe in searche of his Howse amongst other nawghtye papystycall Books, wee have founde one wyrtten in Frenche intyled the *innocencye of the Scottyshe Quene*, a very dangerous Book. Wherein he calleth her the heire apparant of this Crowne. He envyeith agaynst the execution of the Duck of Norfolk, defendeth the rebellion in the north, and dyscourseth against you and the late L. keper' (*Lansd. MS.* 28, f. 177). On this occasion Carter escaped prosecution, but three years later he was apprehended on a charge of printing a book entitled 'A Treatise of Schism,' which was alleged to contain a passage inciting the women at court to assassinate Queen Elizabeth. The obnoxious work was seized in his house on Tower Hill, and he confessed that 1,250 copies of it had been struck off. Conflicting statements have been made concerning the authorship of this book. Camden says suspicion fell on Gregory Martin, but Wood assigns the authorship to the jesuit, Robert Parsons, and says the full title of the treatise is, 'A Brief Discours containing certayne Reasons why Catholiques refuse to goe to Church,' 1580. Dodd (*Church History*, ii. 122) indignantly denies that the alleged treasonable passage is to be found in any of Gregory Martin's writings, but in point of fact it occurs in sheet D ii of that author's 'Treatise of Schisme. Shewing that al Catholikes ought in any wise to abstaine altogether from heretical Conuenticles, to witt, their prayers, sermons, etc.,' Douay, 1578, 8vo; and it is in the following terms:— 'Judith foloweth, whose godlye and constant wisdome if our Catholike gentlewomen

woulde folowe, they might destroye Holofernes, the master heretike, and amase al his retinew, and neuer defile their religion by communicating with them in anye smal poynt.' Carter on being brought to trial at the Old Bailey contended that this passage in his reprint of Martin's book was not applicable to Queen Elizabeth, and that its meaning was strained by the lawyers, but he was found guilty of treason. The next morning he was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, 11 Jan. 1583-4.

[Aquepontanus, *Concertatio Ecclesiae Cathol. in Angliâ*, ii. 127 a-133 a; Wood's *Athenae Oxon.* (Bliss), ii. 68, 69; Camden's *Annales of Elizabeth* (1625-9), iii. 57; Stow's *Annales* (1615), 698; Strype's *Aylmer* (1821), 30; Strype's *Annals* (fol.), ii. 587, 588, iii. 281, append. 198; Challoner's *Missionary Priests* (1741), i. 160; Fuller's *Church Hist.* (1655), ix. 169; Dodd's *Church Hist.* ii. 122, 157; Fulke's *Defence of the Transl. of the Scriptures* (Parker Soc.), p. xiii.; Clay's *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer in reign of Eliz.* (Parker Soc.), 596; Ames's *Typogr. Antiq.* (Herbert), 1204; Morris's *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 2nd series, 13, 33; *Notes and Queries*, 6th ser. xii. 345.]

T. C.

**CARTERET, SIR GEORGE** (d. 1680), governor of Jersey, was son of Helier de Carteret of St. Ouen, Jersey. Collins in his 'History of the Family of Carteret' states that Sir George was born in 1599, but this seems to be merely an inference from the statement that he was about eighty at the time of his death. On the other hand his mother, Elizabeth Dumaresq, did not marry Helier de Carteret until 1608 (PAYNE, *Armorial of Jersey*, p. 118), and one of the complaints of the inhabitants of Jersey against Sir Philip de Carteret in 1642 charges him with entrusting the governorship of the island during his own absence in 1640 to George Carteret, 'a nephew of his of about twenty-three years of age' (FALLE, *Jersey*, ed. Durell, p. 311). George Carteret, therefore, was born at some date between 1609 and 1617. According to Lady Fanshawe (*Memoirs*, p. 61) he was bred a sea boy, and he appears in the state papers in 1632 as lieutenant of the ship *Convertive*. On 18 March 1633 he was appointed captain of the Eighth Lion's Whelp, and successively commanded the Mary, Rose, and other ships of the king's navy. In 1637 he served as second in command under Rainsborough in the expedition to Salée (*Cal. State Papers, Dom.*) Two years later he attained the rank of comptroller of the navy, and in 1642 was designed by parliament for the post of vice-admiral to the Earl of Warwick, but the king's

commands prevented his acceptance (CLARENDON, *Rebellion*, v. 44). When the war began, Carteret at first attempted to raise a troop for the king in Cornwall, but was induced instead to undertake the duty of supplying the western royalists with arms and ammunition (*ib.* vi. 253). He accordingly established himself at St. Malo, and made use of his own credit and his great local influence to supply both the western gentlemen and the fortresses of the Channel Islands (HOSKINS, p. 85). On the death (August 1643) of his uncle, Sir Philip de Carteret [q. v.], whose daughter Elizabeth George Carteret had married, he succeeded to the office of bailiff of Jersey, the reversion of which had been granted to him by patent in 1639 (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 1st Rep. 34). From the king he received also his appointment as lieutenant-governor of the island under Sir Thomas Jernyn, and landing there in November 1643, reconquered it and expelled Major Lydcott, the parliamentary governor, before the end of the month (HOSKINS, i. 155-75). From Jersey Carteret carried on a vigorous privateering war against English trade, by virtue of the king's commission as vice-admiral, which he received on 13 Dec. 1644 (*ib.* p. 230). The parliament termed this piracy, excluded him from amnesty in subsequent treaties with the king, and passed a special ordinance making void all commissions granted by him (16 Sept. 1645, HUSBANDS, folio *Collection of Ordinances*, p. 734). Carteret governed with great severity, imprisoning the persons and confiscating the estates of parliamentarians [see BANDINEL, DAVID], but developing with great skill all the resources of the island. These were strained to the utmost when in 1646 the island became the refuge of royalist fugitives, and the cessation of the war enabled the parliament to turn their forces against it. In the spring of 1646 Prince Charles landed in Jersey, and rewarded Carteret by creating him knight and baronet (HOSKINS, 185, 285-367). Collins, however, states that he was knighted on 21 Jan. 1644, and created a baronet by warrant bearing date 9 May 1645 (*History of Family of Carteret*, p. 39). Hyde, who remained two years in Jersey as Carteret's guest, writes of Sir George: 'He was truly a worthy and most excellent person, of extraordinary merit towards the crown and nation of England; the most generous man in kindness, and the most dexterous man in business ever known; and a most prudent and skilful lieutenant-governor, who reduced Jersey not with greater skill and discretion than he kept it. And besides his other parts of honesty and discretion, undoubtedly a good, if not the best seaman of England'

(HOSKINS, i. 179, collecting Clarendon's remarks; see also CLARENDON, *Life*, v. 4). Carteret joined Capel and Hyde in the articles of association for the preservation of Jersey, drawn up when Jermyn was suspected of designing to sell the island to the French (*Cal. Clar. State Papers*, ii. 279). On the second visit of Charles II to Jersey (17 Sept. 1649 to 13 Feb. 1650) he was further rewarded by the grant of the seigneuries of Noirmont, Melêche, and Belle Ozanne. He was also granted 'a certain island and adjacent islets in America in perpetual inheritance, to be called New Jersey, and held at an annual rent of 6*l.* a year to the crown' (HOSKINS, ii. 385). Whitelocke records in 1650 the capture of a ship sent by Carteret to establish the new colony (*Memoirs*, 455). But the growing naval strength of the Commonwealth rendered his position more difficult month by month; an attack threatened in May 1647 proved abortive (HOSKINS, ii. 128), but a second proved successful, and Carteret surrendered on 12 Dec. 1651 (see the articles of surrender, *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 82). He proceeded to join the exiles in France, and obtained a command in the French navy, apparently that of vice-admiral, under the Duke of Vendome (*Mercurius Politicus*, No. 125; *Cal. Clar. State Papers*, ii. 275). In August 1657 he was arrested and imprisoned in the Bastille on the complaint of Lockhart, in consequence of some attempt to seduce the English forces then acting as auxiliaries of France in the Low Countries, or perhaps for giving secret intelligence to the Spaniards (THURLOE, vi. 421; VAUGHAN, *Protectorate*, ii. 241). He was released in December 1657, but banished from France, and went to Venice, intending to take service under the republic (THURLOE, vi. 681).

At the Restoration Carteret became a member of the privy council and treasurer of the navy, and also obtained the post of vice-chamberlain of the household, to which office he had been appointed by Prince Charles as early as 1647 (KENNET, *Register*, 167; HOSKINS, ii. 113). In 1661 he was elected member for Portsmouth. But it was as treasurer of the navy from 1661 to 1667 that his most important work was done. He was not a pleasant superior, for Pepys speaks of him as the most passionate man in the world, and Sir William Coventry describes him as one whose humour it was always to have things done his own way. This led to a long struggle between Coventry and Carteret, which lasted till the resignation of the latter. Yet Coventry 'did not deny Sir G. Carteret his due in saying that he is a man that do take the most pains, and gives himself the most to do business of any about the court, without any desire of pleasure or di-

vertisements' (PEPYS, 30 Oct. 1662). During the difficulties of the Dutch war, Carteret's personal credit with the bankers was of the greatest service. In 1665, during the plague, Carteret states that he borrowed 280,000*l.* on his own credit, and thus kept the fleet abroad when it otherwise must have come home (GREY, *Debates*, p. 170; see also PEPYS, 25 June 1667). The fall of his friend Sandwich and the miscarriage of the Dutch war undermined his position, and he was only maintained by his great influence with the king when in June 1667 he exchanged his office with Lord Anglesey for the place of deputy-treasurer of Ireland (*ib.* 28 June 1667). 'The king,' Carteret told Pepys, 'at his earnest entreaty, did with much unwillingness, but with owning of great obligations to him for his faithfulness and long service to him and his father, grant his desire.' In spite of this retirement Carteret could not escape the censure of parliament. The report of the commissioners for the public accounts revealed gross mismanagement in the navy during the war, and especially great carelessness in keeping the accounts (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 8th Rep. 128-33). The House of Lords appointed a committee to examine into these charges, whose report, so far as it went, was favourable to Carteret (*ib.* 133). In the House of Commons, however, he was, on several articles, voted guilty of a misdemeanor, and finally, on 10 Dec. 1669, by 100 to 97 votes, suspended from sitting in the house (GREY, *Debates*, i. 214). The prorogation of parliament put an end both to the prosecution in the commons and to the proceedings of the lords' committee. In spite of this disgrace, when in 1673, on the resignation of the Duke of York, the admiralty was put in commission, Carteret was appointed one of the commissioners. He also acted as a member of the Tangier committee, and as one of the committee of trade and plantations. Outside the admiralty colonial affairs chiefly occupied his attention. In 1663 he appears as one of the original proprietors of Carolina (24 March 1663). To him, in conjunction with Lord Berkeley, the Duke of York assigned the land between the Hudson and the Delaware, to be called, in honour of Carteret, New Jersey (BANCROFT, ii. 69; *Cal. Col. State Papers*, 1661-8, 607, 337).

By the government of Jersey, by successful privateering, and by the different offices he had held since the Restoration, Carteret had accumulated considerable wealth. Marvel terms him 'Carteret the rich,' and the 'Flagellum Parliamentarium' boldly accuses him of robbing the king of 300,000*l.* He himself told Pepys in 1667 that he was worth



50,000*l.* when the king came in, and was only 15,000*l.* better than he was then. 'I do take him for a most honest man,' adds the diarist (12 April 1667). He was also a bold man, for he took the liberty of recommending to the king the necessity of preserving at least a show of religion and sobriety (PEPYS, 27 July 1667). His education was very defective. Marvell sneers at his 'ill English,' and Pepys was shocked by his ignorance of the meaning of the device S.P.Q.R., 'which ignorance is not to be borne in a privy counsellor, methinks, what a schoolboy would be whipped for not knowing' (*Diary*, 4 July 1663). Carteret's death is announced in the 'London Gazette' of 14 Jan. 1680, where it is stated that he was 'near eighty years old, of which he had spent fifty-five in the service of his majesty and his royal father.' At the time of his death the king was about to raise him to the peerage, and consequently granted to his widow, by warrant dated 14 Feb. 1680, the same precedence as if the promised creation had actually taken place (warrant quoted by CHALMERS).

His eldest son, Philip, whose marriage with *Jemima Montague* is so amusingly described by Pepys (31 July 1665), had been killed in the battle of *Solebay*. But George, the son of this marriage, was elevated to the peerage 14 Oct. 1681 as Baron Carteret of *Hawnes* (BURKE, *Extinct Peerage*).

[Calendar of Domestic State Papers; Clarendon's History of the Rebellion; Clarendon State Papers; Hoskins's Charles II in the Channel Islands; Falle's History of Jersey, ed. Durell; Collins's History of the Family of Carteret; Pepys's Diary.] C. H. F.

**CARTERET, JOHN**, first EARL GRANVILLE (1690-1763), was eldest surviving son of George, first baron Carteret, by his wife, Lady Grace Granville, youngest daughter of John, first earl of Bath. He was born on 22 April 1690, and when only five years old succeeded to the barony of Carteret on the death of his father on 22 Sept. 1695. He was educated at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford, and was created D.C.L. on 12 July 1756. He devoted himself with so much ardour to the pursuit of learning, that Swift humorously asserted that, 'with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and philosophy than properly became a person of his rank; indeed, much more of each than most of those who are forced to live by their learning will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with' (SWIFT, *Works*, vii. 476). In March 1710 his younger brother Philip, who had obtained his election into college in

1707, died at Westminster School, and was buried in the north aisle of the abbey, where there is a monument to his memory, the epitaph for which was written by Dr. Freind. Carteret took his seat in the House of Lords on 25 May 1711, and soon became known as a staunch supporter of the protestant succession. He was appointed by George I one of the gentlemen of his bedchamber on 18 Oct. 1714; in July 1715 bailiff of the island of Jersey; and on 6 July 1716 lord-lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the county of Devon. This last office he held until August 1721, when he resigned it in favour of Hugh, fourteenth baron Clinton. His mother, who had succeeded as coheiress of the great Bath estates on the death of her nephew William, third earl of Bath, without issue in May 1711, was on 1 Jan. 1715 created Viscountess Carteret and Countess Granville, with remainder to her son John and his heirs male, and a special remainder of the viscounty in default of his male issue to his uncle Edward Carteret and his heirs male. His first recorded speech in the House of Lords was made on 14 April 1716, when he spoke in favour of the Duke of Devonshire's Septennial Bill (*Parl. Hist.* vii. 298-9). In the following year, when the great schism among the whigs occurred upon the dismissal of Lord Townshend from office, Carteret joined the Sunderland section of the whig party. On 25 Jan. 1719 he was appointed ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the queen of Sweden, but did not leave England until 1 June. He successfully accomplished the objects of his embassy, obtaining both the promise of compensation to all British subjects who had sustained losses in the Baltic, and the right of freedom of trade and navigation in that sea for all British ships in future. His offer, on behalf of the king, to mediate between Sweden and Denmark, and also between the former country and the czar, was readily accepted by the queen. A peace between Sweden, Prussia, and Hanover was concluded through the instrumentality of Carteret, and proclaimed at Stockholm on 9 March 1720. This was a prelude to a reconciliation between Sweden and Denmark. A preliminary treaty between these two countries having been signed, Carteret was appointed, in conjunction with Lord Polwarth, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the congress of Brunswick for the purpose of finally adjusting the differences in the north of Europe. In June 1720 he left Carlsberg, and set out for Denmark. Arriving at Fredericksburgh, he had his first audience with the Danish king on the 19th. After a conference

of two days between Carteret and the Danish ministers, the treaty which had already been signed on the part of Sweden was concluded on 3 July by the king of Denmark. This treaty, which was ratified on 22 Oct., practically put an end to the war between Sweden, Russia, Denmark, and the king of Prussia, for the czar afterwards concluded an agreement with Denmark without the intervention of a mediator. Carteret, having accomplished the objects of his mission, returned through Hanover on his way to England, where he arrived on 5 Dec.

On 19 Aug. 1720 he had been appointed, together with Earl Stanhope and Sir Robert Sutton, ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the congress of Cambray. The meeting of the congress was delayed, and Carteret does not appear to have acted in this capacity. Soon after his arrival in England he took part in the debates on the state of the national credit occasioned by the failure of the South Sea scheme, and supported Lord Stanhope's contention that the estates of the criminals, whether directors or not, ought to be confiscated. During the discussions on this subject Carteret was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the court of France. He was on the point of setting out, when the death of James Craggs, jun., occurred. He was thereupon appointed secretary of state for affairs of the southern province in Walpole's administration, and, being admitted to office on 5 March 1721, was sworn a member of the privy council on the same day. It was impossible for two such men as Walpole and Carteret, neither of whom could brook any rivals, to act together in the same cabinet for any length of time. Carteret soon became jealous of Walpole's paramount authority, and endeavoured to ingratiate himself with the king. In this he quickly succeeded, as George could speak no English, and Carteret was the only minister who could speak German. Emboldened by the influence which he had acquired over George, Carteret endeavoured to form a party of his own. Having secured the assistance of the Countess of Darlington, and gained over to his side Lord Carleton, the lord privy seal, the Duke of Roxburghe, the secretary for Scotland, and Lord Cadogan, the commander-in-chief, he endeavoured to oust Walpole from office. With this object in view he strongly supported the Hanoverian policy of the king, and professed to exercise a considerable influence over Cardinal Dubois, the French minister.

The struggle for supremacy between Carteret on the one hand, and Walpole supported by Townshend on the other, was a prolonged

one. Though Carteret was appointed one of the lords justices of the kingdom in the absence of the king on 26 May 1723, both he and Townshend, the other secretary of state, followed George to Hanover, and there a great part of these intrigues and counter-intrigues took place. The La Vrillière incident brought matters to a head. Sir Luke Schaub, a partisan of Carteret's, was recalled from his post of English minister at Paris; and Carteret, being succeeded as secretary of state by the Duke of Newcastle, was on 3 April 1724 nominated lord-lieutenant of Ireland. That country was then in a very excited and discontented state. In 1723 a patent had been granted to Wood for the exclusive right of coining halfpence and farthings to the value of 108,000*l*. This patent had been obtained through the influence of the Duchess of Kendal, and without any consultation with the Irish privy council. Carteret, by caballing with the Brodricks (Alan Brodrick [q. v.] was lord-chancellor of Ireland), and furnishing, it is said, the private history of the mode in which the patent had been obtained, had greatly encouraged the prevailing discontent. He had done this with the object of harassing Walpole, who now enjoyed the refined revenge of sending him to quell the disturbance which he had helped to raise. In 1724 Swift published the famous 'Draper's Letters,' which aroused the Irish to a pitch of frenzy. The new lord-lieutenant did not go over to Dublin until October. The fourth letter, addressed 'to the whole people of Ireland,' was published in this month, and one of Carteret's first acts was to publish a proclamation offering a reward of 300*l*. for the discovery of the writer. Swift, who had made the acquaintance of Carteret some years before, had, on hearing of his appointment to the lord-lieutenancy, promptly written to him while still in London about the patent. When Harding, the printer of the letters, was imprisoned, Swift went to the levee, and demanded of Carteret an explanation of this severity against a poor industrious tradesman who had published two or three papers designed for the good of his country. Carteret, who could have had little doubt of Swift being the real author of the letters, though he was probably not desirous that it should be discovered, replied by an apt quotation from Virgil:

*Res dura, et regni novitas, me talia cogunt  
Moliri.*

After an unsuccessful attempt had been made to allay the popular ferment by means of a compromise, Carteret procured the re-

vocation of the patent, and the excitement speedily subsided. In accordance with the usual custom of lord-lieutenants in those days, Carteret only remained in Ireland during the sitting of the Irish parliament, and in January 1727 we find him speaking in the House of Lords on the East Indian trade, and giving expression to views which in these days would be considered economically unsound.

On 1 June 1725, and again on 31 May 1727, he was appointed one of the lords justices of the kingdom during the king's absence from England. George I died suddenly while on his way to Hanover at his brother's palace at Osnaburgh on 11 June 1727. Carteret was one of the old privy councillors who met at Leicester House on the 14th for the purpose of proclaiming George II, and on the same day was sworn of the new privy council. Having been reappointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland on 29 July, he returned to Dublin in November, when he opened the new parliament. While in Ireland he lived on intimate terms with Swift, from whom he frequently received advice with regard to Irish affairs. The advice was not always taken, for it is related that 'when Carteret had parried, with his usual dexterity, some complaint or request of Swift, he exclaimed, "What in God's name do you do here? Get back to your own country, and send us our boobies again"' (SWIFT, *Works*, i. 372-3). Though Carteret declined to admit Swift to any office which would give him a right to interfere in the affairs of the country, he occasionally presented unimportant pieces of preferment to Swift's friends. On the appointment of Dr. Delany to some places of small profit, an outcry was raised by the more violent whigs, who declared that extravagant favour had been shown to a tory divine. This gave rise to Swift's pamphlet entitled 'A Vindication of His Excellency, John Lord Carteret, from the charge of favouring none but Tories, High-churchmen, and Jacobites,' which was published in 1730. Taken as a whole, Carteret's administration of Irish affairs during the six years he was lord-lieutenant was generally popular—indeed, Swift confessed in a letter to Gay, dated 19 Nov. 1730, that Carteret 'had a genteeler manner of binding the chains of the kingdom than most of his predecessors' (*ib.* xvii. 350). That Carteret appreciated Swift's commendation is clear from a letter written by him to Swift and dated March 1737, in the postscript of which he says: 'When people ask me how I governed Ireland, I say that I pleased Dr. Swift' (*ib.* xix. 135). At the same time, as the seals were taken

away from his old enemy, Lord Townshend, Carteret was dismissed from his post. He left Ireland in April 1730, and though offered the post of lord steward, left vacant by the appointment of the Duke of Dorset as lord-lieutenant, he refused to take further office under Walpole.

Upon his return from Ireland he joined the opposition, and, becoming a close ally of Pulteney, took a very prominent part in the struggle against Walpole. During this period he seized every opportunity in the House of Lords of harassing the administration. His speeches, however, were not always consistent with those which he had delivered when in office. In a conversation with Lord Hervey about Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole is reported to have said that 'I had some difficulty to get him out, but he shall find much more to get in again' (LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, 1884, ii. 128). Walpole kept his word, and the struggle was long and doubtful. Towards the end of the opposition, Carteret was suspected by some of being desirous to make his peace with the court. However that may be, on 13 Feb. 1741 he moved his famous resolution in the House of Lords that an address should be presented to the king requesting him to remove Walpole from his 'presence and counsels for ever' (*Parl. Hist.* xi. 1047-85). His speech on this occasion was the longest, as well as the ablest, which he appears to have made, and was characterised by contemporary authorities as one of the most splendid orations which had been heard in the House of Lords. The debate lasted two days, and Carteret was beaten by 108 to 59. A similar motion by Sandys in the House of Commons was, owing to dissensions among the heterogeneous opposition, defeated by a still larger majority. In April parliament was dissolved, and Walpole met the new House of Commons with a diminished majority. The opposition soon showed its strength, and on 29 Jan. 1742 the ministers were left in a minority of one in a division on the Chippenham election petition. Upon the resignation of Walpole, the Wilmington administration was formed, and Carteret was appointed secretary of state for the affairs of the northern province on 12 Feb. 1742.

Once again we find him changing his parliamentary language, and supporting measures which he had formerly opposed; and so far as the domestic policy of the government was concerned, matters went on much the same as under Walpole. The foreign policy, however, gained considerably in energy under Carteret's direction. He at once sent the assurance of his full support to Maria Theresa-

and in September 1742 went himself to the States-General in order to concert measures with them for the protection of the United Provinces. Though appointed one of the lords justices of the kingdom in the absence of the king, he attended George during the whole of the campaign of 1743, and was present at the battle of Dettingen. By furthering the king's Hanoverian policy, and otherwise flattering his prejudices, Carteret had now obtained complete influence over him. This period of Carteret's ascendancy was known by the name of 'The Drunken Administration,' and the expression, as Macaulay remarks in his 'Essay on Walpole's Letters,' was not altogether figurative. The war, however, became very unpopular, as it was alleged that the interests of England were subordinated to those of Hanover. The ministers were incensed at Carteret's arrogance and his neglect in consulting them on foreign affairs—in short, he speedily became the most unpopular man in the country. In December 1743 Pitt, in the debate on the address, described him 'as an execrable, a sole minister, who had renounced the British nation, and seemed to have drunk of the potion described in poetic fictions which made men forget their country' (*Parl. Hist.* xiii. 135 note).

On the death of Lord Wilmington in July 1743, Henry Pelham had become the prime minister, and after a protracted struggle in the cabinet, Carteret, who had succeeded to the title of Earl Granville on the death of his mother on 18 Oct. 1744, being unable to withstand the combined opposition against him, resigned the seals, which were accepted by the king with great reluctance on 24 Nov. 1744. Carteret, however, accepted his defeat with his usual cheerfulness, and, according to Horace Walpole, retired 'from St. James's laughing.' Early in 1746, being still in favour with the king, he made another attempt to regain power. Under his advice the king refused to admit Pitt to office. This advice was far from distasteful to the king, as Pitt had vigorously opposed the Hanoverian policy on the continent. The ministers, being bound by their promises to give office to Pitt, thereupon resigned, and the two seals of the secretaries of state were on 10 Feb. 1746 delivered to Granville that he and Lord Bath might form an administration as they pleased. After a vain endeavour to form a ministry, he resigned the seals on the 14th, only four days after his appointment. His high spirits did not forsake him even on this occasion, and he continued to laugh and drink as before, owning that the attempt was mad, but that he was quite ready to do it again. One of the

many squibs which were published at this time, entitled 'A History of the Long Administration,' concludes with the following ironical remarks: 'And thus endeth the second and last part of this astonishing administration, which lasted forty-eight hours, three-quarters, seven minutes, and eleven seconds; which may truly be called the most honest of all administrations; the minister, to the astonishment of all wise men, never transacted one rash thing; and, what is more marvellous, left as much money in the treasury as he found in it.' From this time he severed his political connection with Lord Bath, who, he declared, had forced upon him the short-lived administration, and by which he considered that he paid all his debts to him.

He still continued in the king's favour, and having been elected on 22 June 1749 a knight of the Garter, was installed at Windsor on 12 July 1750. On 17 June in the following year he was appointed president of the council. When congratulated on his conciliation with his former opponents, he replied: 'I am the king's president; I know nothing of the Pelhams; I have nothing to do with them.' Notwithstanding the various changes in the administration which occurred from time to time, by keeping himself aloof from the broils in which the other ministers engaged he continued to hold the post until his death. In 1756 the Duke of Newcastle, as a desperate effort to avert resignation, offered Granville the first place in a ministry of which he himself should be a subordinate member. Granville had, however, by this time lost his ambition, and refused the offer. The last recorded speech which he made in the House of Lords was in the debate on the second reading of the Habeas Corpus Bill on 9 May 1758 (*Parl. Hist.* xv. 900). During the last four years of his life his health gradually failed, though he still continued to preside over the meetings of the council. In October 1761, when Pitt proposed in council an immediate declaration of war with Spain, and threatened to resign if his advice was not taken, Granville is said to have replied: 'I find the gentleman is determined to leave us, nor can I say I am sorry for it, since he would otherwise have certainly compelled us to leave him; but if he be resolved to assume the right of advising his majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets that at this board he is only responsible to the king. However, tho' he may possibly have convinced himself of

his infallibility, still it remains that we should be equally convinced before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes' (*Ann. Reg.* 1761, p. 44). To the last he maintained his keen interest in foreign affairs. Robert Wood, in his 'Essay on the original Genius of Homer' (1769, pp. i, ii), relates that, 'being directed to call upon his lordship a few days before he died with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris, I found him so languid, that I proposed postponing my business for another time; but he insisted that I should stay, observing that it could not prolong his life to neglect his duty, and repeated the following passage out of Sarpedon's speech, with particular emphasis on the third line, by which he alluded to the conspicuous part he had acted in public life' ('Ω πέποι, κ.τ.λ., II. xii. 322-8). His lordship then recovered spirits enough to hear the treaty read, and to declare the warm approbation of a dying statesman (I use his own words) on the most glorious war, and most honourable peace, this nation ever saw.' Lord Granville died at Bath on 2 Jan. 1763, in the seventy-third year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 11th of the same month in General Monck's vault, in Henry VII's chapel. He married twice. His first wife, Frances, the only daughter of Sir Robert Worsley, bart., of Appuldercombe, Isle of Wight, to whom he was married at Longleat on 17 Oct. 1710, died at Hanover on 20 June 1743. On 14 April 1744 he married Lady Sophia Fermor, the second daughter of Thomas, first earl of Pontefract. His second wife, who is described by Lady M. W. Montagu as having 'few equals in beauty or graces' (*The Letters and Works of Lady M. W. Montagu*, 1837, ii. 376), died of fever on 7 Oct. 1745 in her twenty-fifth year, a few weeks after the birth of her daughter Sophia, who afterwards became the wife of William, second earl of Shelburne. By his first marriage Granville had three sons and five daughters. He was succeeded by his only surviving son Robert, who died without issue in 1776, when the titles became extinct. The barony of Carteret was re-created in 1784 in the person of one of Lord Granville's grandsons, Henry Frederick, the younger son of his daughter Louisa and Thomas, second viscount Weymouth, who had succeeded to the Carteret estates on the death of his uncle Robert. This barony again became extinct upon the death of John Thynne, third lord Carteret, in 1849. The correspondence and papers of the first earl Granville were presented to the British Museum by the late Lord John Thynne in 1858

(*Addit. MSS.* 22511-45). Though his career was, on the whole, unsuccessful, he possessed the very highest reputation for ability among his contemporaries, and it is from their representations alone that we are able to judge of his character, as we have no authentic record of his speeches, and, with the exception of some despatches, he left no writings behind him. According to Lord Chesterfield, 'Lord Granville had great parts, and a most uncommon share of learning for a man of quality. He was one of the best speakers in the House of Lords, both in the declamatory and the argumentative way. He had a wonderful quickness and precision in seizing the stress of a question, which no art, no sophistry, could disguise to him. In business he was bold, enterprising, and overbearing. He had been bred up in high monarchical, that is, tyrannical principles of government, which his ardent and imperious temper made him think were the only rational and practicable ones. He would have been a great first minister of France—little inferior, perhaps, to Richelieu; in this government, which is yet free, he would have been a dangerous one, little less so, perhaps, than Lord Stafford. He was neither ill-natured nor vindictive, and had a great contempt for money; his ideas were all above it. In social life he was an agreeable, good-humoured, and instructive companion, a great but entertaining talker. He degraded himself by the vice of drinking, which, together with a great stock of Greek and Latin, he brought away with him from Oxford, and retained and practised ever afterwards. By his own industry he had made himself master of all the modern languages, and had acquired a great knowledge of the law. His political knowledge of the interest of princes and of commerce was extensive, and his notions were just and great. His character may be summed up in nice precision, quick decision, and unbounded presumption' (*The Letters of the Earl of Chesterfield*, 1845, ii. 456). The description which the same writer drew of him in the first number of 'Old England' is not, however, so flattering, but it should be borne in mind that this was written in the heat of political strife (*ib.* v. 233). Of the five great men who, in Horace Walpole's opinion, lived in his time, 'Lord Granville was most a genius of the five; he conceived, knew, expressed what he pleased' (WALPOLE, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II.*, 1846, iii. 85). Chatham himself, in the House of Lords, some seven years after Granville's death, said that 'in the upper departments of government he had not his equal, and I feel a pride in declaring that to his patronage, to his friendship, and instruc-

tion, I owe whatever I am' (*Parl. Hist.* xvi. 1098). Swift, in his verse, as well as in his letters and conversation, and Smollett in 'Roderick Random,' have also testified to his talents. Though possessed of a singularly versatile intellect, he was quite unfitted for the position of a parliamentary leader. Fond of power as he was, he viewed with contempt the ordinary means by which men were conciliated; and, destitute of fixed political principles, he treated politics more as a game than as a serious business. His contempt of public opinion, and his unceasing advocacy of the Hanoverian policy, prevented him from ever becoming a popular minister. Though a great patron of literature, he has left no literary work of his own behind him, and nothing is known of the history of his own time which he is supposed to have commenced (LORD HERVEY, *Memoirs*, iii. 158). Careless of money, he was often hard pressed in his lifetime, and at his death his affairs were left in a very embarrassed condition. A portrait of Granville by Thomas Hudson was exhibited in the National Portrait Loan Collection of 1867 (*Catalogue*, No. 259).

[In addition to the books referred to in the article, see A. Ballantyne's *Lord Carteret*, a political biography, 1887; *Biog. Brit.* 1784, iii. 270-80; *Collins's Peerage*, 1768, iv. 400-10; *The Marchmont Papers* (ed. Sir G. Rose), 1831, vols. i. and ii.; *Walpole's Letters*, 1857; *Lord Mahon's History of England*, 1854, vols. ii. iii. and iv.; *Lecky's History of England*, vols. i. and ii.; *Ewald's Sir Robert Walpole*; *Macaulay's Essays on Walpole's Letters to Sir H. Mann and William Pitt*, Earl of Chatham; *Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers*; *The Georgian Era*, 1832, i. 289-93; *London Gazettes*.] G. F. R. B.

**CARTERET, SIR PHILIP DE** (1584-1643), knight, seigneur of St. Ouen and of Sark, lieutenant-governor of Jersey, was descended from one of the most ancient and influential families of the island, being the son of Sir Philip de Carteret, governor of Jersey, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and of Rachel, daughter and coheirress of George Poulett, bailly of Jersey, and niece of Sir Amias Poulett, governor of Jersey, ancestor of the noble family of that name. He was born in February 1583-4, and educated at Oxford University. On attaining his majority he was elected a jurat of the royal court. In 1626 he was appointed bailly of the island, and soon afterwards lieutenant-governor to Sir Thomas Jermyn, which office he held to the end of his life. Having been deputed by the states to negotiate with the privy council for the establishment of a set of canons to bring back the island to conformity with the church of England, he conducted

the negotiation to a successful issue. William Prynne, in his 'Lyar Confounded,' states that during his three years' close confinement in Jersey he received 'extraordinary favours and respect' from De Carteret and his lady, when by a special order from the lords all his friends and kindred were denied access to him. On account of the kind treatment he experienced Prynne inferred that De Carteret would be ready to support the parliamentary cause in the contest with the king, and states that he 'found him a real friend to the state and parliament of England in all his discourses and actions.' He also mentions that 'he was the only man that procured scholarships and fellowships in Oxford for the islanders of Jersey, with sundry immunities both from England and France concerning trade.' At the period of the civil war the island was a prey to internal dissensions among the principal inhabitants, and De Carteret was far from being generally popular. In 1642, while he was in London, twenty-two articles signed by some of the principal inhabitants were presented against him, and he was summoned to answer them before the House of Lords. On the ground, however, that Jersey was in danger from a French invasion, he was, chiefly through the representations of Prynne, permitted to return home. Prynne was thus the means of securing the island for the king; but for De Carteret's return the parliamentary party would have been triumphant. De Carteret's proclamation, which he made soon after his return, of his adherence to the royal cause, Prynne explains by asserting that he had no other alternative on account of the conduct of the parliamentary party towards him. There is, however, every reason to suppose that, though sympathising to a certain extent with the aims of the parliamentary party in England, he was opposed to extreme courses. Be this as it may, he held out for Charles with a resolution which nothing could shake. While he retired to the castle of Elizabeth, his wife and eldest son, Philip, took charge of the defence of that of Orgueil. All his efforts to treat with those in authority for the parliament were rejected, and when through the hardships of the siege his health broke down, the last services of the church were denied him in his dying hours. It was only a short time before he expired that Lady de Carteret could obtain access to the castle to bid him final farewell. He died on 23 Aug. 1643. By his wife Ann, daughter of Sir Francis Dowse of Browton and Nether Wallop, Hampshire, he left several children, of whom the eldest, Philip, was knighted by Charles II

in honour both of his father's and his own heroic defence of Jersey in 1643.

[Chevalier's Chronicle; Falle's Account of the Island of Jersey; Payne's Armorial of Jersey; Prynn's Lyar Confounded; Cal. State Papers, Dom. Series.] T. F. H.

**CARTERET, PHILIP** (*d.* 1796), rear-admiral, was lieutenant of the Dolphin in Byron's voyage, 1764-6 [see BYRON, JOHN, 1723-1786]. He was appointed commander on his return, May 1766. To complete the work which Byron had begun, a second expedition was soon after his return despatched to the southern hemisphere under the direction of Captain Samuel Wallis, consisting of the Dolphin, commanded by Captain Wallis, and the Swallow, commanded by Carteret. Carteret complained of the Swallow as entirely unfit for the voyage. He was, however, ordered to sail in her, but was separated from the Dolphin while clearing the Straits of Magellan (11 April 1767). He resolved to proceed in his ill-found ship, and after watering at Spanish Isle, Masafuero, discovered Pitcairn's Island on 2 July 1767, which in 1790 was occupied by the mutineers of his majesty's ship *Bounty* [see ADAMS, JOHN, 1760?-1829]. Thence proceeding in a north-west direction, he discovered Osnaburg (named after the Duke of York), Duke of Gloucester, and Queen Charlotte Islands, distinguishing the prominent features of each by names which they still continue to possess. In his passage towards New Britain he discovered Gower's, Simpson's, Carteret's, Hardy's, Wallis's, and Leigh's Islands. Arriving at New Britain, he found that an inlet, supposed to be only a bay, was a strait dividing the island into two, and to the second island he gave the name of New Ireland, distinguishing the intersecting channel as St. George's. After discovering and naming the islands of Sandwich, Byron, New Hanover, the Duke of Portland's, the Admiralty, Denven's, Matty's, Stephen's, and Freewill, he proceeded along the coast to Mindanao, where his observations enabled him to check some mistakes made by Dampier in the survey of that island. He reached Macassar 12 Dec. 1767, with a worn-out crew and unseaworthy ship. In June 1768 he reached Batavia, whence he proceeded round the Cape of Good Hope to England, arriving at Spithead on 20 March 1769. On account of the state of his health and the condition of the ship he had latterly to contend with great difficulties, and found it impossible to carry his full purpose into execution, but his actual achievements in his one voyage of two years and a half entitle him to rank among the greatest geographical discoverers of his time.

In 1771 he was appointed to post rank, in 1777 he commanded the *Druid* frigate in the West Indies, and in 1779 was appointed to the *Endymion*, 44 guns, with which he joined Rodney. He was too late for the campaign of that year, and finally returned with a convoy from Jamaica in 1781. His health was broken. In 1794 he was retired from the active list with the nominal rank of rear-admiral, and died at Southampton 21 July 1796, 'having long been afflicted with loss of speech' (*Gent. Mag.* lxxvi. ii. 622). His 'Journal' was published in Hawkesworth's 'Voyages', 1773, which also includes the 'Voyages' of Byron, Wallis, and Cook, and was published in German and French the following year. Carteret contributed to 'Philosophical Transactions' a note 'on the Inhabitants of the Coast of Patagonia,' whose height, he says, varied from six feet to six feet seven inches, and an 'Account of *Camelopardalis* found at the Cap of Good Hope' (*Phil. Trans.* ix. 20, 27).

[Journal as above; Georgian Era, vol. iii. Appendix, 460-1; Beatson's Naval and Mil. Memoirs, vol. vi.; Navy Lists; Brit. Mus. Cat.]

T. F. H.

**CARTHACH, SAINT**, the elder (*d.* 580?), appears in the 'Félire' of Engus the Culdee (10th cent.) with the epithets of royal and Roman attached to his name (ed. Stokes, p. lv). This is generally interpreted to mean that he was of royal ancestry, and had travelled to Rome [cf. CAINNECH, SAINT]. From the 'Vita Kierani' (*Bollandist A. SS.*, March, v. 395) we gather that he was the grandson of Angus, king of Munster, who would seem to be the king whose death is recorded in the 'Four Masters' under the year 489. Colgan, however, noting that he was the brother of St. Cuanna, quotes from an old genealogy to show that he was the great-grandson of Neill of the Nine Hostages (*A. SS.*, 249-51), who died about the year 405 (but cf. the *Leabhar Breac* notes to Angus, p. lx).

In the 'Vita Kierani' St. Carthach appears, before the death of St. Patrick, as one of St. Ciaran of Saighir's young disciples (p. 395); but there are some difficulties in the way of accepting this statement in its entirety (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.* i. 410). We read that Carthach became engaged in an intrigue with a certain nun, in punishment for which offence St. Ciaran enjoined on him the penance of foreign travel. On his return he seems to have joined St. Ciaran once more, and is said to have been appointed his successor at Saighir, perhaps about the year 550 (*ib.* i. 544). It may have been a few years later than this

that he found his namesake, the younger Carthach, on the banks of the Mang (P Mainne) in Kerry, and ordained him priest. From the latter saint's life (*A. SS.*, 14 May, 379), we learn that it was the habit of St. Carthach to traverse his diocese singing the Psalms, in alternation with his accompanying priests. Dr. Lanigan would date the first friendship of the two Carthachs about the year 577, assigning 580 as an approximate date for the elder Carthach's death. It is evident, however, that this is hardly consistent with the admission that he was already one of St. Ciaran's disciples before 490. St. Carthach's principal church was at Saighir in King's County, where he succeeded St. Ciaran. To this the authors of the 'Acta Sanctorum' add (from the 'Martyrology of Tamlacht') a church at Druiin Ferdhaimh, a place which, according to the same authority, Marianus O'Gorman located at Carbery in Kildare. A third church was at Inis Vachtair on Lough Silenn (*Leabhar Breac*, ap. Stokes's 'Angus,' p. lx), and perhaps a fourth at Inis Carthach, near Lismore (*A. SS.*, 393). The 'Dictionary of Christian Biography' adds a fifth at Tir-Boghaine (Banagh Barony) in Tyrconnell (i. 411); and Mr. Shearman a sixth dedication at Cill Carthach, now Kiltcar in Donegal (*Loca Patriciana*, p. 298; for other churches in Ossory possibly founded by this saint, Kilmocar, Kilmogar, and Stamcarty, see the same writer). St. Carthach is said to have been the father of St. Molua (*Leabhar Breac*). There seems to be an unvarying tradition that makes him the tutor of St. Carthach the younger; but as regards the details of his life there can be no absolute certainty. [See remarks on St. CAINNECH.] His day is 5 March.

[Bolland. *Acta Sanctorum*, 5 March, 389-399, and 14 May; Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, 250, and in *Vita Kierani*, 458-66; Stokes's *Calendar of Angus the Culdee*; Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, ii. 98, 152, &c.; Shearman's *Loca Patriciana*; *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i.] T. A. A.

CARTHACH, SAINT, the younger (*d.* 636), called also MOCHUDA, the founder of the famous monastery at Rahen, and bishop of Lismore, was the son of Finnall (*Annals Four Masters*, sub an. 631). According to his legendary life, which, however, seems to have preserved much that is historical, he was born in Kerry, of the race of Fergus, 'qui fuit fortissimus heros Ulteriorum,' but had been driven from his native place by Oidell, king of Connaught. His father's name, according to this account, was Fingen of Kerry, his mother's, Mead, 'de gente Corcoduidne' (P Corcaquiny

in Kerry). Fingen, swineherd on the Mainne, a man of some position under the king or 'duke' of Kerry, employed his young son; and while serving in this capacity the boy found favour with the king, Moeltule, and his wife, who was granddaughter to the king of Munster. His time was now divided between court service and pasturage, till one day, being ravished by the chanting of his namesake, Carthach the elder, he insisted on forsaking his worldly employment for that of God. It was in vain that Moeltule called the young enthusiast into his presence and made him offer of sword and shield and kingly robes if he would only undertake his father's duties and position. After having received the priesthood, Carthach was once more brought before the king, whom he blessed, and to whose descendants he promised long rule in Kerry, 'all which things,' says his biographer (*Vita*, ii. 379), 'are being fulfilled according to that prophecy.' From his cell in Kell-Tulach, 'between the Mainne and Mount Mysis,' Carthach set out for North Ireland, the home of his race, and spent a year with Comgall at his great monastery of Bangor (in co. Down), on leaving which place he acted as bishop in Kerry. Later on, passing through the southern parts of Leinster, he came to Clonfert, where he dismissed all his companions and proceeded on his journey alone, having on his shoulders two *lethæ* full of books. By the advice of St. Colman-Ela he constructed himself a cell at Raithin—now Rahen in King's County—somewhere about A.D. 590. This expanded into the great Irish monastery over which he ruled for forty years, and whither disciples—to the number of 867—flocked from all parts of Ireland and Britain. His rule appears to have been very strict, and we are told in his life that he forbade his monks to use cattle in their agricultural works till, at the request of St. Fintan, he relaxed the severity of this order. Carthach appears to have retained the bishopric of Kerry (*Vita*, ii. c. iii. 24, with which cf. 14), returning at times to his home at Rahen, where we read that he was visited by St. Columba. Great possessions were heaped upon the saint by Cathal, king of Munster (*d.* 620). Meanwhile, Rahen was growing in fame as an ecclesiastical school, and among the crowns of Carthach's scholars twelve names stood out with special prominence—'the twelve disciples of Mochuda.' Of these the most important are Mochemog, Ædan, and Mochua or Cronan.

After forty years of quiet, Carthach was driven from Rahen with his company of monks about the year 631 (*A. F. M.*, but cf.



*Chr. Scot. &c.* for a slightly different date). The causes of this movement are hard to fathom, but it seems that the jealousy of a certain section of the clergy in Meath urged Blaithmac and Diarmid, the sons of Ædth Slane, to expel the whole community. Carthach now commenced a wandering life. From Rahen he passed to Fircall (in King's County), and from Fircall to Roserea in Tipperary, where his former pupil, St. Cronan, entertained him. Thence he journeyed southwards to King Failbhe Flann at Cashel (633, *A. F. M.*), from which place he traversed the district of Decies in Waterford as far as Lisamore, where Failbhe's son-in-law, Melochtrig, gave him a site for a new monastery (c. 632). Here Carthach seems to have dwelt for a few years, till at last, as age drew on, he retired to a neighbouring retreat to the east of his chief foundation, and here lived for eighteen months. At last, feeling that death was upon him, and pitying the older members of his flock whose weak limbs could hardly bear the toils of a journey to his secluded cell, he gave orders to be carried from the valley to a place of easier access. On the way he grew weaker, and called to his bearers to set him down in the valley. There he received the communion, gave his last injunctions to his brethren, and so died 'by the fountain where the cross of migration (*crux migrationis*) has been erected' (14 May 636; but cf. TIGHERNAC, 637, and *Chr. Scot.* 636). Of Carthach's writings none seem to be extant now, excepting perhaps the rule for his monastery of Rahen, which Ussher saw 'in codice antiquiore . . . Hibernico sermone antiquissimo exarato' (*Antiq.* p. 476). A long poem, ascribed to this saint, is still preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (*MS. H.* ii. 16; REEVES, *Culdees*, p. 8; with which cf. O'CURRY's *Lectures on Manuscript Materials for Irish History* for an account of a verse 'Rule' ascribed to Carthach, pp. 374-5). Carthach is more generally known by the name of Mochuda, his real name having probably been Chuda (= Cuddy), to which the endearing prefix 'mo' (= my) has been added, as in the case of so many other Irish saints (LANIGAN, pp. 350-1).

[Carthach's name seems to occur first in the so-called Catalogue of Tirechan, seventh and eighth century (Haddan and Stubbs, ii. part 2), the Stowe Missal, of perhaps the ninth century (Warren's *Liturgy of the Celtic Church*, p. 238), and the Martyrology of Engus the Culdee (ed. Stokes), tenth century. His name is also to be found on the same day (14 May), according to the Bollandist editor, in the Tamlacht and other early Irish Martyrologies. Two ancient lives are printed in the Bollandist *Acta SS.*, one from

a MS. Salmanticense at Brussels, the other from an ancient Irish manuscript, which seems, if we may judge from Dr. Reeves's description of the latter, to correspond with that contained in ff. 94-100 of the so-called Codex Kilkenniensis (or Codex Armachanus) in Primate Marsh's library at Dublin. Of these two lives the second, which is by far the longer, appears to contain the larger amount of historical details, though mixed with much fable. It is noteworthy that the name of St. Carthach the younger does not seem to occur in the lives of any of the contemporary saints of Ireland.] T. A. A.

CARTHEW, GEORGE ALFRED (1807-1882), antiquary, was born on 20 June 1807, being the only son of George Carthew, solicitor, of Harleston, Norfolk, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Isaack, gent., of Wighton in the same county. Owing to his father's straitened circumstances, Carthew had little school education. While yet a boy he was articled to his father, and from him he inherited not only the remarkable faculty for genealogical and historical research which he exhibited throughout a long life, but a rich collection of materials. He had access, while still in his articles, to a collection of charters once belonging to Mendham Priory in Suffolk, and with but little assistance he spent years in deciphering, copying, and analysing the large mass of ancient documents so as to completely master the contents. Carthew was admitted a solicitor in Hilary term 1830, and, after practising for nine years at Framlingham in Suffolk, though still in partnership with his father at Harleston, accepted a partnership at East Dereham, where he fixed himself for the rest of his life. At Dereham Carthew wrote the history of the hundred of Launditch, which, after nearly forty years of toil, interrupted by frequent illness and pecuniary loss, was published with the title of 'The Hundred of Launditch and Deanery of Brisley in the County of Norfolk. Evidences and Topographical Notes,' &c., three parts, 4to, Norwich, 1877-9. This admirable specimen of a county history, skilfully arranged and skilfully executed, illustrated by lithographs, plans, and facsimiles, is unrivalled for the completeness of the manorial descents.

Carthew was nominated one of the local secretaries of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society instituted under the presidency of Bishop Stanley in December 1845, and at the first general meeting (1846) read a paper on the church of Great Dereham. His contributions to the 'Norfolk Archaeology' were numerous and important, the most valuable being perhaps the notice on 'North Creake Abbey' in the seventh volume, pp. 153-68, and that 'On the Right of Wardship

and the Ceremony of Homage and Fealty in the Feudal Times' in the fourth volume, pp. 286-91. In the second volume of the same serial he had published 'Extracts from a MS. Diary of Peter Le Neve, Esq., Norroy King of Arms, entitled "Memorand' in Heraldry," of such entries as relate to the County of Norfolk,' accompanied by an elaborate pedigree of Le Neve and valuable genealogical notes. This manuscript had come into his possession through his grandfather, the Rev. Thomas Carthew, F.S.A., of Woodbridge Abbey in Suffolk, to whom it was given by 'Honest Tom Martin,' the historian of Thetford, who had married Le Neve's widow. Some extracts previously appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' Carthew also took part in editing for the society 'The Visitation of Norfolk in the year 1563,' of which only the first volume, published in 1878, has as yet appeared.

Later Carthew, in ill-health and suffering from severe domestic loss, prepared for publication his collections for the history of the parishes of West and East Bradenham, Necton, and Holme Hale. In the event of his death Dr. Jessopp undertook to see the rest of his material through the press, and preface the work with an introduction. Carthew was found dead in his chair on the morning of Saturday, 21 Oct. 1882, and was buried at Harleston.

Carthew had been elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in February 1854; he was a frequent contributor to the chief antiquarian and genealogical periodicals. After his death appeared: 1. 'A History of the Parishes of West and East Bradenham, with those of Necton and Holme Hale, in the County of Norfolk. With an Introduction by the Rev. Augustus Jessopp, D.D.,' 4to, Norwich, 1888. 2. 'The Origin of Family or Sur-Names, with special Reference to those of the Inhabitants of East Dereham in the County of Norfolk,' 4to, Norwich, 1883.

[Burke's Landed Gentry (1882), i. 278; Athenæum, 4 Nov. 1882, p. 598.] G. G.

**CARTHEW, THOMAS** (1657-1704), serjeant-at-law, eldest son of Thomas Carthew of Cannaliggy, St. Issey in Cornwall, who married Mary Baker of Bodmin, was born on 6 April 1657. If the authority of Hals, the Cornish historian, can be trusted, he was for some time 'in the inferior practice of the law under Mr. Tregenna, without being a perfect Latin grammarian, always using the English words for matters and things in his declarations where he understood not the Latin.' He became a student at the Middle Temple on 21 May

1683, and on 14 June 1686 was called to the bar, Hals adding that he gained his advancement 'by a mandamus from the lord keeper, North,' with whom he was undoubtedly connected by marriage. He was admitted to the same position at the Inner Temple on 23 Nov. 1698, and was created a serjeant-at-law on 7 Nov. 1700, when he was raised to the bench of his inn. The same local historian prophesied his growth 'into such great fame and reputation, that he is likely to make a considerable addition to his paternal estate,' but on 4 July 1704 Narcissus Luttrell records in his diary, 'tis reported Serjeant Carthew is dead,' and on 12 July he was buried in the Temple Church. John Colby of Banham in Norfolk married Ann, daughter and heiress of John Arthur of Wiggenhall St. Mary. At Colby's death his widow married Edward North of Benacre, Suffolk. Ann, one of Colby's two daughters and coheirresses, married a second Edward North, and the other daughter, Mary, married Serjeant Carthew. By her the serjeant had two sons, Thomas and John, both at the bar, and Thomas, the elder, inherited Cannaliggy from his father, and Benacre and Woodbridge from his maternal uncle, Edward North. The Cornish property he sold in 1720, and the Suffolk estates have long passed from the family, but a portrait of the serjeant is said to be preserved at Woodbridge Abbey. A volume of the serjeant's, 'Reports of Cases adjudged in the Court of King's Bench from 3 Jac. II to 12 Will. III,' was published by his son, Thomas Carthew, in 1728, and reprinted in an enlarged edition in 1741. A 'Reading on the law of uses by Serjeant Carthew at New Inn in Michaelmas term, the third of William and Mary, when he was deputy reader for the Middle Temple,' was included in a volume entitled 'Collectanea Juridica' (1791). The serjeant's reports are praised by Kenyon and Willes, but condemned by Thurlow.

[Benchers of Inner Temple (1883), p. 58; Woolrych's Serjeants, ii. 459-63; Suckling's Suffolk, ii. 123-4; Courtney and Boase's Bibl. Cornub. 64, 1116; Miscell. Geneal. et Herald. iii. 176; Parochial Hist. of Cornwall (1868), ii. 236-7, 241.] W. P. C.

**CARTIER, SIR GEORGE ETIENNE** (1814-1873), Canadian statesman, youngest son of Jacques Cartier, lieutenant-colonel in the Canadian militia, who died in 1841, by his wife Margaret, daughter of Joseph Paradis, was born at St. Antoine, on the Chambly river, in the county of Verchères, Lower Canada, on 6 Sept. 1814. He received his education at the college of St. Sulpice, Montreal, where he went through a course of

study during eight years. Having left college, he entered the office of E. E. Rodier, a leading member of the Montreal bar, and in November 1835 became a member of the bar in Lower Canada. The same year he commenced practice, and soon succeeded in establishing an extensive and lucrative business. At different times he had for his partners in the law J. A. Berthelot and M. Dumerville. In March 1848, seven years after responsible government had been established in Canada, Cartier was elected a member of the legislative assembly for the county of Verchères. He continued to represent that constituency until the general election of 1861, when he contested Montreal, and after a hard struggle defeated M. Dorion, the leader of the rouge or Lower Canada party. On 25 Jan. 1856 he first held office as provincial secretary in the MacNab-Taché ministry, and on 24 May 1856 was appointed attorney-general for Lower Canada on the formation of the Taché-Macdonald administration. In November 1857 he was named leader of the Lower Canada section of the government, the Hon. J. A. Macdonald becoming premier, and the ministry under its new phase being known as the Macdonald-Cartier ministry. A slight change in the wheel of fortune produced a transposition of these names, and on 6 Aug. 1858 the ministry became the Cartier-Macdonald administration. As a legislator Cartier assisted to carry the bills for abolishing the seigniorial tenures, that for making the legislative council elective, and that for secularising the clergy reserves. It was also owing to his exertions that several important measures were enacted by the legislature. To say nothing of the Victoria Bridge Bill, he in 1856 passed an act for the establishment of three normal schools, and in 1857 carried a measure to provide for the codification of the civil laws. In the same session he framed an act to break up the system of judicial centralisation in Lower Canada. Two years later he introduced the French civil law into the townships, its operation having been previously confined to the seigniories. In the sitting of 1860 he passed the measures dividing the cities of Montreal, Quebec, and Toronto into electoral divisions, and also introduced the admirable municipal bill which the lower province now enjoys. On 28 July 1858, being defeated in an attempt to make Ottawa the seat of government, he was obliged to resign. As a leader and member of the government he was one of the most honest and upright ministers who ever held office; his enunciation of French in parliament was the most distinct of any member in the house,

and he had a perfect command of English. Every year of his official life he submitted to a sacrifice of professional emolument, which had the effect of making him a comparatively poor man. The new ministry, under the Hon. George Brown, were only able to hold office two days, and Cartier immediately returned to power as premier in the month of August, and kept that position until May 1862. In 1864 he was again offered the premiership of the cabinet, but declined it, though he accepted the position of attorney-general. He was one of the delegates to England on the question of confederation and the intercolonial railway in 1865 and 1866. On the formation of the Dominion government in 1867 he was appointed minister of militia and defence in the new cabinet, and retained this place until the reconstruction of the cabinet under Lord Dufferin in 1873. In 1854 he was made a queen's counsel of Canada, created a C.B. on 29 June 1867, a member of the queen's privy council for Canada in July 1867, and a baronet of the United Kingdom on 24 Aug. 1868.

He died at his lodgings, 47 Welbeck Street, Cavendish Square, London, on 21 May 1873. The requiem mass was celebrated at the French Chapel, Portman Square, on 27 May, and his remains were then shipped to Canada for interment. He married, on 16 June 1846, Hortense, daughter of Edward Raymond Fabre of Montreal, and had issue two daughters. He was the author of the popular French Canadian song 'O Canada! mon pays, mes amours!' which was set to music and published, and of other songs.

[Morgan's Sketches of Canadians, 1862, pp. 603-8; Appleton's American Annual Cyclopaedia, 1873, p. 597; Times, 23 May, p. 5, 28 May, p. 10.] G. C. B.

**CARTWRIGHT, CHRISTOPHER** (1602-1658), divine, was born in the parish of St. Michael-le-Belfry, York, in 1602. He was admitted to Peterhouse, Cambridge, on 13 Dec. 1617; graduated B.A. 1620, M.A. 1624; was elected to a fellowship at Peterhouse on 30 March 1625, and was afterwards a clergyman in York. His writings are: 1. 'The Magistrates' Authority in matters of Religion and the Soul's Immortality vindicated in two sermons,' 1647. The first sermon, published by a Colonel Leigh, is directed against some soldiers in the army at York, who had roused Cartwright's indignation by denying the power of the magistrate to restrain heretics. 2. 'The Doctrine of Faith . . . ' 1649 (thirty-six sermons). 3. 'Certamen Religiosum, or a Controversy between the late King of England and the late Lord

Marquesse of Worcester concerning Religion, with a Vindication of the Protestant Cause from the pretences of the Marquesse his last Papers, which the necessity of the King's affairs denied him opportunity to answer,' 1651. The 'Certamen Religiosum' published in 1649 by Thomas Bayly [q. v.], is here reprinted with Cartwright's answer. 4. 'Electa Thargumico-Rabbinica sive Annotationes in Exodum ex triplice Thargum seu Chaldaica paraphrasi . . .' 1658. Dedicated to Ussher. 5. 'Mellificium Hebraicum seu observationes diversimodæ ex Hebræorum, præsertim antiquorum, monumentis desumptæ, unde plurimi cum Veteris tum Novi Testamenti loci vel explicantur vel illustrantur.' The last was first published in the ninth volume of the 'Critici Sacri,' 1660, and the eighth volume of the edition of 1698. The 'Electa Thargumico-Rabbinica' was first inserted in the 'Critici Sacri' of 1698 (vol. i. pt. i.) Cartwright shows great learning in illustrating the Bible from ancient rabbinical writings, and is respectfully mentioned by contemporaries. When Baxter wrote his first work, 'Aphorisms of Justification, &c.,' he submitted it to Cartwright among others. Cartwright made various remarks, to which Baxter replied. Cartwright then replied by some 'exceptions.' Baxter lost the manuscript, which turned up some years after Cartwright's death. In 1676 Baxter published his 'Treatise of Justifying Righteousness,' in two books, the second of which, entitled 'A Friendly Debate with the learned and worthy Mr. Christopher Cartwright,' contains all the preceding papers, together with Baxter's final reply, 'The Substance of Mr. Cartwright's Objections considered.' It is a curious illustration of Baxter's dialectical subtlety and candour. He calls Cartwright a 'very learned, peaceable, and godly man.' Cartwright died at York in 1658, and left some books to the library of Peterhouse.

[Sylvester's Baxter, i. 50, 107; Cole's MSS. xlii. 100, 136; E. Leigh's Treatise of Religion and Learning (1656), p. 155; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. ii. 527, iii. 201, 432, 928, 1027; Drake's Eboracum, p. 378; Calamy's Baxter, ii. 783.]  
L. S.

**CARTWRIGHT, EDMUND, D.D.** (1743-1823), the reputed inventor of the power-loom, born 24 April 1743, was the fourth son of William Cartwright of Marnham, Nottinghamshire, where the family had been settled for generations. One of his elder brothers was Major John Cartwright [q. v.] He received his early education at Wakefield grammar school, and at fourteen went to University College, Oxford. When

he wished to become a candidate for a fellowship at Magdalen without having graduated, convocation (CARTWRIGHT, *Memorial*, read to the Society of Arts, p. 6) passed an act enabling him to take his B.A. degree before the regular time. On receiving it, in 1764, he was elected a fellow of Magdalen, proceeding M.A. in 1766. A versifier from an early age, he published anonymously, in 1772, 'Armine and Elvira, a legendary poem,' which went rapidly through several editions and was reprinted in an anonymous volume of poems issued by him in 1773. In the essay on the imitation of the ancient ballads prefixed to the third part of the 'Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border,' Sir Walter Scott speaks of 'Armine and Elvira' as a 'beautiful piece,' and admired by Dugald Stewart. Having taken orders and married a lady who appears to have inherited property in Doncaster, Cartwright was presented to the perpetual curacy of Brampton, near Wakefield. In 1779 he became rector of Goadby Marwood, Leicestershire, and published (anonymously) 'The Prince of Peace,' an ode deploring the war with the American colonists. At Goadby Marwood he made agricultural experiments on his glebe land, contributed to the 'Monthly Review,' and formed an intimacy with Crabbe, who in 1772 became his neighbour as chaplain to the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir. Cartwright was prebendary of Lincoln from 1786 till death.

In 1784 Cartwright paid a holiday-visit to Matlock, near Arkwright's [see ARKWRIGHT, SIR RICHARD] cotton-spinning mills at Cromford. There Cartwright happened to say in conversation that Arkwright 'would have to set his wits to work to invent a weaving-mill,' and argued that it would not be more difficult to make a weaving-machine than it had been to construct the automatic chess-player. From this conversation sprang the modern power-loom, according to the account years afterwards furnished by Cartwright to the contributor of an article on the cotton manufacture in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (reproduced in Baines's 'History of the Cotton Manufacture,' pp. 229-30).

Soon after his return home Cartwright constructed a power-loom without having seen the working of the ordinary hand-loom. His clumsy machine was inadequate as an effective substitute for the hand-loom. Nevertheless he took out a patent for it, 4 April 1785, removing in the same year to Doncaster, where he had become possessed of some property, probably in right of his wife. Having studied the working of the hand-loom, in 1786—issuing the while a new edition of his poems (mostly commonplace)—

he visited Manchester to have a model of his improved machine constructed and criticised by skilful workmen, and to enlist the aid of local manufacturers. Disappointed in this hope, and having taken out two more patents, 30 Oct. 1786 and 18 Aug. 1787, for further improvements in his loom, he set up at Doncaster a factory of his own for weaving and spinning. The power-loom worked there was the parent of that now in use, and in it an ingenious mechanism was substituted for the hands and feet of the ordinary weaver (see drawing of a portion of it, with the improvements subsequently patented in 1790, in appendix C to the *Memoir of Cartwright*, by his daughter, and description of it there, pp. 64-6; also the drawings of it, with extracts from the specification of 1790, in BARLOW, *History of Weaving*, pp. 236-8). Cartwright's was not the earliest power-loom, but it was the first by which wide cloth, such as calico, was woven for practical purposes (BARLOW, p. 229).

Yorkshire had for centuries been a principal seat of the woollen manufacture, and at Doncaster Cartwright invented a wool-combing machine which contributed greatly to lessen the cost of that manufacture. It was an invention more original than his power-loom. No method of combing wool but by hand appears to have been so much as thought of when Cartwright took out, in 1789, his first patent for a wool-combing machine. Its structure was essentially modified when he took out, in 1790, a second and third patent, followed by a fourth in 1792. It substituted mechanical action for manual. Even in the earlier stages of its development one machine did the work of twenty combers by hand, and by the use of a single set of the machines a manufacturer could save 1,100*l.* per annum (see drawings and descriptions of it in *Memoir*, pp. 98-100, and in JAMES, *History of the Worsteds Manufacture*, where its initial value is spoken of disparagingly). Petitions against its use poured into the House of Commons from the wool-combers, some fifty thousand in number. So formidable seemed their opposition that Cartwright, in a counter-petition, expressed his readiness to limit the number of his machines to be used in any one year. The House of Commons appointed a committee to inquire into the matter, and nothing came of the wool-combers' agitation (*Journals of the House of Commons*, xlix. 322; CARTWRIGHT, *Memorial*, read to the Society of Arts, p. 43).

Cartwright's Doncaster factory is said to have been on a limited scale, until the erection of a steam-engine in 1788 or 1789, though on visiting it Mrs. Crabbe was as-

tonished by its magnitude (*Life of Crabbe*, by his son, 1847, p. 38). In 1791 a Manchester firm contracted with Cartwright for the use of four hundred of his power-loom, and built a mill in which some of them were worked by a steam-engine, at a saving, it was said, of half the wages paid to the hand-loom weavers. The Manchester mill was burned to the ground, probably by workmen, who feared to be displaced. This catastrophe prevented manufacturers from repeating the experiment. Cartwright's success at Doncaster was obstructed by opposition and by the costly character of his processes in that early stage. By 1793, having spent some 30,000*l.*, he was deeply in debt. He relinquished his works at Doncaster, giving up his property to his creditors, transferring for their benefit also his patent rights to his brothers, John and Charles, and recording in a stoical sonnet his feelings at this destruction of his hopes.

In 1793 Cartwright removed to London, where, in a small house nearly on the site afterwards occupied by the Coliseum, he built a room with the 'geometrical bricks,' patented 14 April 1795, whose cost alone would have prevented their general use. He constructed a new steam-engine, for which he took out a patent in 1797, and in which alcohol was wholly or in part to be substituted for water (see drawings in TREDGOLD, *Steam-engine*, i. 34-5). He now formed an intimacy with Robert Fulton, co-operating with him in experiments for the application of steam to navigation. Cartwright was one of the arbitrators appointed to settle the terms of the compensation to be given by the British government to Fulton on his suppression of a secret for blowing up ships by submarine navigation. In 1799 Cartwright was for a time candidate for the secretaryship of the Society of Arts, and prepared a 'memorial,' afterwards published, which gives some autobiographical details. He had been appointed a prebendary of Lincoln in 1786 (LE NEVE, *Fasts*, ii. 207) by Thurlow, then bishop of that see.

In 1800 Cartwright's patent for the wool-combing machine had only a few years to run. It was coming into use slowly, but infringements were frequent and costly to resist. He petitioned parliament to prolong his patent for fourteen years, and circulated a 'case' in which he told the story of his inventions and his losses by them. After an inquiry by a committee of the House of Commons, a bill prolonging the patent for fourteen years was passed in 1801. When the prolonged patent expired, Cartwright remained a loser by his invention.

Cartwright had been again directing his attention to agricultural improvements. In 1793 had appeared a letter from him to Sir John Sinclair on a new reaping machine of his invention, and in June 1801 he received a prize from the board of agriculture for an essay on husbandry. In 1800 the ninth duke of Bedford gave him the management of an experimental farm at Woburn. The duke died in the following spring, and Cartwright preached a funeral sermon which was severely censured, as improper from a clergyman, in a published letter, signed 'Christianus Laicus,' addressed to Charles James Fox. The tenth duke of Bedford retained his services until 1807. In that year appeared a volume of affectionately didactic 'Letters and Sonnets' addressed by Cartwright to Lord John Russell, then a boy of fifteen. During his stay at Woburn, Cartwright's zealous promotion of agricultural improvement procured him distinctions from the Society of Arts and the board of agriculture. In 1806 the university of Oxford conferred on him his B.D. and D.D. degrees, and he officiated as domestic chaplain to the Duke of Bedford. He remained rector of Goadby Marwood until 1808 at least.

In 1804 Cartwright's patent for the power-loom expired. For several years after his abandonment of the Doncaster factory his power-loom was little used, but, with improvements effected in it, it came gradually into some favour. About 1806 Cartwright found his invention to have become a source of considerable profit to Lancashire manufacturers. He wrote an indignant letter to a Manchester friend. In August 1807 some fifty prominent Manchester firms signed a memorial to the Duke of Portland, as prime minister, asking the government to bestow a substantial recognition on the services rendered to the country by Cartwright's invention of the power-loom. Cartwright petitioned the House of Commons, which on 10 June 1809 voted him 10,000*l*.

Cartwright now became independent. He bought a small farm at Hollander, between Sevenoaks and Tunbridge, and occupied himself during the rest of his life in cultivating it and in useful inventions, agricultural and general. In his eighty-third year he sent to the Royal Society, which did not publish it, a paper containing a new theory of the movement of the planets round the sun. At Hollander he was kind to the poor and active as a magistrate. Crabbe's son speaks of Cartwright as 'a portly dignified old gentleman, grave and polite, but full of humour and spirit.' Inventing to the last, he died at Hastings on 30 Oct. 1823, and was buried in

the church of Battle, where his family erected a mural monument to his memory. Cartwright left several children, among them Edmund, rector of Earnley; Elizabeth, wife of the Rev. John Penrose, better known as the Mrs. Markham of juvenile historical literature; Frances Dorothy [q. v.], the biographer of her uncle, Major Cartwright; and Mary, the wife of Henry Eustatius Strickland, no doubt the authoress of the meritorious biography of her father, which was published anonymously, but to the preface of which its writer affixed the signature 'M. S.'

[A Memoir of the Life, Writings, and Mechanical Inventions of Edmund Cartwright, D.D., &c. (1843); Bennett Woodcroft's Brief Biographies of Inventors for the Manufacture of Textile Fabrics (1863); Abridgments of Specifications relating to Weaving (1861); Report from the Committee on Dr. Cartwright's Petition respecting his weaving machine, together with the minutes of evidence; House of Commons' Papers (1808); E. Baines's History of Cotton Manufacture in Great Britain (1833); Barlow's History and Principles of Weaving by Hand and by Power (1878); James's History of the Worsted Manufacture in England from the earliest times (1857); Tredgold's Steam-engine, its Invention and Progressive Improvement (1838).] F. E.

**CARTWRIGHT, FRANCES DOROTHY** (1780-1863), poetess and biographer, youngest child of the Rev. Edmund Cartwright, D.D. [q. v.], inventor of the power-loom, &c., by his first wife, Alice, was born 28 Oct. 1780. She was adopted by her uncle, Major Cartwright [q. v.], the energetic politician, on her mother's death, while she was still an infant; and was sent to school at Richmond. In 1802 she began to write small poems, and in 1823, being much interested by the Spanish patriots received by her uncle, she learnt Spanish and translated a few of Riego's poems into English. On the death of her uncle in 1824 she prepared her first published work, 'The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright,' published in 1826. She retired with Major Cartwright's widow to Worthing, and published her poems there anonymously, in a little volume, 'Poems, chiefly Devotional,' dated 13 Nov. 1835. Her translations of Riego's poems appeared, with her initials, in the poet's 'Obras Póstumas Poéticas' (1844). She died at Brighton 12 Jan. 1863, aged 83.

[Frances Cartwright's Life of her uncle, i. 163, 405, 408-12, ii. 163, 243, 245, 279, 302; her Poems, 18, 21-6, 41, 47, 48, 50; El Romancero and Obras Póstumas Poéticas of E. A. del Riego y Nuñez and R. del Riego y Nuñez, on coloured leaves, not pagged; Brighton Examiner, 20 Jan. 1863.] J. H.

**CARTWRIGHT, GEORGE** (*d.* 1661), dramatist, was the author of a solitary tragedy entitled 'The Heroick Lover, or the Infanta of Spain,' London, 1661, 8vo, dedicated to Charles II. It was presumably unacted. The scene is Poland, and the author speaks of it as 'a poem consisting more of fatal truth than flying fancy.' It is in rhymed verse, and is in all respects a poor production. Cartwright is unmentioned by Langbaine, Winstanley, and Phillips. The first reference to him occurs in Gildon's addition to Langbaine, 1699, where it is said that the author 'has writ a play called "Heroick Love," a mistake copied by succeeding writers, and that he 'lived at Fulham.'

[Baker, Reed, and Jones's *Biographia Dramatica*; Genest's *Account of the Stage*; *The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*, first begun by Mr. Langbaine, improved and continued down to this time by a careful hand, 1699.] J. K.

**CARTWRIGHT, JOHN** (*d.* 1763-1808), painter, was a member of the Free Society of Artists, and in 1763 signed the deed of enrolment of that society. He went to Rome to prosecute his artistic studies, and there became acquainted with Henry Fuseli. On his return to England he resided for several years at 100 St. Martin's Lane, and when Fuseli returned to England from Rome in 1779, he for some time shared part of Cartwright's house. Cartwright became a great personal friend of Fuseli, who gave him many hints, and occasionally assistance in his work. His historical pictures show much of Fuseli's influence, which was, however, unsuited to an artist of Cartwright's calibre. He exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1784 to 1808; his pictures were not confined to any one class of subject, but represented landscapes, historical and domestic subjects, and principally portraits.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of Artists of the English School*; Redgrave's *Century of Painters*, vol. i.; Graves's *Dict. of Artists*, 1760-1880; Pye's *Patronage of British Art*; Catalogues of the Exhibitions of the Royal Academy and the Free Society of Artists; Knowles's *Life of Fuseli*.] L. C.

**CARTWRIGHT, JOHN** (1740-1824), political reformer, was descended from an old Nottinghamshire family, and was the third son of William Cartwright of Marnham, and Anne, daughter of George Cartwright of Ossington. He was born 17 Sept. 1740, and educated at a grammar school at Newark, and a private academy at Heath in Yorkshire. At about the age of eighteen he entered the navy, and saw some active service under the command of Lord Howe.

He devised certain improvements in gun exercise, afterwards incorporated in Falconer's 'Marine Dictionary.' Cartwright rapidly rose in the service, and in 1766 was appointed first lieutenant of the *Guernsey* on the Newfoundland station, and the following year was made deputy commissary to the vice-admiralty court in that island. Here he took the lead in a short exploring expedition. He returned from Newfoundland in 1770, in impaired health. His mind dwelt constantly on the improvement of naval efficiency, and during several years he endeavoured to draw the attention of the government to plans for a perpetual supply of timber for the navy.

About 1775 Cartwright began publicly to assert his opinions on political matters in 'A Letter to Edmund Burke, controverting the Principles of American Government laid down in his lately published speech on American Taxation,' and in a tract on American independence. Two years later his sympathies hindered him from joining Lord Howe's command in North America, and a stop was thus put to his professional advancement. In 1775 Cartwright had been appointed major to the Nottinghamshire militia. He now began a series of writings on reform in parliament. From the first he advocated annual parliaments, universal suffrage, and the ballot. His extreme notions hindered his acceptance by the whigs, but his position as a country gentleman insured him respect. He was frequently in correspondence with Mr. Burke and other leaders of opinion. In 1780 Cartwright began the agitation which earned for him the title of the Father of Reform. A county meeting in Nottingham was succeeded in March of that year by the historic meeting at Westminster, on which occasion the leaders of the whig opposition met Cartwright and his friends, and passed resolutions on the inadequate representation of the people of England. Shortly after he founded the Society for Constitutional Information. He stood for parliament more than once, but his candidature was vain. He unsuccessfully contested Nottinghamshire in 1780 and Boston in 1806 and 1807, and was nominated for Westminster in 1818 and 1819.

Meanwhile he was actively engaged in agricultural pursuits and laying down practical hints for the encouragement of the farming interest. He was likewise in active co-operation with Clarkson, Granville Sharp, and the other anti-slavery leaders. During the alarmist period Cartwright ran personal risk. Having attended a public meeting to celebrate the taking of the Bastille, his promotion in the militia was withheld, and his commission at length cancelled.

About 1800 a plan was started for erecting a naval temple which should record the feats of British seamen. Cartwright produced one which was considered to be far ahead of any other project. Drawings were publicly exhibited at a house in Pall Mall, and an elaborate quarto volume remains as a record of the scheme, and, indeed, as the only part of it which was ever carried out ('The Trident, or the National Policy of Naval Celebration; describing a Hieronauticon, or Naval Temple'). In 1803-4 Cartwright renewed his representations relative to the defenceless state of the country, particularly in the eastern counties, and produced one of his more important works, under the title of 'England's Aegis; or, the Military Energies of the Constitution.' He contributed many papers to Cobbett's 'Register' on this and other topics. He continued to publish numerous writings, of which the more important were: 'The Comparison: in which Mock Reform, Half Reform, and Constitutional Reform are considered; or, who are the Statesmen to preserve our Laws and Liberties' (1810); 'Six Letters to the Marquis of Tavistock, on a Reform of the Commons House of Parliament' (1812); 'The English Constitution produced and illustrated' (1823). He also devoted himself during the later years of his life to the cause of Spanish patriotism; and in 1821, at a time when the Greeks were making their struggle for independence, he aided the public subscriptions both in money and by his pen in 'Hints to the Greeks' (a study of pikes, in default of bayonets). In 1813 he was arrested in the course of a political tour, but soon released; and in 1820 was tried for sedition and fined 100*l*.

In 1805 Cartwright left his Lincolnshire home and came up to the metropolis, residing for some time at Enfield. In 1810 he removed to James Street, Buckingham Gate, and in 1819 to Burton Crescent, where he resided till his death on 23 Sept. 1824. A monument has been erected to his memory in the garden opposite. Cartwright was one of the most generous-minded public men of his time. He was tender to his opponents, forgiving to detractors, and always open-handed. He saved persons from drowning, at the risk of his own life, on four different occasions. His writings are excessively dry to the ordinary reader, and quite significant of the enthusiast who could be earnest without being inflammatory. 'He was cheerful, agreeable, and full of curious anecdote. He was, however, in political matters, exceedingly troublesome, and sometimes exceedingly absurd,' according to Mr. Place (*Add.*

*MS.* 27850, fol. 108). Other testimony of his contemporaries seems to show the accuracy of this opinion. Upwards of eighty tracts or other writings, besides the above-mentioned, were published by him, a list of which is given in the biography by his niece (ii. 299-301). Those which expressed a full statement of his views are: 'Give us our Rights: or, a letter to the present electors of Middlesex and the Metropolis, showing what those rights are,' &c. (1782); 'The Commonwealth in Danger: with an introduction, containing remarks on some late writings of Arthur Young' (1795). The rest of them are mere reiterations. Cartwright married in 1780 Miss Anne Katharine Dashwood, of a Lincolnshire family, but had no issue. His wife died on 21 Dec. 1834, and was buried by her husband in the churchyard of Finchley, Middlesex.

[*Add.* MSS. 27850 ff. 108 et seq., 27937 ff. 76, 80, 82, 92, 30108 ff. 333, 353, 30109 ff. 61, 124, 125, 30110 f. 80, 30111 f. 8; The Life and Correspondence of Major Cartwright, edited by his niece, F. D. C. (1826); A Memoir of John Cartwright, the Reformer, with a Likeness of that Honest and Consistent Patriot (1831); *Tait's Magazine*, new ser. i. 437 (1834); *Life of S. Romilly* (3rd ed.), ii. 109, 218-24, 508; *Times*, 25 Sept. 1824; *Monthly Chronicle*, 24 Sept. 1824; *Gent. Mag.* xciv. ii. 467-9; *Monthly Review*, lxxiii. 287 et seq.] E. S.

**CARTWRIGHT, JOSEPH** (1789?-1829), marine painter, was apparently a native of Dawlish in Devonshire, and was attached to the navy in a civil capacity. When the Ionian Islands came into the possession of the English, he was appointed paymaster-general of the forces at Corfu, which post he held for some years. On his return to England he published a volume entitled 'Views in the Ionian Islands,' and henceforth devoted himself to art, and especially to painting marine subjects and naval engagements. He exhibited many pictures at the Royal Academy, the British Institution, and the Society of British Artists, and obtained a great reputation in his particular line. In 1825 he was elected a member of the Society of British Artists, and in 1828 he was appointed marine painter to H.R.H. the Duke of Clarence, lord high admiral of England. He died, much esteemed and regretted, at his apartments at Charing Cross, on 10 Jan. 1829, aged about forty. Among his principal pictures were 'The Burning of L'Orient at the Battle of the Nile,' 'The Battle of Algiers,' 'The Battle of Trafalgar,' 'The Port of Venice at Carnival Time,' 'H.M.S. Greyhound and H.M.S. Harrier engaging a Dutch Squadron in the Java Seas,' 'Frigates becalmed in the Ionian



Channel,' 'A Water-spout off the Coast of Albania.'

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists of the English School; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Gent. Mag. xcix. (1829) 187; Annual Register, 16 Jan. 1829; Times, 17 Jan. 1829; Catalogues of Exhibitions at the Royal Academy, the British Institution, and the Society of British Artists.] L. C.

**CARTWRIGHT, SAMUEL** (1789–1864), dentist, was born at Northampton in 1789, and was originally an ivory turner. He came to London at an early age, wholly dependent upon his own exertions for his daily support, and commenced life in the metropolis as a mechanical assistant to Mr. Charles Dumergue of Piccadilly. During this service he found time to give a regular attendance on anatomical and surgical lectures. In 1811 he started in practice on his own account at 32 Old Burlington Street, and soon acquired a reputation second to that of none, either before or since, who have practised the same branch of the healing art. He was as remarkable for the correctness and rapidity of his judgment as he was for marvellous dexterity in all manipulatory processes. During a great part of his career he was in the habit of seeing from forty to fifty patients every day, and this for months together, standing constantly from seven o'clock in the morning until the same hour in the evening, and yet in every case doing what he had to do without the slightest appearance of hurry or fatigue. He did much to improve and elevate his profession, and is said for some years to have been in the receipt of an income of upwards of 10,000*l*. He became a fellow of the Linnean Society on 19 Nov. 1833, a F.R.S. on 11 Feb. 1841, and was also a fellow of the Geological Society, but never found time to make any contributions to the 'Proceedings' of these institutions. His pleasing manners, liberal hospitality, and professional fame acquired for him the friendship of nearly all the most distinguished in science, literature, and art of his day. He continued in practice at Old Burlington Street until 1857, when he retired, and in the following year had an apoplectic seizure which resulted in palsy, under which he laboured for the rest of his life. He died at his residence, Nizell's House, near Tunbridge, on 10 June 1864.

[Proceedings of the Linnean Soc. of London, 1865, p. lxxxiv; British Journal of Dental Science, 1864, vii. 287.] G. C. B.

**CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS** (1535–1603), described by Strype (*Annals*, ii. i. c.1) as 'the head and most learned of that sect

of dissenters then called puritans,' was a native of Hertfordshire, but his place of birth is not recorded. He was sent very young to Cambridge, where he was first entered as a sizar at Clare Hall, matriculating in November 1547. On 5 Nov. 1550 he was elected to a scholarship at St. John's College. The college was conspicuous for its attachment to the new doctrines of the reformation, and on the accession of Queen Mary, Cartwright, in common with most of those who refused to revert to catholicism, was compelled to quit the university. He obtained employment as a clerk to a counsellor-at-law, an experience which he is said to have subsequently turned to account, owing to the skill in dialectical fence which he acquired from his study of the common law. On the death of Queen Mary, the reformers returned to Cambridge in triumph. Among the most eminent of the Marian exiles was Dr. James Pilkington, who was now made master of St. John's, and to whose influence the growth of those puritan principles by which the university shortly after became distinguished is largely attributable. He is said to have already discerned Cartwright's remarkable promise and abilities, and to have facilitated his readmission into the college. From St. John's Cartwright removed in 1560 to Trinity College, but immediately after (6 April) returned to the former society on his election to a fellowship on the Lady Margaret foundation. In the same year he commenced M.A., and 16 Jan. 1562 was appointed junior dean of the college. In April 1562 he returned to Trinity College as a major fellow, and not long after was elected a member of the seniority, or governing body. These successive changes may be interpreted as evidence of his reputation for ability and learning, both colleges apparently having been desirous of securing his services. He was already known in the university as an eloquent preacher, a rising theological scholar, and an able disputant; and, owing to his skill in this last-named capacity, he was elected to take part in a theological disputation held in the presence of Queen Elizabeth on the occasion of her visit to the university in 1564 (printed in NICHOLS's *Progr. Eliz.* iii. 66–8). It is asserted by Sir George Paule (*Life of Whitgift*, pp. 9–10) that Elizabeth showed a marked preference for Cartwright's antagonist in the disputation (the eminent John Preston), and that the former from that time cherished resentful feelings, which ultimately led him 'to kick against her ecclesiastical government.' This statement would appear, however, to be deserving of but little credit.

Nearly all the colleges, at that time, were

distracted by the disputes between the defenders of the newly established Anglican discipline and theology and the supporters of the opposed conceptions derived from the discipline and doctrine of Geneva. In 1565 the fellows and scholars of St. John's, to the number of nearly three hundred, appeared in the college chapel without their surplices, and their example was shortly after followed at Trinity. This latter breach of discipline is attributed by one writer (PAUL, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 12) to the effect produced by three sermons preached in the college chapel by Cartwright. Hitherto, the puritanical tendency had been restricted to such matters as the use of vestments, the posture to be observed at different parts of religious services, &c.; but under Cartwright's influence, questions now began to be raised which affected the whole church organisation.

It may have been partly in order to escape from the contentions which he had done so much to evoke that he retired in 1565 to Ireland. Another fellow of Trinity, Adam Loftus, had been appointed archbishop of Armagh, and Cartwright accompanied him as his chaplain. They held the same theological views, and when, in March 1567, Loftus was raised to the see of Dublin, he took occasion strongly to urge that Cartwright should be appointed his successor in the see of Armagh. In a letter written 5 Dec. 1567 he declares that Cartwright had 'used hym self so godly, during his abode with me in Ireland, bothe in lyfe and doctryne, that his absence from hence is no small greef and sorowe to all the godly and faythfull heare' (SHIRLEY, *Original Letters*, &c., p. 322). It would appear from this letter that Cartwright had left Ireland in the course of 1567. On his return to Cambridge, we hear of him associating on terms of intimacy with Rud. Cevalleerius, the professor of Hebrew, and the youthful Jo. Drusius (CURIANDER, *Vita Jo. Drusii*, p. 4). The recommendation of Loftus was not acted upon, but in 1569 Cartwright was appointed Lady Margaret professor in the university, and both in the chair and in the university pulpit he now began to criticise and denounce the constitution and hierarchy of the English church, comparing them with those of the primitive christian organisations. In his lectures, when expounding the first two chapters of the Acts of the Apostles, his comments were directed to similar conclusions. He was answered from the pulpit by Whitgift, but in oratorical power Cartwright was generally acknowledged to be the superior. St. Mary's was thronged with excited listeners, and the party which sympathised with his views was probably at this time numerically the strongest

in the university. The authorities foreboded, not without reason, the development of a controversy and fresh dissensions which would prove fatal to the peace of the academic community. Among those who severely censured Cartwright's conduct were men of known moderation and learning, such as William Chaderton, his predecessor in the professorial chair, and Grindal, archbishop of York. The remonstrances addressed to Cecil, the chancellor of the university, were so strong that he was roused to unwonted decisiveness of action, and addressed to the authorities a letter which was read in the Regent House on 29 June 1570. It was the same day that Cartwright was a candidate for the degree of D.D., and his supporters, fearing that the decision of the *caput*, or governing body, would be adverse to him, non-placed their election, which at that time took place on the assembling of every congregation. The vice-chancellor, Dr. May, retaliated by taking upon himself to veto Cartwright's degree. Both Cartwright and his opponents now appealed again to Cecil, the former, in justification of his conduct, alleging that he was altogether adverse from any disposition to sedition and contention, and taught nothing which did not naturally flow from the text he treated, although he did not deny that he had pointed out that the ministry of the church had deviated in discipline and practice from the ancient primitive model, and that he would gladly see a return from this departure (STRYPE, *Annals*, II. i. Append. No. 1). His opponents, on the other hand, maintained that the manner in which he had inveighed against the Anglican method of choosing the ministers of the church, and against the dignities of archbishops, deans, archdeacons, &c., as impious and unscriptural, was imperilling the English church itself, and required to be summarily suppressed. At nearly the same time, a memorial in Cartwright's favour, signed by eighteen influential members of the university (among the names are those of Rob. Some, Ri. Greenham, Ri. Howland, George Joy, and Jo. Still), was forwarded to Cecil, testifying to Cartwright's character as 'a pattern of piety and uprightness,' and also to his attainments; although, says the document, as a Greek, Latin, or Hebrew scholar, he is not without his equals in the university, in his combined knowledge of the three languages he is without a rival. Moved by these representations, Cecil, early in August, addressed to the academic heads a letter enjoining abstention, on the part of both parties, from all reference to the questions which Cartwright had raised (*ib.* I. ii. c. 57).

It was at this juncture that the great

revolution was effected in the constitution of the university which resulted from the introduction of the Elizabethan statutes. The powers thus given to the *caput* were more extensive, and less liable to be controlled by the general body; and by virtue of this increase in their authority, the heads, led by Whitgift (who had succeeded May as vice-chancellor), deprived Cartwright of his professorship (December 1570). Following up this step, Whitgift (who had now succeeded to the mastership of Trinity) deprived Cartwright of his fellowship (September 1571), his ostensible reason for the measure being that Cartwright was not, as required by the college statutes, in priest's orders, a pretext which the latter denounced as 'a mere cavil.'

Cartwright now quitted England, and betook himself to Geneva, where Beza had succeeded Calvin as rector of the university. Beza is said to have pronounced Cartwright inferior in learning to no living scholar, but that the latter filled a chair of divinity at Geneva is a statement resting solely on the authority of Martin Marprelate (*An Épitome*, &c., p. 52). His Cambridge friends, among whom were men like Lever, Wyburn, Fulke, and Edward Dering, were extremely reluctant that such a scholar should be lost to the university, and at their pressing instance he returned to England in November 1572. Dering petitioned Lord Burghley that his friend might be appointed professor of Hebrew in succession to Cevallerius, and had it not been for his own impolitic conduct, Cartwright's return, both to the university and to office, would probably have been effected. In 1572, however, the famous 'Admonition to the Parliament' (the work of two London clergymen, John Field and Thomas Wilcox) appeared. It declared open warfare against all dignities, whether in the church or in the universities, and, together with the literature to which it gave rise, is generally considered to mark the point of departure of the puritan movement, its main object being to induce the legislature to assimilate the English church organisation to the presbyterian standard. The authors were both committed to prison; but their views and mode of enforcing them so closely coincided with Cartwright's, that he did not scruple to express his sympathy, to visit them in prison, and to support their arguments by writing 'A Second Admonition to the Parliament.' To both these 'Admonitions' Whitgift published a reply, to which Cartwright rejoined by writing 'A Replye to an Answer made of M. Doctor Whitgifte, agaynst the Admonition to the Parliament. By T. C— (n. d.) This controversy, in itself

sufficiently memorable, is rendered still more noteworthy by the fact that it was the proximate cause of the composition of Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity' (see pref. to *Ecc. Polity*, sect. 2).

On 11 June 1573 a royal proclamation enjoined the suppression of both the 'Admonition' and its 'Defence,' and on 11 Dec. the court of high commission issued a warrant for Cartwright's arrest. He again left the country, resorting in the first instance to Heidelberg, then officiating as minister to the English church at Antwerp, and finally settling down in a like capacity in connection with the conformist church of 'English merchants of the staple worshipping at the Gasthuis Kirk' at Middelburg. His dissent from the Anglican discipline was, however, still further declared about this time in a letter prefixed to the 'Disciplina Ecclesiastica' of Walter Travers (which afterwards became the recognised text-book of puritanism), published at Rochelle in 1574. In the same year he issued a translation of Travers's book under the title, 'A full and plaine Declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline ownt of the Word off God, and off the declininge of the Church off England from the same' (also published at Geneva, 1580; Cambridge, 1584 and 1617). In 1576, in conjunction with Edward Snape, he visited the Channel Islands, for the purpose of assisting the Huguenot churches in those parts in their endeavours to establish a uniform discipline and organisation, and subsequently returned to Antwerp. In 1577 he married the sister of John Stubbe, the same who was convicted in 1579 of 'seditious writing,' and with whom he had probably become acquainted as a fellow-collegian. On the appearance of the Rhemish version of the New Testament in 1582, Cartwright was persuaded by the Earl of Leicester, Sir Francis Walsingham, and others (at the pressing instance, it is said, of Beza and some of the leading scholars of Cambridge), to prepare a criticism of the work. Walsingham subsidised his efforts by a gift of 100*l.*, and he eventually carried his labours as far as the fifteenth chapter of Revelation. Whitgift, however, fearful of the controversies to which the publication of the work would probably give rise, persistently discouraged the undertaking, and the manuscript remained unprinted until after Cartwright's death. It was published in 1618 under the title of 'A Confutation of the Rhemist's Translation. The archbishop's apprehensions cannot be looked upon as groundless, when we consider that 'to suffer Cartwright's "Answer to the Rhemish Testament," to be published is laid down by Marprelate as an indispensable condition of a satisfactory under-

standing with the bishops (*An Epitome*, &c., p. 38). Nares (*Life of Burghley*, iii. 210) characterises the book as 'greatly favouring the Genevan discipline.'

On his return to Antwerp, Cartwright accepted the pastorate of the English church in that city, and his labours were alleged by him as a reason for not accepting an invitation to a chair of theology in the university of St. Andrews, which, on the recommendation of King James, was sent to him in 1584 (Epist. ded. to *Homilie in Lib. Sal.* a 3). The climate of the Low Countries did not, however, agree with him, and he earnestly petitioned that he might be permitted to return to England. His request was supported both by Burghley and by the Earl of Leicester, but Elizabeth refused her assent. Early in 1585 he ventured to return without having obtained the royal permission, and was forthwith committed to the Fleet by Aylmer, bishop of London. The bishop alleged the royal warrant in justification, but this he had not actually received, and, Elizabeth deeming it prudent to disavow the proceeding, Cartwright obtained his release. His views at this time appear to have remained unaltered, and in a letter (September 1585) addressed to Dudley Fenner he begs his friend to pray that he may be enabled to pursue 'the path of sincerity' to the end (Epist. prefixed to FENNER'S *Sac. Theol.*)

Shortly after he was appointed by the Earl of Leicester master of a hospital which the earl had founded in the town of Warwick for the reception of twelve indigent men, to which the bishop of Worcester was appointed visitor. At the same time Leicester settled upon him an annuity of 50*l.* for life (*Lansdowne MSS.* lxiv. art. 5). Cartwright did not, however, restrict himself altogether to his duties at the hospital, but frequently preached in the town and neighbourhood, and is said to have been the first among the clergy of the church of England to introduce extemporary prayer into the services.

In the suspicions attaching to the publication of the Marprelate tracts Cartwright did not escape, although it is affirmed that 'he was able to prove by sufficient witness that from the beginning of Martin he had on every occasion testified his dislike and sorrow for such kind of disorderly doings' (*ib.* lxiv. art. 20-6). The death of the Earl of Warwick (1589-90), and that of the Earl of Leicester (1588), also deprived him of his two most powerful protectors, and at one time the revenues of the hospital were in danger of alienation; but through the influence of Burghley its possession was confirmed by the House of Commons.

The position of Cartwright in relation to religious parties was in some measure that of an eclectic. By Martin he is taxed with 'seeking the peace of our church no otherwise than his platform may stand' (*An Epitome*, p. 28). He appears to have treated Barrow and Greenwood with contemptuous indifference, and in 1590 he saw fit to sever himself distinctly from the Brownists; and in a letter to his sister-in-law (Mrs. Stubbe) dissuaded her from the doctrines of the new sect, arguing that admitted abuses in the church did not justify separation from its communion. This conduct did not avail, however, to prevent his being in some measure included in the persecution which was now directed against the puritanically inclined ministers of Northamptonshire and Warwickshire by Whitgift, and it seems that he occasionally afforded some justification for such suspicion by his participation in certain 'secret conclaves' of these ministers which assembled from time to time at Cambridge. On 1 Sept. 1590 he was summoned before the court of high commission, and eventually committed to the Fleet; and in 1591, having refused the oath *ex officio*, was remanded. Among his companions in prison were Udal and other eminent members of the puritan party (BRICH, *Mem. of Eliz.* p. 61), but, according to Sutcliffe (*Examination*, &c., p. 45), Cartwright's confinement was mitigated by unusual indulgences. Powerful influence, including that of King James himself, was employed to procure his release (Epist. pref. in *Lib. Sal.*), which he eventually obtained through the efforts of Burghley, to whom (21 May 1592) he addressed a letter of thanks. He shortly after visited Cambridge, and preached there on a week-day before a crowded audience. In 1595 Lord Zouch, having been appointed governor of Guernsey, invited Cartwright to accompany him thither, and the latter remained in the island until 1598. His last years appear to have been spent in Warwick, where, according to Harington (*Briefe View*, p. 8), he 'grew rich and had great maintenance to live upon, and was honoured as a patriarch by many of that profession.'

Sir Henry Yelverton (Epist. prefixed to BISHOP MORTON'S *Episcopacy Justified*) affirms that Cartwright's last words were expressive of contrition at the unnecessary troubles he had caused the church, and of a wish that he could begin life again so as 'to testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways;' and it would appear that he and Whitgift were on terms of amity before his death. That he renounced the views he had so long advocated is, however, rendered

improbable by the fact that only six weeks before his decease, in a letter to Sir Christopher Yelverton (the father of Sir Henry), he appears to have done his best to support the efforts of those who were petitioning for reform in the church. Among the abuses which he enumerates are: 'The subscription, other than the statute requires, the burden of ceremonies, the abuse of the spiritual courts—especially in the censures of suspension and excommunication—and the oath *ex officio*, and such others of that kind your worship understandeth to be contrary to the law of the land' (Letter of 12 Nov. 1603; *Sloane MS.* 271, f. 22, b.).

Cartwright died at Warwick on 27 Dec. 1603, after a short illness, having preached on the preceding Sunday. The impression produced by his writings is that of a mind of considerable culture and power; in learning and in originality he was undoubtedly Whitgift's superior. His temperament was, however, impulsive, and in argument he was often carried away by his impetuosity. Whitaker, a singularly competent and impartial judge, spoke contemptuously of his performance in the controversy with Whitgift (*PAUL, Life of Whitgift*, p. 21; *BANCROFT, Survey*, p. 380). His ideal in relation to church discipline and organisation was essentially presbyterian, and this in direct conjunction with the civil power. That he would have been willing to recognise any other form of church government as lawful, or even entitled to toleration, we find no evidence. But although wanting in the judgment and self-command essential in the leader of opinion and of party, he gave system and method to the puritanism of his day, and must be regarded as its most influential teacher during his lifetime.

Besides the works mentioned, Cartwright was the author of: 1. 'A Christian Letter of certaine English Protestants . . . vnto that reverend and learned man, Mr. R[ichard] Hoo[ker]'—a criticism of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' 2. 'In Librum Salomonis . . . Homiliae,' Lond. 1604. 3. 'Commentarii . . . in Proverbia Salomonis,' Leyden, 1617. 4. 'Harmonia Evangelica,' Amsterdam, 1627. 5. 'Commentarii Practica in totam Historiam Evangelicam,' 1630.

[A detailed account of Cartwright's life and writings is given in Cooper's *Athenæ Cant.* ii. 360-6. There is a life of him by Benj. Hanbury prefixed to the author's edition of Hooker's Works (1830), i. cxxxiv-cvii; the writer, however, speaks of this as only 'a sketch,' in anticipation of the *Memoirs* by Benj. Brook which appeared in 1845, a work of some research, but evincing little discrimination, and conceived in a spirit of unquali-

fied eulogy. See also Strype's *Annals and Life of Whitgift*; Dexter's *Hist. of Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years*; Mullinger's *Hist. of the Univ. of Camb.* vol. ii.; Colville's *Warwickshire Worthies*, pp. 92-100, 878.]

J. B. M.

**CARTWRIGHT, THOMAS** (1634-1689), bishop of Chester, was born at Northampton on 1 Sept. 1634. His father, Thomas, had been a schoolmaster at Brentwood in Essex. His grandfather was Thomas Cartwright [q. v.], the famous puritan of the days of Elizabeth. Having been educated at the school at Northampton, Cartwright was sent to Oxford, then under the domination of the parliament, and entered at Magdalen Hall. As at that period all who refused to take the covenant were summarily expelled in favour of the puritans, Cartwright obtained one of the vacant places, and was made tabarder of Queen's College. Here he was placed under the tuition of Thomas Tully, a well-known puritan divine. Nevertheless on reaching the age for orders it was from an episcopal source that he sought them, and was ordained priest by Skinner, bishop of Oxford, then living in retirement at Launton. For a time he acted as chaplain to the college, but before being admitted fellow he left Oxford, having been presented to the vicarage of Walthamstow. Here (according to Wood) he was a 'very forward and confident preacher for the cause then in being.' In 1659 he was chaplain to Alderman John Robinson, sheriff of London, and preacher at St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street. At the Restoration he professed an ardent loyalty, and quickly obtained the vicarage of Barking (11 Aug. 1660), and was made domestic chaplain to Henry, duke of Gloucester. He obtained the degree of D.D. from Oxford, though not of full standing; he was made prebendary of St. Paul's (20 April 1665), and vicar of St. Thomas's. His stream of preferment continued. He became prebendary of Wells, chaplain-in-ordinary, prebendary of Durham (1672), dean of Ripon (1675-6). During this period Cartwright managed to secure the firm friendship of James, duke of York, and is said by Macaulay to have been, of all the Anglican divines, the one who 'had the largest share of his good graces.' Consequently in Dec. 1686, during James's reign, he was nominated to the see of Chester, in succession to Bishop Pearson. His appointment caused much scandal. Burnet says that his moral character was very bad, and his opinions openly in favour of setting the king above law. An attempt was made to prevent Sancroft from consecrating him; but Cartwright was consecrated by the archbishop at Lam-

beth (17 Oct. 1686), together with Lloyd and Parker. At his consecration the archbishop tripped and fell during the administration of the holy communion, which was held to be of evil omen. Cartwright was allowed to hold the benefice of Wigan *in commendam* with his see. He also retained that of Barking. We learn from Cartwright's 'Diary' (published by the Camden Society in 1843) that he was in close and constant communication with the Romanist Bishop Labourne and with Fathers Ellis and Petre, and that he was deeply involved in the plot for establishing the Romish religion. In October 1686 Cartwright went to his diocese, where he exercised great hospitality, especially to the Romanist families, and entertained Lord Tyrconnell on his way to Ireland. In April 1687 he returned to London, arriving four days after the publication of the famous 'Declaration for Liberty of Conscience' in the 'Gazette.' He strongly upheld the king's policy, and used every endeavour to obtain addresses thanking the king for the promise contained in the declaration of protecting the church of England. He was able to influence a few of the bishops to do this. He also obtained a congratulatory address from the mayor and council of Wigan.

During the summer Cartwright was again in his diocese, and received and entertained King James at Chester during his progress. A chapel was fitted up for the royal devotions at the shire hall, and the king touched great numbers of persons for the king's evil. In October Cartwright's services were called into active employment in support of the king's policy. James by an illegal exercise of his supremacy had established the court of high commission for ecclesiastical causes which had been specially forbidden by two acts of parliament (17 Car. I, c. 11; 13 Car. II, c. 12). Sancroft had been named a commissioner, but had refused to act, and (on 17 Oct. 1687) Cartwright was put in his place. The famous quarrel between the king and Magdalen College, Oxford (the fellows of which had refused to elect as president the king's nominee, but had elected one of their own body, Dr. John Hough [q.v.]), was then in full progress. Cartwright, together with Chief Justice Wright and Baron Jenner, was sent on a special commission to Oxford to bring the fellows to order. The commissioners reached Oxford on 20 Oct., and next day Cartwright summoned the fellows before him and made them a set speech, telling them that they had sinned against their own souls by their disobedience to so beneficent a monarch, and bidding them at once submit to his will. Dr. Hough was then called and told that his election was void, and ordered

to quit his lodgings. He appealed formally to the courts of law. Parker, bishop of Oxford, the king's nominee, was then installed by proxy, and the fellows were ordered to accept him. As almost the whole of them refused to do this, the commissioners were obliged to visit Oxford a second time (15 Nov.) Cartwright again made a speech asserting that the king was 'supreme ordinary,' and that his power overrode all laws and statutes. The fellows, however, were still contumacious, and all, with the exception of three, were expelled. On 10 Dec. they were pronounced by the commissioners sitting at Whitehall to be incapable of all preferment. Cartwright was probably one of those who advised King James to order the clergy to read the declaration for liberty of conscience in their churches, an order which led to such momentous consequences. When the order was published and the bishops were consulting as to their line of action, we find from Lord Clarendon's 'Diary' that they suspected Cartwright, and would not speak before him. He was so ignorant of their intentions that he appears to have told King James, when the bishops came with their remonstrance, that they only wished to protest against having duties thrown upon them which properly belonged to their chancellors. In consequence of this they were readily received by the king. When the clergy generally refused to read the declaration, the Bishop of Chester by vigorous exertions obtained an address from about thirty clergy in his diocese censuring the conduct of the seven bishops, and expressing their loyal acquiescence in the king's policy. Cartwright and the ecclesiastical commissioners also made an attempt to censure the clergy who had refused to obey, and (13 July) made an order calling for returns of those who had read and those who had refused to read the declaration. No returns being forthcoming, they repeated their order (16 Aug.), but the storm of popular indignation soon swept them away, one of the king's first acts of concession being to abolish the illegal court. Cartwright was present when the king summoned the bishops to declare that they had not invited the Prince of Orange. After the flight of the king the unpopularity of the Bishop of Chester was so great that he did not dare to remain in England. Some time in December (1688) he followed his master to Saint-Germains, where he was allowed to read the English liturgy to the few protestants who had rallied round the deposed monarch. On the death of Seth Ward, bishop of Salisbury, James nominated Cartwright to this see, a

promotion which, it need not be said, never took effect. Cartwright accompanied James to Ireland, landing there on 12 March 1689. On Palm Sunday, 24 March, he went to Dublin with James, and on Easter day was present at the services in Christ Church Cathedral. Soon after his arrival in Dublin Cartwright was attacked by dysentery, of which he died on 15 April 1689. The greatest efforts were made on his deathbed to convert him to the Romish faith, but without success. Cartwright, though such a strong supporter of the Romanists, seems never to have been shaken in his own views. He was buried at Christ Church, Dublin, with great state and magnificence, his funeral being attended by nearly the whole city. Cartwright married a lady of the name of Wight, by whom he had a numerous family. His eldest son, John, was in holy orders, and obtained many pieces of preferment by the influence of his father. Five other sons, Richard, Gervas, Charles, Thomas, Henry, and two daughters, Alicia and Sarah, are mentioned in his 'Diary.'

[Diary of Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, ed. Hunter, Camden Soc. 1843; King's Visitation Power over the Universities asserted, Nat. Johnstone, London, 1688, 4to; An Impartial Relation of the Illegal Proceedings against St. Mary Magd. Coll. in Oxon., London, 1689, 4to; Henry Earl of Clarendon's Correspondence with Diary, ed. Singer, Oxford, 1828; Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), iv. 252, 874.] G. G. P.

**CARTWRIGHT, SIR THOMAS** (1795-1850), diplomatist, eldest son of William Ralph Cartwright, M.P., of Aynhoe, Northamptonshire, by Emma Maude, daughter of Cornwallis, first viscount Hawarden, was born on 18 Jan. 1795. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and entered the diplomatic service, and was secretary of legation at Munich 1821-8, at the Hague 1828-30, and minister plenipotentiary at Frankfort 1830-8 and at Stockholm 1838 till death. He was a supporter and close friend of Lord Palmerston. He received the honour of G.C.H. in 1834. He succeeded to his father's property on 4 Jan. 1850, but died at Stockholm on 17 April of the same year.

[Gent. Mag. new series, xxxiv. 91; Burke's Knightage.] T. F. H.

**CARTWRIGHT, WILLIAM** (1611-1643), dramatist and divine, born in September 1611 at Northway, near Tewkesbury, was the son of a William Cartwright who, after squandering a fair inheritance, had been reduced to keep an inn at Cirencester. This is Wood's account (*Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, iii.

69), and is probably true; but Lloyd (*Memoirs*, ed. 1668, p. 423) states that he was born on 16 Aug. 1615, and that his father was a Thomas Cartwright of Burford in Oxfordshire. He was sent first to the free school at Cirencester and afterwards, as a king's scholar, to Westminster, whence he was chosen in 1628 student of Christ Church, Oxford. Having taken the degree of M.A. in 1635, he entered into holy orders, and became (in Wood's words) 'the most florid and seraphical preacher in the university.' The lectures that he delivered as metaphysical reader (in succession to Thomas Barlow [q. v.], afterwards bishop of Lincoln) were greatly admired. On 1 Sept. 1642 he was nominated one of the council of war, and on 16 Sept. he was imprisoned by Lord Say, but released on bail. In the following October Bishop Duppa appointed him successor in the church of Salisbury; and on 12 April 1643 he was chosen junior proctor of the university. He died at Oxford on 29 Nov. 1643, of a malignant fever (called the camp-disease), and was buried on 1 Dec. at the upper end of the north aisle of Christ Church Cathedral. The king, who was then at Oxford, being asked why he wore black on the day of Cartwright's funeral, replied that 'since the muses had so much mourned for the loss of such a son it would be a shame for him not to appear in mourning for the loss of such a subject.' Fell said of him, 'Cartwright was the utmost man could come to;' and Ben Jonson declared 'My son Cartwright writes all like a man.' Langbaine gives him this character: 'He was extremely remarkable both for his outward and inward endowments; his body being as handsome as his soul. He was an expert linguist, understanding not only Greek and Latin, but French and Italian, as perfectly as his mother-tongue. He was an excellent orator, and yet an admirable poet.' Lloyd is still more enthusiastic in his praise: 'To have the same person cast his net and catch souls as well in the pulpit as on the stage! . . . A miracle of industry and wit, sitting sixteen hours a day at all manner of knowledge, an excellent preacher in whom hallowed fancies and reason grew visions and holy passions, raptures and extasies, and all this at thirty years of age!'

Cartwright's plays and poems were collected in 1651 by Humphrey Moseley in one vol. 8vo. No less than fifty-six copies of commendatory verses are prefixed, among the contributors being Dr. John Fell, Jasper Mayne, Henry Vaughan the Silurist, Alexander Brome, Izaak Walton, &c. There is nothing in the volume to support the re-

putation that Cartwright gained among his contemporaries for extraordinary ability. There are four plays of which the 'Ordinary' is the best; and the rest of the volume chiefly consists of complimentary epistles, love-verses, and translations. The 'Royal Slave, a Tragi-Comedy,' which had been printed separately in 1639 and 1640, was performed before the king and queen by the students of Christ Church on 30 Aug. 1636. Henry Lawes wrote the music to the songs, and among the actors was Richard Busby, who 'approv'd himself a second Roscius.' The play was mounted at considerable cost (the actors appearing in Persian costume), and gave such satisfaction that the court 'unanimously acknowledg'd that it did exceed all things of that nature which they had ever seen.' The queen was so charmed with the 'Royal Slave' that in the following November the king's company was ordered to represent it at Hampton Court; but the performance of the professional players was judged far inferior to that of the amateurs. The 'Ordinary,' which has been included in all the editions of Dodsley's old plays, is a lively comedy of intrigue, containing some amusing satire on the puritans. The other plays are: 'The Lady-Errant, a Tragi-Comedy,' and 'The Siege, or Love's Convert, a Tragi-Comedy.' Among the poems are an elegy on Ben Jonson, that had previously appeared in 'Jonsonus Virbius,' 1638; two copies of commendatory verses on Fletcher, which had been prefixed to the 1647 folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, and commendatory verses on two plays of Thomas Killigrew, 'Claricilla' and 'The Prisoners.' In one of the verse-addresses to Fletcher, Cartwright writes:—

Shakespeare to thee was dull, whose best wit lies  
I' th' ladies' questions and the fools' replies.

In most copies there are blanks at pp. 301, 302, 305, where the lines are too royalist in sentiment for the times. Cartwright's other works are: 1. 'An Offspring of Mercy issuing out of the Womb of Cruelty, or a Passion Sermon preached in Christ Church,' 1652, 8vo. 2. 'November, or Signal Dayes observed in that Month in relation to the Crown and Royal Family,' 4to, written in 1643, but not published until 1671. At the end of Dr. John Collop's 'Poesis Rediviva,' 1656, Humphrey Moseley announced for speedy publication a volume of 'Poemata Græca et Latina' by Cartwright, but the promise was not fulfilled. A portrait of Cartwright by Lombart is prefixed to the collected edition of his plays and poems, 1651.

[Wood's *Athenæ*, ed. Bliss, iii. 69–72; Fasti, i. 468, 478, ii. 56; Lloyd's *Memoirs*, ed. 1668, pp. 422–5; Langbaine's *Dramatick Poets*, with Oldys's MS. annotations; Welsh's *Alumni Westmonasteriensis*, ed. 1852, pp. 100–1; Evelyn's *Diary*, ed. 1850, i. 421; Corser's *Collectanea*.]  
A. H. B.

**CARTWRIGHT, WILLIAM** (d. 1687), actor and bookseller, was presumably the son of William Cartwright, also an actor; who flourished at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth, is mentioned under the date 1598 in the diary of Philip Henslowe, and had a close intimacy with Edward Alleyn, from whom, 31 Oct. 1618, together with Edward Jubyne, William Bird, and others, he leased the Fortune Theatre. Cartwright the younger was a member of Prince Charles's company acting at the private house in Salisbury Court, otherwise known as the Whitefriars Theatre, the second of that name. Of his early performances no record exists. During the civil war and the Commonwealth he became a bookseller at the end of Turnstile Alley, and published, under the title of 'The Actor's Vindication,' London, 4to (? 1658), a reprint of Thomas Heywood's 'Apology for Actors.' After the Restoration he resumed his old profession, joining the company of Thomas Killigrew, known as the king's company. His first recorded performance took place in the Theatre Royal built in 1663 in Drury Lane. He played about 1663 Corbaccio in the 'Fox' of Ben Jonson, and subsequently Morose in the 'Silent Woman,' and Sir Epicure Mammon in the 'Alchemist' of the same author. Lygones in 'A King and No King,' Brabantio in the 'Moor of Venice' ('Othello'), and Falstaff in 'King Henry IV' followed. Other characters in which he was seen were the Priest in Dryden's 'Indian Emperor,' Major Oldfox in the 'Plain Dealer,' Apollonius in 'Tyrannick Love,' Mario in the 'Assignment,' and Harmogenes in 'Marriage à la Mode.' With Mohun he heads, in the 'Roscius Anglicanus,' the list of the members of the king's company who joined the duke's company in the famous union brought about by Betterton [q. v.] in 1682. His name only once appears in stage records after this date, though, according to Genest, it stands opposite the character of Baldwin in an edition of 'Rollo,' as the 'Bloody Brother' of Fletcher was re-named, printed in 1686. In the 'Rehearsal' (Theatre Royal, 7 Dec. 1671) Cartwright, who played Thunder, is addressed by name by Bayes, 'Mr. Cartwright, pr'ythee speak that a little louder, and with a hoarse voice.' It is probable that Cartwright, who was a man of



substance, retired soon after the union of the two companies. He died in or near Lincoln's Inn Fields about the middle of December 1687, leaving to Dulwich College his books, pictures, &c. This bequest became the subject of a curious lawsuit between the master, warden, fellows, &c., of the college, and Francis Johnson and Jane his wife, the latter a servant to Cartwright, who after his death had seized upon his property, including clothing, books of prints and plays, with other goods and 490 broad-pieces of gold. A portion only of the property was recovered, the portion lost including 'two Shakspeare's plays, 1647; three Ben Jonson's works, ye 1st vellum; one Ben Jonson's works, 2nd vellum' (WARNER, *Dulwich College MSS.* p. 154). Among the portraits bequeathed by Cartwright, and still in the college, are: 168, Old Mr. Cartwright, actor; 234, 'My picture in a black dress, with a great dog;' 78, 'My first wife's picture like a shepherdess;' 116, 'My last wife's picture with a black veil on her head;' 169, Young Mr. Cartwright, actor, is lost. The identity of its subject with the donor cannot accordingly be established. The catalogue, one leaf of which, containing 186-209, is wanting, is believed to be in the handwriting of Cartwright. It is illiterate in spelling. Cartwright's collection of plays after quitting Dulwich became the nucleus of the famous Garrick collection. Downes speaks of Cartwright as a good actor; Davies (*Dramatic Miscellanies*) mentions his Morose and his Falstaff, and says 'little is heard of him;' Aubrey, in the appendix to his 'Natural History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey,' 1719, v. 356, says 'he was an excellent actor.'

[Downes's *Roscius Anglicanus*; Wright's *Historia Histrionica*; Genest's *Account of the English Stage*; Davies's *Dramatic Miscellanies*; Introduction to Heywood's *Apology for Actors*, reprinted for the Shakespeare Society, 1841; Collier's *Memoirs of Alleyn*, 1841; Collier's *Diary of Philip Henslowe*, 1845; Warner's *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Monuments at Dulwich*; Buckingham's *The Rehearsal*, ed. Arber.] J. K.

CARUS, THOMAS (*d.* 1572?), judge, was of a Lancashire family, long settled at Horton and elsewhere in that county (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1 July 1609). He was M.P. for Wigan in 1547, and for Lancaster 1553 and 1555. He joined the Middle Temple, and was appointed reader in Lent term 1556. Towards the end of Mary's reign he was summoned to the degree of serjeant-at-law, receiving it after Elizabeth's accession, 19 April 1559. He was appointed a judge of the queen's bench probably in Trinity term 1566, and continued in that

office till his death, the date of which is uncertain, but is probably 1572, a successor being appointed on 14 May of that year. His name, however, is not given in Dyer's or Plowden's reports after Easter term 1570. In 1569 (10 Feb.) he, with Sir James Dyer, chief justice of the common pleas, Mr. Justice Weston, and Mr. Justice Harper, heard and determined a controversy between the president and council in Wales and the chamberlain of Chester as to the jurisdiction of the county palatine of Chester, the question arising in Radford's case. He left a daughter, Elizabeth, who was second wife to Sir Nicholas Curwen of Workington, M.P. for Cumberland.

[Foss's *Lives of the Judges*; Green's *State Papers*, Addenda; Hutchison's *Cumberland*, ii. 145.] J. A. H.

CARVE, THOMAS (1590-1672?), traveller and historian, was born at Mobernan, co. Tipperary, in 1590. His correct name is Carue or Carew, and the Irish call him O'Corrain (*Responsio veridica*, 145). He himself states that Sir Ross Carew, his brother, was married to the great Clarendon's sister, Lady Hyde, and he also boasts of his ancestor Sir Thomas Carew, who in the fifteenth century had held high authority in Munster. In many respects his sympathies were anti-Irish, and though he was skilled in the Irish language he expresses his preference for English. His early years appear to have been passed among the Butlers, to whom he says he owes everything, and it is not impossible that his boyhood may have been spent in the Ormonde family. Walter Harris, in his edition of Ware's 'Writers of Ireland,' asserts that Carve was educated at Oxford, but there does not seem to be any confirmation of this statement. He took priest's orders and appears to have been stationed in the diocese of Leighlin. He left Ireland for Germany, and having stayed as chaplain for four years with Walter Butler (*d.* 1634) [q. v.], a kinsman of the Marquis of Ormonde, then serving as colonel of an Irish regiment in the army of Ferdinand II of Austria, he returned to his native country. In 1630 he again set out on his travels, and at this date his curious and valuable 'Itinerary' was begun. He remained with Walter Butler for two years, and returned at the period of the battle of Lützen; but after a short visit to his friends in Ireland he started again for Germany in 1633. On arriving at Stuttgart about September 1634 he heard of the death of his patron Walter Butler, and he transferred his services as chaplain to Walter Devereux, formerly the chief officer and now the successor of Butler. He accompanied the

army of Charles III, duke of Lorraine, in its incessant movements, and afterwards joined the main forces under Gallas. In April 1639 he finished the first part of his 'Itinerary,' and had it printed at Mainz, with a dedication to the Marquis of Ormonde, in which he says: 'Not in the quiet chamber of study has it been composed, but beneath the tents of war, where my busy pen found no peace from the ominous clangour of the hoarse trumpet and the loud roll of the battle-drum; where my ear was stunned by the dreadful thunder of the cannon, and the fatal leaden hail hissed round the paper on which I was writing.'

In 1640 he was appointed chaplain-general of all the English, Scotch, and Irish forces, and in that capacity continued to serve with the army after the death of Devereux. It is probable that about 1643 he went to reside at Vienna in his character of notary apostolic and vicar-choral of St. Stephen's Cathedral in that city. He brought out the third part of his 'Itinerary' at Spire in 1646. The scarcity of this work is not its only value. It gives important details concerning Wallenstein, the civil war in England, and the general history of Christendom at the period; and all writers upon the thirty years' war who could procure a sight of it have used it, though seldom with acknowledgment. The work contains an interesting description of Ireland and a curious account of London and its buildings. Carve's latest publication appeared at Sulzbach in 1672, when he was eighty-two years old. The date of his death is not known.

All his works are extremely rare. Their titles are: 1. 'Itinerarium R. D. Thomæ Carve Tipperariensis, Sacellani majoris in fortissima juxta et nobilissima legione strenuissimi Domini Colonelli D. Walteri Devereux sub Sac. Cæsar. Majestate stipendia merentis cum historiâ facti Butleri, Gordon, Lesly, et aliorum. Opera, studio, et impensis authoris,' parts i. and ii., Mainz, 1639-41, 18mo; part iii., Spire, 1646, 18mo; third edition, in one vol., Mainz, 1640-1, 18mo. The third edition of the first part is the same as the first, page for page, excepting that the third edition has an additional dedication, and at pp. 113, 114, two additional epitaphs to Wallenstein, and also an additional 35th chapter at the end. The rarity of the book, particularly the third volume, is well known to bibliographers; it is quoted with great praise by Harte in his 'Gustavus Adolphus,' ii. 39 n. The three parts were reprinted at London in 1859 in one quarto volume, under the editorial supervision of Michael Kerney, the impression being limited to one hundred copies on paper and two upon vellum. A German translation appeared under the title of 'Reysbüchlein dess

ehrwürdigen Herrn Thomæ Carve. Auss dem Latein: ins Teutsch vbersetzt durch P. R., continuirt und fortgesetzt studio W. S. a Vorburg,' Mayence, 1640, 8vo. This translation contains a preface with some account of the work, and nine additional chapters not to be found in any of the three original Latin parts. 2. 'Rerum Germanicarum ab anno 1617 ad annum 1641 gestarum Epitome' [*sine loco*], 1641, 12mo. 3. 'Lyra, seu Anaphalæosis Hibernica, in qua de exordio, seu origine, nomine, moribus, ritibusque Gentis Hibernicæ succincte tractatur; cui quoque accessere Annales ejusdem Hiberniæ nec non Rerum gestarum per Europam ab anno 1148, usque ad annum 1650,' Vienna (1651), 4to; 'editio secunda multis additamentis locupletata et à mendis repurgata, cum brevi rerum calamitosæ contingentium præcipuèque Turcicarum Relatione à 50 usque ad 66 annum, æneis etiam tessellis insignita,' Sulzbach, 1666, 4to. The first edition is rarer than the second, and differs much from it. 4. 'Galateus, seu de Morum elegantia,' Nordhausen, 1669. 5. 'Enchiridion Apologeticum,' Noribergæ, 1670, 12mo. 6. 'Responsio veridica ad illotum libellum, cui nomen Anatomicum examen P. Antonii Bruodini Hiberni Ord. Min. Strict. Observantiæ, sub ementito nomine P. Cornelli ô Mollonii editum,' Sulzbach, 1672, 8vo. This is a violent reply to Bruodine [q. v.], who had attacked him in a work entitled 'Propugnaculum Catholicæ Fidei.' A fine portrait of Carve, engraved by M. Vliemayr, is prefixed to the 'Lyra.'

[Memoir by Michael Kerney prefixed to the Itinerarium (1859); Clément, Bibl. Curieuse; Dibdin's Library Companion, i. 244; Granger's Biog. Hist. of England (1824), v. 97; Bibl. Grenvilliana, i. 118, 119, ii. 92; Cat. of the Huth Library, i. 268, 269; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 382, 383; Shirley's Cat. of the Library at Lough Fea, 35, 36; Ware's Writers (Harris), 144, 161.] T. C.

CARVELL, NICHOLAS (d. 1566), poet, was elected from Eton to King's College 1545, was B.A. 1549, M.A. 1553. He was at Zurich during the reign of Queen Mary, but returned after Elizabeth's accession and died in the summer of 1566. The following poems in the 'Mirror for Magistrates,' signed 'Cavyl,' have been attributed to him: 1. 'How the two Mortimers for their sundry vices ended their days unfortunately.' 2. 'The Wilfull fall of the blacke Smith and the foolishe ende of the Lord Awdeley in June, anno 1496.' He also contributed to the collection on the death of Bucer in 1551. In Harwood's 'Alumni Etonenses,' p. 161, he is confounded with James Calhill [q. v.]

[Strype's Memorials, vol. iii. pt. i. p. 233; Zurich Letters (Parker Society), i. 194; Troubles of Frankfort, pp. 16, 65, 169; Mirror for Magistrates (Haslewood), ii. 23, 396; Warton's English Poetry, iii. 185, 186, 225; Cooper's Athenæ Cant. i. 232.]

CARVER, JOHN (1575?-1621), leader of the 'pilgrim fathers,' was an Englishman and agent of the English congregational church at Leyden in Holland. When he sailed in the Mayflower (1620) he was 'of good age,' father of several children, one daughter being aged 14. In his time the name of Carver, alias Calver, was common in the midland counties, and the best conjecture is that he came from Nottinghamshire. He was one of the chief exiles who took refuge in Holland in 1607-8. Carver became a deacon of Robinson's church at Leyden, and was agent for the expedition to New England. In 1619, through Sir Edward Sandys, the exiles obtained a patent for South Virginia. Carver made agreements with London merchants to assist the expedition with shipping and money, the emigrants mortgaging their labour and trade for seven years. Carver's estate and others were thrown into one common fund. The Speedwell, of Holland, 60 tons, and the Mayflower, of London, 180 tons, were provided. The pastor, Robinson, addressed his parting letters to Carver. The Speedwell proving unfit for the voyage, the Mayflower after various delays left Plymouth on 6 Sept. 1620, with Carver and a hundred other emigrants. After a difficult passage they reached Cape Cod harbour in Massachusetts, where a new compact was drawn up and signed by 41 persons, including 39 colonists proper, who, with 18 wives, 1 spinster, 19 sons, 6 daughters, 12 serving-men, 5 serving-boys, and 2 maid-servants, constituted the colony of 104 persons.

Carver was chosen governor for the first year, and was in the two boat expeditions to discover a site for a settlement. On 11 Dec. a fine bay was found with a good site for buildings. Carver, Howland (his future son-in-law), Standish, Bradford (second governor), and fourteen others stepped from the shallop on to a rock in the district called Patukset. The upper portion of that rock now stands as a memorial in the public square of New Plymouth, built on the spot, and is known as the 'Forefathers' Rock.' Having brought the ship round, in five days they commenced building the town of Plymouth. On 31 Jan. 1620-1 divine service was held ashore for the first time, and, in accordance with the resolve made on leaving home that they should form 'an absolute

church by themselves,' the American independent church was established. The winter was mild, but a heavy mortality followed. Carver suffered much from January to March. On 22 March 1621 Carver made a treaty with the Indian chiefs. The next day he was confirmed governor for the ensuing year; but in April, after the Mayflower returned to England, he received a sunstroke while toiling in the field, and died soon after.

By every writer Carver is described as grave, pious, prudent, self-denying, and judicious. His wife survived him six weeks only. The records of Leyden church show that her christian name was Catharine. Carver's family in the Mayflower consisted of eight persons—himself, his wife, Desire Minter, a maid-servant, two men-servants and two boys (John Howland, Roger Wilder, William Latham, and Jasper More). The last died in 1620. In 1627 there was not a person named Carver in the colony. Many pedigrees have been constructed asserting lineal descent from Carver, who does not seem to have had any children. The William Carver who died in 1760, aged 102, could not have been Carver's grandson, as reputed. John Howland, grandson of a brother of Bishop Howland, married Elizabeth Tilley, and, although unrelated to Carver, shared in the early divisions of property. He died, the last but three of the pilgrim fathers, in 1673; his wife died in 1687. Their four sons and four daughters have left numerous descendants.

Carver's chair is preserved in the Pilgrims' Hall, Plymouth, and his broadsword is in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. In 1790 the southern portion of the township of Plympton, county Plymouth, was incorporated as 'Carver.'

[Belknap's American Biog., ed. Hubbard, ii. 295; Hunter's . . . Founders of New Plymouth; Prince's Annals (ed. 1736), p. 160; New Engl. Hist. and Geneal. Reg. i. 50, 53, ii. 187, 262, iv. 105, 192, 259, 367, v. 47, 81; Historical Magazine, 2nd series, i. 261, vi. 225; Stone's Life of John Howland (a descendant, &c.), 1857; Young's Chronicle (2nd ed. 1844), pp. 22, 458; Hutchinson's Massachusetts, ii. 456; Eddison's Workshop; Farmer's Geneal. Register, p. 54; Scott's Hist. Lecture on Pilgrim Fathers; Everett's Cape Cod Centen. Celebr. p. 7; Robertson's America, A.D. 1620-1; Notes and Queries, 5th series, ix. 167; Hubbard's . . . New England (2nd ed.), p. 41; Massach. Hist. Soc. Collections, v. 42, viii. 203-237, ix. 43, 74; Westm. Rev. No. exc.; Harper's Mag. liv. 180; Congreg. Quarterly (Boston, U.S.), iv. 58; Palfrey's New England, i. 134; Holmes's Annals, i. 162; Summer's . . . Pilgrims at Leyden; Smith's Virginia, pp. 230-3; Morton's New Eng. Mem. pp. 1-25; Cotton Mather's

Magnalia, ii. 46; Josselyn's Voyages, p. 248; Uden, Geschichte der Congregationalisten, &c., Leipzig, 1846; Thatcher's Plymouth, p. 129; Purchas, His Pilgrimage, bk. x. ch. iv. 1625; Mitchell's Bridgewater, pp. 129, 362.]

J. W.-G.

**CARVER, JONATHAN** (1732-1780), traveller, born at Stillwater, Connecticut, in 1732, was the son of William Joseph Carver of Wigan, Lancashire, captain in William III's army, who was rewarded for services in Ireland with the government of Connecticut. He studied under a physician in Elizabeth's Town, but afterwards purchased an ensigncy; was in command of a company in the expedition against the French in Canada, and had a narrow escape in the massacre at Fort William Henry. He served in five campaigns from 1757 to 1763, and retired from the army on the conclusion of peace. Carver then determined to explore the territory beyond the Mississippi, and to find a north-west land passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Starting from Boston in June 1766, he travelled thirteen hundred miles to the most remote British post, and surveyed the bays and rivers of Lake Superior. Then with goods for Indian trading he struck into the north-west of the Mississippi further than any traveller had been except Hennepin in 1680, and afterwards proceeded westward to the sources of the river St. Pierre, dwelling among the Indians and learning their languages. He returned to Boston in October 1768, having visited twelve Indian nations and travelled seven thousand miles. While proceeding in 1767 with the Indians to their great council, he reached a point within the present site of St. Paul's, Minnesota, on 1 May, and there, stepping ashore opposite the great cave, Wakan-teete (Dwelling of the Great Spirit), now called 'Carver's Cave,' he was elected a dakotah (allied) chief, and made his almost prophetic speech to the three hundred 'braves.' Carver having mediated a peace between the Nadowessies (Sioux) and Chippeways (Ojibeways), the former tribe is said to have made him an extensive grant of land near the Mississippi; but this is not mentioned in the account of his travels. The great wilderness which Carver traversed is now called, from its beauty and fertility, in Indian phrase, Minnesota. He laid down a scheme by which the St. Paul's district might become the centre of a great internal intercourse between the east and the west, and his plan of a water communication by canals between New York, St. Paul's, and Canada is now actually accomplished by the construction of the Great Erie Canal.

In 1769 he came to England to publish his journal and charts, and hoped that the British government would recognise his services. He underwent a long examination by the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, and received permission to publish his papers, but, being afterwards ordered to deliver them up to the board, he had to repurchase them from his bookseller, without receiving compensation for loss. Fortunately he had saved copies of his manuscripts and maps, which enabled him to publish his work ten years after. About 1774, in conjunction with Richard Whitworth, M.P. for Stafford, he had arranged his scheme for the overland route. Himself, Whitworth, and Colonel Rogers, with fifty or sixty artificers and mariners, were to make the party. Grants and other requisites were nearly completed when the troubles in America put a stop to the enterprise. In 1778 appeared the first edition of 'Travels to the Interior Parts of North America,' &c., illustrated with copperplates and maps, London, 8vo. The second part of the work is 'The Origin, Manners and Customs, Religion and Languages of the Indians,' and there is an appendix describing the uncultivated parts of America. It is dedicated to Sir Joseph Banks, F.R.S. In 1779 a second edition appeared, London, 8vo. A Dublin edition was published in the same year, 8vo. Editions appeared in 1784 (with an account of his life by Dr. Lettsom) and in 1796. A French translation appeared in 1784, 8vo. The 'Travels' also appeared in 'Moore's . . . Collection of Voyages and Travels,' vol. ii., London, 1785, folio, and in Campe's 'Kinder- und Jugendschriften,' Bd. 20, 1831, 8vo. In 1779 Carver published 'A Treatise on the Cultivation of the Tobacco-plant,' with coloured engravings, London, 8vo; 'A Treatise on the Use,' &c., Dublin, 8vo; and under his name was published 'The New Universal Traveller,' London, 1779, folio, of which fifty-five weekly numbers came out with fifty-six engravings and maps. In the winter of this year Carver, with a wife and two children, had to subsist on his wages as a lottery clerk. His original fortune had been long exhausted. He died on 31 Jan. 1780. He was buried at Holywell Mount. Dr. Lettsom found an unnegotiated grant of ten thousand square miles among his papers. Lettsom interested himself for Carver's family, supported them, collected subscriptions, and paid all expenses of the third edition of the 'Travels' in 1781. His letters to the 'Gentleman's Magazine'—'Hints for establishing a Society for Promoting Useful Literature'—were suggested by this unfortunate author's case, and helped

to suggest the establishment of the Literary Fund.

A mezzotint portrait of Carver, from a picture in Dr. Lettsom's possession, is the frontispiece of the 'Travels,' 3rd edit. He was somewhat above the middle stature, with a muscular frame. He was a very agreeable and picturesque writer, as the story of his adventures shows. But there is one stain on his character; at the time of his marriage in England he had a wife and five children living in America.

The deed found by Dr. Lettsom (now lost) was dated 1 May 1767, the day of the 'long talk' in the cave. It bore the totems—beaver and serpent—of two great chiefs, and the Indians are made to speak, in English, of the grantee as 'our good brother Jonathan,' whence possibly came the name of the Americans collectively. The heirs by his first wife transferred part of their rights in 1794 to Edward Houghton of Vermont for 50,000*l*. After careful inquiry the land commissioners dismissed the claim in 1825. Dr. Hartwell Carver's claim in 1848 for 'a hundred miles square' met with the same fate, as did also that of Carver's grandsons, Groom and King. Martha, one of the daughters by the English wife, was brought up by Sir Richard and Lady Pearson. She eloped with a sailor, and a few days after their marriage conveyed her rights to a London firm for a sum of money and a tenth of the profits. The agent sent out to get a confirmatory grant from the Indians was murdered in New York, and the scheme collapsed. George III is said to have approved the grant, and Dr. Samuel Peters, an episcopal minister, who had purchased some rights in 1806, testified to the committee in 1825 that the king had given Carter 1,371*l*. 13*s*. 8*d*., and ordered a frigate and transport-ship with a hundred and fifty men to proceed with him to take possession, but the battle of Bunker's Hill had prevented it. In 1839 Lord Palmerston stated in parliament that no trace of a ratification of the Carver grant was to be found in the Record Office.

There is a Carver town and Carver county in South-eastern Minnesota; and Carver river is the name of a branch of the St. Peter's. The Carver centenary was celebrated by the Minnesota Historical Society on 1 May 1867, the hundredth anniversary of the council and treaty of Carver with the Indians at 'Carver's Cave,' which is now within the suburbs of the important city of St. Paul. The proceedings were published at the expense of George W. Fehnestock of Philadelphia.

Carver's description of the funeral of a

'brave' suggested Schiller's 'Song of a Nadowessie Chief,' of which both Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer and Sir John Herschel have given translations.

[Carver's works; Nichols's Illustrations, ii. 680; Neill's English Colonies in America, 1871; Neill's Hist. of Minnesota, 1882; Minnesota Historical Society (Carver Centenary), 1867; Bishop's Floral Home . . . in Minnesota, 1857; Niles's Register, 25 Feb. 1825; Harper's Magazine, 1875, p. 630; Gent. Mag. 1780, p. 183; family papers.] J. W.-G.

CARVER, ROBERT (*d.* 1791), landscape and scene painter, was a native of Ireland and the son of Richard Carver, an historical and landscape painter of some merit, who painted an altar-piece at Waterford. Robert Carver received instruction from his father, and exhibited several small pictures in water-colours in Dublin with some success. He also painted scenes for the Dublin Theatre, which attracted so much attention that Garrick commissioned him to paint one for Drury Lane Theatre, and eventually invited him to take up his residence in London as scene-painter to that theatre. Carver was a friend of his compatriot, Spranger Barry, and when that actor quarrelled with Garrick, and transferred himself with a rival company to Covent Garden Theatre, Carver followed in his train, and continued to paint scenes for that theatre in conjunction with John Inigo Richards, R.A., and other artists. One of his scenes was known as the 'Dublin Drop,' and is described as follows by the painter Edward Dayes: 'The scene was a representation of a storm on a coast, with a fine piece of water dashing against some rocks, and forming a sheet of foam truly terrific; this, with the barren appearance of the surrounding country, and an old leafless tree or two, were the materials that composed a picture which would have done honour to the first artist, and will be remembered as the finest painting that ever decorated a theatre.' Besides scene-painting, Carver obtained great success as a landscape-painter, and from 1765 to 1790 exhibited numerous landscapes in oil and water-colours at the exhibitions of the Incorporated Society of Artists. He was a fellow of this society, and in 1772 was appointed director. He also exhibited at the Free Society of Artists, and later on at the Royal Academy. His pictures always excited attention and favourable criticism, and in the newspapers of the time he is spoken of as the 'ingenious and celebrated Mr. Carver.' He particularly excelled in atmospheric effects, such as those of the early dawn. Generally the same qualities which brought him so much success in scene-painting were apparent in his smaller pictures.

Carver was of a generous and convivial temperament, a free liver, and fond of society. For many years he was a martyr to the gout, and died in Bow Street, Covent Garden, at the end of November 1791.

[Redgrave's Dict. of English Artists; Pasquin's History of Painting in Ireland; Dayes's Professional Sketches of Modern Artists; Sarsfield Taylor's Origin, Progress, &c., of the Fine Arts in Great Britain and Ireland; Somerset House Gazette; Graves's Dict. of Artists, 1760-1880; Edwards's Anecdotes of Painters; Catalogues of the Society of Artists, Royal Academy, &c.; manuscript information in the Print Room, British Museum.] L. C.

**CARVOSSO, BENJAMIN** (1789-1854), Wesleyan minister, was son of William Carvosso, born near Mousehole, in Mount's Bay, on 11 March 1750, first a fisherman, then a farmer, and afterwards for sixty years a most active class leader and local preacher in the Wesleyan methodist connection, who died at Dowstal, in the parish of Mylor, on 13 Oct. 1834. The son was born in Gluvias parish, Cornwall, on 29 Sept. 1789, and, although brought up by very pious parents, was not converted until his twenty-second year. He was admitted as a probationer by the Wesleyan conference in 1814, and, after labouring for five years as a minister in England, offered himself as a missionary. He arrived in Van Diemen's Land in 1820, being the second minister of the Wesleyan denomination sent to the Australian colonies, and on 18 Aug. introduced methodism into that island by a public service in Hobart Town. It was not long before he proceeded to New South Wales, where, in the towns of Windsor, Sydney, and Paramatta, he passed the next five years of his ministration. He had a high sense of the importance of the press as a means of promoting religion, and in conjunction with his brethren commenced in 1820 the publication of the 'Australian Magazine,' the first of its class seen in the colony. In 1825 he removed to Hobart Town; here his labours were arduous; in the pulpit, the prison, the prayer meeting, the class meeting, and the family, he was constantly engaged. Returning to his native land in 1830 he continued in the full discharge of his ministerial duties in various parts of England throughout the remainder of his life. He died at Tuckingmill, Cornwall, on 2 Oct. 1854.

The titles of the works written by him are: 1. 'The Great Efficacy of Simple Faith, a Memoir of William Carvosso,' 1835, which passed through many editions. 2. 'Drunkenness the Enemy of Britain arrested by the Hand of God,' 1840. 3. 'An Account of

Miss Deborah B. Carvosso,' 1840. 4. 'Attractive Piety, or Memorials of William B. Carvosso,' 1844, several editions.

[Wesleyan Methodist Mag. 1855, April, p. 382, September, p. 850; Blencowe's Memoir of Rev. B. Carvosso, 1857; Boase and Courtney's Bibl. Cornub. i. 65, iii. 1116.] G. C. B.

**CARWARDINE, PENELOPE** (1730?-1800?), afterwards **MRS. BUTLER**, miniature painter, born about 1730, was the eldest daughter of John Carwardine of Thinghills Court, Withington, Herefordshire, by his wife Anne Bullock of Preston Wynn, in the same parish (**BERRY, Essex Pedigrees**). Her father having ruined the family estates, she took to miniature painting, instructed by Ozias Humphrey, and had acquired her art by 1754. She exhibited at the Society of Artists in 1761, 1762, 1771, 1772 (**GRAVES, Dict. of Artists**, p. 42). She was a close friend of Sir Joshua and Miss Reynolds; and among Sir Joshua's works is a portrait of one of her sisters, painted by him as a present for her. Many of her miniatures remain in the possession of her family, together with three portraits of herself; one by Bardwell, 1750; one by a Chinese artist, about 1756; the third by Romney, about 1790. She married Mr. Butler, organist of Ranelagh (**BURNEY, Hist. of Music**, iv. 669), and St. Margaret's, and St. Anne's, Westminster (**EDWARDS, Anecd. of Painting**, p. 13); after this marriage she relinquished her profession. She died a widow, without issue, about 1800.

[Berry's Essex Pedigrees; Graves's Dict. of Artists, p. 42; Burney's History of Music, iv. 669; Edwards's Anecd. of Painting, p. 13; private information.] J. H.

**CARWELL, \* THOMAS** (1600-1664), jesuit, whose real name was **THOROLD**, belonged to the ancient Lincolnshire family of Thorold. He was born of protestant parents in 1600, and became a catholic in 1622. After studying in the jesuit college at St. Omer, he entered the English college at Rome in 1629, and in 1633 he was ordained priest. In the latter year he entered the Society of Jesus at St. Andrew's, Rome, and in 1643 he became a professed father. For several years he was employed as professor of philosophy and theology at Liège. In 1647 he was sent to the English mission, and during many years he was missionary in the London district, of which in 1655 he was rector. He was also at one period vice-provincial of his order. His death occurred in London on 9 Aug. 1664. He wrote a bulky controversial work, entitled 'Labyrinths Cantuariensis: or Doctor Lawd's Labyrinth. Beeing an Answer to the late

Archbishop of Canturbvries Relation of a Conference between himselfe and Mr. Fisher, etc. Wherein the true grounds of the Roman Catholique Religion are asserted, the principall Controuersies betwixt Catholiques and Protestants thoroughly examined, and the Bishops meandrick windings throughout his whole worke layd open to publique view. By T. C.' Paris, 1658, fol.

[Foley's Records, v. 609, vi. 324, vii. 774; Southwell's Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, 761; Oliver's Jesuit Collections, 67; Backer's Bibl. des Écrivains de la Société de Jésus (1869), 1100.]

T. C.

**CARY.** [See also CAREW and CAREY.]

**CARY, EDWARD** (*d.* 1711), catholic divine, son of John and Lucy Cary, was born at Meldon, Suffolk. He left England in 1646 with the intention of joining some foreign army, but afterwards changed his mind and entered the English college at Rome, where he was ordained priest in 1651. He was then sent back to England on the mission. On the accession of James II he became chaplain-general to his majesty's catholic forces, and after the revolution he was employed in confidential communications with the friends of legitimate monarchy. His death occurred in 1711. He was the author of 'The Catechist catechized concerning the Oath of Allegiance,' 1681, 12mo.

[Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 481; Oliver's Catholic Religion in Cornwall, 261; Foley's Records, vi. 368.]

T. C.

**CARY, ELIZABETH, VISCOUNTESS FALKLAND.** [See under CARY, SIR HENRY.]

**CARY, FRANCIS STEPHEN** (1808–1880), artist and art-teacher, was a younger son of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary [q. v.] He was born at Kingsbury in Warwickshire on 10 May 1808, his father being then vicar of that place. He was educated at home, chiefly by his father, and at the age of eighteen became a pupil of Mr. Sass at the Art School in Streatham Street, Bloomsbury. He afterwards became a student at the Royal Academy, and for a short time painted in the studio of Sir Thomas Lawrence, with a view of becoming his pupil; this intention was frustrated by the death of that artist. In 1829 he studied in Paris, and afterwards in Italy and in the Art School at Munich. In 1833, 1834, 1835 he accompanied his father, to whom he was much devoted, in a course of foreign travel each year. In the following years he exhibited several pictures at the exhibitions of the Society of British Artists and others. In 1841 he married Louisa,

daughter of Charles Allen Philipps of St. Bride's Hill, Pembrokeshire, and in 1842 he undertook the management of the Art School in Bloomsbury, in which he had formerly studied under Mr. Sass. He continued to exhibit pictures for some years at the Royal Academy and elsewhere, and was a candidate in the Westminster Hall competitions for the decoration of the houses of parliament, held in 1844 and 1847. Cary was best known as the head of the Bloomsbury Art School. This school was founded by Mr. Sass on the model of the school of the Carracci, Bologna, and under his care, and subsequently under Cary's, many of the most prominent painters and sculptors of the day, such as Cope, Millais, Dante Rossetti, Armstead, &c., received their early art education. In 1874 Cary retired to Abinger in Surrey, where he died on 5 Jan. 1880. He left no family. In the early part of his life his continual devotion to his father was the cause of his enjoying much of the literary society of that day. He painted an interesting portrait of Charles Lamb and his sister Mary, now in the possession of Mr. Edward Hughes.

[Times, 9 Jan. 1880; Athenæum, 17 Jan. 1880; Art Journal, 1880, p. 108; Builder, xxxviii. 81; Catalogues of the Exhibitions of the Royal Academy, &c.; Life of the Rev. Henry Francis Cary; information from Mrs. Cary, and from Mr. Eyre Crowe, A.R.A.]

L. C.

**CARY, SIR HENRY, first VISCOUNT FALKLAND** (*d.* 1633), lord deputy of Ireland, descended from a family long seated in Somersetshire and Devonshire, was the son of Sir Edward Cary, knight, of Berkhamstead and Aldenham, Hertfordshire, by his wife, Catherine, daughter of Sir Henry Knevet, knight, master of the jewel office to Queen Elizabeth and King James, and widow of Henry, lord Paget. At the age of sixteen he entered Exeter College, Oxford, where, according to Wood, by the aid of a good tutor he became highly accomplished. Subsequently he served in France and the Low Countries, and was taken prisoner by Don Louis de Velasco, probably at the siege of Ostend, a fact referred to in the epigram on Sir Henry Cary by Ben Jonson:

When no foe, that day,  
Could conquer thee but chance who did betray.

In the following lines Ben Jonson draws a very flattering portrait of him:

That neither fame nor love might wanting be  
To greatness, Cary, I sing that and thee,  
Whose house, if it no other had,  
In only thee, might be both great and glad;  
Who, to upbraid the sloth of this our time,  
Dost valour make almost if not a crime.

On his return to England he was introduced to court, and became gentleman of the bedchamber. At the creation of Charles prince of Wales in 1616 he was created a K.B. In 1617 he became comptroller of the household and a privy councillor, and on 10 Nov. 1620 Viscount Falkland in the county of Fife, in the Scottish peerage, which title, with his naturalisation, was confirmed by Charles I by diploma in 1627. He was elected M.P. for Hertfordshire 11 Dec. 1620. Chiefly through the favour of Buckingham he was appointed to succeed Viscount Grandison as lord deputy of Ireland, being sworn 18 Sept. 1622. In office he showed himself both bigoted in his opinions and timid in carrying out a policy which continually dallied with extremes; though conscientious, he was easily offended, and he lamentably failed to conduct himself with credit when confronted with any unusual difficulties. Urged on by a sermon of Ussher on the text 'He beareth not the sword in vain,' Falkland, greatly distressed at the number of priests in Ireland and their influence over the people, issued a proclamation, 21 Jan. 1623, ordering their banishment from the country. Such a proclamation was at the time specially inexpedient on account of the negotiations for the Spanish marriage, and in February 1624 he received an order from the English privy council to refrain from more extreme measures than preventing the erection of religious houses and the congregation of unlawful assemblies. On account of the difficulties of maintaining the English army in Ireland, an assembly of the nobility of Ireland was convened by Falkland, 22 Sept. 1626, before whom he laid a draft of concessions promised by Charles, which were subsequently known as the 'Graces.' They promised the removal of certain religious disabilities and the recognition of sixty years' possession as a bar to all claims of the crown based on irregularities of title. The negotiation was not conducted by Falkland with much skill, and for a long time there seemed no hope of a satisfactory settlement, but at last, in May 1628, a deputation from the nobility agreed, before the king and privy council at Whitehall, on certain additional concessions in the 'Graces,' then confirmed, that Ireland should provide a sum of 4,000*l.* for the army for three years. Falkland believed that his difficulties with the nobility had been largely due to the intrigues of the lord chancellor, Lord Loftus of Ely, and, after the dissolution of the assembly of the nobility in 1627, brought a charge against him of malversation, and of giving encouragement to the nobility to refuse supplies. After the case had been heard in

London, Lord Loftus was allowed to return to his duties pending further inquiry. Meantime Falkland had for some years been engaged in tracking out what he supposed was a dangerous conspiracy of the Byrnes of Wicklow, and in August 1628 was able to announce to the king that the result of his protracted investigations had been successful, a true bill having been found against them at the Wicklow assizes. The aim of Falkland was to set up a plantation in Wicklow on the confiscated estates of the Byrnes, but as his designs were disapproved of by the commissioners of Irish causes, the king appointed a committee of the Irish privy council to investigate the matter more fully, one of the members of committee being the lord chancellor, Loftus. At this Falkland took deep offence, refusing to afford any assistance in the investigation on account of the 'high indignity' offered to himself (see 'A Copie of the Apologie of the Lord Viscount Faulkland, Lord Deputie of Ireland, to the Lords of his Majestie's Privie Counsell, the 8th December, 1628,' printed from the Harleian MS. 2305, in GILBERT's *History of the Irish Confederation*, i. 210-17). When, as the result of the inquiry, it was discovered that the Byrnes had been the victims of false witnesses, Falkland was, on 10 Aug. 1629, directed to hand over his authority to the lords justices on the pretext that his services were required in England. The king, recognising his good intentions, continued him in favour. From having accidentally broken his leg in Theobalds Park, he died in September 1633, and on the 25th of that month was buried at Aldenham. Falkland continued throughout his life to cultivate his literary tastes. An epitaph by him on Elizabeth, countess of Huntingdon, is given in Wilford's 'Memorials.' Among his papers was found 'The History of the most unfortunate Prince, King Edward II, with choice political observations on him and his unhappy favourites, Gaveston and Spencer,' which was published with a preface attributed to Sir James Harrington in 1680. Falkland was in the habit of ingeniously concealing the year of his age in a knot flourished beneath his name, a device by which he is said to have detected a forger who had failed to recognise its significance.

ELIZABETH CARY, LADY FALKLAND (1585-1639), famous for her learning and her devotion to the catholic religion, was the sole daughter and heiress of Sir Lawrence Tanfield, lord chief baron of the exchequer, and Elizabeth, daughter of Giles Symondes of Claye, Norfolk, and was born at Burford Priory, Oxfordshire, in 1585. In very early years she manifested a strong inclination for



the study of languages, mastering French, Spanish, Italian, Latin, Hebrew, and Transylvanian. At the age of fifteen she was married to Sir Henry Cary. As the result of her study of the fathers, she, when about nineteen years of age, became a convert to the catholic faith, but she did not acknowledge the change in her opinions till twenty years afterwards. She accompanied her husband to Dublin, where she took a great interest in the establishment of industrial schools. On her husband learning her change of faith they quarrelled, and she left Dublin in 1625. She was allowed by the privy council a separate maintenance of 500*l.* a year. After her husband's return to England they became reconciled, but continued to live separately. On account of her change of faith her father probably passed her over in his will [for the circumstances see under CARY, LUCIUS]. When her husband died she had only the annuity of 200*l.* a year given her by her parents. She died in October 1639. One of the most intimate friends of Lady Falkland was Chillingworth, but after his conversion to protestantism she blamed him for endeavouring to pervert her children. She published a translation of Cardinal Perron's reply to the attack on his works by King James, but the book was ordered to be burned. Afterwards she translated the whole of Perron's works for the benefit of scholars at Oxford and Cambridge; the translation, however, not being printed. She also wrote in verse the lives of St. Mary Magdalene, St. Agnes the Martyr, and St. Elizabeth of Portugal, as well as numerous hymns in honour of the Virgin. The collected edition of the works of John Marston (1633) is dedicated to her.

Of the eleven children of Lord and Lady Falkland there are records of eight, four sons and four daughters. His son Lucius, second viscount, is the subject of a separate article. The father's petition to the king praying for the release of his son, who had been confined in the Fleet prison, is preserved in the Harleian MS. 1581, where there are also four letters to Falkland from the Duke of Buckingham, has been printed in the 'Cabala.' The second son, Sir Lawrence, was killed fighting under Sir Charles Coote at Swords in 1642. The other two sons, Patrick [q. v.], who was the author of some poems, and Placid, took orders in the catholic church. The four daughters, Anne, who had been maid of honour to the queen, Lucy, Elizabeth, and Mary, ultimately became nuns in the convent of Cambray.

[Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), ii. 565-6; Fuller's *Worthies* (ed. 1811), pp. 431-2; Lloyd's *State Worthies*; Douglas's *Peerage of Scotland* (Wood), i. 567-8; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis), iii. 290; Chal-

mers's *Biog. Dict.* viii. 335-6; Walpole's *Royal and Noble Authors*, v. 65-6; The Lady Falkland, her Life, from a Manuscript in the Imperial Archives at Lille; *Life*, by Lady Georgiana Fulleton, 1873; Cal. State Papers, Dom. Series, containing many letters both of Lord and Lady Falkland; Cal. Irish State Papers, 1615-25; Cal. Carew MSS.; Harleian MSS. 1581, 2305; Add. MS. 3827; Gilbert's *History of the Irish Confederation*, i. xi, 24, 170-6, 210-17; Gardiner's *History of England*, viii. 9-28.]

T. F. H.

CARY, HENRY FRANCIS (1772-1844), translator of Dante, was born at Gibraltar 6 Dec. 1772. His father, an officer in the army, and grandson of Mordecai Cary, bishop of Killala, shortly afterwards settled as a country gentleman at Cannock in Staffordshire. Young Cary received his education at local grammar schools, Rugby, Sutton Coldfield, and Birmingham. While at the latter, being only fifteen, he published an ode to Lord Heathfield on his defence of Gibraltar, the youthful writer's native place. The ode was greatly admired, and led to Cary's becoming a regular contributor to the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' and publishing a small volume of odes and sonnets in the following year. It also procured him the notice of Miss Seward and her literary coterie at Lichfield. He corresponded assiduously with Miss Seward, and one of his letters (*Life*, i. 42-4) is especially interesting as disclosing the germ of his attachment to Dante. It is written from Christ Church, Oxford, where he had entered in April 1790. In 1796 he took orders, was presented to the vicarage of Abbot's Bromley, Staffordshire, and married the daughter of James Ormsby of Sandymount, near Dublin. His time was chiefly employed in study, of which his diary, published by his son, gives a detailed account. His principal publications during his residence at Abbot's Bromley were an 'Ode to Kosciusko' and three sermons, contributed to the publication of a clerical friend who 'was driven by his necessities to publish a volume of sermons by subscription, but had not energy to write them himself.' In 1800 he removed to the living of Kingsbury in Warwickshire, to which he had been presented in addition to Abbot's Bromley, and in May of that year commenced his translation of the '*Inferno*,' which was published in 1805. It attracted little attention, partly owing to the neglect into which his author had fallen ('his fame,' said Napoleon of Dante about this time, 'is increasing and will continue to increase, because no one ever reads him'), partly from being weighted by a reprint of the original text, but even more from Cary's own independence of the corrupt

poetical taste of the day. He had not shrunk from reproducing Dante's homely expressions, and in so doing exposed himself to charges of familiarity, and even vulgarity, from his old patroness, Miss Seward, whom he answered conclusively in a long letter preserved by his son. In 1807 the death of his youngest daughter occasioned a state of mental prostration scarcely distinguishable from insanity, the precursor of subsequent similar afflictions. He removed to London, became reader at Berkeley Chapel, retaining his country benefices, and after a time was able to continue his translation of Dante. It was completed on 8 May 1812; but the ill success of the 'Inferno' had discouraged the booksellers, and Cary, whose family was large and whose means were moderate, was obliged to publish the sequel, along with a reprint of its predecessor, at his own expense. It at first excited no more attention than the 'Inferno,' but ere long the whole translation came into notice, in great measure from the warm applause of Coleridge, whose acquaintance Cary made as he paced the beach at Littlehampton, reciting Homer to his son. 'Sir,' said Coleridge, attracted by the sound of the Greek, 'yours is a face I *should* know. I am Samuel Taylor Coleridge.' During the rest of the day the wondrous stranger discoursed on Homer, making young Cary 'feel as one from whose eyes the scales were just removed,' and in the evening carried home the translation of Dante, of which he had never even heard. The next day he was able to repeat whole pages, and his winter course of lectures gave it celebrity. A new edition was published in 1819, and ever since, notwithstanding the competition of more exact versions of no mean poetical power, it has remained the translation which, on Dante's name being mentioned, occurs first to the mind.

During this interval Cary had resigned his readership, and become afternoon lecturer at Chiswick and curate of the Savoy. His acquaintance with Coleridge had introduced him to Charles Lamb, with whom he contracted an intimate friendship. He became a member of the circle that gathered around the publishers Taylor and Hessey, and contributed ballads and critical essays to their 'London Magazine.' Several of his contributions were on the early French poets, the materials for which he collected in a visit to France in 1821. These were republished after his death, as also were a series of lives of English poets, supplementary to Johnson, likewise contributed to the 'London Magazine.' In 1824 appeared his translation of 'The Birds,' an elegant performance, but wanting the rollicking fun of Aristophanes.

In the same year he began his translation of Pindar. In 1826, after an unsuccessful application for a vacancy in the antiquities department of the British Museum, he was appointed assistant-keeper of printed books. A classed catalogue of the library was at that time in preparation, and Cary was appropriately entrusted with the poetry. After some time it was given up, and he was mainly employed in cataloguing new purchases and acquisitions by copyright. The numerous titles extant in his handwriting show that he was both an industrious and an accurate workman. Nothing occurred to vary the even tenor of his life until the completion of his translation of Pindar in the autumn of 1832, almost immediately followed by the sudden death of his wife. The effect upon him was 'an amazement of all the faculties of mind and body,' followed by attacks of delirium. Having partially rallied, he undertook a long tour on the continent, and returned restored to comparative health; yet, in the opinion of all but his family and himself, disqualified for promotion to the headship of the library of printed books, to which, indeed, the shy recluse scholar would hardly have been equal at any time. The post became vacant in 1837, and the preference over Cary given to Antonio Panizzi, a foreigner who had not yet overcome prejudice by the demonstration of his extraordinary capacity, and whose promotion was regarded by many as a piece of party patronage, occasioned much criticism at the time. It was, however, most fully vindicated before the royal commission of 1848, and, entirely apart from the question of Panizzi's merits and Cary's infirmities, the latter placed himself out of court by the ground on which he rested his claim. 'My age,' he said, 'it was plain, might ask for me that alleviation of labour which is gained by promotion to a superior place.' A curious ideal of duty must have prevailed in the public service when, as has been remarked, 'an honourable and respected officer could, without conscious absurdity, urge as a plea for promotion that he would thereby have less to do.' Upon the failure of his application Cary resigned, and owing to another serious blot in the administrative system of the time, his eleven years of faithful service were unrecompensed by any retiring pension. The death of his aged father, however, had recently placed him in easier circumstances, and though consenting to work for the booksellers, he does not seem to have suffered from pecuniary embarrassment. He edited several standard English poets with much judgment, and prepared a series of critical observations on the Italian

poets, which were published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' after his death. A crown pension of 200*l.* a year was conferred upon him in 1841, principally through the influence of Rogers. He died, after a short illness, on 14 Aug. 1844, and was buried in Westminster Abbey by the side of Samuel Johnson.

Cary's literary fame is almost wholly identified with one work. There will probably always be two schools of Dante translation in England, the blank verse and the terza rima, and until some great genius shall have arisen capable of thoroughly naturalising the latter metre, Johnson's terse remark on the translators of Virgil will continue to be applicable. 'Pitt,' he says, 'is quoted, and Dryden read.' Cary's standard is lower, and his achievement less remarkable, than that of many of his successors, but he, at least, has made Dante an Englishman, and they have left him half an Italian. He has, nevertheless, shown remarkable tact in avoiding the almost inevitable imitation of the Miltonic style, and, renouncing the attempt to clothe Dante with a stateliness which does not belong to him, has in a great measure preserved his transparent simplicity and intense vividness. In many other respects Cary's taste was much in advance of the standard of his day; his criticisms on other poets are judicious, but not penetrating. His original poems and his translation of Pindar scarcely deserve a higher praise than that of elegance. A translation of Valerius Flaccus was never completed, and nothing more seems to have been heard of the 'Romeo and other Poems' which his son announced his intention of publishing. The extreme tenderness and affectionateness of Cary's character appears sufficiently from his history. It would hardly have been inferred from his correspondence, which is in general rather commonplace, and tinged with a reserve which can only have arisen from extreme sensitiveness.

[Mém. of the Rev. H. F. Cary, by his son, Henry Cary, 2 vols. 1847; *Gent. Mag.* April 1847; *Edwards's Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*, pp. 547-52.] R. G.

CARY, JOHN (*d.* 1395 ?), judge, son of Sir John Cary, knight, bailiff of the forest of Selwood in Wiltshire, knight of the shire for Devon in 1362 and 1368, who died in 1371, by Jane, daughter of Sir Guy de Brien, knight, was put into commission as warden of the ports for Devonshire in 1373, and was made commissioner of array three years later. He was commanded by the king in 1383 to take the rank of serjeant-at-law, but refused. Three years later (5 Nov. 1386) he was

created chief baron of the exchequer. In 1387-8 he underwent impeachment for having answered, in a sense favourable to the king, the interrogatories addressed to the judges at Nottingham in the preceding August, relative to the action of the parliament in dismissing Michael de la Pole, and vesting the supreme power in a council of nobles [see BEALKNAP, SIR ROBERT]. He was condemned to death, but the sentence having been commuted for one of banishment, he was transported to Waterford and confined within a circuit of two miles round the city, but was otherwise permitted to live at his own will, being allowed a pension of 20*l.* per annum for maintenance. He died about 1395 or 1396. His estates at Torrington and Cockington, which had been confiscated, were restored to his son, probably in 1402. By his wife, Margaret, daughter of Robert Holway of Holway in Devonshire, he had two sons, Robert (now represented by Robert Shedden Sulyarde Cary of Torr Abbey, Torquay) and John, sometime bishop of Exeter. The family has given origin to three peerages, of which one, held by Viscount Falkland, baron Hunsdon (*b.* 1803), is still extant.

[*Cal. Inq. P.M.* iii. 196, 308; *Abbrev. Rot. Orig.* ii. 281, 317, 323; *Devon's Issues of the Exch.* (Hen. III-Hen. VI), p. 236; *Willis's Not. Parl.* ii. 251; *Foss's Lives of Judges*; *Rymer's Fœd.* (ed. Clarke), iii. pt. ii. 976, 1046; *Dugdale's Chron.* Ser. 53; *Hist. Angl. Script.* Decem. Col. 2727; *Cobbet's State Trials*, i. 119-20; *Rot. Parl.* iii. 484.] J.M.R.

CARY, JOHN (*d.* 1720 ?), merchant and writer on trade, was the son of Thomas Cary, vicar of St. Philip and St. Jacob, Bristol. Engaged in the West Indian sugar trade, he was led to take a political interest in commercial matters. He was a warden of the Merchant Venturers' Company at Bristol in 1683-4. In Jan. 1687-8, when the mayor and council were removed on account of their opposition to the abolition of the penal laws, he was placed on the substituted council (see SEYER, *Bristol*, ii. 534). He was removed in Oct. 1688. He was parliamentary candidate for Bristol in 1698. An essay on trade, which he published in 1695, attracted attention and brought him into correspondence with Locke. It 'is the best discourse,' Locke wrote to him, 'I ever read on that subject.' It is 'written with so disinterested an aim,' wrote another correspondent, 'that no man can possibly tell where your trade lies by it.' Cary was evidently esteemed by his fellow citizens as a man of sound practical judgment, for he acted as an arbitrator in commercial disputes, and was chosen by the Bristol committee of trade as their representative in London to advise the city members in matters affecting

Bristol trade. In 1700 he was appointed one of the trustees for the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland (*H. C. Journals*, xiii. 307; HARRIS, *William III*, p. 478). In 1704, being known to have given much attention to the subject, he was invited by the ministry to lay before them his views on the question of encouraging the linen manufactures of Ireland. The only later references to him are in connection with two chancery suits in Ireland, *Carey v. White*, and *Boyle-Moor v. Mattocks*, in both of which, on appeal to the House of Lords, he was unsuccessful (Index to *Journals*, vols. ii. and iii.; and 5 Bro. P. C. 325). In each case he was attached for non-payment of costs, being imprisoned for a few days in 1717 (MACQUEEN, *Practice in the House of Lords*, p. 271), though he seems to have evaded a similar order in 1719 (*H. L. Journals*, xxi. 130). He died soon after (advertisement to 1745 edition of the *Essay on Trade*). Cary advocated a national policy in trade. It is possible, he said, for the public to grow poor, while private persons increase their fortunes; therefore it is important to discover what trades are profitable to the nation and should be encouraged, and what are not profitable and should be discouraged. He has been ridiculed for putting such a question, but to nearly all his contemporaries it seemed a most reasonable one. In the instructions to the commissioners of trade in 1696 it is set down, almost in Cary's words, as the first subject of inquiry (MACPHERSON, *Commerce*, ii. 682). The policy which he advocated was the stimulating of home manufactures. To this end he was in favour of discouraging the importation of manufactured commodities, and of encouraging, by freeing from customs and otherwise, that of raw material. For the same reason he proposed that the laws against the exportation of wool should be strengthened, and that some check should be put upon the woollen manufactures of Ireland. The Irish trade, he said in a letter of 1695, threatens to eat up ours. 'Lands in Ireland will advance to twenty years' purchase, and lands in England fall to twelve.'

Among his other proposals was a plan for providing workhouses for the poor, which through his efforts was brought into operation in Bristol by an act of 1697. In one of his pamphlets Cary described the success of the experiment, and the example of Bristol was followed by a number of other towns (see EDEN, *State of the Poor*, i. 253, 275; NICHOLLS, *English Poor Law*, i. 373). A growing belief in the system led to the passing of a general act in 1723, enabling separate parishes to combine for the purpose of establishing a common workhouse. Though

the idea of such a combination had been already suggested by Hale and other writers on the poor, Cary has been justly credited with showing how it could be carried out.

The following is a list of Cary's works : 1. 'An Essay on the State of England in relation to its Trade, its Poor, and its Taxes, for carrying on the present War against France,' 1695; 2nd ed. 1719, 'An Essay towards regulating the Trade and employing the Poor of this Kingdom;' 3rd ed. 1745, 'A Discourse on Trade, and other matters relative to it,' &c. The later editions differ considerably from the first one. The edition of 1745 was translated, with additions, into French in 1755, and from the French into Italian in 1764. In Cary's lifetime parts of the essay were extracted and published as separate pamphlets: the 'Irish and Scotch Trade' (Bristol, 1695; London, 1696), the 'East India Trade' (Bristol, 1695; London, 1696 and 1699), the 'African Trade' (n. d.) and the proposals relating to the poor. A pamphlet having appeared entitled 'The Linnen Drapers' Answer to that part of Mr. Cary his Essay on Trade, that concerns the East India Trade'—a plea for free trade—he published a short reply. 2. 'An Essay on the Coin and Credit of England as they stand with respect to Trade' (Bristol, 1696), 'to show the necessity of settling a well-grounded credit in this nation, for support of the government and carrying on its trade' (see MACLEOD on *Banking*, i. 403). In 'An Essay towards settling a National Credit' (1696, reprinted along with 2nd and 3rd editions of the 'Essay on Trade'), and in 'A Proposal for paying off the Publick Debts by erecting a National Credit' (London, 1719), he advocated a national bank, 'the profit or loss thereof to redound to the nation.' In the 'Essay on Trade' (2nd ed.) he said that 'the famous Mr. Laws' drew his scheme from this proposal. 3. 'An Account of the Proceedings of the Corporation of Bristol, in Execution of the Act of Parliament for the better employing and maintaining the Poor of that City,' London, 1700 (anonymous), reprinted along with 2nd and 3rd editions of the 'Essay on Trade.' 'A Proposal to raise 150,000*l.* per annum, and to give Employment to the Poor' (n. d.); a leaflet, suggesting an additional duty on tobacco. 4. 'Some Considerations relating to the Carrying on the Linnen Manufactures of Ireland,' 1704; reprinted along with 2nd and 3rd editions of the 'Essay on Trade.' The effect of absenteeism on 'the balance of trade' is discussed. 5. 'A Vindication of the Parliament of England, in answer to a book written by William Molyneux of Dublin, Esq., intituled "The Case

of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated," London, 1698 (see NICOLSON, *Irish Hist. Library*, ed. 1776, p. 51). Another answer to Molyneux appeared in the same year, which, on the strength of a marginal reference in Leland's 'History of Ireland' (i. 77, 3rd ed.), is attributed to Cary. 6. 'The Rights of the Commons in Parliament assembled asserted, and the Liberties of the People vindicated,' London, 1718, denying the right of the House of Lords to imprison after prerogation. 'The Case of John Cary, Esq.' &c., London, 1719; an appeal to the House of Commons for relief in a case pending in the Irish court of chancery. Cary's manuscripts in the British Museum include several papers on trade and currency, his correspondence with Locke and others concerning the 'Essay on Trade,' and notes on fencing and other matters. He gives a description (f. 112) of three comets in 1680 and 1682, with a sketch of one of them.

[Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 5540; Journals of House of Lords; references to himself in his pamphlets; information received from Mr. William George of Bristol.] G. P. M.

CARY, LUCIUS, second VISCOUNT FALKLAND (1610?–1648), born probably at Burford either in 1610 or towards the end of the preceding year, was the son of Sir Henry Cary [q.v.], who was in 1620 created Viscount Falkland in the Scottish peerage, and who was lord-deputy of Ireland from 1622 to 1629. His mother, from whom he inherited his literary tastes and his religious thoughtfulness, was Elizabeth [see under CARY, SIR HENRY], only daughter of Sir Lawrence Tanfield, chief baron of the exchequer. In 1622 he accompanied his father and mother to Dublin, where he was educated at Trinity College, though it would seem that his name had been entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1621 (BAKER, *Hist. of St. John's College*, ed. Mayor, i. 263). Ussher was provost during the first part of young Cary's residence, and it has been suggested that his influence may have had something to do with the youth's subsequent hostility to the Laudian system. In 1625 Sir Lawrence Tanfield died. By a deed (*MS.* in Record Office, Chancery Inquisitions, Chas. I, part 1, No. 44, compare probate of will at Somerset House) he directed that the manors of Great Tew and Burford, together with the rectory of Great Tew, should be conveyed to trustees and be held by them, first to the use of his widow, and after her death to that of his grandson, Lucius, upon whose issue the estates were entailed, no mention being made of his daughter, Lady Falkland. It is pos-

sible that she was passed over because, though she had not yet formally become a Roman catholic, she was understood to be unsettled in religion; but it must be remembered that the young Lucius had been taken to live with his grandfather from his birth (*Life of Lady Falkland*, p. 11), and was, therefore, no doubt a special favourite with the old man. When, in 1629, the elder Falkland returned to England, he had been engaged in a violent quarrel with many of the members of the Irish privy council, and the lords justices, who were of the party opposed to him, made use of their new authority to take away a company, the command of which had been granted by the late lord-deputy to his son, Lucius, and to confer it upon Sir Francis Willoughby. Upon this Lucius, indignant on his own as well as on his father's account, challenged Willoughby in January 1630, on which he was committed to the Fleet by a warrant from the council, dated 17 Jan., and liberated on his father's petition on the 27th (correspondence in LADY THERESA LEWIS'S *Lives of the Friends of Clarendon*, i. 189). When young Cary left Ireland he brought with him a thorough knowledge of French and Latin (CLARENDON'S *Life*, i. 35). If Clarendon's dates are to be taken as accurate, it was at the age of nineteen—that is to say about 1629—that he entered into possession of his inheritance, no doubt by his grandmother's death; and it was at some time during the next two years that he married Letice, daughter of Sir Richard Morrison of Tooley Park, Leicestershire. It was a love-match, and as the lady was poor his father was very angry with him, probably on account of his own exclusion from the Tanfield property as well as on account of the marriage. With the impulsiveness of nature which marked him through his life, Lucius offered to abandon all claim upon the estate to his father, a proposal which came to nothing through the passionate refusal of the old man to accept the offer. So deeply was Lucius pained by the quarrel thus forced upon him, that he went over to Holland with the intention of taking military service under the Dutch Republic. He failed, however, to obtain the post which he desired, and he returned to England to a life for which he was more fitted than for that of a soldier (*ib.* i. 37; WOOD, *Athenæ Oxon.* ed. Bliss, ii. 570). On his return to England Cary retired to a country life at Great Tew, declaring that 'he would not see London in many years, which was the place he loved of all the world,' and devoted himself to the study of Greek (CLARENDON'S *Life*, i. 39). By his father's accidental death in 1633 he

became Viscount Falkland, and was obliged, much against his will, to go to London on business connected with his father's property, which was so heavily mortgaged that, as Clarendon says (*ib.* i. 40), he was compelled to sell a finer seat of his own in order to release it. Wood (*Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 603) throws doubt on the statement given in the 'Mystery of the Good Old Cause' (1660), that Lenthall had Burford given to him by the Long parliament, on the ground that he had purchased it from Falkland in 1634 for about 7,000*l.* This statement tallies with Clarendon's assertion, and as Lenthall was one of Falkland's trustees under his grandfather's deed, he was a likely person to make the purchase. As under that deed Falkland had only a life interest, the Long parliament no doubt continued to Lenthall the proprietorship after Falkland's death, which otherwise would have gone to his eldest son. Falkland spent with his mother the winter after his father's death. She was now a declared catholic, and was naturally anxious to convince her children of the truth of her own creed. If we may trust her recollections of this period embodied in her biography, written probably by one of her younger sons, Falkland was very nearly giving way. He was, it seems, 'so wholly catholic in opinion then that he would affirm he knew nothing but what the church told him; pretending, for his being none, that though this seemed to him to be thus—and that he always disputed in the defence of it—yet he would not take upon him to resolve anything so determinately as to change his profession upon it till he was forty years old' (*Life of Lady Falkland*, p. 55). It is hardly likely that this is a complete account of the state of Falkland's mind. He may very well have been sufficiently dissatisfied with popular protestantism to listen with sympathising attention to his mother's arguments, while the light answer about his youth might easily have concealed a feeling of repugnance which he was too courteous to express. Lady Falkland accounted for her son's subsequent defection (*ib.* p. 56) by his 'meeting with a book of Socinus.' This charge of Socinianism here brought against Falkland was also brought against Chillingworth, whom Falkland met at his mother's house, and with whom he contracted a lasting friendship. There is probably a misconception at the root of the denunciations to which this charge has been subjected. The term Socinianism is at present applied to a certain doctrine on the second person of the Trinity. In Falkland's time, as appears from Cheynell's 'Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinian-

ism' (1643), it was rather a habit of applying reason to questions of revelation which led up to that special doctrine as its most startling result. There can be no doubt that in this larger sense both Falkland and Chillingworth had, as Cheynell subsequently asserted of Chillingworth, the Socinian way of regarding religious questions, and Lady Falkland's assertion that they were led in that direction by reading a book of Socinus may very possibly be true. After this Falkland's relations with his mother were for some time strained, especially as she sent over two of her sons to be educated as catholics abroad, and used her motherly influence to procure the conversion of her daughters. There were also some monetary difficulties between them, but the first meeting was enough to put an end to all estrangement between mother and son, especially as Falkland made over to her and to some of her children a part of his father's estate which he had himself redeemed and which had originally been set apart by her husband for her jointure. In later years Lady Falkland was once more in difficulties, but as there had been again some ill-feeling between the mother and son, she did not apply to him for help. When at last Falkland was informed of his mother's condition, he at once hurried to her assistance. He found her on her deathbed, and did all that was in his power to soothe her in her last hours (*Life of Lady Falkland*, 108, 111).

Falkland's own life had been an enjoyable one. 'As soon,' writes Clarendon (*Life*, i. 41), 'as he had finished all those transactions, which the death of his father had made it necessary to be done, he retired again to his country life and to his severe course of study, which was very delightful to him as soon as he was engaged in it, but he was wont to say that he never found reluctance in anything he resolved to do but in his quitting London, and departing from the conversation of those he enjoyed there, which was in some degree preserved and continued by frequent letters, and often visits, which were made by his friends from hence, whilst he continued wedded to the country; and which were so grateful to him, that during their stay with him he looked upon no book, and truly his whole conversation was one continued *convivium philosophicum* or *convivium theologicum*, enlivened and refreshed with all the facetiousness of wit and good humour and pleasantness of discourse, which made the gravity of the argument itself (whatever it was) very delectable. His house where he usually resided (Tew or Burford in Oxfordshire), being within ten or twelve miles of the uni-

versity, looked like the university itself, by the company that was always found there. There was Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Earles, i.e. Earle, 'Mr. Chillingworth, and indeed all men of eminent parts and faculties in Oxford, besides those who resorted thither from London, who all found their lodgings there, as ready as in the colleges; nor did the lord of the house know of their coming or going, nor who was in his house, till he came to dinner, or supper, where all still met; otherwise, there was no troublesome ceremony or constraint to forbid men to come to the house, or to make them weary of staying there, so that many came thither to study in a better air, finding all the books they could desire in his library, and all the persons together, whose company they could wish, and not find in any other society.'

That the persons who resorted from London—the poets and the wits—took up a larger part in Falkland's mind than Clarendon acknowledges is evident from Suckling's 'Session of the Poets.' Yet the lines which Suckling devotes to Falkland draw, in the main, the same picture as that of the historian:—

Hales set by himself most gravely did smile  
To see them about nothing keep such a coil;  
Apollo had spied him, but, knowing his mind,  
Past by, and called Falkland that sat just behind.

But he was of late so gone with divinity,  
That he had almost forgot his poetry,  
Though to say the truth, and Apollo did know it,  
He might have been both his priest and his poet.

We here get Falkland's modesty combined with intellectual activity, which no doubt constituted the main charm of his character as a host. We get too the impression which he made of being a man who could do much more than he actually did, an impression which has kept its hold upon subsequent generations, and which is at the bottom of most of the misconceptions of Falkland's life which have since prevailed.

Fortunately we are able to bring this conception of Falkland to the test. During this period of his life he wrote some poetry, and he also wrote something, if not much, on a theological subject. In his poetry (ed. Grosart in *Fuller Worthies Miscellany*, vol. iii.) there is much that is pleasing, but there is no trace of imaginative power. The same is true of his religious writings. In the 'Discourse of Infallibility' (published in 1651 by Dr. Triplet), which was not printed till after his death, and in the answer to the letter in which Walter Montague announced his conversion to his father, written in the end of 1635 or the beginning of 1636, there

is ability without originality. His thought on the subject bears the distinct impress of Chillingworth's mind, in a way which the writings of Hales do not. Yet it would be a grave mistake to speak of Falkland's personality as unimportant in the historical development of religious thought. Because he was not himself a cutter of new paths, he was all the more a representative man, and he stands forth as the central figure of a special phase of progress. In his large wisdom, his gentle tolerance, his sweet reasonableness, even in his very impetuosity, there was more of 'human nature's daily food' than was to be found in men intellectually so superior to him as Chillingworth and Hales.

During the years of retirement at Great Tew, Falkland gave but little attention to questions of state. In 1637, in some lines written by him on Ben Jonson's death, he went out of the way to compliment the king on his claim to the sovereignty of the seas, though in the same year his name appears on the list of defaulters in respect of ship-money for one of his estates ('Arrears for Hertfordshire,' *State Papers*, Dom. cccxxv. 106). As, however, we hear nothing of his omission to pay ship-money in Oxfordshire, it may perhaps be concluded that he had no deliberate intention to oppose the court. The same conclusion must be drawn from the fact that he applied for the command of a troop of horse in the expedition against the Scots in 1639, and that, upon receiving a refusal, he 'went as a volunteer with the Earl of Essex' (CLARENDON, *Hist.* vii. 230).

Cowley, in the lines which he addressed to Falkland on this occasion, felt that there was something incongruous in the appearance as a soldier of 'this great prince of knowledge,' while paying tribute to that utter fearlessness which Clarendon ascribes to him. No one, however, suggested that there was anything out of place in Falkland, who was one of the least puritanical of human beings, taking part in a campaign against the puritan Scots.

In the year after his return he sat in the Short parliament for Newport in the Isle of Wight. 'From the debates,' Clarendon says (*Hist.* vii. 222), 'he contracted such a reverence to parliaments, that he thought it really impossible that they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them; and from the unhappy and unseasonable intermission of that convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice of the court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined.' The statement is pro-

bably tinged by Clarendon's later feeling, but it is extremely probable that from the conversation of his fellow-soldiers in the camp in the north, as well as from that of his fellow-members of Westminster, Falkland realised what the Laudian system really was, and that he generously threw himself into the struggle against it for the sake of the consciences of others, though it is unlikely that it ever pressed very heavily on his own. Such, at least, is a fair explanation of the part taken by him when, at the opening of the Long parliament, he again found himself member for Newport. The self-willed government of Strafford was as little to his taste as the self-willed government of Laud, and he, with all the warmth of his nature, flung himself heartily into the opposition. If, as has been suggested, Falkland was predisposed to take part against Strafford on account of the earl's conduct to the first Lord Falkland, it is all the more creditable to him that on 11 Nov., when the question of the impeachment of Strafford was under consideration, he asked that the accusation should be held back to give time for a full inquiry into its truth (*ib.* iii. 8). At a later stage of the proceedings, on 18 Feb. 1641, when the commons was much excited by the concession made by the lords to Strafford of further time for the preparation of his defence, Falkland calmed them by reminding them that the lords had 'done no more than they conceived to be necessary in justice,' and that it would only serve Strafford if they quarrelled with the upper house (D'Ewes's 'Diary,' *Harl. MS.* clxii. fol. 237). When, on 21 April, the final issue was raised on the third reading of the bill of attainder, Falkland not only voted but spoke in favour of the measure (ciphered entry in D'Ewes's 'Diary,' *Harl. MS.* 164, fol. 183 a).

On another great political question, that of ship-money, Falkland took an equally decided part. His speech about ship-money (RUSHWORTH, iv. 86) was in reality an attack on the judges who had perverted the law, and more especially upon Lord-keeper Finch. In the division on the religious question, which ultimately split up the Long parliament into two hostile sections, Falkland took from the beginning the side which gradually developed into an episcopalian-royalist party. In the great debate of 8 Feb. 1641 (*ib.* iv. 184, where the date of 9 Feb. is wrongly given) he made a vehement attack upon the bishops on account of their claim to divine right and that of oppression of the people both in religion and liberty. He urged that the clergy should be subjected to the control of the civil magistrate, and that

the power of imposing ceremonies 'which any member counts unlawful, and no man counts necessary,' should be taken from them. But he was not in favour of the abolition of episcopacy, thinking that triennial parliaments would be sufficiently powerful to keep the bishops in check. It was not desirable to remove bishops merely for the sake of change. Later on, if Clarendon's authority is to be accepted, Hampden assured Falkland that if a bill for depriving bishops of their seats in the House of Lords and of other civil offices became law, 'there would be nothing more attempted to the prejudice of the church.' The proposed measure was wrecked in the House of Lords, and Falkland found himself compelled to give a vote on the so-called root-and-branch bill for the total extinction of episcopacy. In a speech delivered either on 27 May on the second reading, or on some subsequent day when the bill was in committee, Falkland, in addition to the argument that the change was undesirable and not sought for by the majority, spoke of the abolition as injurious to learning. Evidently, however, his strongest feeling was that of dread of the establishment of presbyterianism, which he believed to be the inevitable consequence of the bill before the house. That system claimed as strongly as the bishops had done to exist by divine right. Presbyterianism would, if once admitted, lay claim to an unlimited and independent authority. 'If it be said,' Falkland continued, 'that this unlimitedness and independence is only in spiritual things, I answer, first, that arbitrary government being the worst of governments, and our bodies being worse than our souls, it will be strange to set up that over the second of which we were so impatient over the first. Secondly, that Mr. Solicitor, speaking about the power of the clergy to make canons to bind, did excellently inform us what a mighty influence spiritual power hath upon temporal affairs. So that if our clergy had the one, they had inclusively almost all the other; and to this I may add the vast temporal power of the pope, allowed him by men who allow it him only *in ordine ad spiritualia*, for the fable will tell you, if you make the lion judge (and the clergy assisted by the people is lion enough), it was a wise fear of the fox's lest he might call a knob [i.e. a knob] a horn. And more, sir, they will in this case be judges not only of that which is spiritual, but of what it is that is so; and the people receiving instruction from no other, will take the most temporal matter to be spiritual, if they tell them it is so' (a speech printed in Triplett's second edition of *Discourse of Infallibility*).



Falkland's political course was thus traced out. The desire to secure intellectual liberty from spiritual tyranny was the ruling principle of his mind. His claim to our reverence lies in the fact that his mind was as thoroughly saturated as Milton's was with the love of freedom as the nurse of high thought and high morality, while his gentle nature made him incapable of the harsh austerities of Milton's combative career. As an efficient statesman Falkland has little claim to notice. He knew what he did not want, but he had no clear conception of what he did want; no constructive imagination to become a founder of institutions in which his noble conceptions should be embodied. It was this deficiency which made him during his future life a follower rather than a leader, to choose the royalist side not because he counted it worthy of his attachment, but because the parliamentary side seemed to be less worthy, and to accept a political system from his friend Hyde as he had accepted a system of thought from his friend Chillingworth. Falkland's mind in its beautiful strength as well as in its weakness was essentially of a feminine cast.

If the moral tendency towards a great achievement were not as meritorious as the intellectual discovery of the means by which that achievement may be rendered possible, one might easily grow impatient over the remainder of Falkland's career. While he remained in the Long parliament his advice was purely negative. He was, as might have been expected, hostile to the Scotch, and wished that the English parliament should take no interest in the incident at Edinburgh, and should refuse to allow Scottish troops to take part in the Irish war (D'Ewes's 'Diary,' *Harl. MS.* 162, fols. 12*b*, 60*b*). He resisted the second Bishops' Exclusion Bill (*ib.* fol. 31*b*), and in the debate on the Grand Remonstrance complained of the hard measure dealt out to the bishops and the Arminians (*Verney Notes*, 121). Not a hint is to be found that during these fateful months he suggested any practical remedy for the evils of which he was profoundly conscious.

It is probable that no one was more surprised than Falkland himself when, on or about 1 Jan. 1642, the king offered him the vacant secretaryship of state. It required all the persuasive powers of his friend Hyde to induce him to accept it, and he seems to have given way rather because he thought the party which he had joined to be on the whole better than the one which was opposed to it, than because he had great confidence in Charles's character. Whatever his motive

may have been, his resolution was not affected by the incident of the attempt upon the five members. Yet if Falkland kept his place, there are no signs of his acquiring or attempting to acquire political influence. His name is, as might be expected, to be found among those appended to the declaration of 15 June 1642, in which the peers and others assembled at York protest that they abhor all designs of making war (CLARENDON, v. 342); and on 5 Sept. he was the bearer of the second message sent by Charles to the parliament after the standard had been raised at Nottingham. We learn from D'Ewes that, in addition to the public declaration (*Lords' Journals*, v. 338) with which he was charged, Falkland was directed privately to inform the parliamentary leaders that Charles was prepared to 'consent to a thorough reformation of religion,' as well as to anything else that they 'could reasonably desire' (D'Ewes's 'Diary,' *Harl. MS.* 164, fol. 314*b*). The rejection of this overture no doubt determined Falkland to throw himself on the royalist side more heartily than he had done before.

Of Falkland's career as secretary we know little. A well-merited reproof given to Rupert—'in neglecting me, you neglect the king' (WARBURTON'S *Mem. of Rupert*, i. 368)—is evidence of the spirit in which he magnified his office, while a letter written on 27 Sept., soon after the fight at Powick Bridge, in which he predicts a speedy end to the rebellion, because Essex's army was filled with 'tailors or embroiderers or the like,' shows, as does his remark to Cromwell before the debate on the Grand Remonstrance—that the subject would not need a long discussion—that he had little conception of the forces opposed to him (*Civil War Tracts* in the British Museum, pressmark E, 9 March, 121, 22). Later on we have the fact that he conducted the secret correspondence with the London partakers in Waller's plot, but it is impossible now to say whether he did so as a mere matter of duty, or because he considered that all was fair against enemies who were also rebels. At all events, by the summer of 1643 Falkland was weary of the war. At the siege of Gloucester, when among his friends, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he 'would with a shrill and sad accent ingeminate the word Peace! Peace! and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation which the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart' (CLARENDON, *Hist.* vii. 233).

The misery of the spectacle around him

embittered Falkland's existence, all the more because there was no capacity in his own mind to formulate a policy which might tend in the direction of peace. As he could not heal his country's disease, he longed for death, that he might cease to be a witness of her agonies. At Gloucester he exposed himself in vain to danger. On the morning of the battle of Newbury, 20 Sept. 1643, he knew that the desired hour had come. Dressing himself in clean linen, as one going to a banquet, he explained to the bystanders the grounds of the joy which was rooted in sorrow. He was weary of the times, he said, but he would 'be out of it ere night' (WHITELOCKE, 73). Placing himself as a volunteer under Sir John Byron, he chose his opportunity. Riding at a gap in a hedge through which the enemy's bullets were pouring, and from which all his comrades stood aloof, he was struck down in an instant (Byron's 'Narrative,' printed in MONEY's *Two Battles of Newbury*).

By a death which is scarcely distinguishable from suicide Falkland closed his eyes to the horrors which he loathed. If his memory is never forgotten in England, it is not for what he did, but for what he was. Throwing himself from side to side in party strife, his mind was at least too large permanently to accept mere party watchwords, and his heart was even greater than his mind.

Falkland's published works are: 1. 'A Discourse of Infallibility, with Mr. T. White's answer to it, and a reply to him. . . . Also Mr. W. Montague . . . his Letter against Protestantism, and his lordship's answer thereunto . . . to which are now added two Discourses of Episcopacy by Viscount Falkland and William Chillingworth, edited by — Triplet,' London, 1660. The last mentioned discourses are not included in the earlier edition of 1651. 2. 'A speech made in the House of Commons concerning Episcopacy,' London, 1641. 3. 'The speech of the Lord Falkland . . . upon the delivery of the articles . . . against the Lord Finch,' London, 1641. 4. 'A letter sent from the Lord Falkland . . . 30 Sept. 1642, concerning the late conflict before Worcester,' London, 1642. 5. 'The poems of L. Carey,' collected and edited by A. B. Grosart, 1870.

[The authorities cited in text; Falkland's biography in Tulloch's *Rational Religion*.]

S. R. G.

CARY, PATRICK (*A.* 1651), poet, was a younger son of Sir Henry Cary [q. v.], first viscount Falkland, by Elizabeth, only daughter and heiress of Sir Lawrence Tanfield, chief baron of the exchequer. At an early age he was

sent to France, that he might be brought up in the catholic religion, to which his mother was a convert; and after staying there three years was removed to Italy, where he resided for twelve years. For some time he received a small but sufficient pension from Queen Henrietta Maria, and subsequently he was better provided for by Pope Urban VIII, who he says, 'upon her majesty's recommendation, conferred upon me an abbey and a priory *in commendam*; and besides, some pensions on other benefices, wherewith I subsisted well.' Evelyn, being at Rome in 1644, notes that he was especially recommended to 'Mr. Patrick Cary, an abbot, brother to our learned Lord Falkland, a witty young priest, who afterwards came over to our church.' The diarist was mistaken, however, in supposing that the abbé was in holy orders. On 18 March 1650 Cary wrote from Brussels to Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, stating that he was in great distress, and that he was unwilling to take orders because of the death of his nephew, Lucius, third lord Falkland, but that if Sir Edward could not help him soon he must enter a convent. In his reply Hyde asked Cary to wait a little time. Afterwards Cary assumed the Benedictine habit at Douay, but threw it off within a year, his constitution not being able to bear the diet which the rules enjoined. He then came to England, in the hope of obtaining a pension from his relations here. Being disappointed, he desired Sir Edward Hyde to procure for him some military post in the Spanish service. Hyde endeavoured to dissuade him from this course, and bade him await some favourable change. He is said to have turned protestant and gone as secretary with Penn's expedition to the West Indies in 1655, and died there (*Egerton MS.* 2535, f. 487, b; cf. *Athenæum*, 7 May 1887).

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Scott edited, from a manuscript in the author's autograph, 'Trivial Poems and Triolets. Written in obedience to Mrs. Tomkin's commands. By Patrick Carey, 20th Aug. 1651,' London, 1820, 4to. The first part consists of 'Triavial Ballads,' and the second part, dated from Warneford, 1651, of 'Triolets,' hymns original and translated, and other religious poems. The author was clearly a catholic and a cavalier, and there is no reason to doubt that he was the son of the first Lord Falkland. Scott was not aware of this when he edited the poems, though he made the identification subsequently, as appears from a note in 'Woodstock'; neither was he aware that some of the poems had been previously published under the title of 'Poems

from a manuscript written in the time of Oliver Cromwell, London, 1771, 4to. This manuscript was in the possession of the Rev. Pierrepont Crompt, and in the 'advertisement' to the poems it is said that 'they appear to have been written about the middle of the last century by one Carey, a man whom we now know nothing of, and whose reputation possibly in his own time never went beyond the circle of private friendship.' This first edition contains nine, and the second thirty-seven poems, some of which possess considerable merit.

[Addit. MS. 24487, f. 19; Clarendon's State Papers, ii. 535-9; Lady Lewis's Lives of the Friends and Contemporaries of Lord-chancellor Clarendon, i. 239, 246; Life of Lady Falkland (1861), 185, 187-9; Evelyn's Diary, i. 101; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 372; Gent. Mag. xli. 325; Notes and Queries, 1st ser. viii. 406, x. 172, 2nd ser. vi. 114; Chappell's Popular Music of the Olden Time, 183, 257, 290, 291, 359, 368.] T. C.

**CARY, ROBERT** (1615?-1688), chronologer, born at Cockington or Berry-Pomeroy, Devonshire, was the second son of George Cary of Cockington by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Seymour. He was admitted a commoner of Exeter College 4 Oct. 1631; became scholar of Corpus Christi College in October 1634, and graduated B.A. 1635, M.A. 1638-9. He was probably fellow of his college. His kinsman, William Seymour, marquis of Hertford, chancellor of the university, procured for him the degree of D.C.L. in November 1644, and afterwards presented him to the rectory of Portlemouth near Kingsbridge. He became intimate with the presbyterians and was made moderator of his division of the county. On the restoration, however, he was one of the first to congratulate the king, and was installed archdeacon of Exeter 18 Aug. 1662. He was 'frightened' out of his preferment by 'some great men then in power' in 1664, and retired to his rectory, where he lived quietly till his death, 19 Sept. 1688. His chief work was *Palæologia Chronica*; a chronological account of ancient time, in three parts, (1) Didactical; (2) Apodeictical; (3) Canonical, 1677—an attempt to settle ancient chronology. John Milner, B.D. of Cambridge, published, in 1694, a 'Defence of Archbishop Ussher against Dr. Robert Cary and M. Is. Vossius.' Cary also translated some of the hymns from the church services into Latin verse, and printed them on folio sheets.

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iv. 243; *Prince's Worthies of Devon*, p. 198; Kennet's *Register* (1728), p. 744; *Le Neve's Fasti* (Hardy), i. 396.]

**CARY, VALENTINE** (d. 1626), bishop of Exeter, was born at Berwick-on-Tweed, and either himself believed, or found it convenient to encourage the belief in others, that he was connected with the Careys, barons of Hunsdon. His college life was passed in the two foundations of St. John's and Christ's at Cambridge. He was first admitted at St. John's, but migrated to the latter college in 1585, and took the degree of B.A. while there in 1589. In March 1591 he was elected to a Northumbrian fellowship at St. John's, but four years later a fellowship at Christ's College was bestowed upon him. His old friends at St. John's were not inclined to lose his services, and in March 1599 they elected him to an open fellowship in their college. On a vacancy in the mastership of Christ's College in 1610, Cary was chosen, chiefly, it is said, through the influence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as its head. The college was at that time one of the chief seed-plots of Calvinism, and as Cary was opposed to its principles, the majority of the fellows were out of sympathy with their new master. He soon set himself to the task of purging the college from these doctrines, with the result that several of its fellows, William Ames being the most conspicuous of the number, were either deprived of, or withdrew from, their fellowships. When Richard Clayton, the seventeenth master of his old college of St. John's, died in 1612, Cary, who was vice-chancellor of the university that year, preached the funeral sermon, but he was disappointed at not being chosen his successor, and rumour assigned to Williams, afterwards the bishop of Lincoln, the chief part in his defeat. If this rumour were correct, their differences must afterwards have been composed, for Cary was at a later period the medium of the bishop in his benefactions to St. John's College, and it is equally clear that Cary could not have felt any lasting resentment to the college, as he himself gave several law works to its library. His ecclesiastical preferments were as numerous as the changes in his academical career. Among the livings which he held were Tilbury East, 1603, Great Parndon, 1606, Epping, 1607, Orsett and Toft in Cambridge, 1610. In 1601 the prebendal stall of Chiswick in St. Paul's Cathedral was conferred upon him, and from 1607 until 1621 he retained the prebend of Stow Longa at Lincoln. The archdeaconry of Salop was bestowed upon him in 1606, but he resigned this preferment in 1613 on the ground that the official of the archdeaconry swallowed so much of the few profits that it was not worth his keeping. On 8 April 1614 he was elected into the deanery

of St. Paul's, and he remained in that position until his elevation to the episcopal bench in 1621. For the greater part of this time he retained the mastership of Christ's College, but in 1620 he resigned this post into the hands of its fellows. Cary's promotion to the see of Exeter was obtained through the influence of Lord Hunsdon and the then Marquis of Buckingham. He was presented to the bishopric on 14 Sept. 1621, but a difficulty had arisen which delayed his consecration. Archbishop Abbot [q. v.] had accidentally killed a gamekeeper, and Cary, with several other divines who had been nominated to vacant bishoprics, hesitated to receive consecration at the archbishop's hands. A commission was appointed to inquire into Abbot's alleged disability, and the new bishop of Exeter was one of its members. Owing to this cause Cary's consecration was retarded until 18 Nov. Even when the ceremony was completed, his personal troubles were not finished. The king insisted that he should be made a justice of the peace for the city of Exeter, but the mayor and aldermen refused their consent as involving a breach of their charter, and when Cary obtained the honour, it was at the cost of much ill-feeling. A second difference with the corporation arose through his desire to obtain a private door through the city wall, so that he might pass in private from the palace into the open fields around the city. The municipal body refused its consent. The royal authority was again invoked, and the privy council finally closed the controversy by ordering that, subject to certain restrictions, the bishop's wishes should be carried into effect. The traces of these struggles were effaced by time, and when the city was visited by the plague a few years later Cary's bounty to the sufferers was noted with praise. From 1622 to 1624 he held *in commendam* the chancellorship of the cathedral, and in the latter year he was appointed to the vicarage of Exminster. Cary died at his house in Drury Lane, London, on 10 June 1626, and was buried under a plain stone in the south aisle of old St. Paul's, a cenotaph being erected to his memory in Exeter Cathedral. He was a high churchman, and when he attended King James into Scotland in 1617, imprudently commended the soul of a dead person to the mercies of God, 'which he was forced to retract.' Fuller praises Cary as 'a complete gentleman and excellent scholar,' and gratefully adds: 'He once unexpectedly owned my nearest relation in the high commission court when in some distress,' a kindly act towards a theological opponent which should not be forgotten. Hacket,

in his life of Lord-keeper Williams, calls Cary 'a prudent courtly man.' His wife, Dorothy, was sister of Mr. Secretary Coke. An abstract of the bishop's will and some particulars about him are in 'Notes and Queries,' 3rd ser. vi. 174, 217, 312-13, vii. 117, 205.

[Baker's Hist. of St. John's (Mayor), i. 197-8, 208-9, 261-2, 291-2, 339, ii. 616, 676; Le Neve's Fasti (Hardy), i. 380, 419, 575, ii. 215, 315, 378; Yonge's Diary (Camd. Soc.), 44, 51; Oliver's Bishops of Exeter, 144, 257-8, 483; Fuller's Worthies (1840), ii. 546; Mullinger's Univ. of Camb. 1535-1625, pp. 475-6, 508-11; Fortescue Papers (Camd. Soc.), 160-4, 194.] W. P. C.

**CARY, WILLIAM** (1759-1825), philosophical instrument maker, was a pupil of Ramsden, and set up before 1790 a separate business, which he pursued energetically until his death at the age of sixty-six on 16 Nov. 1825. He constructed for Dr. Wollaston in 1791 a transit circle—the first made in England—two feet in diameter and provided with microscopes for reading off. In 1805 he sent to Moscow a transit-instrument described and figured in Pearson's 'Practical Astronomy' (ii. 362-5), for the safety of which Bonaparte provided in 1812 by a special order. A circle of 41 centimetres, ordered from Cary by Feer about 1790, is still preserved at the Zürich observatory. He was, besides, the maker of the 2½-foot altitude and azimuth instrument with which Bessel began his observations at Königsberg, and of numerous excellent sextants, microscopes, reflecting and refracting telescopes, &c. A catalogue of the instruments sold by him at 182 Strand, London, is in the possession of the Naturforschende Gesellschaft of Zürich. His name occurs on the first list of members of the Astronomical Society, and he contributed for several years the Meteorological Diary to the 'Gentleman's Magazine.'

[Wolf's Gesch. d. Astr. p. 562 (1877); Gent. Mag. xcv. (ii.) 475; Mem. R. A. Soc. ii. 532.] A. M. C.

**CARYL, JOSEPH** (1602-1673), nonconformist leader and commentator, born in London in 1602, was educated at Exeter College, Oxford, where he soon became eminent as a speaker and debater. Entering into holy orders, he held for some time the office of preacher to Lincoln's Inn, and was frequently called to preach to the Long parliament at their solemn feasts and thanksgivings and on other occasions. His eminence and zeal in his profession procured his appointment in 1643 as a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster. In ecclesiastical connection he was a moderate independent,

and at the same time zealous for the covenant. In 1645 he was appointed minister of the church of St. Magnus, near London Bridge. For a considerable number of years he discharged the duties of this sphere with great zeal and success, being especially esteemed as an expositor of Scripture. Among other work committed to him at this time, he was appointed by the parliament, along with Stephen Marshall, chaplain to the commissioners who were sent to the king at Holmby House in order to arrange terms of peace. The chaplains never had a chance of influencing the king, not being even invited to say grace at meals, which the king always did himself. Caryl and John Owen were afterwards nominated to attend Oliver Cromwell in his journey to Scotland. Caryl was also one of the triers for judging of the qualifications of ministers of the gospel. After the restoration of Charles II, Caryl was ejected from the church of St. Magnus by the Act of Uniformity in 1662. He continued, however, to live in London, and he does not seem to have been interfered with in gathering a congregation in the neighbourhood of his former charge. In this he was so successful that when he died the number of communicants was 136. He died 10 March 1672-3 at his house in Bury Street. On his death his congregation chose Dr. John Owen as his successor, uniting with a previous flock of Dr. Owen's. Another of his successors was Dr. Isaac Watts, for whom the congregation built a new meeting-house in Bury Street, near St. Mary Axe.

About a dozen of Caryl's sermons were published separately, preached on public occasions before the commons, the lords, or both houses, or before the lord mayor. But the great work of Caryl was his 'Commentary on the Book of Job.' The first edition was in 12 vols. 4to (1651-66); the second in 2 vols. folio (1676-7); and the work has always commanded a high character for sound judgment, extensive learning, and fervent piety. It ranks with other great puritan commentaries—Greenhill on Ezekiel, Burroughs on Hosea, or Owen on the Hebrews. After his death a volume of posthumous sermons was published with preface by Dr. Owen. He was one of the authors of an English Greek lexicon for the New Testament (1661), and of 'Saints' Memorials, or words fitly spoken, like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver.'

[Reid's *Memoirs of the Westminster Divines*; Neal's *History of the Puritans*, iv. 53; Calamy's *Nonconformist's Memorial*, i. 146-8; Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), iii. 979; Granger, iii. 312.]

W. G. B.

CARYLL, JOHN, titular LORD CARYLL (1625-1711), diplomatist and poet, came of an ancient Roman catholic family, which had been settled, from the close of the sixteenth century, at West Harting in Sussex. His father, John Caryll, was a royalist, who suffered fine for his opinions; his mother was Catharine, daughter of Lord Petre. He was partly educated at St. Omer. Succeeding to a fair estate, and endowed with a literary taste, he figures among the minor poets of Charles II's reign as the author of a few plays and other pieces. He is briefly noticed by Macaulay (*History*, ch. vi.) as 'known to his contemporaries as a man of fortune and fashion, and as the author of two successful plays.' The first of these plays was 'The English Princess, or the Death of Richard III., a tragedy, written in the year 1666, and acted at his Highness the Duke of York's Theatre.' Pepys saw it acted on 7 March 1667, 'a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good, but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedys are.' The other was a comedy, in imitation of Molière's 'Ecole des Femmes,' which was published in 1671, with the title, 'Sir Salomon, or the Cautious Coxcomb; a comedy, as it is acted at his Royal Highness the Duke of York's Theatre.' In 'Ovid's Epistles, translated by several hands,' first published in 1680, Caryll appears as the author of the 'Epistle of Briseis to Achilles;' and in the collection of 'Miscellany Poems,' put forth by Dryden in 1683, he is the translator of the First Eclogue of Virgil, and the writer of a short copy of verses on the Earl of Shaftesbury, entitled 'The Hypocrite,' and dated 1678 (see NICHOLS, *Select Collection of Poems*, 1780, ii. 1, iii. 205). The earlier editors of Pope identified Caryll with his nephew, John Caryll [q. v.], Pope's friend—an error in which they have been followed by Macaulay.

As a Roman catholic, and probably also on account of his connection with the Duke of York, he fell under suspicion in the panic of the popish plot, and was committed to the Tower in 1679, but was soon released on bail. When James ascended the throne in 1685, Caryll was selected as the English agent at the court of Rome, where, says Macaulay, he 'acquitted himself of his delicate errand with good sense and good feeling. The business confided to him was well done; but he assumed no public character, and carefully avoided all display. His mission therefore put the government to scarcely any charge, and excited scarcely any murmurs.' He was recalled in 1686, to make room for Lord Castlemaine. On his return, Caryll was appointed secretary to the queen, Mary of

Modena, and thus began his intimate relations with James's family which remained unbroken till his death. Early in 1687 he was, with other Roman Catholics, put into the commission of the peace (LUTTRELL, *Relation of State Affairs*, i. 392). At the Revolution he followed James to St. Germain's; but he suffered no immediate loss, as his estate at West Harting was, at James's special request, exempted by William from confiscation. In 1696, however, on the discovery of the assassination plot, it was found that he had provided Sir George Barclay with a sum of money to purchase horses and arms. Caryll was attainted, and his estate was seized by the crown. His life interest in it was granted to Lord Cutts, but was redeemed by his nephew by payment of 6,000*l.* Caryll continued his services to Mary of Modena, and is said to have been appointed secretary of state to James in 1695 or 1696. After James's death in 1701, he was created by the Pretender Baron Caryll of Dunford, and became one of his secretaries of state, but apparently without salary (*Egerton MS.* 2517).

In 1700 he published anonymously an English version of the psalms: 'The Psalmes of David, translated from the Vulgat,' which was probably designed more particularly for the use of the Pretender's household. As a last glimpse of literary occupation, we have, in a letter of the queen, 19 May 1701 (*Add. MS.* 28224), a reference to his being busy with James's memoirs.

Caryll died on 4 Sept. 1711, and was buried in the church of the English Dominicans at Paris. A tablet was erected to his memory in the Scotch College (*Sussex Arch. Soc. Collections*, xix. 191), of which he was a benefactor. An epitaph on him was written by Pope, and sent to his heir and nephew, beginning with the lines:

A manly form; a bold, yet modest mind;  
Sincere, though prudent; constant, yet resign'd;  
Honour unchanged, a principle profess'd;  
Fixed to one side, but moderate to the rest:  
An honest courtier, and a patriot too;  
Just to his prince, and to his country true.

These six lines Pope afterwards took for an epitaph to Sir William Trumbull, and remodelled the rest to suit the Countess of Bridgewater. Caryll married, early in life, Margaret, daughter and coheir of Sir Maurice Drummond, who died in 1656. He left no issue.

[Dallaway's *Sussex*; Gordon's *History of Harting* (1877); Elwin's edition of Pope, vols. i. and vi.; Dilke's *Papers of a Critic* (1875), i. 123; Foley's *Records of S. J.*, iii. 534; Caryll MSS. in the British Museum.] E. M. T.

CARYLL, JOHN (1666?–1736), the friend of Pope, was the nephew and heir of Lord Caryll [q. v.], being the son of Richard Caryll of West Grinstead, Lord Caryll's younger brother. He was born about 1666, and, after composition with Lord Cutts, the grantee of Lord Caryll's forfeited estate at West Harting, he succeeded in 1697 to that property, which he had managed since his uncle's retirement abroad, and in 1701, on his father's death, to another estate at West Grinstead. He seems to have resembled his uncle in an amiable disposition and literary taste, and was intimate with the literary men of his day, and especially with Pope. 'Half a line in the "Rape of the Lock" has made his name immortal' were true words when Macaulay wrote them, and since then the recovery of Pope's correspondence with Caryll has inseparably associated the two names.

Pope may have first made Caryll's acquaintance at the Englefields of Whiteknights, to whom he was related (ELWIN, *Pope*, vi. 136). At Lady Holt, his house at West Harting, built in his uncle's time, and at West Grinstead Caryll received frequent visits from Pope and some from Gay. It appears too that Pope owed his first acquaintance with Steele to Caryll's introduction. Steele was acting as Lord Cutts's secretary when the negotiations for the redemption of the Harting property were in progress, and probably then first came in contact with Caryll (*ib.* 144 n.). Caryll's suggestion of the 'Rape of the Lock' is acknowledged in the opening of the poem:

This verse to Caryll, Muse, is due.

The hero of the piece was his cousin and neighbour, Lord Petre.

The correspondence between Pope and Caryll, lately published, covers the period from 1710 to 1735. Some of Pope's letters are addressed to Caryll's son, another John, who married Lady Mary Mackenzie, daughter of Lord Seaforth, and died young in 1718. Pope asked Caryll more than once during 1726 and 1727 for the return of his letters, but his correspondent was loth to comply, and the delay appears to have caused a coolness between the friends in correspondence. It was not till 1729 that Pope at length regained possession of the letters, and published garbled versions of them in his 'Correspondence with his Friends' [see POPE, ALEXANDER]. Caryll's reluctance to give them up is marked strongly enough by his delay. The value that he set upon them, and doubtless the feeling that he might never see them again, induced him to take copies of them before they passed out of his hands.

The transcript was found with other family papers which came into the possession of Mr. C. W. Dilke and were presented to the British Museum by his grandson, Sir C. W. Dilke, in 1870 and 1871 (the volume containing Pope's letters is numbered Additional MS. 28618). The Sussex squire's copies were published for the first time in Mr. Elwin's 'Pope.'

Caryll passed nearly the whole of his long life upon his estates, happy in his marriage of more than fifty years with Elizabeth, daughter of John Harrington of Ore Place, Sussex. He died in April 1736. His lands passed to his grandson of the same name, who sold the West Grinstead estate about 1745 and that at West Harting in 1767. Lady Holt House was pulled down before 1770.

[Dallaway's *Sussex*; Gordon's *History of Harting* (1877); Elwin's edition of Pope, vols. i. and vi.; Dilke's *Papers of a Critic* (1875), vol. i.; Caryll MSS. in the British Museum.]

E. M. T.

**CARYSFORT, EARLS OF.** [See PROBY, JOHN JOSHUA, first EARL, 1751-1828; PROBY, GRANVILLE LEVESON, third EARL, 1781-1868.]

**CARYSFORT, first BARON (1720-1772).** [See PROBY, JOHN.]

**CASALI, ANDREA (1720?-1783?),** painter, a native of Civit  Vecchia, was born about 1720 (or 1724). He received his early art education at Rome under the painter Sebastiano Conca, and painted several pictures for churches in that city. At the end of 1748 he was employed to paint the transparencies which formed part of the decorations set up in St. James's Park to celebrate the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (signed 7 Oct. 1748). These were afterwards engraved by Grignon, Scotin, and others. After the great fire at Fonthill Abbey he was employed by Mr. Beckford to paint the ceiling of the Egyptian Hall in the new building. About 1758, when the church of St. Margaret, Westminster, was repaired, he painted two figures of St. Peter and St. Paul for the altar. He also painted a picture of the 'Adoration of the Magi' as an altar-piece for the chapel of the Foundling Hospital; this, however, was afterwards removed to make way for an altar-piece by Benjamin West. In 1760 the Society of Arts awarded to him the second premium of fifty guineas for his picture representing the story of 'Gunhilda, empress of Germany.' In 1761, however, he gained from the same society the first premium of a hundred guineas for his picture of 'Edward the Martyr stabbed by the directions of his mother Elfrida.' About this year he received the distinction

of knighthood in his own country, since he is always described subsequently as 'Chevalier' Casali. From this year onwards he was a constant exhibitor at the London exhibitions. About 1769 he seems to have returned to Rome, but continued to exhibit in London until 1783, after which year we have no further trace of him. His pictures are chiefly historical, though he painted sacred and classical subjects as well. Cleverly painted and carefully executed, they are too theatrical in composition, and frequently tawdry in colour. Among his principal works, besides those already named, were: 'Lucretia bewailing her Fate,' engraved by Ravenet and by himself; 'Jupiter and Antiope,' engraved by Chambars; 'Children at Play,' two pictures engraved in mezzotint by J. G. Haid; 'The Adoration of the Magi' (mentioned above), engraved by R. Laurie. He did several etchings from his own pictures, and also one of 'The Virgin and Child,' after Raphael.

[Redgrave's *Dict. of English Artists*; Heineken's *Dictionnaire des Artistes*, vol. iii.; Gandelini's *Notizie degli Intagliatori*, viii. 78; Andresen's *Handbuch f r Kupferstich-Sammler*, vol. i.; Edwards's *Anecdotes of Painters*; Gent. Mag. 1760, p. 198; Annual Register, 1761; Nagler's *K nstler-Lexikon*, vol. ii.; manuscript information, Anderson Collection, in the Print Room, British Museum.]

L. C.

**CASANOVA, FRANCIS (1727-1805),** battle painter, was descended from an ancient Spanish family, for some generations conspicuous in the annals of gallantry and intrigue. He was the second son of Gaetano Giuseppe Giacomo Casanova, who had quitted his family for love of an actress, adopted the stage as a profession, and espoused Zanetta, daughter of Jeronimo Farusi, a cobbler. The eldest son was Giacomo Girolamo, the famous adventurer, better known as 'Casanova de Seingalt'; the second was Francesco; and the third, Giovanni Battista, also became an artist, was a pupil of Raphael Mengs, and afterwards professor and director of the academy at Dresden. Francesco Casanova was born in London in 1727, where his parents were then fulfilling a theatrical engagement. He returned with his family when quite young to Venice, and, his father dying prematurely, he was placed with his brothers in the care of the Grimani family, under whom he received an excellent education. He early showed a taste for art and architecture, and first studied under Guardi, and under Francesco Simonini, the battle painter, taking his chief instruction from the works of Jacques Courtois, 'Bourguignon,' whose style he adopted throughout. In the spring of 1751 he went at his elder brother's suggestion to Paris,

and studied under Charles Parrocel. Although he devoted himself with industry to his work, he did not meet with the success his ambition required. In 1752, therefore, he left Paris for Dresden, where he worked for four years, giving special study to the works of painters of the Dutch and Flemish school. In 1757 he returned to Paris, and in a very short time gained himself a reputation as a battle painter of the first rank. In 1763 a battle-piece he exhibited was purchased for a large sum for the Louvre, and he was elected with acclamation a member of the Academy. In spite, however, of his great success, the high prices he obtained for his pictures, and the patronage of royalty and the nobility, his extravagant habits and luxurious mode of life, in addition to two unfortunate matrimonial adventures, kept him continually in debt and trouble. One of his own etchings, entitled 'Le Diner du Peintre Casanova,' represents him as just alighted from his coach and bartering his pictures for food to an old woman selling sausages and similar food by the wayside. He received a commission from the Empress Catherine of Russia to paint the victories of the Russians over the Turks for the royal palace at St. Petersburg, but was compelled about the same time to quit Paris on account of his debts. He established himself at Vienna, and continued to paint there until his death, which occurred in the Brühl, near Vienna, in 1805. In 1767 he exhibited in London, at the Exhibition of the Free Society of Artists, a picture of 'Hannibal crossing the Alps,' in which his clever disposition of masses of people and ingenious contrasts of light and shade caused a sensation, which fully carried out the high estimation in which his pictures were held at Paris and elsewhere. Besides his numerous battle-pieces he executed several etchings, in addition to the one mentioned above. In the Print Room of the British Museum there is a spirited drawing by him representing horsemen crossing a ford. Among his pupils at Vienna was James Philip de Louthembourg, R.A.

[Mémoires de Casanova de Seingalt; Heinen's Dictionnaire des Artistes, vol. iii.; Huber et Roost's Manuel des Curieux et des Amateurs de l'Art; Seubert's Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon, vol. i.; Nagler's Künstler-Lexikon, vol. ii.; Andresen's Handbuch für Kupferstich-Sammler; Prosper de Baudicour's Le Peintre Graveur Français, vol. i.; Nouvelle Biographie Générale.]

L. C.

**CASaubon, ISAAC** (1559-1614), classical scholar, was born in 1559 at Geneva, whither his parents, Arnold and Jehanne Casaubon (born Rousseau), both of Gascon

origin, were driven by religious persecution. In 1561 Arnold Casaubon accepted a call to be pastor of the Huguenot church at Crest, a small town in Dauphiné, and there Isaac's childhood was spent. He was to a great extent self-taught, for his father, who undertook his education, was frequently absent from home, and when at home almost entirely engrossed with his pastoral work. At the age of nineteen Isaac was sent to Geneva as a student; here he learned Greek under Francis Portus, a Cretan, who formed so high an opinion of his pupil, that he suggested him as his successor just before his death in 1581. After a year's delay, Casaubon was appointed 'professor of Greek,' a high-sounding title, but worth only 10*l.* a year, and rooms in college. In 1583 he married Mary Prolyot, a native of Geneva, who died in the second year of their married life, leaving one daughter, who died young. In 1586 he lost his father, and married a second wife, Florence Estienne, daughter of the famous printer, Henri Estienne (Henricus Stephanus II), by whom he had a large family. He was very poor, and unable to purchase the books which were absolutely necessary for his literary work, while the moroseness of his father-in-law prevented him from having access to the books of the great printer. In 1593 he made the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton, then a young man making the grand tour. Wotton lodged in Casaubon's house at Geneva, where he charmed his host, but unfortunately also involved him in fresh pecuniary difficulties. Another thing of which Casaubon complains was want of leisure. His lectures, and the preparation for them, necessarily occupied a considerable amount of time; visitors and family duties (though the latter were as much as possible taken off his hands by his faithful wife) took up more. All this left an ample margin for an ordinary student, but not for a student like Casaubon. But avaricious as he was of his time, there was one claim upon it which he never grudged. Casaubon was an intensely religious man, and the hours spent in private and public devotion were always sacred. He is now known simply, or chiefly, as a great classical scholar, but in reality he took at least as deep an interest in theological studies. At this early period he seems to have been quite content with the popular Calvinism of the Geneva school. Beza, the reformer, was his spiritual director. 'From him,' he says, 'I learnt to think humbly of myself, and, if I have been able to do aught in letters, to ascribe all the glory to God.' His brother professor, Jacques Lect, who was nearer his own age, was his dearest friend at Geneva. 'Without you,' he writes to Lect, 'life to me is no



life.' Three eminent Frenchmen, De Thou, Bongars, a learned Calvinist, and De Fresne, also became his friends, and 'made it their common object to secure him for France.' It was mainly owing to the last-named that he moved from Geneva to Montpellier. But before this event took place he commenced a close friendship with a far greater man, Joseph Scaliger, then a professor at the university of Leyden. A young Englishman, Richard Thomson, had the honour of bringing these two great minds together. Traveling from Geneva to England, Thomson took Leyden on his way, charged with a message from the Genevan to the Leyden scholar. This message was followed by a letter from Casaubon to Scaliger, couched in the most humble and even abject terms. Scaliger, eighteen years the elder, showed some reserve in accepting the overtures of the humble suitor for his friendship; but, being much impressed with the merits of Casaubon's 'Theophrastus,' he at last replied favourably, though in a condescending tone: 'Casaubon was not to suppose that his merits were now for the first time revealed to Scaliger. Scaliger's eye had been on him long, and his voice had never been wanting to proclaim them.' Casaubon soon won Scaliger over to a closer relationship, and henceforth a constant correspondence was kept up between the two greatest scholars in Europe, which was only interrupted by death. Scaliger learned to appreciate Casaubon better, and called him 'the most learned man in Europe,' and owned that he was a better Greek scholar than himself.

Casaubon yearned to leave Geneva; his salary was miserable, the cost of living was high, he had little access to books, and his precious time was intruded upon by injudicious friends. He was French by descent, and always regarded himself as a Frenchman until he became a naturalised Englishman. When, therefore, a proposal—not a very tempting one—came to him from Montpellier, he, after some delay, accepted it, although the Geneva Council offered to double his pay if he would stay among them. In 1596 he was settled at Montpellier with the titles of 'conseiller du roi,' and 'professeur stipendié aux langues et bonnes lettres.' His stipend was 100*l.* a year, and he calls God to witness that he is not influenced by avaricious motives in leaving Geneva. His entry into Montpellier was a sort of triumphal procession. In 1597 he began his 'Ephemerides,' a curious diary, in which he scrupulously records, not the events, but the studies of every day up to a few days before his death. The 'Ephemerides' are full of expressions of devotion, pious ejaculations, and earnest prayers,

which remind one of the methodist diaries of the eighteenth century. They are the artless outpourings of an intensely religious soul. A specimen may be given:—'To-day I got six hours for study. When shall I get my whole day? Whenever, O my Father, it shall be thy will!' 'This morning not to my books till 7 o'clock or after; alas me! and after that the whole morning lost—nay, the whole day. O God of my salvation, aid my studies, without which life is to me not life!' 'Deliver me, my heavenly Father, from these miseries which the absence of my wife and the management of my household create for me.' At Montpellier he had only one sitting-room, where his work had to be done in the midst of his family. His stay in his new home scarcely lasted three years, his friends De Thou and Meric de Vic being mainly instrumental in transferring him to Paris. They introduced him to Henry IV, who had heard what Casaubon calls 'exaggerated praise' of him from Scaliger. De Vic was the adviser by whom all Casaubon's plans were now directed; and De Vic and Madame de Vic were Roman catholics. It was in the hope that Casaubon would be admitted into the true church that they and his other friends had schemed to bring him to Paris. To Paris he removed in 1600 after some delay at Lyons, where his 'Athenæus' was being printed; but he did not find more comfort in the metropolis than he had found at Montpellier. He was appointed 'lecteur du roi,' and had a pension assigned to him, while his friends hinted at an appointment in the university 'under certain circumstances.' Those circumstances were, of course, his conversion to Romanism, for no heretic was allowed to teach in the university. He was trapped into becoming one of the umpires in a dispute between Du Plessis-Mornay (one of Henry IV's most faithful friends in his Huguenot days) on the protestant side and the Cardinal du Perron on the Romanist. There was only one other protestant among the six commissioners or umpires, Casaubon's friend De Fresne, who was known to be seeking a decent pretext for coming over to the side in power. A conference was held at Fontainebleau, the subject being whether De Mornay had or had not quoted falsely in a book 'De l'Eucharistie.' Casaubon's critical acumen forced him to admit, with the other judges, that a false citation had been made, and it was thought that he would become a Romanist. His son Meric [q. v.] thinks that he wavered, but there does not seem to be any positive proof that he went even so far as that. At any rate, he was certainly not to be brought over. In vain

did Father Coton, the king's favourite confessor, and the Bishop of Evreux (Du Perron), assail him. But Casaubon had alienated his protestant friends, who thought that he ought to have stood by the protestant champion whether right or wrong, while he did not in the least conciliate his Romanist enemies. In 1601 a patent was issued appointing him to the office of librarian to the king, but with the proviso that the then holder of the office (one Gosselin) should not be disturbed. The jesuits did their utmost to prevent his appointment; but through the influence of his constant friend, De Thou, he succeeded Gosselin, who died in 1604, as 'garde de la librairie du roi.' But he was still perpetually worried about his religion. It is highly probable that Du Perron did produce a considerable effect upon him. In their disputes Casaubon gave up much ground which the Calvinists held. Pierre du Moulin, minister of the church at Charenton where he worshipped, looked coldly upon him. In 1607 he lost his mother, whom, in spite of his straitened circumstances, he had helped with true filial piety; in 1608 his favourite daughter Philippa, and in 1609 Joseph Scaliger, died. This last loss affected him most of all. Madame Casaubon was perpetually ailing, and Isaac, who grudged every moment of his time diverted from his studies and devotions, did not grudge hours spent in attendance upon her. His children were constantly laid by with sickness. His cup of misery overflowed when the 'convertisseurs,' who had been unsuccessful with him, succeeded in making a worthless convert of his eldest son John, who, to his father's great grief, was admitted into the Roman catholic church in August 1610.

Casaubon desired to leave Paris, and he had many invitations to do so. His old friend Lect was anxious to have him back at Geneva, but with his present religious views Calvinistic Geneva was no place for Casaubon. Overtures were made to him from Heidelberg and Nîmes; he thought of retiring to Sedan; of visiting Venice, where he had an illustrious correspondent, Fra Paolo; and he seemed to be the natural successor to Scaliger at Leyden. England was at last selected. He had already held communications with the king while yet only James VI of Scotland, who could appreciate him as Henry IV certainly could not. But the sovereign was not his chief attraction. He could not submit to the papacy, but he had learned to respect the authority of the fathers. The Huguenot ministers scouted antiquity, but with the Anglo-catholics he was thoroughly in accord. The church of England realised

in a great measure the ideal he had formed from the study of catholic antiquity; but he could not leave his post without the consent of the king. After Henry's death, however (14 May 1610), he was no longer bound either by gratitude or interest to remain in France—in fact, he would not have been safe there. Before he left Du Perron made one more effort; he pressed him upon the subject of the eucharist, on which his Huguenot friends considered him unsound. Casaubon agreed neither with Du Perron nor with Du Moulin, but, if he could once cross the Channel, he would find numbers with whom he would agree thoroughly. On 20 July 1610 an official invitation came to him from the Archbishop of Canterbury (Bancroft). A prebend of Canterbury was reserved for him, and as the income of the stall might not be sufficient for his maintenance, a promise was added that it might be increased from other sources; or, if he preferred it, he might throw himself upon the generosity of King James. After two months' delay, Casaubon set off in the suite of Lord Wotton of Marley. Archbishop Bancroft lived just long enough to see the eminent stranger, who was hospitably received by the Dean of St. Paul's (Overall), and spent the first year of his residence in England at the deanery. All the bishops received him with enthusiasm, but his special friend was Lancelot Andrewes, then bishop of Ely. Andrewes, more than any other man, had been instrumental in bringing him to England. 'The only two men,' he writes, 'with whom I lived on intimate terms in London were the Bishop of Ely and the Dean of St. Paul's.' Perhaps the happiest days he ever spent were in the bishop's company. 'We spend,' he writes, 'whole days in talk of letters, sacred especially, and no words can express what true piety, what uprightness of judgment, I find in him.' James I took to him at once, was perpetually sending for him, and kept him talking for hours, always on theology. He granted him a pension of 800*l.* a year from his own purse, in addition to the prebend at Canterbury, and invariably treated him with the utmost kindness. But Casaubon had a penalty to pay; he had to follow the court to Theobalds, Royston, Greenwich, Hampton Court, Holdenby, and Newmarket. King James was worthy talking to, and a good talker himself. Casaubon ought also to have been relieved from the pressure of poverty, for besides his English income he still retained his French pension; but he was one of those men who would always be in money difficulties. He determined to make England his permanent home, took out letters of naturalisation,

called England 'the isle of the blessed,' and so far identified himself with us as to speak to an Englishman of 'our ancestors.' He made the personal acquaintance of Grotius, who was then in England, and the acquaintance ripened into an enthusiastic friendship; and he found great delight in the society of Thomas Morton, afterwards the famous bishop of Durham. The chief drawback to his happiness was the strong distaste which Madame Casaubon felt for England. She made long absences, and when his wife was away Casaubon was helpless. And he had other troubles. He was regarded with an evil eye by the puritans as a traitor to their cause. More than once his windows were broken by the mob. He declares that 'the streets were not safe to him; he was pursued with abuse, or with stones; his children were beaten.' On one occasion he actually appeared at Theobalds with a black eye, given him by a ruffian as he was travelling through the city; and during the whole of his four years in England he was a failing man. Intense study had worn him out prematurely, and his constant moving about was perhaps too much for him. Besides his frequent removals in the train of the court, we hear of him now at Oxford, now at Cambridge, now at Ely. He died at last of an injudicious trip to Greenwich on 12 July 1614. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, one friend, Bishop Overall, preaching the funeral sermon, another, Bishop Morton, writing his epitaph. His wife survived him for twenty-one years, and was most kindly treated by King James. To the very last he was annoyed by his old persecutors. The French ambassador sent a nobleman to ask him in what religion he professed to die. 'Then you think, my lord,' he replied with horror, 'that I have been all along a dissembler in a matter of the greatest moment!'

In the life of a student the account of his works is generally more important and interesting than the account of his personal career. Casaubon left behind him no less than twenty-five separate publications, most of them on classical subjects. But editions of classical authors necessarily become superseded. Again, Latin translations of Greek authors were useful when Latin was so much more generally spoken and written, but not in later times; and, finally, it may be doubted whether the authors themselves whom Casaubon edited, commented on, or translated—Strabo, Theophrastus, Athenæus, Suetonius, and Polybius—are much read except by specialists. Those, however, who take the trouble to study the huge folios in which Casaubon's learned labours are pre-

served will assuredly find the character he bore was not undeserved. Casaubon's principal works, in chronological order, are as follows: 1. 'Isaaci Hortiboni Notæ ad Diogenis Laertii libros,' &c., 1583. 2. 'Strabonis Rerum Geographicarum libri xvii., Is. Casaubonus recensuit,' &c., 1587. 3. 'Novi Testamenti libri omnes recens nunc editi cum notis Is. Casauboni,' &c., 1587. 4. 'Is. Casauboni Animadversiones in Dionysii Halicarnassei Antiquitatum Romanarum libros,' 1588. 5. 'Polyani Strategematum libri octo. Is. Casaubonus Græcè nunc primum edidit, emendavit, et notis illustravit,' &c., 1589. 6. 'Operum Aristotelis . . . nova editio,' &c., 1590. 7. 'Theophrasti Characteres Ethici, &c. Is. Casaubonus recensuit, in Latinum sermonem vertit, et libro commentario illustravit,' 1592. 8. 'Suetonii de xii Cæsaribus libri viii. Is. Casaubonus recensuit,' &c., 1595. 9. 'Athenæus: Isaaci Casauboni animadversionum in Athenæi Deipnosophistas libri xv.,' 1600. 10. 'Persii Satirarum liber. Is. Casaubonus recensuit et commentario libro illustravit,' 1605. 11. 'Gregorii Nysseni ad Eustathiam, Ambrosiam, et Basilissam epistola. Is. Casaubonus nunc primum publicavit, Latinè vertit, et illustravit notis,' 1606. 12. 'Polybii Historiarum libri qui supersunt. Is. Casaubonus ex antiquis libris emendavit, Latinè vertit, et commentariis illustravit,' 1609. 13. 'Is. Casauboni ad Frontonem Duceum Epistola,' 1611. 14. 'Is. Casauboni ad Epistolam Cardinalis Perronii responsio,' 1611. 15. 'De rebus sacris et ecclesiasticis Exercitationes xvi ad Baronii Annales,' 1614. 16. 'Is. Casauboni ad Polybii Historiarum librum primum commentarii,' 1617.

Of these works the most important are the 'Athenæus,' which took up full four years of his life, and gave him an immense amount of ungrateful labour, which he yearned to spend upon christian antiquity; the 'Theophrastus,' the first in date of those of his works of which he was not himself ashamed; the 'Polybius,' which also cost him more than four years' labour, though he lived only to finish the translation, the fragment of the commentary being published after his death; the 'Suetonius,' which first led Scalliger duly to appreciate his greatness. The 'Persius' and 'Strabo' also long continued standard works. It is not necessary to say much of his theological works. His criticism on the Annals of Baronius, though it is but a small fragment of what he intended, took up the last four years of his life, and probably hastened his death. It was undertaken at the request of King James; and though we may well regret that the great

scholar wasted his time in showing up a book which must have become discredited without his help, it is most unfair to blame the king, as has been done, for bringing about this perversion of industry. Casaubon had intended to criticise Baronius long before he came to England. He always looked upon ecclesiastical history as the proper field for his labours, and though, during the wearisome task of tracking out the Romanist church historian's bad scholarship and mistakes, he may now and then lament over his unfinished 'Polybius,' there is no doubt that his theological work was a labour of love; for though to us Casaubon is the great classical scholar, he wished to be, first, the theological, and only in a secondary degree the classical, student. A book was published by Christopher Wolf in 1610 with the attractive title of 'Casauboniana.' It contains only some desultory remarks on books. To Meric Casaubon [q. v.] we are indebted for the six volumes of the 'Ephemerides,' by far the most interesting volume of all that Isaac has left us. Meric Casaubon also corresponded with John Evelyn about some of the elder Casaubon's notes upon trees and plants (see EVELYN, *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, iii. 271 et seq.)

Casaubon has, in our own day, found a biographer whose love of learning was like his own, and whose monograph of the great scholar is one of the gems of English literature. Unfortunately, death deprived the English world of letters of Mark Pattison on 30 July 1884<sup>1</sup>

[Pattison's *Life of Isaac Casaubon*; *Alme-loveen's Is. Casauboni Vita* (1709); *Casaubon's Ephemerides* (ed. Dr. Russell, 1850); *Casaubon's Works*, passim.] J. H. O.

CASAUBON, MERIC (1599-1671), classical scholar, was the son of Isaac [q. v.] and Florence Casaubon. He was born in 1599 at Geneva, and received his christian name from his godfather, Meric de Vic. He was educated in his early years at Sedan, which, being on the confines of a protestant district, offered facilities for escape in case of a religious persecution. He was the only one of Isaac Casaubon's sons in whom the father could find any comfort. He remained at Sedan until 1611, when he joined his father, who was by this time settled in England. He was then sent to Eton, on the foundation, and in 1614 proceeded to Christ Church, Oxford. In the April of that year King James had sent a mission to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, requiring them 'to admitt a sonne of Isaak Casaubon into the rome of a scholler of the foundation of that house, that should first become voide.' Isaac had intended to

send his son to Leyden, to study under Heinsius, but as Meric was the only son who could avail himself of the king's kindness, he arranged that Meric should spend some time at Christ Church and then travel abroad. In 1614 the father died, and Meric was admitted to a studentship at Christ Church, which he held for thirteen years. He took his B.A. degree in 1618, and his M.A. in 1621, and in the same year published a book in defence of his father against the calumnies of the Roman catholics. This juvenile work pleased the king, and also found approbation among his father's admirers in France, especially Meric de Vic, through whose instrumentality he was invited to settle in France with offers of promotion. He determined, however, to remain in England. At the early age of twenty-five he was collated, by his father's friend, Bishop Andrewes, to the rectory of Bleadon in Somersetshire; Archbishop Laud gave him, in 1628, a prebend at Canterbury; in 1634, the vicarage of Minster in the Isle of Thanet, and in the same year the vicarage of Monckton, also in the Isle of Thanet. He had, in 1624, published another vindication of his father, which he wrote by the express command of the king, and he formed a design of continuing his father's unfinished 'exercitations' against Baronius. In 1636 he was created D.D. at Oxford by order of Charles I, who was then residing at the university. About 1644 he was deprived by the parliament of all his preferments, and, according to Walker (*Sufferings of the Clergy*), 'was abused, fined, and imprisoned.' But in 1649 he received, through a Mr. Greaves, a lawyer of Gray's Inn, a message from Oliver Cromwell to come to Whitehall 'to confer about matters of moment;' as his wife lay dead in the house he could not come; but the message was twice repeated. Cromwell's business with him was to request him, royalist as he was, 'to write a history of the late war, desiring withal that nothing but matters of fact should be impartially set down.' Meric declined, on the very natural ground 'that he would be forced to make such reflections as would be ungrateful, if not injurious, to his lordship.' Cromwell was not offended. On the contrary, he ordered 'that upon the first demand three or four hundred pounds should be delivered to him by a London bookseller without acknowledging the benefactor;' but Meric did not avail himself of the offer. Mr. Greaves was then commissioned to tell him that, 'if he would do as requested, the Lieutenant-general would restore him all his father's books, which were then in the royal library, having been purchased by King James, and

would give him a patent for 300*l.* a year, to be paid so long as the youngest son of Dr. Casaubon should live.' Casaubon next received a proposal from Christina, queen of Sweden, through the Swedish ambassador, that he should accept 'the government of one or the inspection of all the universities, with a good salary, and 300*l.* a year settled on his eldest son during life.' This offer he also declined. He had married a second wife in 1651, who brought him a fortune; and upon the Restoration he recovered all his preferments. In 1662 he exchanged Minster for the rectory of Ickham, near Canterbury. He died in 1671, and was buried in Canterbury Cathedral. He left several children, one of whom, John, was a surgeon at Canterbury. He intended to write an account of his own life, chiefly because he had so many providential escapes to recount.

Meric Casaubon was pious, charitable, and courteous; he was also a good scholar, and a most indefatigable writer. The list of his works is as follows: 1. '*Pietas contra maledicos patris nominis et religionis hostes*,' 1621. 2. '*Vindicatio patris adversus Impostores, qui librum ineptum et impium de Idolatria nuper sub Is. Casauboni nomine publicaverunt*,' 1624. 3. '*Optati Milevitani libri vii. cum notis et emendationibus*,' 1631. 4. '*Treatise of Use and Custom*,' 1638. 5. '*M. Antonini Imp. de seipso et ad seipsum libri xii.*' (edited with notes), 1643. 6. '*Use of Daily Public Prayers, in Three Positions*,' 1641. 7. '*Original of Temporal Evils*,' 1645. 8. '*Discourse concerning Christ, His Incarnation and Exinanition*,' 9. '*De verborum usu*,' 1647. 10. A more complete edition of his father's notes on Persius, 1647. 11. '*De quatuor linguis commentationis pars prior*,' 1650 (the second part was never published). 12. '*Terentius, with Notes*' (continuation of Farnaby's), 1651. 13. '*Annotations on the Psalms and Proverbs*,' 14. '*In Hieroclis Commentarium de Providentia et Fato notæ et emendationes*,' 1655. 15. '*Treatise concerning Enthusiasm*,' 1655. 16. '*Epicteti Encheiridion*,' with notes, 1659. 17. '*Translation of Lucius Florus's History of the Romans*,' 1659. 18. '*A Veritable and Faithful Relation of what passed between John Dee and certain Spirits*,' 1659. 19. '*A Vindication of the Lord's Prayer as a Formal Prayer*,' 1660. 20. '*Notæ et Emendationes in Diogenem Laertium de Vitis &c. Philosophorum*,' 1664. 21. '*Of the Necessity of a Reformation in and before Luther's time*,' 22. '*Letter to Peter du Moulin concerning Natural Experimental Philosophy*,' 1669. 23. '*Of Credulity and Incredulity against the Sadducism of the Times in denying*

*Spirits, Witches, &c.*,' 1668. 24. '*Notæ in Polybium*,' 1670. 25. A single sermon, preached before the king, 1660.

But far more than for any or all of his numerous works, the literary world is indebted to Meric Casaubon for having preserved from destruction many of his father's papers. The '*Ephemerides*' themselves were all but lost. They fell into the hands of Isaac's eldest son, John, the Romanist, who was so careless about them, that one volume out of the seven actually was lost. When John became a Capuchin they fell into the hands of the widow, Florence Casaubon, and her third son, Paul. These wisely sent them to Meric, the only member of the family who was competent to appreciate them. Meric not only took care of the '*Ephemerides*,' but also took great pains to collect all the papers left by his father in the hands of friends. The six volumes of the '*Ephemerides*' he deposited in manuscript in the chapter library of Canterbury Cathedral, whence it was disintombed by a prebendary, Dr. Russell, and given to the public through the Clarendon Press in 1850; the rest of the papers he deposited in the Bodleian. It was from these latter papers that Wolf's '*Casauboniana*' was drawn up. Meric Casaubon's '*Epistolæ, dedicationes, præfationes, prolegomena*,' &c. were incorporated with those of his father in Almelooven's '*Isaaci Casauboni Vita*,' in 1709.

[Pattison's *Life of Isaac Casaubon*, Almelooven's *Vita*; Meric Casaubon's *Works*; Wood's *Athenæ* (Bliss), 934-9.] J. H. O.

CASE, JOHN (d. 1600), writer on Aristotle, was born at Woodstock, and was a chorister at New College and Christ Church, Oxford. He was elected to a scholarship at St. John's in 1564. He was B.A. in 1568, M.A. 1572, and became a fellow of his college. He had a high reputation as a disputant. Being 'popishly affected,' says Wood, he 'left his fellowship and married.' His wife was the widow of 'one Dobson, the keeper of Bocardo prison.' He obtained leave from the university to read logic and philosophy to young men, chiefly Roman catholics, in his own house. He wrote various handbooks for their use, which were published and for a time popular, though they had fallen into disrepute in Wood's day. He also practised medicine, becoming M.D. in 1589, made money, and left various sums to St. John's College, New College, and the poor of Woodstock. In 1589 he was collated to a canonry in Salisbury. He died 23 Jan. 1599-1600, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's College. His portrait is in the Bodleian. His works are: 1. '*Summa veterum interpretum in universam Dia-*

lecticam Aristotelis,' 1584. 2. 'Speculum moralium questionum in universam ethicen Aristotelis,' 1585. This was the first book printed at the press presented to Oxford by their chancellor, the Earl of Leicester. 3. 'Sphæra Civitatis,' 1588. This book, like others by Case, was reprinted abroad, and Barnes, the printer, obtained an order from the university in 1590 that every bachelor should take one copy on 'determining.' 4. 'Reflexus Speculi Moralis,' 1596. 5. 'Thesaurus Economix,' 1597. 6. 'Lapis Philosophicus,' 1599. 7. 'Ancilla Philosophix,' 1599. These are comments on different writings of Aristotle. He also wrote an 'Apologia Musices, tam vocalis quam instrumentalis et mixtæ,' 1588, of which there is a copy in the Lambeth Library. 'The Praise of Musicke; wherein . . . is described the sober and lawful use of the same in the Congregation and Church of God,' 1586, is also attributed to him. This is dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh by the printer Barnes, who calls it 'an orphan of one of Lady Musicke's children.' A contemporary, Thomas Watson, wrote some verses, now in the Rawlinson MSS., to Case on the publication called 'A Gratification unto Mr. John Case for his learned book lately made on the Praizes of Musick.'

There are three letters from Case in the Harleian MS. 6995. He prefixed a letter to Nicholas Breton's 'Pilgrimage to Paradise.'

[Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), i. 686; Fasti, i. 179, 189, 249, 250, 252; Wood's *Annals* (Gutch), ii. 233, 269, 954; Wood's *Colleges and Halls* (Gutch), pp. 540, 551, 561; Haslewood's *British Biographer*, ii. 541; Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 499, 518, pt. ii. p. 395; Boase's *Register*, i. 267; Le Neve's *Fasti*, ii. 654; Nichols's *Illustrations*, iv. 169.]

**CASE, JOHN** (fl. 1680-1700), astrologer, was born about 1660 at Lyme Regis in Dorsetshire. We first hear of him as the author of 'The Wards of the Key to Helmont proved unfit for the Lock, or the Principles of Mr. Wm. Bacon examined and refuted' (London, 1682). In this he tells us that he has just attained his majority. The work is a protest against the theory in William Bacon's 'Key to Helmont' that water is the principle of all bodies, and prefixed thereto is a recommended epistle by John Partridge, the astrologer. At this time Case lived in Lambeth, and had not as yet adopted the style of M.D. His friendship with Partridge is noted by Swift (*Works*, iv. 120) in his account of the death of that astrologer, a passage on which John Nichols has made an interesting commentary. Case's best work (which is noticed by Haller) was his 'Compendium Anatomicum nova methodo institutum,' which, ap-

pearing in 1695, first made him a well-known character. It appeared again the following year in Amsterdam, and consists of a masterly defence of the opinion of Harvey and De Graaf upon the generation of animals *ab ovo*, in the same manner as birds. Indeed, it is so superior to his other works that Chalmers expresses some doubt as to whether he really wrote it. He followed this immediately with his 'Ars Anatomica breviter elucidata' (London, 1695), and in the following year with 'Flos Ævi, or Celestial Observations' (London, 1696). By this time he had placed the letters M.D. after his name, and was living close to Ludgate, having succeeded to the business of Salford, who had succeeded to that of William Lilly; by this means he was in possession of all the magical apparatus of these two noted astrologers. Especially he rejoiced in the darkened room and mystic apparatus by which Lilly had been wont to show people visions of their departed friends, which apparatus Case used to exhibit and ridicule to his friends in 'melting moments.' Over his door he had erased the signs of Lilly and Salford, and had inscribed the verse—

Within this place  
Lives Doctor Case,

and Addison tells us in the 'Tatler' (No. 240) that Case made more money by this distich than Dryden made by all his poetical works put together; round his pill-boxes also he used to inscribe—

Here's fourteen pills for thirteen pence;  
Enough in any man's own conscience.

He was ridiculed again by Addison in the 216th 'Tatler,' and it is 'Doctor Case' who, in Pope's poem, is summoned to attend John Dennis in his 'phrenzy.'

In 1697 Case published 'The Angelical Guide, shewing men and women their lott or chance in this elementary life, in IV books.' This work, which was dedicated to his friend, John Tyson, the author of 'The Way to Long Life, Health, and Happiness,' Granger considered to have been 'one of the most profound astrological pieces that the world ever saw.' The only other serious work which we have of John Case's is 'Ἐξηγητὴς Ἱατρικός; or the Medical Expositor in an Alphabetical Order in Latine, Greek, and English' (London, 1698). John Case is the original of the story which is thus told by Granger (who heard it from the Rev. Mr. Gosling): 'Dr. Maundy, formerly of Canterbury, told me that in his travels abroad some eminent physician who had been in England gave him a token to spend on his return with Dr. Radcliffe and Dr. Case. They fixed on an evening and were very merry, when Dr. Radcliffe thus began a

health: "Here's to all the fools, your patients, brother Case;" "I thank you, good brother," replied Case; "let me have all the fools, and you are heartily welcome to the rest of the practice."

[Granger's Biog. History, iv. 327; Tatler, edited by John Nichols and others (1786); Case's Works.] E. H.-A.

CASE, THOMAS (1598-1682), divine, son of George Case, vicar of Boxley, Kent, was born in that county in 1598. His first education was received at Canterbury, and he next entered Merchant Taylors' School in 1615, where the registrar set down his name only (*Registers*, i. 84). In 1616 he obtained a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, partly in recognition of his industry and proficiency, and partly by the favour of Archbishop Tobie Matthew, who had been of that foundation. Case's connection with Christ Church is recorded upon the title-pages of many of his books. His degree in arts was taken on 15 June 1620, and his master's degree on 26 June 1623. He is said to have remained a year or two longer at the university, preaching after ordination 'for some time in those parts, and afterwards in Kent, at or near the place of his nativity.' His career was most intimately associated with that of Richard Heyrick (of the family of the poet Herrick), who was his associate at Oxford. When Heyrick obtained from Charles I his first preferment at North Repps, Norfolk, Case became his curate. Soon after Case obtained the pastoral charge of Erpingham in the same neighbourhood, remaining there eight or ten years. The latter part of his stay at this parish was marked by the severity of Bishop Wren towards him, and proceedings in the high commission court are said to have been still pending against him when that court was abolished. Meanwhile Heyrick, who some years before had received from the king a grant of the reversion of the wardenship of the collegiate church of Manchester, came into possession of that dignity in 1635, and thither Case accompanied or followed him. By the influence of the Booth family, of the adjoining town of Salford, Case frequently preached with much acceptance at their newly erected chapel in that place, and he also preached in the other Manchester chapelries, whither he was followed by numbers of admirers. On 8 Aug. 1637 he was married at Stockport, Cheshire, to Anne, daughter of Oswald Mosley of Ancoats, Manchester, the widow of Robert Booth of Salford (brother of Humphrey Booth, the founder of the chapel). By this union he became brother-in-law to the Rev.

John Angier [q. v.] His popularity brought him into trouble, and he experienced, in a less degree, the same trials in the diocese of Chester as in that of Norwich. In 1638 articles were exhibited against him in Bishop Bridgeman's court for uttering opinions against the discipline of the church and for other irregularities, notwithstanding that he had signed the articles and was still 'a benefited man within the diocese of Norwich.' One of the charges was that he had given the sacrament to those who did not kneel; and his reply was that the congregations were so vast that there was no room to kneel. Falling in with the spirit of the Manchester burghers who supported the parliamentary party by his money and zeal (November 1642). His marriage introduced him to persons of influence. Jacobus disturbs a little the chronological sequence when he says that in a short while after coming to Manchester Case was presented to a place in the neighbouring county—i.e. Stockport—where he may have been acting first as curate. He became actual rector of that rich benefice on 31 July 1645, when the committee of plundered ministers presented him, with the usual injunction to preach diligently. The presentation was confirmed by votes of the houses. The appointment of a man who at that time was an active minister in London was not a wise one. Nine months afterwards he resigned and a new rector was appointed, Case having 'another place with cure of souls.' These dates and circumstances seem to lend point to Wood's insinuation that Case was anxious to get preferment and wealth, which he wanted before he went up to London. In the meanwhile, before the end of 1641, the 'urgency of some persons of quality' in Lancashire—probably Sir William Brereton, a Cheshire baronet, and his associates—induced Case to accompany them to the capital. There his style of preaching amidst a multitude of preachers attracted notice, and he soon acquired fame. The first of his published discourses, two in number, were delivered at Westminster 'before sundry of the House of Commons,' and issued by authority in 1641. A very severe and bitter spirit characterised them. The city churches were readily opened to him. First he was lecturer and then rector (in place of Mr. Jones, sequestered) of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk Street, where, following a custom already established in Manchester, he began that seven o'clock 'morning exercise' long afterwards kept up 'to the benefit of multitudes.' Sir John Bramston refers in a characteristic passage (*Autob.* p. 92) to his appointment there. His sermons 'at Milk

Street in London,' called 'God's Waiting to be Gracious,' were by the committee for printing ordered (27 June 1642) to be issued. This volume, which was dedicated to Major-general Skippon and Richard Aldworth, esq., his parishioners, abounds in that kind of oratory which had become popular. His resentment against the late episcopal government is shown to be very deep. He asserts that the Anglican church was the Babylon of Rev. xviii. 4; and he enumerates 'her idolatrous bowings, cringings, altars, crosses, and cursed ceremonies, false worship, false doctrine' (p. 68). Walker (*Sufferings*, ii. 48) justly takes exception to some of his sentiments, which Calamy (*Continuation*, pp. 14-15) in part excuses. A work entitled 'Evangelium Armatum,' 4to, 1663 (KENNET, *Register*, pp. 743, 855), quotes some reprehensible passages from Case's sermons; others are given in Zachary Grey's 'Century of Presbyterian Preachers,' 1723, 8vo (App. pp. v-vi; and cf. Wood, *Athenæ*, iv. 46-7). It is said to have been usual with Case at St. Maudlin's to invite his hearers to the Lord's table with the words, 'You that have freely and liberally contributed to the parliament for the defence of God's cause and the gospel, draw near.' On 15 Oct. 1641-2 the House of Commons recommended him to the parishioners to be lecturer of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, to preach there every Sunday afternoon and every Thursday, and Dr. William Bray, the vicar, was enjoined to give him liberty of the pulpit. Case was connected with this church for twenty years. He was also appointed lecturer at St. Mary Aldermanbury, where the Rev. Edmund Calamy the elder [q.v.] was rector. In these positions Case was a zealous advocate for the solemn league and covenant. He became one of the 'confessors' of the Long parliament, and often preached before them. Wood, after closely perusing certain of these discourses, termed him 'a great boutiffeu and fire-brand in the church,' and Butler in 'Hudibras' introduced him as a typical pulpit-character of the time:

Whence had they all their gifted phrases,  
But from our Calamies and Cases?

There was a well-known peculiarity in Case's voice or manner, which Pepys, who used to hear him, has noticed (*Diary*, ed. Bright, i. 208). On 26 Oct. 1642 Case preached a fast-sermon before the commons, dedicated on publication to Sir William Brereton. This general was again prominently introduced into Case's sermon before the commons on 19 Feb. 1646, concerning his capture of Chester. In this discourse the senators, the enforcers of the league and covenant, are

told what some had affirmed, that there were no less than one hundred and eighty several heresies propagated in London, insomuch that the errors and innovations under which they had lately groaned were but *tolerabiles ineptiæ* compared with those damnable doctrines (pp. 24-5; cf. SOUTHEY, *Commonplace Book*, iii. 64; *Patrick's Works*, ed. Taylor, v. 444). Case had meanwhile become a member of the assembly of divines, and he took a prominent part in their discussions. On 8 Jan. 1644-5 he was one of those who petitioned for arrears of pay as members of the assembly. He favoured the establishment of presbyterianism (GREY, *Neal Examined*, vol. ii. App. p. 89). His occasional abode in Lancashire, or at any rate his continued interest in that county, is shown by the fact that to his hands and to those of the Rev. Charles Herle of Winwick were entrusted the charitable collections for those distressed by famine and war in the district, September 1644. That a change in the course of years came over the political views of Case is shown by suggestive facts. In 1648 he begged to be excused from preaching before the commons when asked at their July fast. In the same year he subscribed the paper declaring against the proceedings of the parliament and the bringing of the king to trial. Through refusing in 1649 the 'engagement' 'to be true and faithful to the government established without a king or house of peers,' he lost his place at Milk Street, and Anthony Faringdon succeeded him. In 1651, when the prince and the Scots were preparing to march through Lancashire, to the gratification of Case's friends there, Case was preaching against the proceedings of the parliament, and deeply implicating 'himself with the presbyterians in the London conspiracy for the restoration of the prince, known as Love's plot. On 10 May the privy council committed him close prisoner to the Tower under a charge of high treason, and his property was sequestered. He was imprisoned for over six months, and his wife obtained permission to lodge with him. On 30 Sept. he and Heyrick (who had also been concerned in the plot with other Lancashire ministers) were ordered to be brought to trial; but in the following month they addressed a petition to the parliament which was deemed sufficiently submissive, and they were pardoned under the great seal, the speaker's warrant for their discharge being dated 16 Oct. During his imprisonment Case penned some appropriate thoughts which he preached at first in the course of his ministry at Aldermanbury, and afterwards published in 1653 under the title of 'Correction



Instruction,' 8vo, with a commendation from his friend Dr. Thomas Manton. This work reached a third edition the same year; there was another in 1671, and a reprint in 1802. Soon after his release he became lecturer at the large church of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, beyond Holborn, and on the death of Mr. Abraham Molyne, the rector, Case obtained the rectory, retaining it until his ejection. In 1653 he was anxious to become one of Cromwell's body of 'tryers,' but his wish was not gratified. During the Commonwealth he published many sermons upon public and private occasions, the best list of which is given in Wood. A letter in Thurloe's 'Staté Papers' (vi. 20), dated Westminster, 27 Jan. 1656-7, about a supply of ministers to Ireland, refers to Case: 'A worthy person, of great learning, and an excellent preacher, having received letters from a son-in-law of his [Robert Booth, esq., a puisne judge in Ireland in 1660, and afterwards lord chief justice of the common pleas in that island], who has relation to Ld. . . Ch. [Lord-chancellor Steele?], to come thither: to which his wife presses him: he has advised with Mr. Calamy about it.' The writer expresses hope of obtaining him. Case in 1659 was one of the committee for the appointment of ministers in the presbyterian way. In 1660 he contributed the introduction and first sermon to the 'Morning Exercise methodized,' being a volume of discourses preached at St. Giles's. About this time he was closely watching events with leanings towards the restoration of monarchy. In February 1660 he was corresponding with his Manchester friends about Monck, the secluded members, and other current events. He was one of the deputation of presbyterian clergy sent to the Hague in May 1660 to congratulate the king upon his restoration. Pepys describes an amusing incident about the landing of Case, 15 May, whose boat was upset and he 'sadly dipped.' A passage in the 'Secret History of the Reign of Charles II,' 1690 (cf. the note in WILSON, *Dissenting Churches of London*, iv. 524), shows how Case was taken in by the king's hypocrisy. In the following month he, with Baxter and other prominent presbyterians, was admitted royal chaplain, though (as Baxter comments) they were never asked to preach. He was one of the members of the Savoy conference, and attended the meetings (April-July 1661). In the autumn he was visiting his relatives at Manchester and preaching in the neighbourhood. Early in the following year he was writing letters from London to the Rev. Henry Newcome of Manchester, giving him 'the sense of

things,' and he makes him the offer of the living of Bunbury, Cheshire. His farewell sermon at St. Giles's (17 Aug.) was from the text Rev. ii. 5, and is the fourth discourse in the London collection of 1662. After Case's ejection he remained in London, devoting his time to the ministry and to the writing of books. At dinner, 19 Jan. 1667-8, Pepys met Case, 'who, Lord! do talk just as I remember he used to preach, and did tell a pretty story of a religious lady, queen of Navarre.' He also met Case on 8 May following at Lord Crewe's dining-table, and calls him 'a dull fellow in his talk, and all in the presbyterian manner.' Of his numerous writings his 'Mount Pisgah,' 4to, 1670, dedicated to his 'much honoured son-in-law, Sir Robert Booth,' and to Dr. William Hawes, is perhaps the most pleasing. An abridged edition was published by the Religious Tract Society in 1836, 12mo. Case contributed several commendatory prefaces to the books of his friends. Upon the death of Warden Heyrick, in August 1677, Case wrote the epitaph to his memory, still preserved upon a brass in the Collegiate Church, Manchester, the closing portion of which commemorates in warm language and with some detail a friendship of fifty years.

With one exception Case outlived all the members of the assembly of divines. He died on 30 May 1682, aged 84, and was buried on 3 June at Christ Church, Newgate Street, London, which must have been then still in ruins. Wood indicates the spot, viz. at the upper end of the church just before the steps going to the altar; and he gives the inscription, which does not err on the side of eulogy. The funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Thomas Jacomb on 14 June, and it was dedicated on publication to Mrs. Anne Case, the widow. It contains matter which has been of service in compiling this memoir. Dr. Calamy, grandson of his friend, describes Case as 'one of a quick and warm spirit, an open plain-hearted man, a hearty lover of God, goodness, and all good men. He was a Scripture preacher, a great man in prayer, and one that brought home many souls to God.' Baxter, who was buried near him, called him 'an old faithful servant of God.' There is an offensive sketch of him, based on Wood's account, in 'The King Killers,' 1719, 8vo, terming him an 'impenitent covenanting saint' (pt. ii. p. 31). His head is on the plate prefixed to the volume of farewell sermons, 1662, 8vo.

[Jacomb's *Abraham's Death*, 4to, 1682; Calamy's *Account*, p. 12, and *Continuation*, p. 13; Wood's *Athenæ*, iv. 45-8, and *Fasti*, i. 392, 411; *Reliq. Baxterianæ*, ii. 229 seq.; Wilson's

Merchant Taylors' School, p. 799; Commons' Journals, ii. 432, iv. 247, 250, vii. 28, 97, viii. 20; Lords' Journals, vii. 542-3, 548-9; Hist. MSS. Comm. 7th Rep. pp. 74, 435 (where for Castle read Case); Dunn's Mem. of Seventy-Five Divines, 1844, pp. 90-2, 207; Newcome's Diary (Chetham Soc. series), pp. 12 seq., and Autobiog. pp. 1 seq.; Earwaker's East Cheshire, i. 388, ii. 664; Heginbotham's Hist. Stockport, i. 303-4; Palatine Note-book, iii. 45, 47; Bibl. Cantiana, pp. 155, 163; Heywood's Works (Life of Angier), i. 554-5, 559; Hibbert-Ware's Foundations of Manchester, i. 372, ii. 303; Granger's Biog. Hist. (5th ed.), v. 70-1.] J. E. B.

**CASLON, WILLIAM**, the elder (1692-1766), type-founder, was born in 1692 at Cradley, Worcestershire, near Halesowen, Shropshire. He served his apprenticeship to an ornamental engraver of gun locks and barrels. In 1716 he set up in that business in Vine Street, Minories, London, and added tool-making for bookbinders and silver-chasers. In the same year an eminent printer, John Watts, recognised Caslon's skill in cutting binding-punches and employed him for that purpose as well as to cut type-punches. He also gave him the means to fit up a small foundry, and introduced him to other printers. Grover in Aldersgate Street, James in Aldermanbury, and the Clarendon House at Oxford were then the only good type-founders. Caslon now married, and in 1720 his first child, named William, was born. In the same year he was chosen by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to cut the fount of 'English Arabic' for the New Testament and Psalter required for the Christians of the East. He afterwards cut in 'pica roman' the letters of his own name and printed them at foot of his Arabic specimens. By the advice of Samuel Palmer (reputed author of that 'History of Printing' really written by George Psalmanazar) he then cut the whole fount of pica roman and italic; and this he did in very superior style. Palmer withdrew his support of Caslon, which gave offence to certain printers, but Caslon obtained employment from the elder Bowyer. In 1722 he executed for Bowyer the beautiful English fount of roman, italic, and Hebrew used for printing Selden's 'Works' in folio, also the Coptic types of Dr. Wilkins's edition of the 'Pentateuch,' and various sized characters for other important works. Watts had lent him 100*l.*; Bowyer and his son-in-law Bettenham now lent him 200*l.* each. The three printers gave him their custom. Caslon set boldly to work to complete his factory in every branch. Eventually his productions surpassed those of all continental artists, and were in great demand by foreign

printers, who called him and Jackson his pupil 'the English Elzevirs.' His first foundry was a garret in Helmet Row; the second in Ironmonger Row; the third, in 1735, in Chiswell Street. At the latter place the business, increasing year by year, was carried on in conjunction with his eldest son, William Caslon the younger [q. v.], whose name first appears on specimen sheets in 1742, in the style 'William Caslon & Son.' Caslon retired to a house in the Hackney Road in 1750, about which time he was put in the commission of the peace for Middlesex. Soon after he removed to his 'country house' on Bethnal Green, and died there 23 Jan. 1766. He was buried in St. Luke's churchyard, where a monument records his memory with that of his son William.

Sir John Hawkins and Nichols describe Caslon's hospitality and musical entertainments, and he is pleasantly noticed in Dibdin's 'Decameron' (7th day).

Caslon was three times married. Faber's mezzotinto print of Caslon is from a painting by F. Kyte, now in possession of the present firm, which has also a large three-quarter length portrait. The earliest dated specimen of Caslon's printing types in book form is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. It is called 'A Specimen of Printing Types by William Caslon & Son,' 1763, 8vo, 36 pp. printed on one side. This is probably an 'advance-copy' of the exactly similar work in the British Museum Library, dated 1764. The 'Universal Magazine,' June, 1750, contains a folding-plate headed 'A True and Exact representation of the Art of Cutting and Preparing Letters for Printing,' which is a picture of Caslon's foundry.

[For authorities see under WILLIAM CASLON the younger.] J. W.-G.

**CASLON, WILLIAM**, the younger (1720-1778), type-founder, eldest son of the preceding, by his first wife, became a partner with his father about 1742, and succeeded him at his death in 1766. He had not the remarkable ability of the elder Caslon, but he was able to maintain the reputation of the house against Baskerville, Jackson, Cotterell, and others. The universities and the London trade still gave the preference to the Caslon founts, which combined the clearness of Elzevir with all the elegance of Plantin, and Baskerville's successors were less regarded. Caslon married Elizabeth, only daughter of Dr. Carllich of Basinghall Street, with a fortune of 10,000*l.* His wife assisted in the management of the great letter-foundry up to the death of her husband, which took place in 1778. The

property was equally divided between his widow and his two sons, William and Henry, who eventually became the heads of distinct families and chiefs of two separate firms of type-founders. William Caslon (third of the name) sold his share to his mother (*d.* 24 Oct. 1795) and sister-in-law, the widow of Henry Caslon. He set up a separate business, which in 1819 was moved to Sheffield, where the firm still exists as Stephenson, Blake, & Co. The other firm was represented by Henry William Caslon, last of the name, who died 14 July 1874, and the business is still carried on as A. W. Caslon & Co.

[The Caslon Specimen Books; Rowe Mores's English Letter-founders, pp. 63, 97; Hansard's Typographia, 1st edit. p. 368; Nichols's Lit. Anecd. ii. 355; Nichols's Illustrations, ii. 337, iv. 173, 231, viii. 447, 474, 521; Hawkins's History of Music, v. 127; Dibdin's Decameron, ii. 379; West's Views of Shropshire, p. 121; Bigelow's Bibliog. of Printing, i. 103-6; Universal Magazine, November 1750; Gent. Mag. xxi. 284, xxxvi. 47, xlix. 271, lv. 329, lvii. 1129, lxx. 796, lxxix. 579, 589, lxxxvi. i. 377, lxxxviii. i. 587, xxxiv. new ser. 96; Ann. Reg. 1850, p. 232; Works and Life of Franklin, 1812, i. 72; Lemoine's Typographical Antiquities, p. 79; Timperley's History of Printing, pp. 683, 714, 744, 749, 806, 834, 942; Printing Times and Lithographer, October 1874; documents of the Chiswell Street firm and family papers.]

J. W.-G.

**CASSAN, STEPHEN HYDE** (1789-1841), ecclesiastical biographer, son of Stephen Cassan, barrister, by his wife Sarah, daughter of Charles Mears, was born in 1789 at Calcutta, where his father was sheriff. He was educated at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, and took his B.A. degree on 14 Jan. 1815. He received deacon's orders on 26 March following, and was ordained priest the next year. While curate of Frome, Somerset, in 1820, he made a runaway match with Fanny, daughter of Rev. William Ireland, then dead, formerly vicar of that parish. This marriage occasioned considerable scandal, and led to legal proceedings, of which an account is given in two pamphlets published at Bath in 1821—one, 'A Report of the Trial, Cassan v. Ireland, for Defamation,' and the other by Cassan, entitled 'Who wrote the Letters, or a Statement of Facts.' Removing from Frome, he held the curacy of Mere, Wiltshire, until 1831, when he was presented by Sir Richard C. Hoare to the living of Bruton with Wyke Champflower. He was also chaplain to the Earl of Caledon and to the Duke of Cambridge. His family was large, and he was constantly involved in pecuniary difficulties. From these he sought to free himself by publishing books by sub-

scription, and by seeking for promotion. He was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1829. After suffering from insanity for two years, he died on 19 July 1841. Besides pamphlets—one of them mentioned above—he published: 1. 'The Sin of Schism, and the Protestant Episcopal Church proved to be the only safe means of Salvation, a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Frome,' 1819; 2nd ed., with appendix, 1820. This was answered by 'A Word of Advice to the Curate of Frome,' 1820. 2. 'Lives and Memoirs of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury,' 1824. 3. A volume of sermons, 1827. 4. 'Lives of the Bishops of Winchester,' 1827, 2 vols. 5. 'Lives of the Bishops of Bath and Wells,' 1830. No set of his lives of the bishops is of any real value, the memoirs being almost wholly composed of extracts from well-known printed books. Such original remarks as they contain are extraordinarily childish and whimsical, and in many cases exhibit a degree of intolerance which was probably caused by the latent presence of mental disorder. Besides these works, Cassan compiled genealogies of himself and of other members of his family, which he circulated widely for the purpose of proving that his descent was noble, and that he therefore had a strong claim to preferment. He contributed various genealogical notices to the 'Gentleman's Magazine.'

[Gent. Mag. 1841, pt. ii. 550; information from E. Green, esq., hon. secretary of the Somerset Archæological Society.] W. H.

**CASSEL or CASSELS, RICHARD** (*A.* 1757). [See **CASTLE, RICHARD**.]

**CASSELL, JOHN** (1817-1865), publisher, son of Mark Cassell, the landlord of the Ring o' Bells, in the Old Churchyard, Manchester, who died in 1830, was born in his father's inn at Manchester on 23 Jan. 1817. His education was of a very slight nature, and at an early age he was bound apprentice to a joiner at Salford. In 1833 his attention was especially called to the temperance movement by hearing Mr. Joseph Livesey speaking on the subject in Oak Street Chapel, Manchester, and on the completion of his indentures he commenced his introduction to public life by setting out on a temperance lecturing tour. He had already by careful self-culture obtained an extensive acquaintance with English literature, great general information, and a fair mastery of the French language. In quest of employment as a carpenter he reached London in October 1836, and shortly afterwards spoke at a temperance meeting in the New Jeru-

saalem schoolroom near Westminster Bridge Road, when it was noticed that he had a very broad provincial dialect. He was then recommended to Mr. Meredith, who enrolled him among his temperance agents. In 1847 he was at 14 Budge Row, city of London, where he had established himself as a tea and coffee dealer and patent medicine agent, but two years afterwards removed to 80 Fenchurch Street, where he always continued to have a share in the business. His teas and coffees were very extensively advertised, and the sentence 'Buy Cassell's Shilling Coffee' became quite a household word. In the meantime he had become a writer and his own publisher; his first production was the 'Working Man's Friend,' which appeared in 1850. The Great Exhibition in the following year gave scope to his energies in the 'Illustrated Exhibitioner,' a comprehensive and well-executed scheme. On 16 and 20 May 1851 he gave valuable evidence before the select committee on newspaper stamps, showing the injustice of the prosecution of many periodicals for giving their readers a minimum amount of actual news. He also at the same time stated that he had entered into the publishing business for the purpose of issuing publications calculated to advance the moral and social well-being of the working classes (*Report from Select Committee*, 1851, pp. 206-41). Cassell's 'Popular Educator' and 'Cassell's Magazine' followed in 1852, and during the succeeding twelve months Cassell's 'Family Paper' was brought out; this was a combination of the pictorial paper with the popular periodical, containing a serial story and a chronicle of current history; many of the illustrations were printed from electrotypes procured from the Paris office of 'L'Illustration,' and they were equal to those which embellished the illustrated papers published at six times the price. The first number appeared on 31 Dec. 1853, and in a very short time this paper attained a large circulation, owing partly to the illustrations which were given in connection with the war in the Crimea. He took advantage of its circulation to benefit himself also in another way, to advertise his own teas and coffees. Numerous works now proceeded in quick succession from his press, either in the form of a series of educational books or in weekly numbers of illustrated standard authors, such as 'Robinson Crusoe,' 'Don Quixote,' the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' 'Gulliver's Travels,' and many others of a similar nature, besides more substantial fare in the shape of the 'History of England,' the 'Natural History,' the 'Bible Dictionary,' the 'Book of Martyrs,' &c.

Towards the close of 1854 he became involved in pecuniary difficulties, which obliged him to decrease his establishment, and to discontinue the least remunerative of his publications. Other periodicals which he produced were 'The Freeholder,' the monthly organ of the free land movement, 'The Pathway,' a religious magazine, and 'The Quiver.' In 1859 he joined with Thomas Dixon Galpin and George William Petter, and founded the well-known firm of Cassell, Petter, & Galpin. From that date a constant series of popular illustrated and other books have been issued by these publishers. Cassell lived to see many of the works brought to a successful termination, or reaching a circulation such as never entered into his mind when he commenced his publishing career, and to preside over an establishment in full working order employing nearly five hundred hands. He died at 25 Avenue Road, Regent's Park, London, on 2 April 1865.

As a publisher he is no doubt entitled to rank with William and Robert Chambers and with Charles Knight, and it must not be forgotten that sometimes more praise was due to him for a work on which he made a loss than for a work which in more recent times was a splendid success. What were his merits as a writer cannot be stated, as no reliable information has been found on this point. Although a strict abstainer, he was an inveterate smoker, and, whether engaged in business or in the company of his friends, was seldom seen without a cigar between his lips. His widow, Mary Cassell, died at 47 Wilbury Road, Brighton, 6 July 1885.

[Cassell's Illustrated Family Paper, with portrait, 20 May 1865, pp. 262-4; Thomas Frost's *Forty Years' Recollections* (1880), pp. 226-38; *Bookseller*, April 1865, p. 225, and May, p. 291.]  
G. C. B.

**CASSIE, JAMES** (1819-1879), painter, was born at Keith Hall, Aberdeenshire, in 1819. In his boyhood he met with an accident which left him lame for life, and determined him to devote himself to painting. He was a pupil of James Giles, R.S.A., a painter of highland scenery and animals. Cassie settled in Aberdeen, where the sea with its surroundings and the fisherfolk that resided on its shores were a most powerful source of attraction to him, and formed the most popular subjects for his brush. Elaborate detail not being suited to his style, the broad harmonious effects of marine scenery were those which he most excelled in depicting. He did not, however, confine himself to one class of subject,

but painted numerous portraits and domestic subjects, and showed fair skill as a painter of animals. He exhibited several pictures at the Royal Scottish Academy and at the Royal Academy and other London exhibitions. In 1869 he was elected associate of the Royal Scottish Academy, and removed to Edinburgh, where he resided till his death. In February 1879 he was elected an academician, but he had been for some time in failing health, and died on 11 May of the same year. Cassie's works were marked by a quiet simplicity and harmonious tone. His friend John Phillip, R.A., painted his portrait.

[Scotsman, 12 May 1879; Art Journal, 1879; Clement and Hutton's Artists of the Nineteenth Century; Graves's Dict. of Artists, 1760-1880; Catalogue of Royal Scottish Academy's Loan Exhibition, 1880; information from Mrs. Fraser and Mr. J. M. Gray.] L. C.

**CASSILLIS, EARLS OF.** [See KENNEDY, GILBERT, second EARL, *d.* 1527; KENNEDY, GILBERT, third EARL, 1517?-1558; KENNEDY, GILBERT, fourth EARL, 1541?-1576; KENNEDY, JOHN, fifth EARL, 1567?-1615; KENNEDY, JOHN, sixth EARL, 1595?-1668; KENNEDY, JOHN, seventh EARL, 1646?-1701.]

**CASSIVELLAUNUS** (*fl.* 54 B.C.), a British prince contemporary with Julius Cæsar, whose territory lay to the north and north-east of the river Thames, comprising roughly the modern counties of Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Berkshire; its exact limits are uncertain. The people over whom he ruled were the Catuvellauni, a powerful and warlike nation who had encroached upon the surrounding tribes; their territory had been much extended before Cæsar's arrival in Britain by Cassivellaunus, who had been engaged in constant conflicts with his neighbours, and his conquests had given him such supremacy over them that he was recognised as their natural and undisputed leader against the invader. Cassivellaunus is first mentioned by Cæsar in his account of his second expedition to Britain in the summer of 54 B.C. Cæsar relates how, after having effected a landing and advanced some twelve miles into the interior of the country, he was recalled to the coast by the intelligence of the destruction of the greater part of his fleet in a storm. Ten days were consumed in repairing the ships that remained, and then, advancing to the Thames, Cæsar found the enemy drawn up in great force on the northern bank of that river, under the command of Cassivellaunus. In spite of the British fortification of the banks, the Roman soldiers crossed the river, and the Britons were un-

able to stand before their attack, but the progress of the Romans was much impeded by the skilful use made by Cassivellaunus of his charioteers, four thousand of whom were employed in harassing Cæsar's line of march. In the meantime the Trinovantes, another powerful people, occupying what is now Essex, and part of Middlesex, sent envoys to Cæsar to announce their submission. Mandubratius, the son of their former king Imanuentius, had fled for refuge to Cæsar, in order to escape the fate of his father, who had been killed by Cassivellaunus in the course of his conquests over his neighbours. The Trinovantes asked Cæsar to send Mandubratius to rule over them and to protect him from Cassivellaunus. Cæsar granted their request, and sent Mandubratius to them, at the same time demanding and obtaining hostages and corn. The example of the Trinovantes was speedily followed by other tribes living along the course of the Thames, whose names are given by Cæsar as Cenimagni, Segontiaci, Ancalites, Bibroci, and Cassi, all of whom submitted. From them Cæsar learnt that Cassivellaunus had not far distant a fortified place in which a large number both of men and of cattle had been collected for protection against the enemy; this stronghold was promptly attacked by Cæsar; its defenders were unable to repulse Cæsar's attack and made their escape on another side. Many of them were killed in their flight, and the whole of the cattle fell into Cæsar's hands. The precise position of this place is unknown. Meanwhile Cassivellaunus sent instructions to the four kings who governed as many districts in Cantium, or Kent, to surprise and storm Cæsar's naval camp. The attempt failed, and, being discouraged by his own ill-success, and still more by the defection of his allies, Cassivellaunus submitted to Cæsar, who took hostages, imposed an annual tribute, and enjoined Cassivellaunus to abstain from harassing the Trinovantes or their king Mandubratius. Cæsar now left Britain, after a stay of barely two months. In Welsh tradition, as preserved in the Triads and the Bruts, Cassivellaunus appears as Caswallawn. Here much romantic detail overlies a narrative in which an agreement with the main outline of Cæsar's account can be traced.

The name Cassivellaunus is Gaulish in form. The first part of the word is compared by Professor Rhys with the name of the tribe of the Cassi, and the whole is interpreted by him to mean 'a ruler of the league or a tribe-king.' Vellaunus probably meant 'a ruler,' being connected with the Irish *flaith* (a prince), and with Welsh *gwlad* (country), English *wield*. The name of the

Catuvellauni is similarly compounded of *vel-lauini* with *catu*, Irish *cath*, Welsh *cad*, battle.

[Cæsar, B. G. v. 11-23; Elton's *Origins of English History*; Rhys's *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 2nd ed., and *Celtic Britain*.] A. M.

**CASTEELS, PETER** (1684-1749), painter and engraver, was one of that host of second-rate foreigners who found happy hunting-grounds in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He was born in Antwerp in 1684; came to England in 1703, and revisited Antwerp in 1716. He shortly returned, however, and settled in this country. He painted birds, fowls, fruit, and flowers 'in an inferior manner.' He worked more successfully with the graver. Lord Burlington patronised him, and published, at his own charges, Casteels's 'Villas of the Ancients,' giving the artist the profits. In 1726 Casteels published on his own account twelve etchings of birds and fowls, and also some engravings from his own pictures. In 1735 he obtained work as a designer in the calico works at Tooting, and removed thither; later he followed the factory to Richmond, and there died 16 May 1749.

[Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, iii. 652, ed. 1849.]

**CASTELL, EDMUND, D.D.** (1606-1685), Semitic scholar, was the second son of Robert Castell (probably of Christ's College, Cambridge), a man of property and education, and was born 'iratis Musis,' as he said, at East Hatley in Cambridgeshire in the year 1606, whence, after the usual grammatical training of the period, he proceeded in 1621, at the age of fifteen, to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and took the successive degrees of bachelor (1624-5) and master (1628) of arts, and bachelor (1635) and doctor (by mandate 1661) of divinity. After this last date he removed to St. John's College, on account of the advantages offered by its library, wherein he found much assistance in the compilation of the great work of his life, the 'Lexicon Heptaglotton,' upon which he had been at work since 1651. This vast undertaking was in some sort the outcome of Castell's previous labours in assisting Walton in the preparation of his 'Biblia Polyglotta,' in which the former was especially responsible for the Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions, as Walton himself admits; though it appears that Castell was credited by Walton with a much smaller share in the work than he really accomplished, and that, so far from deriving any profit from the gratuity which Walton allowed each of his assistants, he actually disbursed

a thousand pounds of his private fortune, over and above that gratuity, in incidental researches.

The Polyglott Bible was published in 1657, and Castell was already in the throes of its great sequel, the 'Lexicon Heptaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Æthiopicum, Arabicum, conjunctim, et Persicum separatim.' In the dedication to Charles II prefixed to the 'Lexicon,' when at length it was published in two volumes folio in 1669, the story of its composition is told with a sad simplicity that atones for a pedantic display of varied learning. The eighteenth year of composition, he writes, has been reached, and that long period has been filled with unremitting toil of seldom less than sixteen or eighteen hours a day, with constant vigils, with bodily suffering—'membrorum confractioes, laxationes, contusiones'—with loss of fortune, and finally all but the loss of sight. Worthington (*Diary*, ii. 22) describes him at this time as 'a modest and retired person, indefatigably studious: he hath sacrificed himself to this service, and is resolved to go on in this work though he die in it.' He had scarcely any assistance. Now and again he induced, by the sacrifice of the remnant of his patrimony, some scholar to aid him, but it was rarely that he could retain such services for any length of time in so depressing a task. He mentions three scholars who rendered him more protracted service, but these deserted him at last, even his printer mutinied, and he was left alone in his old age to finish the gigantic work. One of his assistants suddenly died, and Castell had to pay for his burial, and took charge of his orphan child. He had not only spent his life and strength; he had reduced himself to poverty by expending over 12,000*l.* upon the work; and even so, he was 1,800*l.* in debt, and had become responsible for some debts of his brother, for which the unfortunate scholar was sent to prison in 1667. This condition of actual distress, aggravated by the loss of much of his library and effects in the great fire, and coupled perhaps with the notice attracted by a volume of congratulatory poems to the king, at length procured him a scanty measure of royal favour. In 1666 he was made chaplain in ordinary to the king; in 1667 he was appointed to the eighth prebendal stall in Canterbury Cathedral, from which, however, he was excused attendance, partly by reason of infirmities, and partly on account of the duties of the professorship of Arabic at Cambridge, to which he had been appointed in the year 1664. This was the only academic emolument he ever received, and that by royal,

not university, nomination; and although he always stayed in his friend Lightfoot's rooms when at Cambridge, the chair cost him more than it brought in, as Castell himself stated in a letter (16 Aug. 1674) to the celebrated Dr. Spencer, master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (still preserved among the manuscripts at Lambeth Palace). He was also elected F.R.S. in 1674.

Castell brought out his 'Lexicon' in 1669. It marks an epoch in Semitic scholarship. J. D. Michaelis, who edited a separate issue of the Syriac division of the work (Göttingen, 4to, 1788), writes with respectful enthusiasm of Castell's unparalleled industry and solid learning, and differs in some points of detail from that 'vir magnus' only with the greatest diffidence. The Hebrew section also was published separately at Göttingen by Trier in 1790-2 in 4to. But the original 'Lexicon' met with a deplorably cold welcome in England. The 'London Gazette' (No. 429, December 23-7, 1669) contains an advertisement in which the unhappy scholar states that for three-quarters of a year he or his servants have attended in London at the place of sale, but that the subscribers send so slowly for their copies that he must fix the following Lady-day as the last date of attendance. At the time of his death about five hundred copies still remained unsold, and his niece and executrix, Mrs. Crisp, lodged the remnant of her uncle's life-work in one of her tenant's houses at Martin in Surrey, where for some years the rats played such havoc with the learned pages that when the stock came to be examined scarcely a single copy could be made up from the wreck of the sheets, and the fragments were sold for the sum of 7*l*.

When worn out with work and bowed with years Castell received the vicarage of Hatfield Peverell in Essex, from which he was removed to the rectory of Wodeham Walter in the same county, and finally to Higham Gobion, Bedfordshire, where he died in 1685. We learn from the epitaph which he himself inscribed over the grave of his wife, for them both, that he married Elizabeth, relict of Sir Peter Bettesworth, and afterwards of one Hennis. In spite of the unhandsome usage he experienced at his university, he preserved to the last his zeal for academic interests, and he bequeathed his oriental manuscripts, including nineteen Hebrew, thirteen Arabic, and six Ethiopic, to the University Library (receipt of vice-chancellor, NICHOLS, *Lit. Anecd.* iv. 28); 111 books selected from his library to Emmanuel College, and a massive silver tankard to St. John's. The tankard and the manuscripts

were left on condition that his name should be inscribed on each; and this, with his portrait (which may also be seen in the frontispiece to his 'Lexicon'), has been duly affixed (Will of E. Castell, 24 Oct. 1685, *Baker MS.* 24, pp. 268-71, Brit. Mus.)

Besides the 'Lexicon Heptaglotton' and his share in Walton's 'Biblia Polyglotta,' Castell was the author of an inaugural lecture on the merits of the study of Arabic, as exemplified by the interpretation of the Canon of Avicenna ('Oratio . . . in secundum canonis Avicennæ librum,' London, 1667, 4to), which was included in Kapp's 'Clarissimorum Virorum Orationes selectæ.' Some marginal manuscript notes of Castell's are preserved in the copy of Plempius's Canon of Avicenna (1658) in the British Museum. His volume of poems addressed to Charles II is entitled 'Sol Angliæ oriens auspiciis Caroli II regum gloriosissimi' (London, ad insigne Campanæ in cœmiterio D. Pauli, 1660, 4to), and includes congratulatory odes in Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Samaritan, Ethiopic, Arabic, Persian, and Greek, with indifferent Latin translations. The obvious design of these effusions is to attract the king's notice and support for the toiling author of the 'Lexicon Heptaglotton.'

Sic erit ut sudans respiret Lexicon, atque  
Lætius hinc totum progrediatur opus.

The terrible distress of the poor scholar excuses the fulsomeness of the language in which the king's virtues are set forth.

[Biog. Brit. s.v.; Hearne's *Prelim. Obs.* to Leland's *Collectanea*, p. 80; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 883; *Fasti*, ii. 48; Worthington's *Diary*, ii. 21, 44; twenty-three letters of Castell to Lightfoot, 1664-70, in *Lightfoot's Works* (ed. Pitman), vol. xiii.; *London Gazette*, No. 429; *Ded.* and *Præf.* to the *Lex. Heptaglotton*; information from Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, and from Rev. J. G. Lawrence, vicar of Tadlow, who finds the name spelt Castell in the baptismal register—not Castle, as some have supposed.] S. L.-P.

CASTELL, WILLIAM (d. 1645), published 'A Petition exhibited to the High Court of Parliament for the Propagating of the Gospel in America and the West Indies, and for settling our Colonies there,' 1641, reprinted in Force's 'Tracts,' vol. i. 1836; and 'A Short Discoverie of the coasts of the Continent of America, from the Equinoctiall Northward, and of the adjacent Isles,' 1644, reprinted in Osborne's 'Voyages,' 1745. He became rector of Courteenhall, Northamptonshire, in 1627, and died on 4 July 1645.

[Brydges's *Northamptonshire*, i. 354; *British Museum Catalogue*.] T. F. H.

CASTELLO, ADRIAN DE (1460?-1521?). [See ADRIAN DE CASTELLO.]

CASTILLO, JOHN (1792-1845), dialect poet, was born in 1792 at Rathfarnham, near Dublin, but his parents, who were Roman Catholics, emigrated to England, and on the voyage were shipwrecked off the Isle of Man. Castillo was then only two or three years old. They settled at the quiet hamlet of Lealholm Bridge, nine miles from Whitby. Castillo identified himself completely with the county of York. His father having died when Castillo was eleven, he was taken from school to become a servant-boy in Lincolnshire, but two years later he returned and lived chiefly at Fryup in Cleveland, where he was a stonemason. He was admitted as a member of a Wesleyan 'class' at Danby End Chapel on 5 April 1818. He now became a local preacher and an energetic revivalist, having considerable success in the Dales. In 1838, when his name was not on any plan as preacher, he says that he 'occasionally got severe lashes on that account, but endeavoured as much as possible to keep out of the pulpits by holding prayer meetings and giving exhortations out of the singing pews or from the forms.' He wrote verses, some of them illustrative of Wesleyan religious sentiments and others suggested by incidents which occurred in the neighbourhood. The most important is 'Awd Isaac,' which is a valuable memorial of the Cleveland dialect (though the author allowed his ministerial friends to make some unhappy 'corrections'), and has had a wide popularity among the peasantry. Old Isaac Hobb of Glaisdale is supposed to be the original of the piece. It is a description of Sunday in Cleveland. Another, 'T' Lealholm Chap's Lucky Dream,' is a Yorkshire variant of the legend of the chapman of Swaffham, a folk-tale of which the earliest form is that given in the Persian poem called the 'Masnavi,' written by Jalauddin. This legend is discussed in the 'Antiquary,' 1884-5, x. 202, xi. 167. Castillo died at Pickering on 16 April 1845, and is buried in the graveyard of the Wesleyan chapel there. Of 'Awd Isaac' there have been many editions, chiefly without the author's name. Of his collected writings there are two editions, one published at Kirby Moorside in 1850, and the other at Stokesley in 1858. The 'Dialect Poems' were reissued at Stokesley in 1878. He was an habitual dialect speaker, and even employed it in his discourses as a local preacher. One of his sermons, 'Jacob's Ladder,' was printed in pamphlet form at Filey in 1858. He was locally known as

the 'Bard of the Dales,' and his name is sometimes spelled Castello.

[Skeat's Bibliographical List (English Dialect Society), pp. 118, 119; Newsam's Poets of Yorkshire, p. 217; Grainger's Poets and Poetry of Yorkshire, p. 366; Poems in the North Yorkshire Dialect, by the late John Castillo, edited with Memoir by George Markham Tweddell, Stokesley, 1878.] W. E. A. A.

CASTINE, THOMAS (d. 1793?), a native of Ballyneille, parish of Loman, Isle of Man, is stated by the Manx historian Train to have enlisted in the 'king's own' regiment of foot (4th foot), in which he rose to the rank of sergeant. Returning on furlough after a few years' absence, the story continues, he married about 1773 a young woman named Helen Corlace, with whom he was acquainted before his departure, and indulging in dissipation with former companions, he overstayed his leave. Fearing apprehension as a deserter, he escaped in a smuggling lugger to Dunkirk, and, entering the French army, served in America. At the outbreak of the French revolution he held the rank of colonel of infantry. Train speaks of him as one of the most prominent chiefs of the revolutionary armies, and refers to his services at Mayence, and his execution in Paris in August 1793, apparently identifying him with the general of division, Adam Philip de Custine, who was executed at Paris on 17 Aug. 1793 for alleged treason at Mayence, and whose fate and the romantic circumstances attending it have been related by Alison and other writers. Train further states that Castine's wife was left behind when he absconded, and that the issue of the marriage, a son, was twenty years of age and a servant at the time of his father's death in 1793. This young man enlisted in the Manx Fencibles, and was subsequently a sergeant in the Galloway militia. In 1837 he was a shopkeeper in the village of Auchencuir, co. Galloway. Understanding that his father had died possessed of property in France, he had made application, through the late Mr. Cutlar Fergusson, M.P. for Kirkcudbright, to Prince Talleyrand, when French ambassador in London; but the inquiry instituted showed that all traces of such property, if it ever existed, had been lost in the troubles and confusion of 1793. The first and last portions of this story are, no doubt, authentic; but although there is reason to suppose that the Manx deserter, Castine, held rank in the French revolutionary army, there is nothing to connect him with the general of division, Custine. The name of Thomas Castine does not appear in the alphabetical lists of persons guillotined given by Prudhomme.



[Train's Hist. I. of Man, ii. 349; Alison's Hist. of Europe, iii.; Prudhomme's Crimes de la Révolution (Paris, 1797).] H. M. C.

**CASTLE, EDMUND** (1698-1750), master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and dean of Hereford, was a native of Kent, and was born on 14 Sept. 1698 near Canterbury, where he received the greater part of his education. He was admitted into Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1716, being appointed 'puer cubiculi' by the master, Bishop Greene, and to a Kentish scholarship on Archbishop Parker's foundation. He received the degree of B.A. in 1719, and was made fellow in 1722. He was appointed public orator in 1726-7, but vacated the office in 1729, on being appointed to the vicarages of Elm and Emneth in the Isle of Ely, whence he was removed to Barley, Hertfordshire. In 1744 he was made rector of St. Paul's School, in 1744-5 master of Corpus Christi College, and in 1746 vice-chancellor. In 1747 he was promoted to a prebend at Lincoln, and in 1748-9 to the deanery of Hereford. He died at Bath on 6 June 1750. He was buried at Barley, Hertfordshire, where there is a Latin inscription to his memory. He was stated to have been a man of considerable learning and of great simplicity of manners.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. vi. 78; Masters's History of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, pp. 235-9; Le Neve's Fasti.] T. F. H.

**CASTLE, GEORGE, M.D.** (1635?-1673), physician, only son of John Castle, a doctor of medicine of Oxford of 10 July 1644, by Grisagon his wife, was born in or about 1635. After a good preliminary education at Thame grammar school, under Dr. William Burt, he was admitted a commoner of Balliol College, Oxford, on 8 April 1652, at the age of seventeen, and proceeded B.A. on 18 Oct. 1654, M.A. on 29 May 1657. Meanwhile he had gained a probationary fellowship at All Souls in 1655, and accumulating his degrees in physic proceeded M.D. as a member of that house on 21 June 1665. Castle now settled in town, where he practised, as his father had done, in the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster. In February 1669 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and, as he himself indicates in the epistle dedicatory prefixed to his 'Chymical Galenist,' had thoughts of presenting himself before the College of Physicians for examination as a candidate. Afterwards, by the influence of his friend Martin Clifford, master of the Charterhouse, Castle was appointed physician to that institution, and obtained a respectable share of business. But giving way, if we may

credit Wood's statement, to habits of free living, he died of fever on 12 Oct. 1673. His will, wherein he is described as of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, is dated 25 Sept. in that year, and was proved by his relict Anne on 16 Oct. following (Reg. in P. C. C. 122, Pye). Castle was the author of 'The Chymical Galenist: a Treatise, wherein the Practise of the Ancients is reconcil'd to the new Discoveries in the Theory of Physick; shewing, That many of their Rules, Methods, and Medicins, are useful for the Curing of Diseases in this Age, and in the Northern parts of the World. In which are some Reflections upon a Book, intituled, Medela Medicinæ,' 8vo, London, 1667.

[Wood's Athenæ Oxon. (Bliss), iii. 998-9; Wood's Fasti Oxon. (Bliss), ii. 181, 200, 282-3.] G. G.

**CASTLE, CASSEL, or CASSELS, RICHARD** (d. 1751), architect, was a German, who at the invitation of Sir Gustavus Hume, bart., settled in Ireland in the second decade of the last century. He had few rivals, and soon obtained an extensive practice. He began with rebuilding his patron's seat, Castle Hume, co. Fermanagh; he afterwards designed the mansion of Hazlewood, co. Sligo; Powerscourt, co. Wicklow; Carton House, co. Kildare; and Bessborough House, co. Kilkenny. In Dublin his designs included the Marquis of Waterford's house in Marlborough Street, Leinster House in Kildare Street, afterwards the Dublin Society house, Lord Bective's house in Smithfield, and many private houses in Sackville Street, Stephen's Green, and other parts of the city. His public works were not so numerous. He built the cupola of the old chapel in the college, long since removed; the printing-office in the college park; the Rotunda, or lying-in hospital; and the music hall in Fishamble Street, where Handel produced the 'Messiah' on 18 April 1742, and praised the building for its acoustic properties. The design for the Parliament House is believed to be his. Castle died suddenly at Carton on 19 Feb. 1751, aged about sixty, and was buried at Maynooth (WEBB, *Compendium of Irish Biography*, p. 582). He is represented as a man of integrity, of amiable though somewhat eccentric manners, whom convivial habits kept poor. It is said that when he felt dissatisfied with any part of his work, he collected his men together, marched them to it in procession, and forthwith pulled it down. To Castle belongs the credit of having introduced into Ireland a greatly improved style of architecture. In 1736 he published

'An Essay towards Supplying the City of Dublin with Water.'

[Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh's Hist. of Dublin, ii. 1137-8; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists, 1878.] G. G.

**CASTLE, THOMAS** (1804?-1840?) botanical and medical writer, was born in Kent, and after leaving school became a pupil of John Gill, surgeon, at Hythe; in his third year he began his first book, which he finished before going to London to carry on his studies. He entered Guy's Hospital in 1826, and was a member of its Physical Society; the year following he was elected fellow of the Linnæan Society, when he was living in Bermondsey Square. Subsequently he removed to Brighton, and in 1838 he signed himself 'M.D., F.L.S., consulting physician to St. John's British Hospital and memb. Trin. Coll. Camb.' His name is to be found in the medical list of the same year, but he seems to have died soon afterwards. Further particulars of his life are wanting; the above having been gleaned from his publications, which are as follows: 1. 'Lexicon Pharmacopœlium,' Lond. 1826, 8vo, 2nd edit., 1834. 2. 'Modern Surgery,' 1828, 12mo. 3. 'Manual of Surgery,' ed. by, 2nd edit. 1829, 3rd edit. 1831. 4. 'Systematic and Physiological Botany,' 1829, 12mo. 5. 'Medical Botany,' 1829, 12mo. 6. 'Linnæan System of Botany,' 1836, 4to. 7. 'Essay on Poisons,' 1834, 8vo, 7th edit. 1845. 8. 'Pharmacopœia, Roy. Coll. Phys.' trans. by, 1837, 8vo, 2nd edit. 1838. 9. 'Table of Greek Verbs,' Cambridge, 1832, 4to. He also edited two editions of Blundell's 'Diseases of Women,' 1834 and 1837, and with J. A. Barton published a 'British Flora Medica,' 1837, a second edition of which was edited in 1867 by J. R. Jackson.

[Castle's Works.]

B. D. J.

**CASTLEHAVEN**, third EARL OF (1617?-1684). [See TOUCHET, JAMES.]

**CASTLEMAIN**, COUNTESS OF (1641-1709). [See VILLIERS, BARBARA, DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND.]

**CASTLEMAIN**, EARL OF (*d.* 1705). [See PALMER, ROGER.]

**CASTLEREAGH**, VISCOUNT (1739-1821). [See STEWART, ROBERT.]

**CASTRO, ALFONSO** x (1495-1558), theologian, was a native of Zamora in Spain, and at an early age entered the Franciscan order at Salamanca. He became

famous both as a theologian and a preacher. So great was his reputation that about 1532 he was summoned to Bruges by the Spanish merchants resident there, that they might have the advantage of his teaching. As a theologian he had followed with interest the controversies opened up by the Lutheran movement, and while he was at Bruges he finished the great work on which he had been long engaged, a treatise 'Adversus Hæreses,' which was published at Paris in 1534. The object of his book was a classification and examination of all heretical opinions, together with a refutation of them, and an account of their condemnation at previous times by the church. So great was the learning of Fray Alfonso that his book was at once accepted as a repertory for controversial purposes on the Roman side. In twenty-two years it passed through ten editions in France, Italy, and Germany. The best known are Cologne, 1536, 1539, 1543, 1549; Lyons, 1546, 1556.

Soon after the publication of this work he returned to Salamanca, and continued his work as a preacher. In 1537 he published a volume of sermons on Psalm li. ('Homiliæ xxv. in Psalmum li.,' Salamanca, 1537), and in 1540 another volume of sermons on Psalm xxxi. ('Homiliæ xxiv. in Psalmum xxxi.,' Salamanca, 1540). His merits were recognised by Charles V, who made him one of his chaplains. He was present as a representative of the Spanish church at the first session of the Council of Trent. He seems, however, soon to have returned to Salamanca, where he published, in October 1547, a treatise 'De justa hæreticorum punitione,' which was dedicated to Charles V. In this work he set himself to prove—not that it was just to punish heretics, which he regarded as sufficiently proved already, but that the actual punishments inflicted by the church were justly imposed. In 1550 he published at Salamanca his last book, 'De potestate legis poenalis,' in which he discussed, with much ability, several questions regarding the moral obligations attaching to legal enactments. The book is curious, as giving some insight into the difficulties which arose from the movement of the Reformation, and the conflict between conscientious convictions and legal obligations. The question, Has the law an inherent claim on man's obedience, or only a power of punishing its non-observance? was one which exercised the minds of men.

Fray Alfonso is connected with English history because he was chosen by Charles V to accompany his son Philip when he came as the accepted husband of Queen Mary in

1554. The re-establishment of the old faith in England was a difficult matter, requiring wisdom and discretion, and Alfonso was sent to be Philip's counsellor, as well as his spiritual director. He was not favourably impressed with the discretion shown by the English bishops in pursuing their ends by severities which alienated popular sympathy. The imperial envoy, Simon Renard, urged greater moderation, but his remonstrances were unheeded. At last Philip was advised, in his own interests, to make it known that he did not favour the policy of persecution. On 9 Feb. 1555 six heretics were burnt in London. On the following day Fray Alfonso publicly preached an eloquent sermon against persecution. 'He did earnestly inveigh against the bishops for so burning men, saying plainly that they learned it not in the Scripture to burn any man for his conscience; but the contrarie, that they should live and be converted, with many other things more to the same purpose' (Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. 1841, pp. 704-5).

This sermon of Alfonso made a great impression at the time, and no doubt delayed the execution of Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer. But the English bishops resented Spanish interference, and those who were the objects of Alfonso's intercession did not thank him for it. John Bradford (1510?-1555) [q. v.], who was in prison awaiting his death, was told of Alfonso's sermon. 'Verily,' he said, 'I had a book within these two days of his writing, and therein he saith that it is not meet nor convenient that heretics should live' (BRADFORD'S *Works*, Parker Society, i. 554). This was the book 'De justa hæreticorum punitione,' and Bradford's remark shows how impossible is fairness of mind in times of excitement. Even the modern editor quotes as Bradford's authority Alfonso's position: 'Teneo justum esse ut hæreticus incorrigibilis occidatur.' In those days scarcely any one disputed that proposition; but they differed about the meaning of the word 'heretic,' and Alfonso's sermon only meant that he took a different view from the English bishops of the meaning of the word 'incorrigible.' The ambassador Renard, writing to Charles V at the same time, said that the English bishops were hasty in their punishment, and did not show the moderation which the church had always used in weaning the people from error by teaching and preaching; unless punishment was called for by some scandalous act it ought not to be employed (*Papiers d'État du Cardinal Granvelle*, iv. 397, 404). There is no good ground for questioning Alfonso's good sense or sincerity.

A few days after his sermon, on 25 Feb.,

VOL. III.

Alfonso visited Bradford in his prison, and tried to convince him of his errors. We have Bradford's own account of the interview (l. c. 530, &c.), and what he tells us is sufficient to show that his calm assumption of superior enlightenment must have sorely tried the temper of a man of Alfonso's learning. 'He hath a great name for learning,' says Bradford, 'but surely he hath little patience;' he spoke 'so that the whole house did ring again with an echo.' Bradford was quite convinced that the controversial triumph was on his own side.

This is all that we hear of Alfonso in England. In May 1556 he was in Antwerp, where he issued a revised and enlarged edition of his work, 'Adversus Hæreses,' which had occupied him during his leisure in England, and which he dedicated to Philip. From this time he seems to have stayed in the Netherlands, and at the end of 1557 was appointed archbishop of Compostella. He had not time to enter on his office, but died in Brussels on 11 Feb. 1558, at the age of sixty-three.

The best edition of the works of Alfonso is 'Alfonsi a Castro Zamorensis Opera Omnia,' 2 vols. Paris, 1578.

[Most of the information about Alfonso is gleaned from the dedications and prefaces of his works; besides this there are short accounts of him in Antonius's *Bibliotheca Hispana Nova*, vol. i., and Wadding's *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum*.]  
M. C.

CASWALL, EDWARD (1814-1878), divine and poet, was son of the Rev. Robert Clarke Caswall, and younger brother of Dr. Henry Caswall, prebendary of Salisbury. He was born on 15 July 1814 at Yateley, Hampshire, where his father was vicar. He was educated at Marlborough and at Brasenose College, Oxford, of which society he was Hulme exhibitioner. He graduated B.A. in 1836 and M.A. in 1838. After ordination he was presented to the perpetual curacy of Stratford-sub-Castle, Wiltshire, in the diocese of his uncle, Dr. Burgess, bishop of Salisbury [q. v.] This living he resigned shortly before his reception into the Roman catholic church in January 1847. Two years later he became a widower, and in March 1850 he joined the Oratory of St. Philip Neri; under Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Newman, whose acquaintance he had made at the house of Lord Shrewsbury, and to whose writings he always attributed his conversion to the catholic faith. In one of his numerous lyrics, beginning, 'Hail, sacred Force! hail Energy sublime!' Caswall bore eloquent tribute to the influence exercised over him by Dr. Newman's magic pen. While at Oxford

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(aswall had given evidence of considerable humour and literary skill in two pamphlets by 'Scriblerus Redivivus' entitled 'Pluck Examination Papers' (1836) and 'A new Art, teaching how to be plucked, being a treatise after the fashion of Aristotle' (1837); and before his secession from the established church he published a collection of thoughtful 'Sermons on the Seen and Unseen' (London, 1846, 8vo). Afterwards he acquired distinction as a sacred poet, and some of his hymns, original and translated, are known wherever the English language is spoken. He died at the Oratory, Edgbaston, near Birmingham, on 2 Jan. 1878, and was buried at Rednall, near Bromsgrove, in the private cemetery belonging to the Birmingham Oratory.

He published several devotional works, translated for the most part from the French, and was also the author of: 1. 'Lyra Catholica, containing all the Breviary and Missal Hymns; with others from various sources,' translated, London, 1849, 1884, 32mo; New York, 1851, 12mo. 2. 'The Masque of Mary, and other poems,' London, 1858, 8vo. 3. 'A May Pageant, and other poems,' London, 1865, 16mo.

[Birmingham Daily Post, 4 Jan. 1878; Guardian, 9 Jan. 1878, p. 41; Weekly Register, 19 Jan. 1878, p. 38, columns 1 and 3; Cat. of Oxford Graduates (1851), 117; Preface to Shipley's Annus Sanctus; Gillow's Bibl. Diet. i. 429; Postscript to Gondon's Conversion de 500 Ministres Anglicains; Gondon's Les récentes Conversions de l'Angleterre, 227; Browne's Annals of the Tractarian Movement, 145; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.] T. C.

**CAT, CHRISTOPHER** (A. 1703-1733)—the name is given in Hearne's 'Collections,' i. 117, as 'Christopher Calling'—the entertainer of the 'Kit-Cat Club,' kept a tavern with the sign of the 'Cat and Fiddle' in Shire Lane, near Temple Bar, where he was, as Dr. King in his 'Art of Cookery' asserts, 'immortal made by his pyes' of mutton. According to one statement this club had its origin in 1688 in the meeting of some 'men of wit and pleasure about town,' without reference to politics; but the generally accepted version asserts that it was founded in 1703 by the leading members of the whig party in this tavern in Shire Lane, taking from its entertainer the name of the 'Kit-Cat Club.' When he moved to the Fountain tavern in the Strand, the club accompanied him. In the summer the meetings were held in the Upper Flask tavern, on the edge of Hampstead Heath, and occasionally the members met at Jacob Tonson's house at Barn Elms. At first there were thirty-nine members, but the number was ultimately

increased to forty-eight. The special feature of the club consisted of the toasts, which were written in praise of the chief whig beauties, and were inscribed on the toasting glasses. Several of these effusions will be found in the works of Garth, Addison, and Lord Halifax, and it will be remembered that on one occasion Lady Mary Wortley Montagu when a little girl was introduced by her father to the society of these whig wits and was gravely saluted by them. The club decayed about 1720. The derivation of its name has been disputed, and Dr. Arbuthnot wrote an epigram assigning its origin to its pack of toasts 'Of Old Cats and Young Kits.' Another physician, Sir Richard Blackmore, published in 1708 a poem of 'The Kit-Kats.'

Jacob Tonson built a room in his house at Barn Elms for the reception of its members, and had the walls adorned with their portraits. As it was not sufficiently lofty for pictures of the ordinary size, Sir Godfrey Kneller made use of a smaller canvas, 36 inches long by 28 wide, which has ever since been called a kit-cat. The mezzotint engravings were published by Tonson in 1723, republished by J. Faber in 1795, and reproduced in 1821 in a volume entitled 'Memoirs of the celebrated persons composing the Kit-Cat Club,' a volume not to be commended either for accuracy of fact or for grace of style. The originals, with the exception of the portrait of the Duke of Marlborough, are in the possession of Tonson's descendant, Mr. William Baker of Bayfordbury in Hertfordshire. Six of them were shown to the world at the Manchester Exhibition in 1857. The papers relating to the club are also in Mr. Baker's possession.

A writer in 'Notes and Queries' (5th series, iii. 259) prints a letter signed 'Chr. Catt,' and dated '9th of 5th mo. 1711,' preserved in the archives of the Norwich monthly meeting; which proves Cat (if the writer be the same person) to have been a quaker, and to have possessed an educated and thoughtful mind.

A portrait of Cat by Kneller was lent by Mrs. H. W. Hutton to the Portrait Exhibition in 1867, and a painting in the same collection, also ascribed to Kneller, was said to represent a 'scene at Christopher Cat's house, Chelsea walk; Steele, Lord Oxford, Addison and his stepson little Lord Warwick, Sir G. Kneller, and others at tea.' This belonged to the Baroness Windsor.

[Memoirs of Club, 1821; Ned Ward's Clubs of London and Westminster; Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting (Wornum), ii. 591; Quarterly Rev. January 1822, pp. 425-37.] W. P. C.

**CATCHER** or **BURTON, EDWARD** (1584?-1624?), jesuit, son of Edward Catcher of London, was born in 1584 or 1586, and studied at Balliol College, Oxford, where he took the degree of B.A. He was reconciled to the catholic church in 1606, entered the English college at Rome the same year, completed his studies at Valladolid, joined the Society of Jesus at Louvain in 1609 or 1611, was procurator of the order at Liège 1621-1623, and died on the English mission about 1624. He translated into English Father Véron's sermons preached before the Duke de Longueville, and his 'Defeat of Henshe, the Calvinistic Minister,' printed at Douay 1616.

[Foley's Records, i. 149, vi. 240, 523, vii. 123; Southwell's Bibl. Script. Soc. Jesu, 184; Oliver's Jesuit Collections, 63; Backer's Bibl. des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus (1869), 966.]

T. C.

**CATCHPOLE, MARGARET** (1773-1841), adventuress, the youngest of six children, was born in 1773 at the Seven Hills, near the Orwell, in Suffolk. Her father was a labourer employed on the fields of a celebrated breeder of Suffolk cart-horses. The farmer's wife being suddenly seized with illness, Margaret, when thirteen years of age, mounted a Suffolk punch, and galloped with only a halter round its neck to Ipswich in order to fetch a doctor. After this she became a servant in the household of Mr. Cobbold of Ipswich, and saved one of his children from drowning. Falling in love with the son of a boatman at Landguard Fort, she clung to him, although wholly unworthy of her, in spite of the persuasions both of her mistress and her own family. At length, in order to meet her lover, she stole her master's horse, and, dressed as a sailor, rode it from Ipswich to London, seventy miles, in eight hours and a half. For the theft she was tried and sentenced to death on 9 Aug. 1797. In consequence of her bearing at the trial, and the interest which John Cobbold, an Ipswich brewer, brought to bear upon her case, this sentence was commuted to seven years' transportation. Wishing to join her lover, she broke out of Ipswich gaol in a very bold manner on 25 March 1800, and let herself down uninjured from the spikes on the top of its wall. She was soon recaptured, and a second time sentenced to death by the same judge, Chief Baron Macdonald. She had pleaded guilty at both trials, and her undaunted speech and demeanour a second time gained her many friends. The sentence was again commuted, but this time to transportation for life, and (27 May 1801) she was sent to Australia. She landed on

20 Dec. 1801, and by good conduct soon obtained a remission of much of her sentence, and married a respectable settler at Windsor, near Hawkesberry, in that country. He was greatly attached to her, and she repaid his love to the full. After fifteen years of an affectionate and devoted married life, she lost her husband on 29 Sept. 1827. He left her the bulk of his property, and with a son and two daughters she removed to Sydney in 1828. There she led a quiet, charitable life, and died much respected on 10 Sept. 1841, aged 68.

In the Ipswich Museum is a skin of that rare bird, the lyre bird or mountain pheasant (*Manura superba*), sent home by Margaret Catchpole. In one of her letters after marriage she gave the Rev. Richard Cobbold [q. v.], son of her former benefactor, free permission to relate the incidents of her life; 'but,' she added, 'let my husband's name be concealed for mine and for my children's sake.' That wish is here respected. Accordingly Mr. Cobbold published her life with many fictitious adornments as a novel in 3 vols., 1845, and it has been several times reprinted. 'The heroine of this romantic but perfectly true narrative,' as he calls Margaret Catchpole, seems to have been possessed of an indomitable will, which in her earlier years was unfortunately warped by misplaced affections. Her courage and command of expedients to gain her own ends were conspicuous. When, later in life, trouble had subdued her previously undisciplined temper, genuine religious impressions, and an unaffected desire to atone for the past, became the dominant features of her character.

[Rev. R. Cobbold's Margaret Catchpole; information from Mrs. D. Hanbury and others.]

M. G. W.

**CATCOTT, ALEXANDER** (1725-1779), divine and geologist, eldest son of the Rev. Alexander Stopford Catcott [q. v.], master of the grammar school of Bristol, was born at Bristol 2 Nov. 1725. He was educated at the grammar school; entered Winchester in 1739, and Wadham College, Oxford, in 1744. He graduated as B.A. in 1748. He published in 1756 his 'Remarks on the Lord Bishop of Clogher's "Explanation of the Mosaic Account of the Creation and of the Formation of the World."' The bishop, Robert Clayton [q. v.], in this 'Explanation' expressed disbelief in the universality of the deluge. Catcott intended to follow up his 'Tract' by a second part devoted especially to the problem of the deluge. He was, however, compelled by the failure of

his eyesight to suspend his labours until 1761, when he published his 'Treatise on the Deluge.' He calls himself on the title-page 'lecturer of St. John's Church, Bristol.' Catcott contends that the Mosaic account is a full and complete explanation of the miracle of the Noachian deluge. He tries to prove, with much show of learning, that the deluge may be explained by the internal waters, which broke out and dissolved the whole earth. Catcott adopts in part the hypothesis of Woodward, but was strictly a follower of John Hutchinson, who, in his 'Moses's Principia,' contends 'that the Hebrew scriptures, when rightly translated, comprised a perfect system of natural philosophy.' In 1768 Catcott dedicated a second and enlarged edition of his 'Treatise' to the Earl of Buchan, and calls himself his lordship's 'chaplain.' He was now M.A., and spent, he informs his readers, some time in Oxford. From July 1766 till death he was vicar of Temple Church, Bristol. He pursued his inquiry with enthusiasm. He examined the 'two Druidical temples of Abury and Stonehenge,' the mines of Cornwall and of Derbyshire, and everywhere found proofs of the Deluge in geological remains. In the second part of the second edition of the 'Treatise' Catcott gives a 'Collection of the principal Heathen Accounts of the Flood,' which Sir Charles Lyell admits to be a very valuable contribution to our knowledge. He adds to this collection some important remarks on 'The Time when, and the Manner how, America was first Peopled.' Catcott died at Bristol 18 June 1779 (*Gent. Mag.* 1779, p. 327).

[Hutchinson's Remarks on Alexander Stopford Catcott's Sermon, 1737; Catcott's The Supreme and Inferior Elohim, 1735; Nicholls's Bristol Past and Present; Bristol Gazette, 24 June 1779; Taylor's Bristol and Clifton, 1878; information from Mr. W. George; Sir Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology.]

R. H.-T.

**CATCOTT, ALEXANDER STOPFORD** (1692-1749), divine and poet, son of Alexander Catcott, gent., was born in Long Acre, in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Westminster, 10 Oct. 1692. He was admitted to Merchant Taylors' School 3 May 1699, and elected thence to St. John's College, Oxford, where he matriculated 2 July 1709. In 1712 he was elected a fellow of his college, 'where he putt on a Civil Law gown, and took the degree of LL.B. 6 March 1717' [-18] (*Bodl. MS. Rawl. J.* 4to, 5, f. 209). In a letter preserved by Dr. Rawlinson, Catcott gives the dates of his ordinations, 'Dear Chumb . . . In answer to yr queries, I inform you that I was ordained deacon 8 June 1718, priest 15 March

1718-9, by Dr. Potter' (bishop of Oxford), (*ib.* J. fol. 16, f. 352). On 18 April 1722 he was elected head-master of the grammar school, Bristol. In the same year he resigned his fellowship at Oxford. In June 1729<sup>2</sup> the Rev. Mr. A. S. Catcott was appointed reader in Mr. Mayor's Chappell of St. Mark, Bristol, and 'a salary of 20*l.* per annum allowed him during the pleasure of the House' (*Manuscript Diary of Peter Mugleworth*, sword-bearer, 1725-34, f. 95). Eleven years afterwards he held the lectureship of St. John's at Bristol (*Audit Book, Bristol Corporation*). A sermon preached by him in 1735 before Lord-chief-justice Hardwicke (then lord high steward of Bristol) was printed at the expense of the Bristol corporation; it occasioned a controversy which lasted many years. Catcott was presented to the rectory of St. Stephen's, Bristol, by Lord-chancellor Hardwicke 2 Jan. 1743-4 (*Bodl. MS. Rawl.* fol. 16, 355), when he resigned the mastership of the grammar school. Thomas Fry, D.D., president of St. John's College, Oxford (*d.* 1772), and Richard Woodward, D.D., bishop of Cloyne (*d.* 1794), were among Catcott's pupils (G. S. CATCOTT, *Manuscript*). He died of a lingering disorder 23 Nov. 1749 (*Bristol Weekly Intelligencer*, 29 Nov.), and six days later was buried in St. Stephen's Church (burial register). Among his contemporaries Catcott was distinguished as a 'pulpit orator' (*Bristol Weekly Intelligencer*), 'a good poet, profound linguist, well skilled in Hebrew and Scripture philosophy, and a judicious schoolmaster' (BARRETT, *Hist. of Bristol*, 1789, p. 514). Wesley testifies to his eminent piety (*Journal*, 1827, iv. 192; see also DR. WILSON, *History of Merchant Taylors' School*, 1072). Catcott was a Hutchinsonian, and 'one of those authors who first distinguished themselves as writers on the side of' that school (JONES, *Memoirs of Bishop Horne*, 1795, p. 23). In a note appended to his Assize Sermon, 1736, Catcott expresses his indebtedness to Hutchinson. Several of Hutchinson's letters to Catcott are in the City Library, King Street, Bristol.

'The Poem of Musæus on the Loves of Hero and Leander,' 1715, and 'The Court of Love, a Vision from Chaucer,' 1717, are the only poems he published separately; both 'printed at the Theater,' Oxford. An octavo manuscript, containing poems written by him at Oxford and Bristol, is extant. 'In his younger days,' Dr. Rawlinson says, Catcott 'applied himself much to poetry,' but soon 'turn'd his head more towards divinity and the languages' (*Bodl. MS. Rawl. J.* 4to, 5, 209). Catcott's sons, Alexander [q. v.] and George S. Catcott, were friends of Chatter-

ton. The father died before the poet's birth, but from a confusion with his son has been described as interesting himself in Chatterton.

Catcott's works are: 1. 'The Poem of Musæus on the Loves of Hero and Leander; paraphras'd in English Heroick Verse,' Oxford, 1715, 8vo (anon.) Dedicated to 'Lady Mary [Wortley] Mountague.' A copy of the poem, in Catcott's handwriting, is in the British Museum Add. MS. 16614. 2. 'The Court of Love, a Vision from Chaucer,' Oxford, 1717, 8vo. 3. 'The Supreme and Inferiour Elahim: a Sermon [on Psalm lxxxii. 6], preached before the Corporation of Bristol and the Lord Chief Justice Hardwicke, at the Mayor's Chappel, on Sunday, the 16th of August, 1735, being the day before the Assizes,' London, 1736, 4to; second edition, London, 1742, 8vo; third, but on title stated to be 'the second edition,' Oxford, 1781, 4to. The last-named edition is not in the catalogue of books in British Museum. The first edition was printed by the desire and at the expense of the Bristol corporation. It elicited bantering 'Observations' on it by Rev. Arthur Bedford, 1736, which involved Catcott, Hutchinson, Julius Bate, and Daniel Gittins in a pamphlet war. 4. 'An Answer to the Observations on a Sermon preach'd before the Corporation of Bristol . . . by Alex. Stopford Catcott, LL.B. . . . As also an Appendix, being a Reply to some Objections in the Bibliothèque Britannique, 1736,' Bristol, 1737, 8vo. 5. 'The State of the Case between Mr. Bedford and Mr. Catcott, in answer to Mr. Bedford's Examination of Mr. Hutchinson's Remarks,' &c., Lond. 1738, 8vo, (anon.) 6. 'Tractatus, in quo tentatur conamen recuperandi notitiam Principiorum Veteris et Veræ Philosophiæ, prout eadem in usum humani generis, primum protulerunt sacræ literæ, nuper explicuit vir clarissimus Joannes Hutchinsonus; unde deducuntur modus et ratio formandi cœlos et orbis iisdem insitis; Quinetiam eorundem Motus (telluris autem præcipue) et incepti et continuati causæ. Cui etiam inseruntur regulæ quædam et observationes Grammaticam Hebrææ Lingvæ spectantes,' Lond. 1738, 4to; 'translated, with additional notes and a preliminary dissertation, by Alexander Maxwell,' Lond. 1822, 8vo. This and his 'single sermons' are erroneously attributed by Orme to Alexander Catcott [q.v.] 7. 'The Antiquity and Honourableness of the Practice of Merchandize. A Sermon [on Isaiah xxiii. 8], preached before the Worshipful Society of Merchants of the City of Bristol, in the Parish Church of St. Stephen, November the 10th, 1744,' Bristol, 1744, 4to. 8. 'Sermons[x.] by the late Reverend A. S. Catcott, LL.B.,' Bris-

tol, 1752, 8vo. These are included in (xviii.) 'Sermons,' London, 1753, 8vo; London, 1767, 8vo. Though stated to be 'the second edition,' it is that of 1753 with a new title-page. The title-page issued with the ten sermons 'Bristol, 1752,' is sometimes prefixed to the complete volume published in 1753, edited by his son Alexander, who has added a few notes. 9. 'The Hundred and Fourth Psalm Paraphrased,' printed in the 'Universal Magazine,' July 1759; in Alexander Catcott's 'Treatise on the Deluge,' 1761, 280-4, in the second edition, 1768, 419-23, and elsewhere. Corry and Evans (*History of Bristol*, ii. 183) and Pryce (*Popular History of Bristol*, 1861, p. 183) attribute Alexander Catcott's 'Treatise on the Deluge' to his father, A. S. Catcott. 10. 'Bristol Grammar School Visitation Exercises, Fifth of November Speeches before the Mayor and Corporation of Bristol, &c., &c. Translations and various other Pieces, by A. S. Catcott, Master of the Thorne's Grammar School, Bristol,' 8vo, 233 pages, all in the autograph of A. S. Catcott. The title is in the handwriting of Richard Smith, surgeon, Catcott's grandson. He possessed many of the books of George Symes Catcott, of Chattertonian fame.

[Authorities cited above; Catcott's books. Mr. F. Madan, Bodleian Library, has kindly supplied transcripts of the Rawlinson MSS. for this article.] W. G.

CATESBY, SIR JOHN (*d.* 1486), justice of the common pleas, appears to have been the uncle of William Catesby [q.v.], the councillor of Richard III. The family had been for some time settled in Northamptonshire, and held also the manor of Lapworth in Warwickshire. His mother was a coheirress of William de Montfort. He was a member of the Inner Temple, then called the Inner Inn, and his name first appears in the year books in Michaelmas 1458. He received the coif in 1463, and was made king's serjeant on 18 April 1469. On 20 Nov. 1481 he was appointed justice of the common pleas, and next year he was knighted. His name appears in the commissions for the western circuit, as well as in those for Northamptonshire, during the reigns of Edward V and Richard III. His will shows that he was lord of the manor of Whiston in Northamptonshire. At the accession of Henry VII his reappointment as a judge was delayed for about a month after that of his brethren, probably in consequence of his nephew's attainder. That he was a worthy character we are justified in believing, from the fact that Bishop Waynflete in his will named him first among his executors. He died between 3 Nov. 1486 and Hilary term

1487, the place of his death, according to a notice in the year-books, being eight leagues from London. According to Foss he married Elizabeth, daughter of William Green of Hayes in Middlesex. He was buried, as he had himself directed, in the abbey of St. James at Northampton, and left behind him seven sons and two daughters, who are all mentioned in his will.

[Foss's Judges, v. 42; Dugdale's Warwickshire, 788; Nicolas's Testamenta Vetusta, 389; Report ix. of Deputy-Keeper of Public Records, App. ii. Foss calls attention to a John Catesby who is referred to in a document of 1485 (Rymer, xii. 275), as having at some past date occupied a house called the 'Grene Lates,' adjoining Westminster Hall; but this could scarcely have been the judge, as he is not even designated knight, either there or in the Act of Attainder (Rolls of Parl. vi. 372), and in the latter he ought certainly to have been recognised, both as knight and justice.] J. G.

**CATESBY, MARK** (1679?-1749), naturalist, was born, probably in London, about 1679. After studying natural science in London, he raised the means for starting on a voyage to the New World in 1710. After an absence of several years, spent in travelling over a very extensive district, Catesby returned to England in 1719, with a collection of plants, which was reported to have been the most perfect which had ever been brought to this country. This attracted the attention of men of science, especially Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Sherard. Catesby remained in England for some time arranging and naming his specimens, a considerable number of which passed into the museum of Sir Hans Sloane. With some assistance from Sloane, Catesby again went to America in 1722, and eventually settled in Carolina. He returned to England in 1726, and at once set seriously to work in preparing materials for his large and best known work, 'Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands, with Observations on the Soil, Air, and Water.' This book was accompanied by a new map, constructed by Catesby, of the districts explored. The first volume was published in 1731 and the second in 1743. There were upwards of 100 plates; all the figures of the plants being drawn and etched by Catesby himself. He also coloured all the first copies, and the tinted copies required were executed under his inspection. After the publication of this work, on 26 April 1733, he was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society. A second edition—which was revised by M. Edwards, with an appendix—was issued in 1748. A German translation, with an introduction by 'M. Edwards du College Royal

des Médecins de Londres,' was published at Nuremberg in 1756. A third edition was required in 1771, to which a Linnæan index was appended. Catesby also produced (in 1737?) 'Hortus Britanno-Americanus, or a Collection of 85 curious Trees and Shrubs, the production of North America, adapted to the Climate and Soil of Great Britain,' fol., seventeen engravings. Many trees and shrubs were first introduced by him, and the publication of this volume added considerably to the introduction of American plants.

A West Indian genus of shrubs of the order *Cinchonaceæ* was named *Catesbæa* after this naturalist.

In 1747 Catesby read a paper before the Royal Society 'On the Migration of Birds,' which contained much new and striking evidence on the subject.

Catesby resided for some time in the Isle of Providence, making a collection of fishes and submarine productions. He published the results of this inquiry in a folio volume, entitled 'Piscium, Serpantum, Insectorum aliorumque nonnullorum Animalium, nec non Plantarum quarundam, Imagines.' An edition of this work appeared in Nuremberg, 1777.

Catesby died at his house in Old Street, London, on 23 Dec. 1749, aged 70, leaving a widow and two children.

[Pulteney's Biog. Sketches of Botany; Drake's Dict. of American Biog., Boston, 1872; Lindley and Moore's Treasury of Botany.]

R. H.-T.

**CATESBY, ROBERT** (1573-1605), second and only surviving son of Sir William Catesby of Lapworth, Warwickshire, by Anne, daughter of Sir Robert Throckmorton of Coughton in the same county, was born at Lapworth in 1573. He was sixth in descent from William Catesby [q. v.], of the household to Henry VI (*Rot. Parl.* v. 197) and speaker of the House of Commons in the parliament of 1484 (vi. 238), who, being on the side of Richard III, escaped from the battle of Bosworth only to be hanged at Leicester a few days afterwards (*GAIRDNER, Richard III*, 308). The attainder against him being reversed, his estates reverted to his family, and the Catesbys added largely to them in the century that followed. Sir William Catesby, in common with the great majority of the country gentry throughout England who were resident upon their estates and unconnected with the oligarchy who ruled in the queen's name at court, threw in his lot with the catholic party and suffered the consequences of his conscientious adherence to the



old creed. He was a recusant, and for the crime of not attending at his parish church and taking part in a form of worship which he regarded as worse than a mockery, he suffered severely in person and substance during the latter half of Queen Elizabeth's reign. He had become compromised as early as 1580 by his befriending of the Roman emissaries (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1580, p. 322), and he certainly was a liberal contributor to their support (*Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 2nd ser. p. 156). There is some reason to believe that Robert, his son, was for a time a scholar at the college of Douay (*Diary of the English College, Douay*, ed. Dr. Knox, 1878, p. 206), but in 1586 he entered at Gloucester Hall, now Worcester College, Oxford, which was then a favourite place of resort for the sons of the recusant gentry, as Peterhouse was at Cambridge. The young men of this party rarely stayed at the university more than a year or two, the oath of supremacy being a stumbling-block to them; and Catesby never proceeded to the B.A. degree. In 1592 he married Catherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh of Stoneleigh, Warwickshire, and with her had a considerable estate settled to the uses of the marriage. Next year, by the death of his grandmother, he came into possession of the estate of Chastleton, where he continued to reside for the next few years. His wife died while he was living at Chastleton, leaving him with an only son, Robert; an elder son, William, having apparently died in infancy. In 1598 his father died, and though his mother, Lady Catesby, had a life interest in a large portion of her husband's property, Catesby was by this time a man of large means and much larger expectations; but it seems that the pressure of the persecuting laws, which had been applied with relentless cruelty upon the landed gentry in the midland counties, had produced an amount of irritation and bitterness which to proud and sensitive men was becoming daily more unsupportable, and the terrible fines and exactions which were levied upon their estates, and the humiliating espionage to which they were subjected, tended to make them desperate and ready for any risks that promised even a remote chance of deliverance. As early as 1585 Sir William Catesby had compounded with the government, to the extent of a fifth of his income, for the amount of impositions to be levied upon him for his recusancy (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 7th Rep. 640). Nevertheless we find him three years after a prisoner at Ely along with Sir Thomas Tresham and others of the recusant gentry, and indignantly protesting against the cruel treatment to which he was exposed. In 1593 he was still in durance,

and with some difficulty obtained a license for fifteen days' absence to go to Bath for the recovery of his health, which presumably had suffered from his long confinement (*ib.* 5th Rep. 311). Matters did not mend for the recusants during the next few years, and the penal laws were not relaxed, though the victims were perforce kept quiet. When the mad outbreak of Robert, earl of Essex, in 1601 brought that foolish nobleman to the scaffold, Catesby was one of his most prominent adherents, and in the scuffle that took place in the streets he received a wound. He was thrown into gaol, but for once in her career the queen did not think fit to shed much blood in her anger. More money was to be made out of the conspirators by letting them live than by hanging them, and Catesby was pardoned, but a fine of 4,000 marks was imposed upon him, 1,200*l.* of which was handed over to Sir Francis Bacon for his share of the spoils (*SPEDDING, Bacon Letters*, iii. 11). It was an enormous impost, and equivalent to a charge of at least 30,000*l.* in our own times. Catesby was compelled to sell the Chastleton estate, and seems then to have made his home with his mother at Ashby St. Legers, Northamptonshire. Growing more and more desperate and embittered, he seems after this to have brooded fiercely on his wrongs and to have surrendered himself to thoughts of the wildest vengeance. Casting aside all caution he consorted habitually with the most reckless malcontents and brought himself so much under the notice of the government that a few days before the queen's death he was committed to prison by the lords of the council, and was probably under arrest on the accession of James I (*CAMPDEN, Ep.* p. 347; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. James I, 1603-10, p. 1). During the first six months of his reign the new king seemed inclined to show favour to the catholic gentry, or at any rate inclined to relax the cruel harshness of the laws. The fines and forfeitures upon recusants almost disappeared from the accounts of the revenue, and a feeling of uneasiness began to spread among the protestant zealots that toleration was going too far. This forbearance lasted but a little while. Continually urged by the outcries of the puritan party to show no mercy to their popish fellow-subjects, and worried by his hungry Scotchmen to bestow upon them the rewards which their poverty needed so sorely if their services did not merit such return, James, who soon discovered that even English money and lands could not be given away without limit, began to show that he had almost as little sympathy with the romanising party as his predecessor, and the old enactments

were revived and the old statutes put in force. The catholics, who had begun to hope for better days, were goaded to frenzy by this change of attitude. The more conscientious and the more sincerely desirous they were simply to enjoy the liberty of worshipping God after their own fashion, the more sullenly they brooded over their wrongs. The catholics by this time had become divided into two parties somewhat sharply antagonistic the one to the other. The one party consisted of those who had a vague idea of setting up an organised ecclesiastical establishment in England which should be placed under the discipline of its own bishops appointed by the pope, and which should occupy almost exactly the same position occupied by the Roman catholics in England at the present moment. They hoped that by submitting themselves to the government and taking the oath of allegiance they might purchase for themselves a measure of toleration of which they suspected that in process of time they might avail themselves to bring back the nation to its allegiance to the see of Rome.

The other party consisted of those who were under the paramount influence of the jesuits, and these were vehemently opposed to any submission or any temporising; they would have all or nothing, and any concession to the heretics or any weak yielding to laws which they denounced as immoral they taught was mortal sin, to be punished by exclusion for ever from the church of Christ in earth or heaven. It was with this latter party—the party who, not content with toleration, could be satisfied with nothing but supremacy—that Catesby had allied himself, and of which he was qualified to be a leading personage. At the accession of James I he was in his thirtieth year, of commanding stature (GERARD, p. 57) and great bodily strength, with a strikingly beautiful face and extremely captivating manners. He is said to have exercised a magical influence upon all who mixed with him. His purse was always at the service of his friends, and he had suffered grievously for his convictions. Moreover, he was a sincerely religious man after his light, a fanatic in fact, who subordinated all considerations of prudence to the demands which his dogmatic creed appeared to him to require. A catholic first, but anything and everything else afterwards. Such men get thrust into the front of any insane enterprise that they persuade themselves is for the advancement of a holy cause, and Catesby when he girded on his sword took care to have that sword engraved ‘with the passion of our Lord,’ and honestly believed he was entering upon a sacred crusade for the

glory of God. In the confused tangle of testimony and contradiction, of confession under torture, hearsay reports and dexterous prevarication on which the story of the Gunpowder plot is based, it is difficult to unravel the thread of a narrative which is told in so many different ways. Thus much, however, seems to be plain, viz. that the plot was originally hatched by Thomas Winter about the summer of 1604, first communicated to Guy Faux and soon after to Catesby, who was always to be relied on to furnish money; that it was not revealed to any of the Roman priesthood except under the seal of confession, which rendered it impossible for them as priests to divulge it; that the two jesuit fathers Garnett and Gerrard, who were a great deal too astute and sagacious not to see the immeasurable imprudence of any such attempt, revolted from its wickedness, and did their best to prevent it, foreseeing the calamitous issue that was sure to result from it; finally, that it never would have gone so far as it did but for the ferocious daring of Faux, supported by the immovable obstinacy, amounting to monomania, of Catesby. The Gunpowder plot is, however, a matter of history, not of biography, and into its details it is not advisable here to enter. The full particulars are to be read in the confession of Thomas Winter, among the documents at the Record Office (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1603–11, pp. 262, 279). It is sufficient to say that about midnight of 4 Nov. 1605 Faux was apprehended at the door of the cellar under the parliament house by Sir Thomas Knyvett, who found thirty-six barrels of powder in casks and hogsheads prepared in all readiness for the explosion. Catesby obtained information of his confederate's arrest almost immediately and lost no time in getting to horse. He was joined by the two Wrights, Percy, and Ambrose Rookwood, and the party reached Ashby St. Legers, a distance of eighty miles, in less than seven hours. On the evening of the 7th the whole company, about sixty strong, reached Holbeach, on the borders of Staffordshire. Next morning occurred the remarkable explosion of the gunpowder which the conspirators were getting ready for their defence of the house against assault, whereby Catesby himself was severely scorched. Some few hours after this Sir Richard Walsh arrived with his force, surrounded the house, and summoned the rebels to lay down their arms. On their refusal the attack commenced, and Catesby and Percy, standing back to back and fighting furiously, were shot through the body with two bullets from the same musket. Catesby, crawling into the house upon his hands and knees, seized an image of the Virgin, and dropped down dead with it clasped

in his arms (8 Nov. 1605). Of course the property of the unhappy man was forfeited, and fell to the courtiers who scrambled for their reward; but the settlement of that portion of the estates which had been made by Sir William upon Lady Catesby preserved them from alienation, and though an attempt was made in 1618 (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1611-18, p. 580) to set that settlement aside, it seems to have failed, and Robert Catesby the younger, recovering the fragments of his inheritance, is said to have married a daughter of that very Thomas Percy who perished fighting ingloriously back to back with his father when they made their last stand at Bostock. Of his subsequent history nothing is known.

The old Manor House of Ashby St. Legers is still standing, and a portrait reported by tradition to be a likeness of the conspirator is to be seen at Brockhall, Northamptonshire.

[Gairdner's Richard III; Notes and Queries, 6th series, xii. 364, 466; Genealogist, v. 61 et seq.; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1580; Jardine's Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, 1857; The Visitation of Warwickshire (Harl. Soc.); Morris's Condition of Catholics under James I, 2nd edit. 1872; Knox's Diary of the English College at Douay, 1878.] A. J.

**CATESBY, WILLIAM** (d. 1485), councillor of Richard III, was the son of Sir William Catesby of Ashby St. Legers, Northamptonshire, by Philippa, daughter and heiress of Sir William Bishopston. His father died in 1470, but nothing seems to be known of Catesby till after the death of Edward IV, twelve or thirteen years later. Certain it is that he possessed great influence with Richard III before he became king. More speaks of him as a man well versed in the law, who, by the favour of Lord Hastings, possessed great authority in the counties of Leicester and Northampton; and it seems to have been owing to his presence in the Protector's councils that Hastings, relying on his fidelity to him, was lulled into a state of false security. For Richard, we are told, endeavoured through Catesby to ascertain if Hastings would acquiesce in his intended usurpation of the crown, and Catesby went so far as to broach the subject to him; but Hastings answered with such 'terrible words' that Catesby not only saw it was hopeless, but feared a diminution of his own credit with Hastings for having spoken of it. He therefore, if More has not maligned him, stirred up the Protector to get rid of his patron. There is no doubt that he profited by his fall, for immediately after Richard's accession he obtained an office which Hastings had previously held, that of one of the cham-

berlains of the receipt of exchequer. On the same day (30 June 1483) Richard appointed him chancellor of the exchequer, and also chancellor of the earldom of March for life. Next year he was chosen speaker in Richard's only parliament. His influence with the usurper was pointed at in the satirical rhyme made by Colynghourne, who suffered, though not, as commonly supposed, for that cause only, the extreme penalties of treason—

The cat, the rat, and Lovel our dog  
Rule all England under a hog—

showing that of three leading councillors he was believed to be the first. His name appears on commissions for the counties of Warwick, Northampton, Leicester, Gloucester, and Berks, and on 15 Feb. 1485 he obtained a grant from the crown of the hundred of Guilsborough in tail male. That he must have been unpopular as the minister of a tyrant we may well believe; yet it is remarkable that Earl Rivers, one of the victims of Richard's tyranny, names Catesby among his executors in a will made just before his execution (*Excerpta Historica*, 248). On 22 Aug. 1485, when the usurper fell at Bosworth, Catesby was taken prisoner fighting on his side. Three days afterwards he was beheaded at Leicester. Just before his execution he made his will, dated 25 Aug. 1 Henry VII, leaving its fulfilment entirely to his wife, 'to whom,' as he says in the document, 'I have ever been true of my body.' Evidently this instrument of tyranny had some virtue in him, of a kind not too common among courtiers. He desired to be buried in the church of St. Leger in Ashby, and wished his wife to restore all the land he had wrongfully purchased, and to divide the rest of his property among their children. 'I doubt not,' he added, 'the king will be good and gracious lord to them; for he is called a full gracious prince, and I never offended him by my good and free will, for God I take to my judge I have ever loved him.' At the end are these remarkable passages: 'My lords Stanley, Strange, and all that blood, help and pray for my soul, for ye have not for my body as I trusted in you. And if my issue rejoice (enjoy) my land, I pray you let Mr. John Elton have the best benefice. And (if) my Lord Lovel (another of Richard's adherents) come to grace, then that ye show to him that he pray for me. And, uncle John, remember my soul as ye have done my body, and better.' Uncle John is Sir John Catesby, the justice [q. v.]

This William Catesby is often erroneously called Sir William, and spoken of as a knight. He was only an esquire of the royal body.

The wife whom he left as his executrix was Margaret, a daughter of William Lord Zouche. His attainder was reversed by Henry VII in favour of his son George, and the family continued to flourish until the days of James I, when Robert Catesby [q. v.], fifth in descent from the subject of this notice, was attainted as the projector of the Gunpowder plot.

[Dugdale's Warwickshire, 788; Baker's Northamptonshire, i. 241, 245; Sir T. More's History of Richard III (in Cayley's More, ii. 199, 200); Fabyan's Chronicle (ed. 1811), 672; Rolls of Parliament, vi. 238, 276.] J. G.

**CATHARINE.** [See CATHERINE.]

**CATHCART, CHARLES**, ninth **BARON CATHCART** (1721–1776), soldier and ambassador, born 21 March 1721, was the son of Charles, eighth baron, a military officer of considerable distinction. The son at an early age entered the 3rd regiment of foot guards. In 1742 he commanded the 20th regiment of foot under the Earl of Stair. He accompanied the Duke of Cumberland through his campaigns in Flanders, Scotland, and Holland, acting as one of the duke's aides-de-camp at Fontenoy, and receiving in that battle a dangerous wound in his head. Under the provisions of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) two British noblemen were sent to Paris as hostages for the restitution of Cape Breton to France (a provision which gave great and natural offence to British pride), and Cathcart was one of the peers selected for that purpose. He became a colonel in 1750 and a lieutenant-general in December 1760. As the Duke of Cumberland was greatly attached to Cathcart, he retained his friend in his service as lord of the bedchamber. From 1755 to 1763, in which year Cathcart was created a knight of the Thistle, and from 1773 to his death he held the office of lord high commissioner in the general assembly of the kirk of Scotland. For three years (1768–71) he served as ambassador extraordinary at the court of Russia, and from 1752 till his death he was one of the sixteen representative peers of his country, its first lord commissioner of police, and the lieutenant-general of the forces stationed within its borders. He died in London 14 Aug. 1776, and was succeeded in the title by William Schaw Cathcart [q. v.] Cathcart married, 24 July 1753, Jean, daughter of Lady Archibald Hamilton, and his second daughter, Mary, was the wife of Sir Thomas Graham, lord Lynedoch, her portrait by Gainsborough being the masterpiece of the Edinburgh National Gallery. His third daughter, Louise, who married, first, David, lord Mansfield, is the subject of one of Romney's best pictures.

His father, whose military capacity received the praises of Wolfe, was very proud of his Fontenoy scar, and twice sat to Sir Joshua Reynolds (June 1761 and March 1773) for his portrait. 'It is not often a man has had a pistol-bullet through the head and lived,' and he always requested Sir Joshua to arrange that the black patch on his cheek might be visible, a desire which was complied with. A portrait of him and the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden, painted by C. Philips, is also in the possession of the family, and was exhibited in the collection at South Kensington in 1867. In this picture, as in the others, the black patch is easily seen. Cathcart is said to have befriended James Watt and Adam Smith.

[Campbell-Maclachlan's Duke of Cumberland, 25, 63, 110–14; Gent. Mag. 1776, pp. 239, 386; Jesse's George Selwyn, iii. 147; Leslie and Taylor's Sir Joshua Reynolds, i. 202, ii. 11, 13; Douglas and Wood, i. 343–5.] W. P. C.

**CATHCART, CHARLES MURRAY**, second **EARL CATHCART** (1783–1859), general, eldest surviving son of William Schaw Cathcart, first earl of Cathcart [q. v.], was born at Walton, Essex, on 21 Dec. 1783, entered the army as a cornet in the 2nd life guards on 2 March 1800, and served on the staff of Sir James Craig in Naples and Sicily during the campaigns of 1805–6. His father having been created a British peer on 3 Nov. 1807 with the titles of Viscount Cathcart and Baron Greenock, C. M. Cathcart was from this time known under the name of Lord Greenock. Having obtained his majority on 14 May 1807, he saw service in the Walcheren expedition in 1809, taking part in the siege of Flushing, after which for some time he was disabled by the injurious effects of the pestilence which cut off so many thousands of his companions. Becoming lieutenant-colonel on 30 Aug. 1810, he embarked for the Peninsula, where he was present in the battles of Barossa, for which he received a gold medal on 6 April 1812, of Salamanca, and of Vittoria, during which he served as assistant quartermaster-general. He was next sent to assist Lord Lynedoch in Holland as the head of the quartermaster-general's staff, and was afterwards present at Waterloo, where he greatly distinguished himself, having three horses shot under him. For his services he received the Russian order of St. Wladimir, the Dutch order of St. Wilhelm, and was made a C.B. on 4 June 1815. He continued to act as quartermaster-general until 26 June 1823, at which date he became lieutenant-colonel of the royal staff corps at Hythe. This corps was a scientific one, and had formed a

museum of various objects collected by its several detachments, and in this way Lord Greenock was led to take an interest in a subject to which he ever afterwards devoted much of his attention. Leaving Hythe on 22 July 1830, he took up his residence in Edinburgh, and for some years was occupied in scientific pursuits. He attended lectures in the university, took an active concern in the proceedings of the Highland Society, and was a member of the Royal Society, to which he read several papers, which were published in its 'Transactions.' In 1841 he discovered a new mineral, a sulphate of cadmium, which was found in excavating the Bishopton tunnel near Port Glasgow, and which received after him the name of Greenockite. It is a beautiful substance that was entirely new to mineralogists. He held the appointments of commander of the forces in Scotland and governor of Edinburgh Castle from 17 Feb. 1837 to 1 April 1842, and on 17 June in the following year succeeded his father as second earl and eleventh baron Cathcart. He was commander-in-chief in British North America from 16 March 1846 to 1 Oct. 1849, during very difficult times, and for some period combined with the military command the civil government of Canada. On his return to England he was appointed to the command of the northern and midland district, and the resignation of this post in 1854 brought to a conclusion his active services. He was colonel of the 11th hussars, 1842-7, of the 3rd dragoon guards, 1847-51, of the 1st dragoon guards, 1851 to his decease, and a general in the army, 20 June 1854. Among other honours, he was created a K.C.B. on 19 July 1838, and a G.C.B. 21 June 1859. In 1858 his constitution gave way, and he died at St. Leonard's-on-Sea on 16 July 1859, very peacefully, and in the full possession of his faculties. He was a man of powerful mind, which was improved by great industry and perseverance, and he had a kindly and generous heart, which threw a sunshine around the circle of his domestic life. He married in France on 30 Sept. 1818, and at Portsea on 12 Feb. 1819, Henrietta, second daughter of Thomas Mather. She died on 24 June 1872. He was the writer of two papers in the 'Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh' in 1836, 'On the Phenomena in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh of the Igneous Rocks in their relation to the Secondary Strata,' and 'The Coal Formation of the Scottish Lowlands.'

[Proceedings Royal Society of Edinburgh (1862), iv. 222-4; Gent. Mag. new ser. vii. (1859), 306-7.]

G. C. B.

**CATHCART, DAVID, LORD ALLOWAY** (*d.* 1829), lord of session, was the son of Edward Cathcart of Greenfield, Ayrshire, and passed advocate at the Scottish bar on 16 July 1785. He was promoted to the bench as an ordinary lord of session on 8 June 1813, on the resignation of Sir William Honyman, bart., the title he assumed being that of Lord Alloway. On the resignation of Lord Hermand, in 1826, he was also appointed a lord of justiciary. He died at his seat, Blairston, near Ayr, on 27 April 1829.

[Haig and Brunton's Senators of the College of Justice.] T. F. H.

**CATHCART, SIR GEORGE** (1794-1854), general, third surviving son of Sir William Schaw Cathcart, first earl Cathcart [q. v.], was born on 12 May 1794. He received his first commission as a cornet in the 2nd life guards on 10 May 1810, and was promoted lieutenant into the 6th dragoon guards or carabiniers on 1 July 1811. In 1813 he succeeded his elder brother as aide-de-camp and private secretary to his father on his embassy to Russia, when Lord Cathcart was at once ambassador to the czar and military commissioner with the Russian army. As aide-de-camp Cathcart was constantly employed in carrying despatches from his father to the various English officers with the different Russian armies [see CAMPBELL, SIR NEIL; LOWE, SIR HUDSON; and WILSON, SIR ROBERT]. He was present at all the chief battles in 1813, was the first to raise Moreau from the ground when he received his mortal wound at the battle of Dresden, and entered Paris with the allied armies on 31 March 1814. He was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington in 1815 at the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo, and in Paris until 1818. He was then promoted to a company in the 1st West India regiment without purchase, and at once exchanged into the 7th hussars, of which he became lieutenant-colonel in May 1826. In 1828 he exchanged to the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 57th regiment, in 1830 to that of the 8th hussars, and in 1838 to that of the 1st dragoon guards, and was promoted colonel on 23 Nov. 1841. In 1846 he gave up the command of this regiment, and took up the appointment of deputy-lieutenant of the Tower of London, where he resided until his promotion to the rank of major-general on 11 Nov. 1851. Cathcart was quite unknown to the general public, except from his excellent 'Commentaries on the War in Russia and Germany in 1812 and 1813,' published in 1850, and his appointment to succeed Major-general Sir Harry Smith as governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape was received with surprise

in January 1852, and questions were asked in both houses of parliament about the appointment, for which the Duke of Wellington was really responsible. Cathcart was sent out to establish a colonial parliament and revive the dying loyalty of the colonists, and also to crush the Basutos and Kaffirs. On his arrival he summoned the first Cape parliament, and granted them a constitution, and then marched against the Kaffir and Basuto chiefs. The Kaffirs were soon subdued, and in the autumn of 1852 he marched against the Basutos, Sandilli and Macomo. He pursued them right into the recesses of the mountains, to which no English general had ever before penetrated, and in February 1853 Macomo and the old rebel Sandilli surrendered to him, and were granted residences within the Cape Colony. Cathcart received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and in July 1853 was made a K.C.B. On 12 Dec. 1853 he was appointed adjutant-general at the Horse Guards, and in April left the Cape. On reaching London he found that an army had already been sent to the East, and that he had been nominated to the command of the 4th division. The Duke of Newcastle also granted him a dormant commission, by which Cathcart was to succeed to the command-in-chief of the army in the East in case of any accident happening to Lord Raglan, in spite of the seniority of Burgoyne and Brown. His division was hardly engaged at all at the battle of the Alma, and his advice to storm Sebastopol at once was rejected by the allied generals. He at last became bitterly incensed against Lord Raglan for not paying more attention to him, and on 4 Oct. addressed him a note (see KINGLAKE, *Invasion of the Crimea*, v. 21), complaining of the influence of Sir George Brown and Major-general Airey, and alluding to the dormant commission. Raglan undoubtedly behaved coldly towards Cathcart, who regarded himself as badly treated, until a private letter from the Duke of Newcastle, dated 13 Oct. 1854, directed the cancelling of the dormant commission, which Cathcart accordingly surrendered on 26 Oct. On the morning of 5 Nov. he heard the heavy firing which announced the attack upon Mount Inkerman. He collected his 1st brigade and led them to where the battle was raging. There is a considerable conflict of evidence as to the later course of events. A despatch from Sir Charles Windham, first published in the 'Times,' 8 Feb. 1875, by Lord Cathcart, should be compared with Mr. Kinglake's narrative. The Duke of Cambridge sent, requesting him to fill the 'gap' on the left of the guards, and thus prevent them from being isolated; and Airey soon conveyed Lord

Raglan's orders that Cathcart should 'move to the left and support the brigade of guards, and not descend or leave the plateau.' Great confusion prevailed; many contradictory messages were sent; and it is disputed whether Cathcart ever received these orders. Cathcart ordered General Torrens to lead his four hundred men down the hill to the right of the guards against the extreme left of the Russian column. Torrens was immediately struck down, and Cathcart rode down to take the command, but before he had gone far he perceived that a Russian column had forced its way through the 'gap,' and had isolated the guards. Cathcart then attempted to charge up the hill with some fifty men of the 20th regiment to repair his fault; his last words to his favourite staff officer, Major Maitland, were, 'I fear we are in a mess,' and then he fell dead from his horse, shot through the heart. Lord Raglan, his lifelong friend, referred to him in the highest terms in his despatches. Many posthumous honours were paid to him; a tablet was erected to him in St. Paul's Cathedral, though his body rests under the hill in the Crimea which bears his name, and it was announced in the 'Gazette' of 5 July 1855 that if he had survived he would have been made a G.C.B., but greater honour was paid to him in the universal lamentation which broke out upon the arrival of the news of his glorious death.

[For Sir George Cathcart's life see the notices which were published at the time of his death, and especially that in Colburn's United Service Magazine for January 1855; see also for his South African government the Correspondence of Lieut.-general the Hon. Sir George Cathcart, K.C.B., relative to his military operations in Kaffraria, 1856; and for his conduct at the battle of Inkerman, Kinglake's *Invasion of the Crimea*, vol. v.]

H. M. S.

**CATHCART, SIR WILLIAM SCHAW**, tenth BARON CATHCART in the peerage of Scotland, and first VISCOUNT and EARL CATHCART in the peerage of the United Kingdom (1755-1843), general, was the eldest son of Charles, ninth Lord Cathcart, K.T. [q. v.], by Jean, daughter of Admiral Lord Archibald Hamilton, and sister of Sir William Hamilton, K.B., the well-known English ambassador at Naples. William Schaw Cathcart was born at Petersham on 17 Sept. 1755, and was educated at Eton from 1766 to 1771, when he joined his father at St. Petersburg, where he was ambassador. He returned to Scotland with his father in 1773, and, after studying law at the universities of Dresden and Glasgow, was admitted a member of the Faculty of Advocates in February 1776. His father died in the

August of the same year, and Cathcart purchased a cornetcy in the 7th dragoons in June 1777, and then obtained leave to serve in America with the 16th light dragoons. He was appointed an extra aide-de-camp to Major-general Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson, bart., commanding at Boston, and so distinguished himself at the storming of Forts Clinton and Montgomery on 6 Oct. 1777 that he was promoted first lieutenant and then captain in the 17th light dragoons in the November and December of that year. In January 1778 he surprised a large body of the enemy on the Schuylkill, which had heedlessly advanced too far from the encampment at Valley Forge. He again distinguished himself at the battle of Monmouth Court House, and towards the close of 1778 he was appointed major-commandant of a body of loyalist Scotchmen in the States, enrolled as the Caledonian volunteers. Cathcart added to it a company of volunteer cavalry, and as the British legion it did good service at the outposts. On 10 April 1779 he married Elizabeth, second daughter of Andrew Elliot of Greenwells, co. Roxburgh, the lieutenant-governor of the state of New York, and uncle of Sir Gilbert Elliot, first earl of Minto. On 13 April 1779 he was promoted major into the 38th regiment, and shortly after was made a local lieutenant-colonel, and appointed to act as quartermaster-general to the forces in America until the arrival of General Dalrymple. He then reverted to the command of the British legion, and sailed with it to Savannah in December 1779, and commanded it at the siege of Charleston. His health, however, broke down, and he returned to New York in April 1780, when he was ordered to choose between his regimental and his local command. He preferred the former, and after resigning the British legion to Colonel Banastre Tarleton, afterwards M.P. for Liverpool, joined the 38th in Long Island. He commanded it with marked ability in the actions at Springfield and Elizabeth Town in June 1780; but in October 1780, as his health had entirely broken down, he resolved to return to England.

He received a most cordial welcome from the king, and in February 1781 was promoted to a captaincy and lieutenant-colonelcy in the Coldstream guards. On 10 Jan. 1788 he was elected a representative peer for Scotland, and in October 1789 he exchanged his company in the Coldstreams with Lord Henry Fitzgerald for the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 29th regiment, of which his friend and comrade in the American war, the Earl of Harrington, had just been appointed colonel. That regiment was then stationed at Windsor,

and the king took the keenest interest in the improvements which the new commanding officers introduced into its discipline. In November 1790 Cathcart was promoted colonel by brevet, and in December 1792, when the Earl of Harrington was promoted to the colonelcy of the 2nd life guards, his lieutenant-colonel received the colonelcy of the 29th. In 1790, when he had only sat in the House of Lords for two years, he was elected chairman of committees in that house. In November 1793 he was made a brigadier-general, and appointed to command a brigade in the army which was assembling under the command of the Earl of Moira at Portsmouth. After the failure of the Quiberon expedition Lord Moira's army was at last ordered to reinforce the Duke of York in the Netherlands; and when Moira returned to England Cathcart, who had been promoted major-general on 3 Oct. 1794, remained with the army in command of the first brigade of the division of General David Dundas, consisting of the 14th, 27th, and 28th regiments. At the head of his brigade he distinguished himself at the battle of Bommel, and throughout the winter retreat. At the battle of Buren, on 8 Jan. 1795, Cathcart established his reputation by suddenly turning upon the advancing enemy, and utterly defeating them with his single brigade, taking one gun and several prisoners. When the remnant of the British infantry embarked at Bremen in May 1795 Cathcart remained in command of a few squadrons of English and Hanoverian cavalry, which finally left Germany in December 1795. He was received with the greatest favour by the king. He was made vice-admiral of Scotland in 1795, appointed colonel of the 2nd life guards, and gold stick in the place of Lord Amherst in August 1797, sworn of the privy council on 28 Sept. 1798, and promoted lieutenant-general on 1 Jan. 1801, and Lady Cathcart was made a lady in waiting to the queen.

He received the command of the home district in 1802, and from 1803 to 1805 acted as commander-in-chief in Ireland; but in the latter year was recalled by Pitt, acting on the strong advice of Castlereagh, made lord-lieutenant of the county of Clackmannan and a knight of the Thistle, and nominated ambassador at St. Petersburg. The news then arrived that Napoleon had broken up the camp at Boulogne, and was marching across Germany. Pitt at once equipped a powerful army, and sent it across to Hanover under his command to make a diversion in favour of Austria. But Cathcart made no attempt to attack the flank of the French; he established his headquarters at Bremen, fought

a little battle at Munkaiser, and peacefully waited for news. After the death of Pitt the ministry recalled Cathcart's army from Germany, and he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, but in May 1807 he was suddenly summoned to London by Lord Castlereagh, and appointed to command an army in the Baltic. Cathcart had merely the easy duty of bombarding an almost defenceless town when in command of an irresistible army, and on 6 Sept. Copenhagen surrendered. Cathcart was on 3 Nov. 1807 created Viscount Cathcart of Cathcart and Baron Greenock of Greenock in the peerage of the United Kingdom, and a sum estimated at 800,000*l.* of prize money was divided between him and Admiral Gambier.

Cathcart again took up his command in Scotland, and was promoted general on 1 Jan. 1812. In July 1812 Castlereagh, now the leader of Lord Liverpool's cabinet, appointed him ambassador to the court of Russia, and British military commissioner with the army of the czar. The success of the campaigns of 1813 and 1814 is a matter of history, but the immense labours of the three ambassadors to Russia, Austria, and Prussia in maintaining military and diplomatic unity between the allies is comparatively unknown, and buried in the archives of the foreign office or in the Castlereagh Despatches. Cathcart had also to act as a military adviser to the German and Russian generals, and maintain harmony between them. When, therefore, in 1813 he received the order of St. Andrew, and in 1814 that of St. George from the czar, and was, on 16 July, created Earl Cathcart, it was universally acknowledged that his services had been of the greatest importance in the overthrow of Napoleon. After receiving the rewards of his labours Cathcart proceeded to St. Petersburg, where he resided as ambassador in close communication with Castlereagh. He returned to England in 1820, and became governor of Hull in 1830. He continued to take an interest in politics as a strong tory until the passing of the Reform Bill, when he retired from political discussion and lived peacefully at his seats in Scotland, Schaw Castle, co. Clackmannan, and Gartside, near Glasgow, until his death at the latter on 16 June 1843, in his eighty-eighth year.

[There is no good life of Lord Cathcart; the Memoirs published on his death are very inferior, and for military details based on the Royal Military Calendar; for his embassy, however, see the Castlereagh Despatches, vols. ix.-xii., and Sir A. Alison's *Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart*, 1862; see also Douglas and Wood's *Peerage of Scotland*, i. 345-9.] H. M. S.

CATHERINE OF VALOIS (1401-1437), queen of Henry V, was the youngest daughter of Charles VI of France by Isabel of Bavaria. She was born at the Hôtel de St. Pol, Paris, on 27 Oct. 1401. Her father was subject to long and frequently recurring fits of lunacy, and her mother, a woman of low character, shamelessly neglected her children. At an early age Catherine was sent from home to a convent at Poissy. In 1413 Henry IV proposed a marriage between the princess and his son Henry, afterwards Henry V. The prince had already made advances—which had been rejected—to Catherine's two elder sisters, Isabella, the widow of Richard II, and Marie, who was destined for the cloister. While the negotiations with regard to Catherine were pending Henry IV died, and when Henry V was firmly seated on his father's throne he renewed the suit. He demanded a dowry of two million crowns and the restoration of Normandy and the French territory which had been the inheritance of Eleanor of Aquitaine. These exorbitant terms were naturally rejected, and Henry V made their rejection a pretext for declaring war with France (1415). The English army was signally victorious in northern France, and when Rouen fell into Henry's hands (1419) negotiations for peace were opened. Queen Isabel had meanwhile obtained full control of Catherine, and had endeavoured in the course of the war to keep Henry in remembrance of his former suit. She had sent him the princess's portrait, and at the peace conference held at Meulan (1418-19) both Isabel and Catherine saluted Henry V, who treated the latter with much gallantry. In accordance with the terms of the treaty of Troyes, which practically made France over to Henry V, Henry and Catherine were betrothed on 21 May 1420 and married at Troyes on 2 June following. After visiting Sens and spending their Christmas at Paris, Henry and his bride arrived at Dover on 1 Feb. 1420-1. On 24 Feb. the queen was crowned at Westminster; she accompanied the king on a northern tour later in the year, and on 2 Dec. 1421 gave birth to a son (afterwards Henry VI) at Windsor. On 21 May she and Henry were at Harfleur, and on 30 May at Paris. Catherine returned a widow from this visit to France. Henry V died at Vincennes on 31 Aug. 1422. The queen accompanied the funeral cortège to London and afterwards took up her residence at Windsor Castle with her infant son. She was at Hertford Castle with James I of Scotland as her guest at Christmas 1423, and in the following year parliament granted her Baynard's Castle as her permanent home. She tried to compose



the quarrel between the Dukes of Bedford and Gloucester in the same year, and accompanied her child in grand procession to St. Paul's before the opening of parliament in 1425. Soon afterwards rumours were spread that Catherine was concerned in a no very reputable liaison. Owen Tudor, a poor Welsh gentleman and an esquire of the body attached to her late husband and to her son's household, had obtained complete control over her, and the nature of their relationship was soon obvious. In 1428 the Duke of Gloucester induced the parliament to pass a law prohibiting any person marrying the queen-dowager without the consent of the king and his council, but at the time Catherine and Owen Tudor were reported to be already married. Catherine lived in obscurity for many years, but in 1436 Tudor was sent to Newgate and his wife retired to Bermondsey Abbey, where she died on 3 Jan. 1437. Her body lay in state at St. Katharine's Chapel, by the Tower of London, on 18 Feb. 1437, was then taken to St. Paul's Cathedral, and was buried in the Lady Chapel in Westminster Abbey. Henry VI erected an altar-tomb with an inscription describing her as his father's widow, and making no reference to her alleged marriage with Owen Tudor.

By Tudor Catherine had a daughter, Tacina, wife of Reginald, seventh lord Grey de Wilton, and three sons. Edmund, the eldest son, created by his half-brother Henry VI Earl of Richmond in 1452, married Margaret Beaufort, and was by her the father of Henry VII. The second son, Jasper, became Earl of Pembroke, and the third, Owen, a monk of Westminster. Catherine's great-grandson, Henry VII, replaced the tomb originally erected to her memory by another monument on which her marriage with Owen Tudor was duly inscribed. When Henry VII pulled down the Lady Chapel at Westminster, the corpse loosely wrapped in lead was placed by Henry V's tomb, where it remained till in 1778 it was placed under the Villiers monument. In Pepys's time the body was publicly exhibited (*Diary*, 23 Feb. 1667-8). Pepys kissed the face on his birthday. In 1878 the body was reburied in the chantry of Henry V.

[Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. iii.; Monstrelet's *Chronicle*; Waurin's *Recueil des Chroniques*, vol. iii. (Rolls Ser.); Capgrave's *Chronicle* (Rolls Ser.); Stanley's *Westminster Abbey*, 133-4.] S. L.

**CATHERINE OF ARRAGON** (1485-1536), first queen of Henry VIII, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, was born at Alcalá de Henares on 15 or 16 Dec.

1485. She was the youngest of a family of one son and four daughters, and at her birth her parents had already done much to consolidate their united kingdoms by victories over the Moors. Henry VII of England, who had obtained possession by conquest of an insecure throne in the very year she was born, naturally sought the alliance of sovereigns whose affairs seemed so prosperous, and his eldest son Arthur, born in September 1486, could hardly have been much more than a year old when he was proposed by his father as a future husband for their youngest daughter. They sent commissioners to England to negotiate as early as 1488. A return embassy sent by Henry VII to Spain met with a magnificent reception at Medina del Campo; but for many years nothing was positively concluded, as it was Ferdinand's object to bind the king of England to make war in his behalf against France without incurring any corresponding obligation himself. In truth, Ferdinand was not well enough assured of the stability of Henry's throne to be willing to commit himself irrevocably.

Catherine was in her fifth year when her sister Isabel was betrothed at Seville to Don Alfonso of Portugal on 18 April 1490. She and her other sisters, Juana and Mary, were present at the ceremony (BERNALDEZ, i. 279, 280; MARIANA, ed. 1780, ii. 587).

In 1492, when the Moors were driven out of Granada, she entered the city with her parents, and it became her home. From Granada came the device of the pomegranate so well known afterwards in England in connection with her. Her education, especially in Latin, was personally superintended by her mother, and in later years Erasmus bore witness to her scholarship. All difficulties as to the match with Arthur had been finally cleared away in 1500, when the bridegroom had completed his fourteenth year. She left Granada on 21 May 1501, and embarked at Corunna on 17 Aug. After many delays from contrary winds she reached Plymouth on 2 Oct.

Great preparations had been made for her reception. Lord Broke, steward of the king's household, was despatched into the west to provide for her retinue; and afterwards the Earl of Surrey and the Duchess of Norfolk were sent to attend her. The king himself on 4 Nov. removed from Richmond to go and meet her, but, owing to bad weather and doubtless equally bad roads, he was compelled the first night to find a lodging at Chertsey. Next day his son, Prince Arthur, met him at Easthampstead, and proceeded in his father's company to meet his bride. The

meeting took place at Dogmersfield in Hampshire, where the prince and his father conversed with her through the medium of two Spanish bishops, who interpreted 'thespeeches of both countries' by means of Latin. A formal betrothal then took place, and the whole party returned towards London, which Catherine entered on 12 Nov. On Sunday the 14th the marriage was celebrated at St. Paul's, and jousts were held on the Thursday after, at Westminster, in honour of the event.

It was necessary in those days for a prince of Wales to justify his title by keeping court on the Welsh borders. Arthur had already resided at Ludlow, and written thence diplomatic love letters to Catherine in Spain (MARY A. E. WOOD, *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, i. 121); and it was decided that he should return thither next month. The king at first hesitated to send his bride along with him. The prince was still so young that cohabitation seems not to have been allowed, and some thought the princess would be less solitary in the king's court than living under her husband's roof in the Welsh marches. The point was referred to herself, but she said she would do as the king thought best; and ultimately, as we learn from a contemporary despatch, both departed together on 21 Dec. to spend their Christmas at a place described as about forty miles from London. In February following the king wrote to Ferdinand and Isabella that he had sent the young couple into Wales, not wishing them to live apart, notwithstanding the objections raised by many on account of his son's tender age, and they must regard it as a great proof of his affection for their daughter that he studied her comfort at some risk even to his own son (DUKE OF MANCHESTER, *Court and Society*, i. 59). But that this letter was distinctly intended to convey a false impression is beyond all question; for although it is true that the young couple did go together to reside in the borders of Wales, it is clear from the solemn declarations of Catherine herself long afterwards that Prince Arthur never was her husband except in name. On 2 April following he died at Ludlow, a victim apparently to the sweating sickness, and Catherine was left a virgin widow.

When the news reached Spain, the Spanish sovereigns despatched a new ambassador to England to urge that she should be sent back to her native country, and repayment made of the one instalment of 100,000 scudos of her marriage portion. But the ambassador was further empowered to conclude a new treaty with the king of England for the marriage of Catherine to his second son Henry.

On this subject negotiations appear to have gone on for several months, when Henry VII became a widower by the death of his queen, Elizabeth of York. A suggestion was immediately made of a particularly revolting character, that Catherine might become the wife of her father-in-law. It is scarcely credible that such a thing was seriously intended; but it greatly shocked Queen Isabella, who was more anxious than ever to secure, if it were possible, her daughter's return to Spain, or at least the conclusion of the marriage with the Prince of Wales. The latter at last was agreed upon, and a treaty for it was drawn up and signed by the two Spanish ambassadors on 23 June 1503. Two days later the parties were solemnly betrothed to each other 'in the Bishop of Salisbury's house in Fleet Street' (SPEED, 973). The marriage was to be solemnised whenever the prince completed his fourteenth year. In consequence, however, of the close affinity between the parties, a papal dispensation was requisite, which the sovereigns of both countries bound themselves to solicit from the court of Rome. It was obtained next year mainly at the instance of Queen Isabella, for whose comfort a copy was sent into Spain just before she died. But the king of England had no intention of being too strictly bound to fulfil the marriage treaty, and, hoping to gain an advantage over King Ferdinand in other ways, discovered 'scruples of conscience' about the match.

If the treaty had been strictly fulfilled, the marriage would actually have taken place on 28 June 1505, the day the Prince of Wales completed his fourteenth year. But on the 27th the prince made a formal protest before Fox, bishop of Winchester, that the match was against his will, and the treaty was at once rendered nugatory. It was quite understood, however, that this was only a trick of state, and that the marriage might still take place if King Henry were once satisfied that he could not dispose of his son's hand elsewhere more advantageously. Ferdinand did not keep faith about the marriage portion. He intended, if possible, that the whole burden of his daughter's support should rest upon the king of England, and when King Henry disowned this responsibility, he allowed her to remain for years in debt, even for the very necessities of life. Her maids had not the means to procure clothes. She herself complained, after she had been four and a half years in England, that she had only had two new dresses.

In the early part of 1506 she had an unexpected opportunity of meeting with her sister Juana and her husband, Philip of

Austria, who had been proclaimed king and queen of Castile. They had embarked in January to take possession of their new kingdom, but had been driven by storms upon the coast of England, and Henry had shown them much politic hospitality at Windsor. Later in the year Catherine fell ill of a fever, and Henry gave up to her use for the time a house at Fulham, which he had intended for an embassy expected from Philip after his arrival in Castile. At this time she seems to have been very miserable. She was aware that her marriage depended upon a heartless game of diplomacy, into which she was drawn herself by her own necessities. For Henry VII having made in 1507 an offer for the hand of her sister Juana, the widowed Queen of Castile (though he must have known her to be a maniac, with the view of taking the government of that kingdom out of Ferdinand's hands, Catherine affected to favour his suit, and wrote to Ferdinand in behalf of her father-in-law, advising him at least to temporise until her own marriage with the Prince of Wales could take effect. Other matches had been talked of for the prince, and Catherine was in serious dread of being abandoned altogether. She was then living in the same house with the Prince of Wales at Richmond, but was permitted to see less of him than before, and in one letter she complains that for four months she had not seen him at all.

Her misery arose from an unpleasant state of relations between King Henry and her father. Subtle and unscrupulous as Ferdinand was in the game of diplomacy, he had found a match in Henry VII, who had not only forced him at last to send to England the second instalment of Catherine's marriage portion, but declined even then to allow the marriage to take effect except upon new conditions by no means agreeable to Ferdinand, so that the latter, checkmated in his aims, wished his ambassador as a last resource to insist on Catherine being sent back to Spain. Henry had arranged a marriage of his daughter Mary with Charles, prince of Castile, which made him very independent of Ferdinand's friendship, and Catherine met with a neglect which almost drove her to despair. But relief was at hand, for just at this time Henry VII died. Her affianced bridegroom, now Henry VIII, apparently desired the union. His council, for the most part, approved the match, and on 11 June 1509, seven weeks after his accession, though he was only eighteen, the marriage was duly celebrated. On the 24th of the same month she was crowned along with him in Westminster Abbey.

There is no reason to doubt that for some years after their marriage Henry felt real affection for her, and she was a thoroughly devoted wife. 'The king, my lord, adores her, and her highness him,' was the opinion of Catherine's confessor in 1510. Ferdinand seems to have relied partly on her influence over him in procuring a league against France; and for two or three years, whether from natural impulse or from policy, Henry was a very firm ally of his father-in-law. Catherine's happiness would have been unalloyed but for some petty annoyances to which recent writers have attached altogether undue importance; but even these belonged much more to the time when she was princess than to her married life. She had a Spanish confessor who, perhaps, was rather young for such a function, and may have been a little indiscreet. The Spanish ambassador thought so, but there is no evidence that even he entertained the strange suspicions that it has pleased some persons in our day to attribute to him. Catherine had been used for years as a political agent by her father, and being a really devout woman, it was natural that she should take frequent counsel with her confessor. It was equally natural that the ambassador, under the circumstances, should find the confessor to be a nuisance, that he should write to Ferdinand to complain of him, and that Catherine should stand firmly by him.

The first three years of Henry's reign went by in feasts and pageants; but then began a succession of cruel disappointments. On 31 Jan. 1510 Catherine was prematurely delivered of a stillborn daughter. On 1 Jan. 1511 she gave birth to a son, who was christened Henry, declared prince of Wales, and had a household assigned him, but died on 22 Feb. following. In 1513 she had another son, who soon died, and in November 1514 she had again a premature delivery. At last, on 18 Feb. 1516, there came one child that lived—the Princess Mary; and in November 1518 another daughter was born, who must have died early. In the interval between the second and third confinements Henry had gone to war with France, greatly at the instigation of his father-in-law. In 1513 he invaded France in person, and James IV invaded England and was killed at Flodden on 9 Sept. 1513. Before crossing the Channel the king had appointed Catherine regent in his absence. She threw herself heartily into the business of arraying a force to oppose the Scotch. 'I am horribly busy,' she wrote, 'making standards, banners, and badges.' She harangued the troops sent forward to the north. The king, too, sent

over to her his important prisoner, the Duke of Longueville, whom he had taken at the battle of Spurs, and wished Catherine to keep in her household, a responsibility which she respectfully declined. After the victory she wrote to Henry, sending him 'a piece of the king of Scots' coat,' and regretting she was unable to send the king of Scots himself alive to him as a prisoner. 'Our Englishmen's hearts,' she said, 'would not suffer it.'

When the king returned from France in the end of September, he rode in post to his queen at Richmond, 'where,' says the contemporary chronicler, Hall, 'there was such a loving meeting that every creature rejoiced.' But even in the following year a rumour got abroad that Henry, disappointed at her having no children, had begun to think of a divorce, and there is reason to believe that it arose from some very real evidences of a diminution of Henry's love, even at this early period. The main cause appears to have been his continued experience of her father's treachery. Ferdinand had concluded a separate truce with France to the prejudice of his ally at the very moment when Henry's success seemed most completely assured. Henry vented his anger in reproaches of which his own wife had to bear the full bitterness, and it was owing to this, as Peter Martyr was told, that she had her second premature confinement.

The supposition of the late Mr. Rawdon Brown (*Cal. State Papers*, Venetian, i. pref. pp. xc, cviii) that a vague expression in Sanuto's diary, 'Fanno nuovi pensieri,' points to whispers of a divorce being circulated even in 1510, before Henry and Catherine had been quite a twelvemonth married, seems altogether unwarrantable. The words clearly have quite a different application. A vivid description is given by Hall of the way in which she and the king went a-maying to Shooter's Hill in 1515, and met in the woods Robin Hood and his merry men dressed in green. These were archers of the king's own guard, and the performance was witnessed by a vast multitude of people. Some additional particulars of it are given in letters from the Venetian embassy. The senior ambassador, Pasqualigo, then about to leave for France, had an audience afterwards with the queen, and to her great delight spoke to her in her native Spanish. The secretary of the embassy describes her as 'rather ugly than otherwise' (RAWDON BROWN, *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, i. 79-81, 90). Two years later occurred the 'Evil May day,' when the Londoners sacked the houses of foreigners. The offenders were tried by summary process, and many of them hanged

within three days at their own or their masters' doors. Others remained still in prison, till Catherine threw herself on her knees before the king to intercede for them, and induced his sisters Mary and Margaret, queens dowager of France and Scotland, to do the same.

The visit of her nephew Charles V to England in 1520 gave Catherine the most lively satisfaction. She knew, however, that great preparations were then making for another meeting with which she had no great sympathy—that of Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Henry was playing off the two rivals, Charles and Francis, one against the other, and it was unknown whether a French or an imperial alliance would prove the main feature of his policy. It was, in fact, to interrupt the French interview, or, at least, to prevent an Anglo-French alliance, that Charles had been induced to think seriously of visiting England. The friendship of Henry was to him of the utmost importance, and to secure it he had become a suitor for the hand of the Princess Mary, although she had already been affianced to the Dauphin. There is no doubt that the nobles and the people generally were with the queen in preferring greatly an alliance with him to the friendship of France. One day, in anticipation of the French interview, she called to her some of the lords to discuss matters, and set before them such strong arguments against its being held at all, that those present were struck with amazement. During the conference the king made his appearance and asked what it was all about, on which Catherine frankly told him, and declared the line she had taken in the matter. What answer the king made at the moment we are not informed, but the result was that both he and his council held her in higher esteem than they had ever done before (*Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII, iii. 256).

The emperor landed at Dover late in the evening of Saturday, 26 May 1520, and next morning Henry conducted him to Canterbury to the queen's presence. There he remained during the few days he spent in England, and on Thursday the 31st he embarked at Sandwich for Flanders. That same day Henry and Catherine also took ship and crossed from Dover to Calais for the long projected interview with Francis. On Sunday, 10 June, each king went to dine with the other's queen, the one from Guisnes to Ardes, and the other by a different route from Ardes to Guisnes, the departure of each being announced to the other by salvoes of artillery. Three weeks were spent in these splendid courtesies, and shortly after they

were concluded Henry held another meeting with the emperor at Gravelines, and brought him and his aunt, Margaret of Savoy, to Calais, where the queen received them. Two years later war was declared against France, and the emperor paid a second visit to England, when he was feasted and entertained with great magnificence at Canterbury, London, and Windsor.

In 1521, the year between the emperor's first and second visit to England, occurred the arrest and execution of the Duke of Buckingham, and it is not improbable that Shakespeare followed a true tradition when he represented Catherine as present at the examination of that unfortunate nobleman's surveyor, pleading for something like fair play to the accused. The fact, as regards Catherine, seems to rest on no other authority; but there is distinct evidence that Buckingham's servants were examined by the king himself, before the apprehension of their master, very much in the way that the surveyor is examined by Henry in the play; so that we may not unreasonably believe the whole scene to be substantially true. Sir Thomas More reports in 1524 how Catherine rejoiced to hear of the success of her countrymen the Spaniards in Italy, and Bishop Longland writes to Wolsey at the beginning of the following year how he had explained to her by the king's desire the cardinal's magnificent scheme for setting up a new college at Oxford. The bishop also told her that she was to be specially mentioned in the prayers of the college chapel, for which she desired him to give Wolsey her cordial thanks.

Her constant obedience to her husband had won for her such universal esteem that he himself could not but share that sentiment, though he had now lost all other feeling for her. That he had been untrue to her years before we know, perhaps very early in their married life. Possibly the birth of the Princess Mary did something to restore his lost affection, but only for a time. He was becoming a perfect libertine. On 15 June 1525, much to Catherine's distress, he created his natural son Henry Fitzroy duke of Richmond, and gave him precedence of all the nobility of England, even of the Princess Mary. He was a child of six years, the son of one Elizabeth Blount, whom the king afterwards married to Sir Gilbert Tailbois. The king bestowed much care upon his education, and sent him into Yorkshire as viceroy or president of the north. About the same time his half-sister Mary, whom the king, in default of legitimate male issue, seemed disposed to recognise as Princess of

Wales, was sent in like manner to Ludlow, with a household and a council to keep rule upon the Welsh marches. But her household was inferior to that of the duke.

Indications exist that some secret steps had been taken by Henry towards getting his marriage declared invalid as early as 1526. All that was said afterwards officially as to the origin of the king's scruples, and the doubts of Mary's legitimacy said to have been suggested by the Bishop of Tarbes, is unworthy of serious refutation. The bishop's own report of his conferences with Wolsey upon Mary's proposed marriage to Francis I shows clearly that no such objection ever entered his mind. A totally different objection occurred to him—that the king might still have a legitimate son; and Wolsey was taking pains to convince him that this was highly improbable, while he knew quite well that the king was privately seeking to invalidate his marriage and thus make his daughter illegitimate. In May a collusive suit was instituted by Wolsey as legate, who with great secrecy summoned the king to appear before him at his house at Westminster for having cohabited with his brother Arthur's wife. A formal complaint, he said, had been preferred to him, and he called upon Henry to say what he could in his defence. The king handed in a written reply, and the cardinal declared that the case was one of considerable difficulty, on which he required to take counsel with some learned theologians—among others with the bishops of Rochester, Lincoln, and London. The proceedings were never resumed—probably for a reason which has not hitherto been suggested, though the fact is absolutely certain. The queen and the Spanish ambassador, somehow or other, had got wind of them before they were a day old (*Cal. State Papers*, Spanish, iii. (pt. ii.) 193).

The king saw that he must take a different course, and on 22 June informed Catherine that he had come to the conclusion that they must separate. He begged her to keep the matter secret meanwhile, as if it was against her interest to divulge it. His strategy was useless. The news got abroad, and became, in the words of the Spanish ambassador, 'as notorious as if it had been proclaimed by the public crier' (*ib.* 276). Still Catherine had not a friend who could aid her against the king, unless she could inform the emperor how she was situated, and great pains were taken that she should not speak to the Spanish ambassador except in the presence of Wolsey. She dissembled her anxieties; her 'merry visage,' as one observer notes, 'returned, not less than was wont,' and cordiality towards

the king appeared to be renewed. Then one of her Spanish servants, Francis Felipe or Philips, desired license of her to go to Spain and see his mother, who, he said, was very ill. Catherine refused the permission, and urged the king not to grant it. Henry, rightly suspecting that there was collusion between them, dissembled also, and persuaded her to let him go. Thus the king won her confidence; but he at the same time sent a message to Wolsey, then in France, to find means to get Philips detained in that country, in spite of any safe-conduct. On his way to France, Wolsey contrived artfully to misrepresent the case to Fisher, bishop of Rochester, Catherine's confessor, whom he induced to believe that the rumours of an intended divorce had been spread abroad by the queen's own indiscretion; for the king only wanted, he said, to test the validity of an objection raised by others. When the bishop offered to remonstrate with her upon her conduct, Wolsey persuaded him to leave the matter to the king. But whatever art might be used to promote the divorce, it was impossible to avoid application to Rome, and equally impossible to do without Wolsey's aid; yet Henry gave the cardinal but half his confidence, and made an abortive effort to obtain a commission from the pope through another agent. At last Cardinal Campeggio arrived in England with a joint commission for himself and Wolsey to try the cause in October 1528, and the king and Anne Boleyn both looked for the realisation of their wish.

They did not know that before he left Rome Campeggio had secretly pledged himself not to give sentence in the cause without communicating first with the pope. He was only authorised to endeavour to dissuade the king from his purpose, or, if he could arrange a compromise, to induce the queen to enter a nunnery. To this latter object he accordingly addressed himself in some conferences that he had with Catherine soon after his arrival; but she insisted on the matter being decided judicially. The king was at first no less anxious to press forward the trial, and on Sunday, 8 Nov., he summoned the lord mayor and aldermen to his palace at Bridewell to explain his scruples of conscience. But meanwhile Catherine had information of the existence in Spain of a brief granted by Julius II for her marriage, more full and satisfactory than the bull of dispensation which Henry was trying to invalidate, and she produced a copy of it given her by the Spanish ambassador. The king insinuated that it was a forgery, and he got the queen's own counsel to inform her that she must send for the original brief

to Spain. She actually wrote to the emperor as desired, requesting him to send the brief to England. Thomas Abell [q. v.], by whom she sent the letter, wrote himself to inform the emperor before he delivered it that she had written only under compulsion.

The king and his council sent to Rome to try and collect evidence against the genuineness of the brief, and they made much of the fact that it did not appear entered on the papal registers. But his agents were also instructed to sound the papal lawyers as to whether, if the queen could be induced to retire into a nunnery, without taking the vows, the pope could not, 'by his mere and absolute power,' allow him to proceed to a second marriage. Thus, after protesting the pope's incompetence to legalise marriage with a brother's widow, Henry was prepared to admit without question his competence to legalise bigamy. He was really in despair how to accomplish his object. He had drawn up a paper of advice which was to be pressed upon the queen as if in her own interest, apparently by her own counsel, if not by the legates who were to try her cause, in which they were to warn her that some ill-disposed persons seemed to be conspiring in her behalf against the king and Wolsey, and that she ought to be on her guard against giving them any countenance. If she did not act more discreetly, it was urged, the king might not only feel it right to abandon her company himself, but also to withdraw the princess from her mother's society. All these cruel suggestions, however, were only meant to prepare the way for one more strong appeal to her to solve the difficulty by going into a nunnery. And she need not fear, the speakers were to urge, that by so doing she would enable the king to take another wife, for he could certainly not marry again while she lived. Thus the king indirectly endeavoured to make her take a false step in reliance on the strength of her own cause.

Henry compelled even the most staunch friends of Catherine to reveal their conversations with her. He had allowed her the use of counsel, and among them was the renowned scholar Ludovicus Vives; but Vives was required by the king to relate all that had passed between them. This demand he justly protested against, although, as he said, it could injure no one even if their whole conversations were posted on church doors. Being forced to report them, however, he did so, and said the queen had sought his counsel as her countryman who spoke her language. The main point was that she begged him to ask the imperial ambassador

to write to the emperor to secure a fair hearing for her at Rome. 'Who,' Vives adds, 'will not admire the queen's moderation? When others would have moved heaven and earth, she merely seeks from her sister's son that he will not let her be condemned unheard.'

It was useless for the king to proceed with the cause before the legates unless the brief in Spain could be discredited, and the most frantic diplomatic efforts were made to induce the pope to declare it a forgery, which, of course, he refused to do until he had heard the arguments on both sides. Then there was nothing for it but to proceed. Meanwhile the emperor was doing his utmost to get the cause removed from England that it might be more fairly heard at Rome. Catherine, however, was not aware of this, and appealed for advice to Cardinal Campeggio himself in a private interview. He answered coldly that she might rely upon justice being done to her, but again strongly suggested that she might extricate herself from further annoyance by retiring from the world. But to this she was as firmly opposed as ever, and the trial proceeded. The legatine court was formally opened on 31 May 1529 in the great hall of the Black Friars, and the king and queen were cited to appear on 18 June. The former had two proxies to represent him; the latter came in person, but only to protest against the jurisdiction of the court. The court registered her protestation, and appointed both parties to appear in person on Monday, 21 June, to hear its decision. On that day the king and queen both appeared; the former stated his case to the judges. The latter threw herself at his feet in sight of all the court, and begged him to consider her helpless position as a foreigner, her long and tried obedience as a wife, her own and her daughter's honour, and that of the king himself. Further, as he continually professed that he was anxious to find their marriage valid, she appealed to Rome as the only tribunal before which the case could be properly discussed, and thereupon withdrew.

The legates had overruled her objections to the jurisdiction of the court; so she was called again, and on her refusal to come back, was pronounced contumacious. The case was continued through different sittings of the court in June and July. Affidavits were taken as to the circumstances of the marriage with Prince Arthur, and matters were pressed on in a way not at all to Campeggio's taste. Yet even at this time, if Cavendish be right, a further appeal was made to Catherine by the two cardinals who were her judges. They came to her at Bridewell without

notice, and found her at work among her maids, with a skein of white thread about her neck. They asked for a private interview, but she replied that whatever they had to say they might speak it before all. Wolsey then addressed her in Latin. 'Nay, good my lord, speak to me in English,' she said, 'for I can, I thank God, both speak and understand English, although I do understand some Latin.' Wolsey told her they had come to know her mind in the matter between the king and her, and give her secret advice. Catherine said she was naturally not prepared to answer them without taking counsel on such a weighty question. And who was there to counsel her? 'What think you, my lords?' she said. 'Will any Englishman counsel me or be friendly to me against the king's pleasure that is his subject? Nay, forsooth.' She was willing, however, to listen to whatever counsel the cardinals had to give her, and led them into her privy chamber to hear what they had to say (CAVENDISH, *Life of Wolsey*, ed. 1852, pp. 137-140).

We are not told, for Wolsey's biographer did not know, the precise nature of the advice given by the two cardinals. Meanwhile, the king having expressed a desire to see his scruples removed, Fisher, bishop of Rochester, came forward in court and declared his readiness to justify the validity of the marriage. Other things went against the king's purpose. The pope revoked the cause to Rome, and Campeggio, even before he was informed of the fact, had prorogued the court for the holidays according to the custom at Rome. Every one knew that, although it was only prorogued, it was never to meet again. Not many months after this the ambassador, Chapuys, then just newly arrived in England from the emperor, records that on St. Andrew's day, 1529, the queen dined with the king, and complained that he had for a long time so seldom allowed her that privilege. The king excused himself partly by the pressure of business, but as to visiting her in her own apartments, she must know that he was now assured by innumerable doctors and lawyers that he was not her lawful husband, and he could never share her bed again. He was waiting for further opinions, and if the pope did not declare their marriage void, he would denounce his holiness as a heretic, and marry whom he pleased. Catherine told him in reply that those opinions were not worth a straw, for he himself had owned on more than one occasion that he had found her a virgin when he married her. Moreover, the principal doctors in England had written in her favour. The

king left the room not a little disconcerted, and at supper Chapuys was informed Anne Boleyn said to him reproachfully, 'Did I not tell you that whenever you disputed with the queen she was sure to have the upper hand?'

For a time Henry still treated Catherine as his queen. She went with him to Woodstock, and from that in September to Grafton in Northamptonshire, where Cardinal Campeggio took his leave of him, and where Wolsey was admitted at the same time to his last interview. But in February 1530 Catherine's treatment had become visibly worse. The king absented himself much from her company, and left her at Richmond while he was dallying with Anne Boleyn in London. It was at this time he began consulting the universities, applying first to Cambridge and Oxford, then to Paris and other foreign seats of learning; but still he kept company with Catherine to some extent, and even took her out hunting with him. In August or the beginning of September she fell ill of a fever, probably brought on by alarm at the king's increasing recklessness. She kept Christmas with him at Greenwich; but in January following (1531) she suffered much anxiety lest something should be done to her prejudice in the parliament which then met. Nothing, however, was said, and Henry allowed and even advised her to summon counsel to her aid at Richmond. He did this, as Chapuys believed, in order to discover whether she had not secretly received a brief from Rome in her favour. For it would appear that about this time Henry, or at least his ministers, really thought the game a desperate one. A brief was expected from Rome which would have ordered Henry to dismiss Anne Boleyn from the court, and it was the general belief that he would be obliged to comply. But the brief when it came was feeble and ineffective, so that the king was encouraged to persevere, and the clergy were forced to acknowledge him as supreme head of the church of England. This, of course, involved the consequence that the decision of a Roman tribunal could not be acknowledged in an English matrimonial cause.

Catherine saw that her only hope lay in procuring a speedy sentence from Rome in her favour, and she wrote urgently to that effect to the emperor on 5 April. Henry's conduct towards her varied from day to day. One day when she dined with him he spoke in unwonted terms of the power of the emperor, and afterwards, changing the subject, told her she had not been kind to her daughter Mary, because she had not made

her physician reside with her continually. Altogether he showed himself so gracious on this occasion that next day Catherine asked him to allow the princess to see them; but Henry answered with a rude rebuff, telling her she might go and see the princess if she wished, and also stop with her. The queen replied in gentle tone that she would not leave him for her own daughter or any one else in the world. But things now were coming to a climax. The king was using every art to delay the cause at Rome while refusing to put in any appearance, except by allowing an 'excusator' to plead for him that he was not bound to appear there at all. On 31 May upwards of thirty privy councillors, headed by the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, waited on Catherine by the king's command to remonstrate with her, and urged that she ought to consent to have the matter tried elsewhere than in Rome by judges above suspicion. According to Hall, they actually suggested a tribunal of four prelates and four temporal lords of England, which, of course, was what was wanted; but by the very full report of the interview sent by Chapuys to the emperor it does not appear that they proposed anything so definite. Catherine completely met every one of their jesuitical arguments, and fully justified her resolution to abide entirely by the decision of the pope.

Shortly after this the court removed from Greenwich to Windsor, and there, on 14 July, Henry finally left his wife, never to see her again. He removed to Woodstock without even bidding her adieu, but left orders that she was to remain at Windsor. Deserted by her husband, she complained bitterly of the pope's neglect. But the weakness of the pope inspired Henry with greater boldness. He had got the opinion of the university of Orleans and of some Parisian lawyers also that he could not be compelled to appear at Rome; while Anne Boleyn, who accompanied him wherever he went, spoke confidently of the prospect of being married to him within three or four months at least. In August the king again sent notice to Catherine that he was coming to hunt about Windsor, and that she must dislodge thence and go to the Moor in Hertfordshire. The Princess Mary was ordered at the same time to leave her mother and go to Richmond. Two months later another deputation of the king's council was sent to the queen with the same object as before; but she refused more firmly than ever, saying, now that she knew him to be influenced only by passion, she would not desist from demanding justice where alone it could be obtained.

She was now absolutely without a friend



in England who could do anything for her except Chapuys. All her counsel had refused absolutely to have anything more to do with her cause after it was revoked to Rome. Still, she carefully maintained her position as a wife, and sought opportunities of vindicating it quietly and without reproaches. At the beginning of 1532 she sent her husband a gold cup as a New Year's gift, 'with honorable and humble words.' She had been strictly forbidden to write to him or send any messages; and Henry was so far from pleased that he refused it angrily; but fearing that the servant who had presented it would return it to the queen's messenger, and that the latter might take an opportunity of presenting it himself before all the court, he sent for it again, praised its workmanship, and ordered that it should not be returned till the evening.

The people felt much for the queen's wrongs. Even Dr. Benet, the king's agent at Rome, when in England at the end of 1531, sent her a secret message desiring her pardon. He heartily prayed, he said, for the success of her cause. The women even broke out into tumults in her behalf, and insulted Anne Boleyn; shouts were also heard when the king went about, calling upon him to take back his queen; and even in the House of Commons two members made the same suggestion. In answer to a demand for aid to strengthen the frontier against the Scots, they said that the king would protect the realm much more effectively if he would only take back his queen and cultivate the friendship of the emperor. The aid demanded was refused, nor does it seem that Henry ever dared to punish the offenders. On Easter day, 31 March 1532, William Peto, the provincial of the Grey Friars, preached before the king at Greenwich, strongly opposing the divorce. The king dissembled his displeasure, and gave the friar, who desired to go to Toulouse, permission to leave the kingdom; then next Sunday got a chaplain of his own, named Dr. Curwen, to preach in a manner more agreeable to himself. Dr. Curwen fulfilled his task, and replied to Peto's sermon, insinuating that Peto had withdrawn himself for fear, and expressing a wish that he were present to answer him. On this another friar, Elstowe, started up, and offered to confirm by scripture all that Peto had said. The king was intensely irritated, and both friars (for Peto had only reached Canterbury) were soon after called before the council, where one nobleman told them that they deserved to be put into a sack and thrown into the Thames. 'Make these threats to courtiers,' Elstowe replied; 'for as to us, we know

right well the way to heaven lies as open by water as by land.'

Bishop Fisher both wrote and preached<sup>11</sup> in the queen's favour, and by a sermon at the beginning of June very nearly subjected himself to that imprisonment which he actually underwent a year later. Abell wrote a book in her behalf; Peto, moreover, was preparing another, and his reason for desiring to go abroad was to arrange for its publication. The pope meanwhile had sent Henry a brief rebuking him for having not only put away his wife, but cohabited with Anne Boleyn. But none of these things produced much effect upon the king. Catherine was removed from the Moor, and sent to reside at Bishop's Hatfield, a place belonging to the Bishop of Ely, and there she remained at the time the king crossed to Calais with Anne Boleyn in October, in great anxiety lest they should marry over there during the interview with Francis I.

This interview was designed mainly to convince the pope that the kings of England and France were so united that he could not offend one without offending both. It was very unpopular in England. The emperor, to counteract the alliance of the two powers, held a meeting with the pope at Bologna at the close of the year. Two French cardinals sent by Francis to Bologna before the meeting was over induced Clement to avoid going further in the affair of Catherine than he had done already. Henry took advantage of the pope's irresolution, and secretly married Anne Boleyn on 25 Jan. 1533. He also obtained from the pope bulls for Cranmer's promotion to the see of Canterbury. As soon as these were secure, he got his parliament to pass an act that no appeals in ecclesiastical causes should henceforth be carried out of the kingdom to Rome. The new archbishop was made use of to declare the nullity of the king's marriage with Catherine, and the validity of his marriage with Anne Boleyn. Even before this was done, an intimation was sent to Catherine that she must no longer call herself queen, but only princess dowager. At Easter (13 April) the marriage was divulged, and Anne Boleyn openly took upon her the name of queen. Yet it was not till 10 May that Cranmer opened his court at Dunstable to try whether the first marriage was a valid one or not! Catherine, by the advice of Chapuys, took no notice of the proceedings, and the archbishop pronounced her contumacious. The court was three times adjourned, and sentence was finally pronounced upon the 23rd, declaring the marriage invalid. Yet it appears by a letter which he wrote to Cromwell that during the progress of the suit the

Archbishop felt some anxiety lest the 'contumacious' woman should change her mind and put in an appearance at the last.

On 3 July Lord Mountjoy, Catherine's chamberlain, accompanied by four other gentlemen of her household, waited on Catherine at Ampthill by the king's command to remonstrate with her on having used the name of queen after having orders to the contrary. They found her lying on a pallet, having hurt her foot with a pin, and troubled with a severe cough. On addressing her as princess dowager and showing her instructions, she at once took exception to the title. They in vain hinted that her obstinacy might even make the king withdraw his favour from her daughter Mary. They came again next day and showed her the report of their interview which they were going to send to the king, and she with her own hand struck out the words 'princess dowager' wherever they occurred. She declared she would accept no decision in her cause except that of the pope, and demanded a copy of the instructions that she might have them translated into Spanish and sent to Rome.

On being told of her reply, as Chapuys's despatches inform us, the king caused a proclamation to be printed and published in London by sound of trumpet. We know from a letter of the Earl of Derby on 10 Aug. following that it must have been to forbid people calling Catherine queen; for it appears that a priest named James Harrison, on hearing it read, declared defiantly 'that Queen Catherine was queen, and that Nan Bullen should not be queen,' for which he was brought before the earl and examined. Soon afterwards Catherine was removed to Buckden in Huntingdonshire, a seat of the Bishop of Lincoln. She was saluted as queen all the way along. The king and his council next took into consideration the reduction of her household, and of the allowance originally assigned for her dower by express treaty with Ferdinand. The severity of her treatment was so much increased that she became anxious for the utmost pressure to be put upon the pope, whose authority, she believed, might still avail to do her justice; but she was so surrounded by spies, that she hardly found it possible to write.

The indignities to which she had to submit were most galling. In July Anne Boleyn, looking forward to her own confinement, was eager to possess a very rich cloth brought by Catherine from Spain, and used by her at the baptism of her children. She was not ashamed to urge Henry to ask Catherine for it, and Henry was not ashamed to comply; but Catherine positively refused to give up

her property for a use so scandalous. After the birth of Elizabeth, Mary was told that she must give up the name of princess, just as her mother had been warned to give up that of queen. When she refused, the whole of her servants were dismissed, and she herself was compelled to dislodge and become a sort of waiting-woman attached to the train of her infant sister. Then, as it drew near Christmas, it was determined to make Catherine herself dislodge from Buckden and place her with a reduced household at Somersham in the Isle of Ely. The commissioners only failed to satisfy the king because they had not sufficient inhumanity or firmness to overcome Catherine's resistance by force. Buckden was by no means a healthy situation, but Somersham was worse, and it was hardly possible to avoid a suspicion that the king and Anne Boleyn were seeking to hasten her death. The commissioners dismissed a number of Catherine's servants who declined to be sworn to her anew as princess of Wales; but they failed with all the menaces they could use to get her to consent to her own removal. For six days they remained hoping to conquer her obstinacy; but she locked herself up in her own chamber, and told them through a hole in the wall that if they meant to remove her they must break open the doors and carry her off by force. They at length returned to the king with a confession that they had only been able to execute one part of their charge. Henry was very angry at their want of thoroughness!

It seems to have been about the beginning of November 1533 that the king saw fit to imprison Elizabeth Barton [see BARTON, ELIZABETH]. Nothing whatever was found in her evidence to implicate Catherine.

The life which she was then leading at Buckden was passed, as we are informed by Harpsfield, 'in much prayer, great alms, and abstinence. And when she was not in this way occupied then was she and her gentlewomen working with their own hands something wrought in needlework, costly and artificially, which she intended to the honour of God to bestow upon some churches. There was in the said house of Buckden a chamber with a window that had a prospect into the chapel, out of which she might hear divine service. In this chamber she enclosed herself, sequestered from all other company, a great part of the day and night, and upon her knees used to pray at the said window leaning upon the stones of the same. There was some of her gentlewomen that did curiously mark and observe all her doings, who reported that oftentimes they found the said stones so wet after her departure as

though it had rained upon them. It was credibly thought that in the time of her prayer she removed the cushions that ordinarily lay in the same window, and that the said stones were imbrued with the tears of her devout eyes' (*Pretended Divorce*, 200). He adds: 'I have credibly also heard that at a time when one of her gentlewomen began to curse the lady Anne Boleyn she answered, "Hold your peace. Curse her not, but pray for her; for the time will come shortly when you shall have much need to pity and lament her case."'

On 17 Jan. 1534 Chapuys writes that Catherine had never left her own room since that visit of the Duke of Suffolk, just a month before, except to hear mass in a gallery. She was at this time careful not to eat or drink anything placed before her by some new servants who had been assigned to her by Suffolk in place of those dismissed, and the little food she ventured to take was cooked by her chamberwomen in what was now alike her bedroom, her sitting-room, and her kitchen. The king, on the other hand, was anxious that she should not eat or drink anything that was not supplied by him, and her custodians, as Chapuys remarked, seemed anxious to give her an artificial dropsy. Her situation was but little improved when at last judgment was pronounced. On 23 March 1534 sentence was given by the pope in a secret consistory at Rome that her marriage with Henry was valid. But parliament had not only declared Anne Boleyn queen and Catherine princess dowager, but had passed two separate acts taking away the jointure of the latter and giving it to the former. Some opposition, indeed, was made to this in the commons, the representatives of London and some other cities fearing that as their constituencies had stood pledges for the fulfilment of the terms of the marriage treaty, English merchants might be ill-treated in Spain; but they were assured that the obligation had been abolished by a modification of the treaties to which the emperor had given his consent. Moreover the king produced a roll of certain lands, which he intended to give Catherine in exchange for those of her jointure, to the value of three thousand crowns a year, and the commons resisted no longer.

It was probably to announce the passing of this act that we find, by one letter of the period, the Duke of Norfolk and Fitzwilliam left the court on 14 March and rode towards Catherine; and towards the end of the month Chapuys indicates that both she and her daughter Mary had thought it advisable 'to show the king their teeth a little.'

This Mary did by refusing to accompany her infant sister on her removal from one house to another. Two doctors were sent to Catherine to summon her to swear to the new Act of Succession. She replied by intimating to the doctors the sentence given in her favour at Rome. She was forbidden to hold her maundy on Maundy Thursday, and about the end of April or beginning of May she was removed to Kimbolton, a house which had belonged to Sir Richard Wingfield, an English ambassador who had died in Spain some years before, and was still in possession of his heirs. It was a small mansion, but she was better lodged here than she had been at Buckden, for the king, we find, was anxious to contradict the rumours that had got abroad as to her ill-treatment. Here, on 21 May, she was visited by Lee, archbishop of York, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, sent to her by the king with a message. They were to explain and justify to her what had been done in parliament lest she should plead ignorance of the effect of the Act of Succession. Tunstall was frequently interrupted in his speech by Catherine, who with great anger and bitterness contradicted him on several points, and reminded him that he himself had given her opinions directly at variance with those he then attempted to justify. He replied that the decisions of universities and the proceedings of the legislature had since altered his judgment, and he counselled her to alter hers as well.

These sophistries, however, were but to smooth the way for the dreadful warning that disobedience to the statute involved the penalty of death. When this was intimated to her by the bishops, she became still more firm, and said if any one was ready to carry out the sentence upon her, let him come forward at once. It was clearly hopeless to intimidate her, and the king had to alter his policy. Only certain maids who had refused the oath were removed from her, and shut up in a chamber, while her confessor, physician, and apothecary were forbidden to leave the house. These three were Spaniards who had been long in her service; and Catherine, apparently by Chapuys's advice, sent her steward and gentleman usher to the king requesting that she might have their services again on their simply swearing allegiance to the king and to her as their mistress. She, however, sent another and evidently more important message as well, the exact terms of which we do not know. Her servants returned to her on 4 June bearing an answer from the privy council, which they had been ordered to put into writing and read to her.

The king and council first expressed their surprise at her obstinacy in persisting, in spite of all presumptions to the contrary, that she had been a maid when she married him. To this she replied by affirming it all the more strongly, and calling God to witness its truth. Secondly, she was told that her reliance on the sentence given at Rome was a mistake. It was delivered after the king had appealed to a general council; moreover the 'bishop of Rome' had no authority in England. She answered that she would hold by the pope's sentence. Thirdly, as to the request that her Spanish servants should be restored to her on swearing fealty to the king and herself 'and no other woman,' she must express herself more definitely; for the king could by no means allow them to swear to her as queen, though he might possibly consent to let them swear to her as princess dowager.

The strict imprisonment in which both she and her daughter were kept, and the harsh refusal to each of the natural comfort of the other's company, was intended to break down their opposition to the king piecemeal. For the same reason Chapuys, whom Catherine had desired to come to her, remained for weeks soliciting in vain license of the king to go, till he at length went of his own accord, setting out with sixty horses in his company through the whole length of London, and taking care that his object should be known as widely as possible. Even then he was met by messengers who told him that an interview could not be allowed; but he and his company went on and presented themselves before the place, where the queen and her suite, to the great satisfaction of all the country people, spoke to them from the battlements and windows.

Of sympathy there was no lack; several lords expressed their disappointment that the emperor did not send an expedition to England to vindicate the rights of his aunt and cousin. But the emperor was engaged in other matters. Cromwell was not ashamed to hint to the imperial ambassador that it was a pity the friendly relations between Henry and Charles should be in any danger from the regard of the latter for two ladies, who after all were mortal, seeing that if they were removed there could be no obstacle to cordiality. 'You may be sure,' writes Chapuys to Granville, 'they think day and night of getting rid of these good ladies.' In March 1535 the queen again determined to keep a maundy, and messengers were despatched in haste to court to know whether it should be allowed, on which the council determined that she might

do so as princess dowager, but not as queen, which of course was to Catherine practical prohibition.

There seemed little wanting to fill up the cup of Catherine's misery. And yet the relentless course of the king's tyranny in 1535 inspired her with a new terror. First the Carthusian monks were dragged to execution for denying the king to be supreme head of the church of England; then Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More suffered the same fate. Till now she had never realised to herself how far her husband would dare to outrage the common feelings of all Christendom, or how he could even do so with impunity. The whole civilised world was shocked, and the pope fulminated a sentence against Henry to deprive him of his kingdom; but no relief came to Catherine.

About the beginning of December 1535 she became seriously unwell, and though she recovered for a time, she had a relapse the day after Christmas. She was believed then to be on the point of death, and the fact being intimated to Chapuys, he obtained the king's permission to visit her. He arrived on the morning of New-year's day, and was at once admitted to her presence; after which she desired him to rest, and thought she could sleep a little herself, for she had not had more than two hours' sleep altogether during the previous six days. On the evening of that same day a devoted countrywoman of her own found means to be admitted to her presence without a passport. It was Lady Willoughby, formerly Maria de Salinas, one of her maids of honour, who came with her from Spain, now mother-in-law to Henry VIII's favourite, the Duke of Suffolk. She appeared before the gates of Kimbolton Castle, saying she had travelled in haste fearing she would be too late to see Catherine again alive. She begged leave at once to come in and warm herself, as she suffered bitterly from the cold, and also from a fall from her horse. It was impossible to disoblige a lady of such high social position. She was admitted to the hall, and even to Catherine's chamber; and once there, she remained with her old mistress to the end. 'We neither saw her again, nor beheld any of her letters,' wrote Bedingfield, who, under the name of steward, was Catherine's custodian (STRYPPE, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, i. pt. i. 372).

Chapuys stayed four days at Kimbolton, during which time he had an audience of Catherine every day. Her spirits revived, she took better rest and nourishment, and her physician thought her out of immediate danger. Chapuys accordingly took leave of her on Tuesday night, 4 Jan., and left

Kimbolton on the Wednesday morning after learning that she had slept well. After midnight, in the early hours of Friday, 7 Jan., she became restless, and asked frequently what o'clock it was, merely, as she explained, that she might hear mass. George Athequa, the Bishop of Llandaff, offered to say it for her at four o'clock, but she objected, giving him reasons and authorities in Latin why it should not be at that hour. At daybreak she received the sacrament. She then desired her servants to pray for her, and also to pray that God might forgive her husband. She caused her physician to write her will, which she dictated to him in the form of a supplication to her husband, because she knew that by the law of England a married woman had no right to make a will of her own. She desired to be buried in a convent of Observant friars, not knowing, in all probability, that the whole order of the Observants had been suppressed and driven out of the kingdom more than a year before. She also desired five hundred masses to be said for her soul, and ordained a few small legacies. At ten o'clock she received extreme unction, repeating devoutly all the responses. At two o'clock in the afternoon she passed away.

These particulars are derived from a despatch of Chapuys written a fortnight later. The will which she dictated is still extant in two forms, French and English. From Polydore Vergil, likewise a contemporary, we learn that she also dictated to one of her maids a last letter to the king, forgiving him all he had done to her, and beseeching him to be a good father to their daughter Mary. 'Lastly,' she concludes, 'I vow that mine eyes desire you above all things.' This brief epistle, of which the text is given in a Latin form by Polydore Vergil, is said by him to have brought tears into Henry's eyes. Unhappily, this does not harmonise with Chapuys's report of the way in which Henry received the news of her death. 'God be praised!' he exclaimed, 'we are now delivered from all fear of war.' The possibility that the emperor might at last lead an expedition against England to avenge the wrongs of his aunt was now at an end. The only cause that could disturb their friendship or interfere with Henry's perfect freedom of action was removed. And the king was at no pains to conceal his satisfaction, appearing next day at a ball attired in yellow from head to foot, with a white feather in his cap.

Perhaps this indecent joy of Henry's affords in itself a reasonable presumption that a certain not unnatural suspicion of Chapuys's was really without foundation. More than two months before the king had

declared to some of his privy councillors that he really could remain no longer a prey to such anxiety as he had endured on account of Catherine and her daughter, and they must devise some means of relieving him at the coming parliament. The death of Catherine, therefore, furnished precisely the relief which he required; and there was much in the circumstances besides to suggest the idea of poison. Even before her death her physician, in answer to Chapuys's inquiries, owned that he suspected it. She had never been well, he said, since she had drunk a certain Welsh beer. Yet the symptoms were unlike ordinary poison, and he could only suppose that it was something very special. Such an opinion, of course, is of very little weight when we consider the low state of medical science at the time. But after her death steps were at once taken to embalm the body and close it up in lead with a secrecy that does seem rather to suggest foul play. Eight hours after she died the chandler of the house with two assistants came to do the work, everybody else being turned out of the room, including even the physician and the Bishop of Llandaff, the deceased lady's confessor. The chandler afterwards informed the bishop, but as a great secret, which would cost him his life if it were revealed, that he had found all the internal organs sound except the heart, which was black and frightful to look at; that he had washed it three times, but it remained of the same colour, then cut it open and found the inside black also; and further, that he had found a certain round black object adhering to the outside of the heart.

The bishop took the physician into his confidence, and the latter was distinctly of opinion that the symptoms indicated poison. But it must be said that (as has been shown by Dr. Norman Moore) the medical science of the present day is quite opposed to this conclusion, and that the symptoms now are known to be those of a disease called by the profession melanotic sarcoma, or more popularly, cancer of the heart (*Athenæum*, 31 Jan. 1885, p. 152; 14 Feb. p. 215; 28 Feb. p. 281). We may therefore put aside the suspicions of murder. Abroad in the world Henry had not the temerity to express his joy. He gave orders for a stately funeral becoming the person of one whom he recognised as a sister-in-law, besides being daughter of the late King Ferdinand of Arragon (*Archæol.* xvi. 23). The abbey church of Peterborough was appointed to receive her remains, and thither on 27 and 28 Jan., three weeks after her death, they were conveyed

with much solemnity and heraldic pomp, accompanied by a numerous train of noblemen, gentlemen, and ladies. At night on the 27th the body rested at Sawtry Abbey, about midway between Kimbolton and Peterborough. The rest of the journey was accomplished next day. The interment itself took place on the 29th. Her own daughter was not allowed to attend the ceremony, and the place of chief mourner was filled by Henry's niece, Eleanor, the daughter of the Duke of Suffolk.

Catherine was of a fair complexion and, to judge by her portraits, the best known of which is by Holbein, somewhat plump. Her constitution must have been naturally strong, but her tastes do not appear to have been such as commonly go with a vigorous habit of body. She seems to have cared little for hunting and field-sports, and loved to occupy herself with her needle. Her piety, which she inherited from her mother, was nursed by misfortune and neglect from her earliest years. She relied mainly for spiritual advice on the counsels of Franciscan friars of the reformed order called Observants, from whom during her early life in England she chose a confessor, and among whom, as we have seen, she desired to find a place of sepulture. That she was a devoted student of the Bible we know from Erasmus. It is remarkable that the great scholar dedicated to her in 1526 (just a year before the king's project of a divorce was talked about) his work on 'Christian Matrimony,' which he probably wrote at her suggestion.

[Mariana, *Historia General de España*; Bernaldez, *Historia de los Reyes Católicos* D. Fernando y Doña Isabel; Leland's *Collectanea*, v. 352-73; Brewer and Gairdner's *Cal. of State Papers*, Henry VIII; Bergenroth and Gayangos's *Cal. of State Papers* (Spanish); Gairdner's *Memorials of Henry VII.* and *Letters, &c.*, of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII.; *State Papers*, Henry VIII.; Hall's *Chronicle*; Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*; Harpsfield's *Treatise on the Pretended Divorce between Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon*; Forrester's *History of Grisild the Second* (Roxburghe Club); Transcripts from Vienna Archives in the Public Record Office. Of modern lives of Catherine, even the best, that of Miss Strickland, has become obsolete owing to the large amount of new information, supplied chiefly from the archives of Spain and Vienna, which will be found in the *Calendars*. There are, indeed, more recent studies by Albert Du Boys and the late Mr. Hepworth Dixon, but even these are founded on imperfect knowledge, and many of the statements of the latter in his *History of Two Queens* are utterly unsupported by the authorities he himself adduces.]

J. G.

CATHERINE HOWARD (*d.* 1542), fifth queen of Henry VIII., was the daughter of Lord Edmund Howard, a younger son of Thomas, second duke of Norfolk, the victor of Flodden Field. Her mother was Lord Edmund's first wife, Joyce or Jocosa, daughter of Sir Richard Culpepper of Kent, one of that family who afterwards became lords of the manor of Holingbourne. According to her latest biographer, she was widow of Sir John Leigh of Stockwell, but this is certainly a mistake, for not only was she Lord Edmund's wife long before Sir John Leigh's death in 1523, but it appears by the inquisition on Leigh's lands (15 *Hen. VIII.*, No. 69) that he willed certain property after his decease, in the event of two nephews dying without issue, to Lord Edmund and this very Jocosa his wife, who therefore could never have been the wife of Sir John Leigh, but, as it appears by other evidence, had been the wife of his brother Ralph Leigh (*Archæologia Cantiana*, iv. 264; MANNING and BRAY, *Surrey*, iii. 497). Further, as regards the date of Catherine's birth, it is said that she was the fifth child in the family, and Miss Strickland infers that she could not have been born before 1521 or 1522, because, as she informs us, Lord Edmund Howard was one of the bachelor noblemen who accompanied Mary Tudor to France in 1515. It is unfortunate that we are not told the source of this information. Mary Tudor really went to France in 1514, but we have sought in vain for evidence that Lord Edmund went thither along with her, or that he was a bachelor at that date. On the other hand, as Lord Edmund is believed to have been born between 1478 and 1480 (*Howard Memorials*, 12), and we know for certain that his father-in-law, Sir Richard Culpepper, died in 1484 (*Hasted, Kent*, ii. 188, 223, &c.), it is not in itself a very probable thing that he waited till he was over thirty-five to marry a woman who was over thirty.

Whatever the truth may be on this point, it is certain that she had a very bad education. Her father was wretchedly poor. For services at Flodden the king rewarded him with a grant of three shillings and fourpence a day, to continue for three years (*Cal. Hen. VIII.*, ii. 1463), at the end of which time he was allowed 'diets for taking thieves' at twenty shillings a day, for about a year and a quarter (*ib.* pp. 1473-4, 1478). But with a family of ten children he found it hard to maintain himself, and he was compelled at times to avoid his creditors, and those who had stood surety for him were arrested in his stead (*ELLIS, Letters*, 3rd series, i. 160; *Cal. Hen. VIII.*, vol. iv. Nos.

3730-1). At last he was made controller of Calais, but even the emoluments of that post hardly sufficed by themselves to relieve him from his difficulties without some additional assistance, which Cromwell seems to have procured for him (*Cal.* vol. v. No. 1042). His first wife died, and he married a second, named Dorothy Troyes, when apparently he was glad to hand over the care of his daughter Catherine to his mother, the old Duchess Agnes of Norfolk.

A musician named Henry Mannoock or Manox, belonging to the duchess's retinue at Horsham in Norfolk, who taught Catherine the use of the virginals, got on terms of familiarity with the neglected girl, and one of the duchess's women, named Isabel, carried tokens between them. After a while Isabel married and left the household, and one Dorothy Barwick of Horsham became confidante in her place. The Duchess of Norfolk, however, removed her household to Lambeth, the suburban residence of the Howard family, not, as has been suggested, with a view to the coronation of Anne Boleyn, because it appears from the deposition of Mannoock that he first entered her service about 1536, the year of Anne Boleyn's fall, so that the earliest instance of Catherine's misconduct must have occurred within four years of her marriage. Catherine, however, came to Lambeth, and had for a companion in the same dormitory one Mary Lassells, who had been nurse to her aunt, Lady William Howard, and after her death in 1533 (*Howard Memorials*, 87) had passed into the service of the duchess. Here some conversations took place, of which Catherine was the subject, between Mary Lassells and Dorothy Barwick, who said that Mannoock was betrothed to Catherine. 'What!' exclaimed Mary Lassells, addressing Mannoock, 'meanest thou to play the fool of this fashion? Knowest thou not that an' my lady of Norfolk know of the love between thee and Mrs. Howard she will undo thee?' Mannoock replied with gross effrontery, and in a way that certainly showed very little real respect for Catherine, declaring that she had promised to be his mistress, and had allowed him already to take the most indecent liberties with her. On being informed of what he said, she was indignant, and went with Mary Lassells to seek him out and reproach him. The affair passed over, and nothing more seems to have been heard of it for years. But another lover appeared in the retinue of the Duke of Norfolk, one Francis Dereham, who was some way or other a kinsman of her own, and was favoured by the old duchess. The couple interchanged love tokens. He

gave Catherine a silk heart's-ease, and she gave him a band and sleeves for a shirt. It is clear that the couple were fully engaged to each other, and such an engagement, according to the views then prevalent, invalidated any subsequent marriage that was at variance with it. So Francis Dereham and Catherine Howard called each other husband and wife, although their engagement was not known to the world. One day it was remarked that he kissed her very freely, and he replied, 'Who should hinder him from kissing his own wife?' Still the matter was kept so quiet that the old duchess under whose roof Catherine lived knew but little of what passed between them. Dereham brought his mistress wine, strawberries, apples, and other things after my lady was gone to bed, and Catherine was even suspected of having sometimes stolen the keys to let him in at a later hour.

It appears that this attachment was broken off on Catherine's being called to court. In anticipation of that event Dereham had said that he would not remain in the duchess's household after she was gone, to which, according to her own account afterwards, she replied 'that he might do as he list.' Dereham himself apparently gave a different account of the parting, according to which Catherine replied that it grieved her as much as him, and tears trickled down her cheeks in confirmation of what she said. Catherine, as queen, denied this utterly. Perhaps it is more charitable to herself to believe the story of her lover. He left the duchess's household and went to Ireland, or perhaps scoured the Irish seas for some time, for he was afterwards accused of piracy. He returned before Catherine was queen, and heard a report that she was engaged to be married to her cousin young Thomas Culpepper. He demanded an answer from herself if it were true. 'What should you trouble me therewith?' she answered, 'for you know I will not have you. And if you heard such report, you heard more than I do know.'

In 1540 the king had married Anne of Cleves. The marriage was from the first distasteful to the king. A catholic reaction had already set in, and Bishop Gardiner, who had for some time been excluded from the king's councils, was recalled to court. He entertained the king in his own house, and it was under the bishop's roof that a familiarity first grew up between Henry and Catherine Howard, which the bishop apparently did his best to encourage. No one, of course, could have ventured to hint at a divorce from Anne of Cleves till it was clear that the king himself was bent on it, and Richard

Hilles, an English merchant, who favoured the new doctrines, writing to Henry Bullinger, at Zürich, says distinctly it was the object of the catholic party at first to set up Catherine as a rival to the queen in a less honourable position. The king, however, had views of his own, and a rumour gradually got abroad that the queen was to be divorced and the young lady to take her place. The position certainly took herself as well as the world by surprise. Old associates, beginning to perceive how matters stood, pressed their claims upon her. It was rumoured, indeed, that the king had not only begun to love her, but had actually made her pregnant before Anne of Cleves was divorced (*Cal.*, Venice, v. 87). The report was wrong, certainly, as a matter of fact. Anne of Cleves was divorced by a decree of convocation on 9 July, and parliament besought the king, 'for the good of his people,' to enter the matrimonial state yet a fifth time in the hope of more numerous issue. He accordingly married Catherine, quite privately, at Oatlands, on 28 July (*Third Report of Dep.-Keeper of Public Records*, App. ii. 264), and on 8 Aug. publicly acknowledged her as his queen at Hampton Court. On the 15th she was prayed for in all the churches by that title.

The couple spent a fortnight at Windsor, and thence made a brief progress by Reading, Ewelme, and other places to Grafton and Ampthill, returning to Windsor on 22 Oct. Just after they had departed on this tour a priest at Windsor was arrested along with another person for speaking unfitting words of the queen, but the matter seems to have been trivial, for the priest was dismissed with a mere admonition, and nothing more appears to have come of it. Some very ill-founded rumours were also set afloat that the king might possibly repudiate Catherine and take back Anne of Cleves as his queen. But those rumours soon died away, as the fact was apparent that the king was, for the time at least, thoroughly enamoured of his new spouse. Opinions, indeed, were divided as to her beauty, which the French ambassador Marillac thought only mediocre, but even he admitted that she had a very winning countenance.

Partly to quiet his northern subjects and partly to meet James V of Scotland at York, the king, in July, set out on a progress along with Catherine. They passed by Dunstable, Ampthill, Grafton, and Northampton, through Lincolnshire, into Yorkshire, reaching Pontefract in the latter part of August, where they remained till the beginning of September. During this period took place

some of those stolen interviews with former lovers which, even if they were not actually criminal, helped to bring Catherine to confusion. At Lincoln, and again at Pontefract, Lady Rochford procured meetings between her and her cousin Culpepper, one of which lasted from eleven at night till three in the morning. How interviews at such hours were kept from the king's knowledge is not explained to us, but Lady Rochford set a watch on back entrances, and the affair was effectually concealed. At Pontefract, on 27 Aug., Catherine appointed Francis Dereham as her secretary, perhaps as the best way of keeping matters quiet, though it was obviously a dangerous expedient. The royal party went on to York, where they arrived in the middle of September, but James did not make his appearance, and in the end of the month they began to move homewards again. On 1 Oct. they reached Hull, where they stayed five days, and then passed on, by Kettleby, Colly Weston, and Ampthill, to Windsor and Hampton Court, where they arrived on the 30th to keep the feast of All Saints' on 1 Nov.

The solemnities of All Saints' day were duly performed, and the king ordered the Bishop of Lincoln, his confessor, to give thanks to God with him for the good life he led and hoped to lead, 'after sundry troubles of mind which had happened to him by marriages' with her who was now his queen. But next day at mass Archbishop Cranmer put a paper into the king's hand which he requested him to read in the strictest privacy. It contained information given him by John Lassells, the brother of that Mary Lassells who had been a servant of the old Duchess of Norfolk, and who was now married in Sussex. Knowing her old familiarity with Catherine, Lassells had advised his sister to apply for service with the queen. She replied that she would not, but was very sorry for the queen. 'Why so?' asked Lassells, and his sister told him in reply of her former intercourse with Dereham and Mannock, and that a maid in the house had refused to share her bedroom in consequence. Perplexed with this dreadful news, the archbishop at first consulted the lord chancellor and the Earl of Hertford, who agreed that it ought to be communicated to the king, and that no one was so fit to do it as the archbishop himself.

Henry was unable at first to believe the news, and he ordered a strict investigation. The lord privy seal (Fitzwilliam, earl of Southampton) was despatched secretly first to London to examine Lassells, the informant, and then into Sussex to examine his sister, making a pretence of hunting. Sir



Thomas Wriothesley was at the same time sent to London to examine Mannock, and to arrest Dereham, not on the charge of criminal intercourse with the queen, but on a charge of piracy. On being questioned, however, Dereham himself confessed to having frequently lain with the queen. Mannock confessed to no such intercourse, but admitted that he had been allowed to take liberties. The result of the secret investigations was most painfully convincing. The king shed bitter tears over the discovery—a thing, as his privy council observed, ‘which was strange in his courage.’ It was months before he recovered his old buoyancy of spirits.

He commissioned Archbishop Cranmer, Lord-chancellor Audley, the Duke of Norfolk, the lord chamberlain, and the Bishop of Winchester to wait upon the queen and interrogate her upon the matter. She at first denied her guilt till she found that denial was hopeless. She then disclosed everything, and the archbishop took her confession in writing. Thus the case was complete against both her and her accomplices by their own confession; but it was not admitted that since her marriage with the king anything criminal had taken place. It might be doubted whether a capital charge could be founded on these acts alone; but even the use of torture did not wring more from Dereham, and the king could only point to the vehement presumption of criminal acts done afterwards.

As regards Catherine herself, if the case could have been judged impartially, she had really committed adultery in marrying the king, not in any acts done with Dereham. But she steadily denied that she had ever consented to become Dereham's wife. After her confession Cranmer was sent to her again. The archbishop found her almost out of her mind with terror. The announcement of the king's intended mercy relieved her anxiety for a moment; but little could be extracted from her.

On 11 Nov. Cranmer was instructed to proceed further, and when he had obtained all the information he could get to take the queen's keys from her, and intimate the king's pleasure that she should remove on Monday to Sion House. She was still to have the name and dignity of queen, but with a very much reduced establishment. Next day a confession by her was signed by Cranmer and the council (Document at Longleat); on the same day the lord chancellor declared to the judges the fact of the queen's misconduct; and such members of the council as had been privy to the investigation were instructed to set forth the whole

matter on Sunday the 13th to the ladies and gentlemen of the household, without making mention of any pre-contract with Dereham. The king and his council were evidently bent on establishing a case of adultery, but the information as yet would hardly serve. The pre-contract would have invalidated the marriage altogether, and there were no evidences of unlawful intercourse after the marriage had taken place. But if this could not be established in the case of Dereham, there was a considerable presumption in that of Culpepper. Catherine, however, had not yet fully confessed all that had passed between herself and her cousin; and Cranmer, Paulet, and Wriothesley were instructed to question her further.

Meanwhile, the old Duchess of Norfolk, on hearing that the queen and Dereham were arrested, sent a servant named Pewson to Hampton Court to learn particulars. She certainly knew that Catherine had in past years held stolen interviews under her roof both with Mannock and with Dereham. She, moreover, had even then in her custody two coffers belonging to Dereham, which contained papers apparently of some importance. She hastily broke them open and examined what was in them.

Now, the duke her stepson was sent to Lambeth to search Dereham's coffers, and when it was found that she had done so herself, it was naturally suspected that she had destroyed some papers that would somehow have compromised her. She was closely questioned and professed that her only motive was to search for evidences and send them to the king. She foresaw clearly her committal to the Tower, from which she did not hope to come out alive. Pewson also was arrested; and all who had opportunities of knowing the queen's misconduct were likewise placed in custody. Among these were her uncle, Lord William Howard, and his wife, her aunt, the Countess of Bridgewater, Joan Bulmer, Catherine Tylney, one Robert Davenport, and a number of others.

Meanwhile, Culpepper and Dereham were tried and condemned on 1 Dec. The evidence against them had been elicited from themselves and others, partly by the use of torture. Yet Culpepper denied his guilt to the last. There is in the Record Office a letter addressed to him by Catherine Howard before she was queen, which reads, to say the least, not unlike a love letter, and shows that even in those days Lady Rochford was a medium of communication between them; but it proves nothing as to criminal intimacy. Lady Rochford would have been brought to trial at the same time but that

three days after her arrest she went completely out of her mind with the horror of the situation. She was, however, very carefully tended in order that she might afterwards be put upon her trial and brought to condign punishment. The queen, too, still remained untried at Sion House, while her guilt was prejudged by the sentences already executed upon Dereham and Culpepper.

She remained untried even when another batch of prisoners, including Lord William Howard, Robert Davenport, Catherine Tylene, and several others of less note, was brought up at the Guildhall three weeks later, and condemned of misprision for concealing what they knew. These received their sentence on 22 Dec., which was perpetual imprisonment and forfeiture of goods to the king. The Duchess of Norfolk was pardoned her life, confessing that she had done wrong in breaking up Dereham's coffers; and perhaps she saved herself even from very extreme treatment by revealing to the lord privy seal and Mr. Secretary Wriothesley the place where she had hidden a sum of 800*l*. Ultimately she received a complete pardon and was released from her confinement on 5 May 1542 (see STRICKLAND, iii. 172). But for the present she was kept close. So many were involved in the charge of concealing Catherine's misconduct that there was no room in the ordinary prisons, and special arrangements were made for receiving them in the king's and queen's lodgings. They were visited in their cells by the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Southampton, Sussex, and Hertford, and other members of the privy council.

Yet it was to show his clemency, according to current report, that Henry did not bring Catherine to trial until parliament met (Chapuis to Charles V, 3 Dec., in FROUDE'S *The Pilgrim*, p. 159). In other words, he would not appear of his own accord to break his promise of pardon to her. On 16 Jan. 1542 parliament met at Westminster, and on the 21st a bill of attainder against the queen and Lady Rochford was read for the first time. The names of the Duchess of Norfolk, Lord William Howard, and others were also included in the bill as guilty of misprision. The second reading, however, was postponed for an unusual time. On the 28th the lord chancellor declared to the house certain reasons why it should not be hastily proceeded with; the queen was not a mere private person, and her cause ought to be thoroughly weighed; and he suggested that a deputation from both houses should wait upon her and encourage her to speak boldly whatever she had to say in her own

defence. The deputation was agreed to, subject to the king's approval, but on the Monday following (30 Jan.) the chancellor explained that it had been put off by advice of the council, who thought it more important that they should petition his majesty, first, not to take his misfortune too heavily, considering how the weal of the whole realm depended upon him; secondly, that they might confirm in parliament the attainder of Culpepper and Dereham; thirdly, that parliament should be free to proceed to judgment in the case of the queen and her other confederates that the matter might no longer hang in doubt; fourthly, that afterwards the king might give his assent to what was done by commission under the great seal without words or ceremony which would renew his pain; and, fifthly, that if any had offended the statutes in speaking freely of the queen, they should have the benefit of a general pardon.

All this seems very much like a roundabout way of relieving the king from the imputation of breach of faith for bringing Catherine to the block after he had promised to spare her life.

A curious point as to parliamentary practice in those days arises from a study of the different evidences bearing upon this case. Chapuis, the imperial ambassador, writing to Charles V on 29 Jan., says that 'the resolution of the peers will be laid before the representatives of the people in two days;' and in the paragraph immediately following he adds:—'At the very moment I was writing the above I was informed that the commons house had this morning come to the same resolution about the queen and the ladies as the bishops and peers have done, and the queen, it is to be feared, will be soon sent to the Tower.' What Chapuis refers to as 'the resolution' of the peers seems to have been the first reading of the bill; and the question suggests itself, whether a bill once read in the lords could have gone down to the lower house and passed through the different stages there before it came before the peers again for a second reading. Unfortunately, we have no journals of the House of Commons at that date; but the interval that elapsed before the second reading in the lords rather favours the supposition.

The bill was read there a second time on 6 Feb., and a third time on the day following. Before the royal assent was given the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Southampton waited on the queen and obtained from her a very pitiful confession, accompanied by a prayer that her crime might not be visited

upon her family, and that the king would allow some of her dresses to be given to those servants who had attended her since she fell into disgrace. She still seemed, or at least was reported to be only a few days before, 'very cheerful and more plump and pretty than ever; as careful about her dress and as imperious and wilful as at the time when she was with the king.' Yet she now looked for nothing but death, unless she was still buoyed up by a vain confidence in the king's promised word, to which she did not venture to appeal, and she only asked that her execution should be private. On 10 Feb. she was conveyed from Sion House to the Tower by water by the Duke of Suffolk, the lord privy seal, and the lord chamberlain. Next day the royal assent was given to the bill in parliament by commission, and the Duke of Suffolk and Lord Southampton declared the result of their interview with the queen. There is no appearance, however, that her confession extended to acts of infidelity after marriage. On the evening of Sunday, 12 Feb., she was informed that she was to die on the following day. She desired that the block on which she was to suffer might be brought to her that she might know how to place herself. Her wish was gratified, and she made a kind of rehearsal of the coming tragedy. Next morning at seven o'clock all the king's council except the Duke of Suffolk, who was unwell, and her uncle Norfolk, presented themselves at the Tower to witness the execution, her cousin, the poet Surrey, with the rest. She was beheaded in the same place where Anne Boleyn had suffered. A cloth was thrown over her body, and some ladies carried it away. Lady Rochford, still in a kind of frenzy, was brought out and suffered the same fate. 'They made the most godly and christian end,' writes a London merchant three days after to his brother at Calais, 'that ever was heard of, uttering their lively faith in the blood of Christ only, and with godly words and steadfast countenances they desired all christian people to take regard unto their worthy and just punishment.'

The features of Catherine Howard have been preserved in two portraits, the one a drawing by Holbein, engraved by Bartolozzi, the other a miniature supposed till lately to represent Catherine Parr, engraved in Mrs. Dent's '*Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley*' (as to the latter see MR. SCHARF's remarks in the *Archæologia*, xl. 84). It would seem that she had hazel eyes, auburn hair, and a bright, cheerful face, but such as might very well justify Marillac's opinion that her beauty was only commonplace.

[State Papers, i. 689-712, 721-8; Burnet, ed. Pocock, v. 249-52; Third Report of Dep.-Keeper of Public Records, App. ii. 261-6; Nicolas's Privy Council Proceedings, vii. 17, 21, 147, 352-6; Journals of the House of Lords, i. 168, 171-2, 175-6; Kaulek's Correspondance Politique de Castillon et de Marillac; Froude's *The Pilgrim*, pp. 158-62; unpublished manuscripts in Public Record Office. A modern life of Catherine will be found in Miss Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. iii.] J. G.

**CATHERINE PARR (1512-1548)**, sixth and last queen of Henry VIII, was the daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal in Westmoreland, by Maud, daughter of Sir Thomas Green of Boughton and Green's Norton, Northamptonshire. Sir Thomas Parr was master of the wards and controller of the household to Henry VIII. He died on 11 Nov. 1517, leaving behind him three infant children in charge of his widow, to whom by his will he left all his lands for the term of her life. But he desired that his son William should have a rich gold chain of the value of 140*l.*, which he had received as a present from the king, and that his two daughters, Catherine and Anne, should have 800*l.* between them as marriage portions. His widow, who at his death was only twenty-two, could hardly have failed to receive offers with a view to a second marriage, but, unlike most of the wealthy widows of those days, she refused them, and devoted herself to the education of her children. Catherine became an accomplished scholar, as her own writings remain to testify. Not only had she full command of Latin, but she was familiar with Greek as well, and had acquired great facility in the use of modern languages also.

In 1523 a negotiation was set on foot by Lord Dacre, between his son-in-law, Lord Scrope, and the Lady Maud Parr, for the marriage of Catherine, when she should attain a suitable age, to Lord Scrope's son. By the correspondence it appears that Catherine was not then twelve years old, so that she could not have been born before 1512 (Miss Strickland, placing the correspondence in 1524, though the dates July and December of the 15th year of Henry VIII refer to 1523, infers erroneously that she was not born before 1513). But the terms of the offer were not such as the Lady Maud could accept in accordance with her late husband's will, and the affair was broken off. A more satisfactory settlement, it may be presumed, from a pecuniary point of view, was afterwards offered by one Edward Borough, who became her first husband. It is to be hoped that modern writers are mistaken in identi-

fying him with Edward, lord Borough of Gainsborough, an old man said to have been 'distracted of memorie,' whose second son had married a woman fourteen years Catherine's senior. Catherine herself could have been little more than a girl at the time, for she was certainly not seventeen at the utmost when Lord Borough died, which was in 1529, if not earlier. But we know too well that such revolting unions were not uncommon in those days, and were approved of even by mothers generally studious of their children's welfare. Lady Maud died in 1529 also.

Catherine next became the wife of John Neville, lord Latimer, a nobleman of extensive possessions, who had been twice married already, and had two children by his second wife. Snape Hall in Yorkshire was his principal seat, but he also possessed considerable estates in Worcestershire, which he settled on Catherine. The most notable event in his life was the part he took in 1536 in the rising called the Pilgrimage of Grace. Lord Latimer was appointed by the insurgents one of their delegates to represent their grievances, and the result of the negotiations was a general pardon. A new rebellion broke out early in the following year, but from this movement Latimer kept himself clear. He seems to have been in favour with the king, as it appears that his wife interceded successfully, about 1540, for the release from prison of Sir George Throgmorton, her uncle by marriage, who had been involved in a charge of treason by the fact of his brother being in the service of Cardinal Pole.

Lord Latimer died towards the close of 1542, or perhaps in the beginning of 1543. His will, which was dated 12 Sept. 1542, bequeathed to his widow the manors of Nunmonkton and Hamerton. She was immediately sought in marriage by Sir Thomas Seymour, brother of the deceased queen Jane, who became lord admiral under Edward VI, and it seems that she fully intended to become his wife, but that her will, as she wrote to him in later days, was 'overruled by a higher power.' The higher power, whatever she may have meant by the expression, was in fact King Henry. It is stated, but not on very good authority, that when she first received his addresses she was terrified, and replied with considerable truth 'that it was better to be his mistress than his wife.' But this only made him press his suit the more, and on 12 July 1543, not many months after the decease of her last husband, she was married to the king at Hampton Court by Gardiner, bishop of Win-

chester, in the presence of Henry's two daughters, Mary and Elizabeth. That she exercised a really wholesome influence over the king there can be no doubt. At the time of her marriage the dreadful severities of the Act of the Six Articles were being daily enforced. Catherine interceded for the victims of this persecution, and its violence abated to some extent while she was queen. She also procured the restoration of both Henry's daughters Mary and Elizabeth, who had been for some years treated as bastards, to their position as princesses, and she interceded particularly for Elizabeth, who a year after her marriage incurred her father's displeasure, and obtained her pardon, for which Elizabeth wrote her a very grateful epistle.

In 1544 an act was passed enabling the king to settle the succession by will on any children that he might have by Catherine. This enactment was made in view of the fact that Henry was about to cross the Channel to invade France in person; and by an ordinance of the privy council Catherine was, on 7 July 1544, appointed regent in her husband's absence. Her signature as regent, of which many specimens exist, is not a little peculiar from the fact that she appended her initials (K. P., for Katherine Parr) to the name itself, which is always written 'Kateryn the Quene Regente, K. P.' In this capacity she ordered, on 19 Sept., a public thanksgiving for the taking of Boulogne. But Henry returned to England on 1 Oct., and her regency was at an end.

The interest taken by Catherine in the studies and education of her step-children appears in many ways. Some have thought that even the handwriting of young Edward VI bears a resemblance to hers, which must have been due to her personal superintendence of his schooling, and it is a fact that Edward himself, writing to her in French, praises her *belle écriture* as something which apparently made him ashamed to write himself. But a more striking evidence was given on the last day of this same year, 1544, by the Princess Elizabeth, then little more than eleven years old, presenting her with an autograph translation, 'out of French rhyme into English prose,' of a work entitled 'The Glassee of the Synneful Soule,' beautifully written on vellum in small 4to, which she submitted to her for correction and improvement. Further, we have a letter from Catherine herself to the Princess Mary encouraging her to publish a translation of Erasmus's 'Paraphrase of the Gospels' with her own name appended. Piety and love of letters were indeed marked features of Catherine's character. Ascham addressed her in

letters from Cambridge as *eruditissima Regina*; and not only was she a promoter of learning, but she occupies herself a place in the roll of English authoresses. One of her works, entitled 'The Lamentation or Complaint of a Sinner,' was published by Sir William Cecil in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Her biographers speak of her as a convert to protestantism, and suggest that her conversion probably took place after the death of Lord Latimer. But there could be no conversion to protestantism where there existed no such thing as a protestant community to declare what protestant principles were. In England most men had confessed the royal supremacy, and remained as good catholics as ever. A total repudiation of authority in such matters was then unheard of, and the open recognition of schism was out of the question. That Catherine favoured reformers like Miles Coverdale and Nicholas Udall by no means indicates that she was very anxious to commit herself to very advanced opinions. She employed Udall, who was master of Eton, to edit the translation of Erasmus's 'Paraphrases' by the Princess Mary, and it cannot be supposed that she purposely selected an editor whom Mary herself would at that time have considered an inveterate enemy of the truth.

Nevertheless, the question was perpetually arising, ever since Henry had proclaimed his own supremacy over the church, whether this or that opinion was really dangerous. Henry had to consider how much innovation he would tolerate in others besides the repudiation of the pope's authority. And now towards the end of his reign he found himself involved in a babel of controversy, of which he openly complained in parliament. He was becoming fretful and irritated over the whole business, and the pain he suffered from an ulcerated leg did not tend to make his temper more pleasant.

Catherine nursed his ulcerated leg and also conversed with him occasionally on the new theological questions that arose. On one occasion she had the misfortune to take a different view from the king. 'A good hearing it is,' he exclaimed afterwards, 'when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife!' We know not at this day what was the knotty question, and we need not take Foxe's word for it that Gardiner and Wriothesley conspired the queen's death. If the story has not been exaggerated, articles of heresy were actually drawn up against the queen and signed by the king's own hand, while she remained utterly unconscious. But

one of the council let the paper fall from his bosom, and it was brought to her, on which she 'fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort as was lamentable to see.' In fact, it made her really very unwell, and the king sent his physicians to her, and also visited her himself to comfort her. Then, as she began to recover, she in return visited the king in his chamber, and when Henry led the conversation on to matters of religion she was careful to declare that it would be highly unbecoming in her to assert opinions of her own, especially in opposition to the king's wisdom. It was only meant 'to minister talk' and wile away the time in his infirmity. 'Is it so, sweetheart?' exclaimed the king; 'then we are perfect friends.' The very next day, while the king and queen were taking the air in the garden at Hampton Court, the lord chancellor arrived with forty of the king's guard, to arrest her and three ladies of her company. On seeing him the king suddenly broke off conversation with the queen, and, calling the lord chancellor aside, had a brief interview with him, in which Catherine could only distinguish the words 'knave! beast! and fool!' Catherine, on the king's returning to her, begged if the chancellor had done wrong that she might be allowed to intercede for him, believing that it must have been by mistake. 'Ah, poor soul!' replied the king, 'thou little knowest, Kate, how ill he deserveth this at thy hands. On my word, sweetheart, he hath been to thee a very knave!' The story rests only on the authority of Foxe, and has doubtless been considerably dressed up; but there is no reason to doubt its essential truth.

On 28 Jan. 1547 Henry VIII died, and Catherine became for the third time a widow. It is said she was disappointed at not being left regent during the minority of Edward VI. Her important position as queen dowager was rather an element of disquiet added to many others, for of course she had powerful friends and persons jealous of her influence as well. Her brother, William Parr, who had married the heiress of the last Bourchier, earl of Essex, had suffered a great disappointment during the ascendancy of Cromwell, when that minister got the earldom and all its lands conferred upon himself. After Cromwell's death, however, he was made Earl of Essex in right of his wife. Through Catherine's influence he became lord chamberlain, and now on the accession of Edward VI he was created Marquis of Northampton. On that same day (16 Feb. 1547) were various other promotions made to and in the peerage. Among them Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, the new

king's uncle, who had already been appointed protector, was created Duke of Somerset, and his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, Catherine's former lover, was created Baron Seymour of Sudeley.

One historian, Gregorio Leti, tells us that thirty-four days after Henry's death Lord Seymour and Catherine had plighted their troth to each other by a written contract, signed by each, and by an exchange of rings. The fact and even the date (which would be 3 March) are perfectly possible, indeed one may say probable; but as Leti lived long afterwards, and adds circumstances clearly erroneous, supported by spurious documents, he is not to be relied on. The engagement, however, is certain. On Tuesday, 17 May, Lord Seymour writes to Catherine from St. James's about her sister (whom he calls 'my sister'), Lady Herbert, having wormed out his secret in spite of his efforts to cloak the stolen visits he had paid to Catherine at Chelsea, where it is clear he had already several times passed the night with her, though the marriage was not yet acknowledged. The couple had fully committed themselves to a step which, if known, might have been impugned as a very grave misdemeanor, and they were seeking to make friends and obtain formal leave to do what they had already done. The first thing was to apply to the young king himself, and Catherine did so, apparently in a very cautious letter, without stating her real object. She was rewarded by a cold epistle in reply, written certainly by Edward, but doubtless dictated by Somerset, and dated 30 May, formally thanking her and commending her good sentiments. The next process was to see if the Princess Mary would befriend them, and Lord Seymour wrote to her, asking if she would favour the suit he was making to the queen for marriage. She very wisely refused 'to be a meddler in the matter, considering whose wife her grace was of late.' Her letter to that effect is dated on Saturday, 4 June. Repulsed in two quarters the couple were, however, more successful in the way of personal intercourse with the sovereign, from which apparently the protector had done his utmost to debar them. Seymour at first found a medium to suggest to Edward in conversation the desirability of finding a wife for him, and the young boy himself thought of the Princess Mary (whom it would be a great object to convert), or perhaps Anne of Cleves, until his ideas were directed into the desired channel (Biographical Memoir prefixed to *Literary Remains of Edward VI.*, p. cxv). Afterwards Seymour was encouraged to push the matter himself.

Edward readily entered into the project, and wrote a letter to the queen, advising her to take Seymour for a husband. Of course she replied to him, expressing her utmost willingness to gratify his majesty in the matter, and we have his answer dated 25 June, thanking her for her compliance, and promising to smooth matters with the protector.

Nevertheless the entry that young Edward wrote in his journal upon the subject was as follows: 'The Lord Seymour of Sudeley married the queen, whose name was Catherine; with which marriage the lord protector was much offended.' The step was clearly indefensible from a political point of view; for the royal authority during the minority was properly vested in the council. Lord Seymour was a dangerous man, and seemed not unlikely now to supplant his elder brother the protector. The latter, however, seeing the thing beyond recall, became, after a while, reconciled, and even cordial. The ill-feeling between the wives of the two brothers is said to have been more serious, the Duchess of Somerset refusing any longer to yield precedence to the queen dowager. But Lord Seymour had now gained such a footing that he was likely to make more powerful friends than his brother. He allured the Marquis of Dorset to his side by proposing to marry his daughter, the unfortunate Lady Jane Grey, to the young king, whom Somerset proposed to match with his own daughter. Dorset, after the fashion of the times, sold the young lady's wardship to Lord Seymour; and Seymour advised him to make himself strong in the country that they might have matters all their own way. But before either the king or Lady Jane had come to marriageable age Seymour had paid the penalty of ambition, and Lady Jane fell into the clutches of a still more unscrupulous intriguer.

'The Lord Sudeley,' says Hayward, 'was fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty in matter.' His discretion certainly was not equal to his ambition. He had married Catherine, as was afterwards alleged, so soon after the death of Henry VIII that if she had borne a child within the next nine months there might have been a question as to its paternity, and the future succession to the crown. Another matter in which he showed even a greater want of decency was his conduct towards the Princess Elizabeth, who was under the care of the queen dowager his wife. He used many familiarities towards her even in his wife's presence at Chelsea, and declared he cared not if everybody saw it (*Cal. State Papers*, Foreign, 1558-9, pref. p. xxxi). The same

things went on at Hanworth and at Seymour Place when the household removed thither; till Catherine apparently was really somewhat annoyed, and caused Elizabeth's household to be separated from her own.

Sudeley Castle belonged to Lord Seymour only by a grant under the authority of the council, and Catherine was aware that it might be resumed when the king came of age. Speaking once to Sir Robert Tyrwhitt of the probability of a general resumption, the latter observed, 'Then will Sudeley Castle be gone from my lord admiral.' 'Marry,' replied the queen, 'I do assure you he intends to offer to restore the lands and give them freely back when that time comes.' Seymour probably trusted, however, that by that time his influence with the king would enable him to get a fresh grant. At this time he was busily engaged in putting the castle in a thorough state of repair, and making it a suitable place for his wife's confinement. Here she had a household consisting of a hundred and twenty gentlemen, and some of the leading reformers were her chaplains. A picturesque window in the old building belongs to the room known to this day as 'Queen Catherine's nursery.'

The expected event took place on 30 Aug. 1548. The child born was a girl—somewhat to the father's disappointment, but 'a beautiful babe,' and he received the cordial congratulations of his brother the protector. But on the third day after Catherine's delivery puerperal fever set in. She raved and said she was ill treated by those about her. The words of the poor distracted woman may have been made a ground of the imputation afterwards preferred against her husband, that he hastened her death by poison; but the charge is utterly incredible. On 5 Sept. she dictated her will, which in a few brief lines gave all her property to him, and expressed a wish that it were a thousand times the value. Two days later she breathed her last. A brief account of the last rites is preserved in a manuscript in the Heralds' College, printed by Miss Strickland.

Catherine died at the early age of thirty-six. 'She was endued,' according to a contemporary, 'with a pregnant wittiness, joined with right wonderful grace of eloquence; studiously diligent in acquiring knowledge, as well of human discipline as also of the holy scriptures; of incomparable chastity, which she kept not only from all spot, but from all suspicion, by avoiding all occasions of idleness, and condemning vain pastimes.'

In 1782 her remains were disturbed by Mr. John Lucas, who occupied the lands about Sudeley Castle, of which Lord Rivers

was the owner. At that time her place of burial was unknown to antiquaries, but an inscription on the outside of the leaden coffin made the matter certain. Mr. Lucas, out of curiosity, opened the coffin, and discovered the body wrapped in six or seven cerecloths, through which he made an incision into one arm of the corpse. The flesh was still white and moist. The coffin was again opened several times in succeeding years, when the flesh, having been exposed to the air, had become putrid, and a description was given of one of these openings by Mr. Nash to the Society of Antiquaries. At last Mr. John Lates, rector of Sudeley in 1817, caused the coffin to be removed into the Chandos vault to protect the remains from further outrage. Nothing but the skeleton then remained, with a quantity of hair and a few pieces of cerecloth.

Catherine was undoubtedly a little woman, but whereas Mr. Nash reported the lead which enclosed her coffin to have been only five feet four inches long, a more careful measurement taken by Mr. Browne, the Winchcombe antiquary, declares the coffin to have been five feet ten inches in length, while its width in the broadest part was only one foot four, and its depth at the head and in the middle five and a half inches.

[Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 381; Whitaker's Richmond, i. 384 sq.; Archæologia, ix. 1; Testamenta Vetusta; The Parns of Kendal Castle, a paper by Sir Geo. Duckett; Foxe's Martyrs (Townsend's edit. 1838), v. 553-61; Literary Remains of Edward VI.; Haynes's State Papers, pp. 61, 62, 95 sq. 102-5; R. Ascham's Epistolæ, 303 (ed. 1703); Miss Strickland's Queens, vol. iii.; Dent's Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley; Sir John Maclean's Life of Sir Thomas Seymour in Under the Crown.] J. G.

**CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA** (1638-1705), queen consort of Charles II, was born on 15-25 Nov. 1638, at the palace of Villa Viçosa, situated in the Portuguese province of Alentejo. Her father John, duke of Braganza, who became king of Portugal in 1640, was at the time of her birth the most powerful of the nobility of Portugal. Her mother, Louisa de Gusman, daughter of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, the great Spanish noble, possessed a vigorous understanding that gave her great influence over the sluggish temper of her husband. Catherine was her parents' third child, and was born on St. Catherine's day. She was eighteen when, in 1656, her father died. One of his last acts was to grant her certain estates, including the island of Madeira, the city of Lamego, and the town of Moura, for the maintenance of her court (SOUSA, *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real*

*Portuguesa*, vii. 283, and *Provas*, num. 36). Her younger brother Alfonso now became king under the regency of Queen Louisa.

From an early age Catherine was looked upon as a useful instrument for the establishment of friendly relations between her country and England. Not content with the commercial treaty of 1642, King John proposed in 1645 that his daughter should become the wife of Charles, prince of Wales (*Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 54; cf. CHARLES I's *Works*, i. 247, ed. 1649), but the proposal came to nothing, although in 1646 and in 1647 (*Quadro Elementar*, xviii. 56, 57) some notion of an English marriage still seems to have been entertained in Portugal. In 1654 Cromwell renewed the treaty of 1642, and in 1659 the professed abandonment of Portugal by France at the treaty of the Pyrenees made English support more necessary than ever.

The unsettled condition of the English government left little to be hoped for. Yet in April 1660, Dom Francisco de Mello, the Portuguese ambassador, succeeded in negotiating a new alliance with the council of state (*ib.* xvii. 118). As soon as the Restoration seemed probable, he sounded Monck as to the prospects of renewing the old project of marrying the restored king to the infanta (*ib.* xvii. 221; EACHARD, *History of England*, p. 81; KENNET, *Register and Chronicle*, p. 394). Charles's return in May was immediately followed by a formal proposal of the alliance. The terms offered were very tempting: Tangiers, to command the mouth of the Mediterranean; Bombay, with full trading privileges in the Indies; religious and commercial freedom for English subjects in Portugal, and the vast portion of two millions of crusados (about 300,000*l.*) Protection from Spain and Holland, full yet defined liberty of catholic worship for the infanta, were trifling concessions for such great advantages. In a secret council at Clarendon's house, Charles expressed his willingness to proceed with the matter, and in the autumn Mello, confident of a successful conclusion, returned to Portugal to get further instructions. There the alliance was hailed with rapture. 'A good peace with England was regarded as the only thing under heaven to keep Portugal from despair and ruin' (Maynard to Nicholas, in LISTER's *Life of Clarendon*, vol. iii., Appendix, No. lviii.) In February Mello was sent back to England, charged with full powers to negotiate, and rewarded with the title of Conde da Ponte for his past services. But on reaching London he found circumstances had changed. Spanish and Dutch influence had been strongly exercised

to thwart the match. The Earl of Bristol exerted his utmost energies to find another alliance acceptable to Spain as well as to Charles. The Spanish ambassador declared that the infanta, besides being no beauty, was incapable of bearing children (*Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 152; cf. KENNET, p. 698, for the similar report of the English merchants at Lisbon). He offered an equal portion to any other princess approved of by Spain that Charles might choose, and protestants were amused by the energy with which the envoy of the catholic king urged the importance of a protestant monarch wedding a protestant bride (D'ABLANCOURT, *Mémoires*, p. 73 sq.)

At last the adoption of the marriage scheme by the French court saved the government of Lisbon from despair. In November 1660 Henrietta Maria had come to London to win her son over to the French party. In March 1661 Louis sent to England M. de Bastide on a secret mission to press for the conclusion of the treaty. Finally, on 8 May Charles and Clarendon announced to parliament that the marriage negotiations had been completed. The news was favourably received both within and without parliament (*Calendar of State Papers*, Dom. 1660-1, pp. 586, 595); and on 13 May an address of congratulation was presented from both houses (*Lords' Journals*, xi. 241 a, 243 b, 253). On 23 June the marriage treaty was signed (it is given in LA CLÈDE, *Histoire de Portugal*, ii. 711).

The news of Catherine's betrothal spread the wildest joy in Portugal. The English merchants rejoiced at the establishment of the 'most beneficiallest trade that ever our nation was engaged in' (Maynard to Nicholas, in LISTER, App. No. lviii.) The Portuguese traders were gratified at the protection of their property from the Dutch navy. The projected invasion from Spain was no longer feared. In July Francisco de Mello arrived again in Lisbon, bearing graceful letters from Charles to Catherine and her mother (MISS STRICKLAND gives translations of these, *Queens of England*, v. 495). The Earl of Sandwich, commander of the fleet, was appointed extraordinary ambassador to Portugal, and at once set sail for Lisbon. But nearly a year elapsed before the queen could be brought back. The Algerine pirates had to be chastised, Tangiers occupied and garrisoned, and the queen's portion shipped. Sandwich appeared in the Tagus in the spring of 1662, and a new dispute arose then as to the method of payment of the portion (Sandwich to Clarendon, in LISTER, iii. App. No. xciv.)

On 13-23 April the magnificent festivi-



ties that accompanied the infant's departure began. The difficulty of obtaining the necessary dispensations from a pope who had refused to recognise the independence of Portugal rendered it politic to omit the ceremony of a proxy marriage (LISTER, iii. App. No. cccxxviii.; EACHARD, p. 801, is wrong), though Catherine had long been styled in Lisbon the queen of England. Off the Isle of Wight the Duke of York boarded the Royal Charles and was received with great state by Catherine in her cabin, dressed in the English style (*Letters of Philip, second Earl of Chesterfield*, p. 21).

On 13 May the fleet reached Portsmouth. Charles was still detained in London by the need of proroguing parliament, if not by the charms of Mrs. Palmer (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1661-2, p. 370). On the third day after her landing Catherine fell sick of a cold and slight fever, so that when Charles arrived at Portsmouth in the afternoon of 20 May he found her still confined to her bed. She absolutely insisted on a catholic ceremony, and only after seeing her did Charles consent to this step (*Clarendon State Papers*, Appendix xx.; cf. CLARKE, *Life of James II*, i. 394). Accordingly, on 21 May, a catholic wedding service was performed with the utmost secrecy in Catherine's bedchamber, while later in the day a mutilated public ceremony, after the rites of the church of England, was performed by Sheldon, bishop of London, in the presence chamber of the royal palace (*Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 258; *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, pp. 142-5).

Catherine had received an education which wholly incapacitated her for her position. Not only had she been left in entire ignorance of all affairs of state, but her general education had been so limited that she was even unable to speak French (KENNET, p. 534, speaks, however, of her English studies). For a long time Spanish was the only means of communication between her and her husband. She had hardly left the royal palace ten times in her life, and though amiable, dignified, and in a quiet way attractive, the only positive trait that observers could find in her was a simple and childish piety that consumed her time in the routine performance of her religious duties, and sought by pilgrimages to favourite saints to express her thanks to heaven for her advancement to be queen of England (Maynard to Nicholas, 19-29 July, in LISTER, iii. App. No. lxxv.) Pepys thought her 'a greater bigot than even the queen-mother.' The gaieties and amusements of fashionable life had, however, a strong hold on her. She was passionately addicted to dancing, though

her figure prevented her from ever excelling in that accomplishment; and was equally attached to the more exciting pleasures of the masquerade, to cards and to games of chance. A famous stroke of luck, by which she won over a thousand to one at a game of faro, was unprecedented until the days of Horace Walpole, and she scandalised Pepys by playing cards on Sunday (*Diary*, 17 Feb. 1667). Her retired life had resulted in a certain want of tact in small points that soon gave occasion for gossip. It was complained that she had dealt illiberally with the crew of the Royal Charles (PEPYS, 24 May 1662). Her adhesion to Portuguese fashions and dresses excited both odium and ridicule at court (see CLARENDON, *Life*, but cf. *Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 259-60). As her character developed in a very unfavourable environment, she became, when circumstances allowed, proud and exacting. On occasion she gave so much trouble to her attendants that Evelyn moralised on the slavery of courtiers (*Diary*, 17 June 1683; cf. *Hatton Correspondence*, i. 64, Camden Society). The financial difficulties in which she was often involved in her early married life engendered in her extreme parsimony. She schooled herself to play her difficult part, not without success, and to discipline a temper naturally warm and impatient. In a court abandoned and licentious to the last degree no one ventured to hint that her conduct was not in all respects correct.

In person Catherine was of low stature, 'somewhat taller than his majesty's mother' (Maynard to Nicholas, LISTER, iii. App. No. lxx.) 'Her face,' Charles told Clarendon, after he had first seen her, 'was not so exact as to be called a beauty, though her eyes were excellent good, and there was nothing in her face that in the least degree could disgust one' (*Lansdowne MS.* 1236, f. 124, partly printed in STRICKLAND). Lord Chesterfield, her chamberlain, speaks of her appearance in a very similar strain (CHESTERFIELD's *Letters*, p. 123). Her long and luxuriant hair was her chief adornment, even when twisted into extraordinary shapes by her Portuguese hairdresser. Her teeth 'wronged her mouth by sticking a little too far out' (EVELYN, ii. 190, ed. 1827). Her voice was low and agreeable. 'If I have any skill in physiognomy,' her husband said, 'she must be as good a woman as ever was born,' and Pepys admitted that, 'though not overcharming, she had a good modest and innocent look that was pleasing' (*Diary*, 7 Sept. 1662, cf. 31 May).

The first few weeks after the marriage nearly everything looked promising (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1661-2, p. 396), though

discerning observers already anticipated difficulties (CHESTERFIELD'S *Letters*, p. 123). Charles was attracted by the simplicity and childishness of his wife, and prophesied eternal love and constancy. He amused himself with teaching her English, and laughed at her mistakes. On 27 May Charles and Catherine left Portsmouth, and on 29 May celebrated at Hampton Court the 'star-crown'd anniversary' of the former's birth and restoration (*Exact Relation*). There they remained for the early summer, and on 23 Aug. 'the most magnificent triumph ever seen on the Thames' accompanied their solemn entry to Whitehall, and ended the long and not very hearty festivities that had attended the union.

The troubles of life had already begun. 'The lady,' as Mrs. Palmer was called, had received the intelligence of Charles's marriage with a very ill grace. To soothe her violence Charles acknowledged her son, made her unwilling husband Earl of Castlemaine, and promised that she should be a lady of his wife's bedchamber; but Catherine instantly struck out her name from the list of her household. Yet within a few weeks Charles brought the lady to court, and publicly presented her to Catherine. At first the queen received her graciously, 'but the instant she knew who she was she was no sooner set in her chair but her colour changed, and tears gushed out of her eyes and her nose bled, and she fainted' (CLARENDON, *Continuation of his Life*; cf. Clarendon to Ormonde, 17 July, in LISTER, vol. iii. App. No. ciii. This plainly refers to the first interview, wrongly dated in the *Continuation*, as 'within a day or two of the queen's arrival at Hampton Court'). The queen was removed to another room, and the court broke up in confusion. A painful struggle ensued. Charles 'sought ease and refreshment in jolly company,' who held up to him the example of his grandfather, Henry IV. He applied to Clarendon to bring the queen to a sense of the helplessness of her position. The chancellor's first advances were met by 'so much passion and such a torrent of tears that there was nothing left for him to do but to retire.' Next day he found the queen more composed to receive his stiff and ungenial lecture, but when he 'insinuated what would be acceptable with reference to the lady, it raised all the rage and fury of yesterday, with fewer tears, the fire appearing in her eyes where the water was.' Catherine fiercely protested that she would rather go back to Portugal than yield so unworthily. The struggle continued for days. The dismissal of nearly all her Portuguese household, to whose impolitic prudery the courtiers attributed Catherine's determi-

nation, left her without friends or confidants. But Catherine's active remonstrances were ultimately exchanged for a passive resistance that was the prelude to a practical surrender. Lady Castlemaine took up her quarters at Hampton Court. The queen saw 'a universal mirth in all company but in hers, and in all places but her chamber.' At last she openly condoned the scandal. Clarendon, who had done his best to bring about this result, was mean enough to pretend that this unworthy concession damaged the queen both in public opinion and with her husband (the above account is taken entirely from CLARENDON, *Continuation of his Life*, p. 1085-92, 4to edit. 1843). Henceforth Catherine received with kindness and forbearance the long series of her husband's mistresses (see e.g. PEPPYS, 24 Oct. and 23 Dec. 1662). She even showed kindnesses to her husband's bastards, befriended James Crofts, the future duke of Monmouth, though fiercely resisting his recognition, and, in after years, she gave a pension to the Duke of Grafton. Such command did she gain over herself that she never entered her own dressing-room without warning, lest she should surprise Charles toying with her maids (PEPPYS, 8 Feb. 1664). But sometimes her hot southern nature flamed up despite all her schooling (*ib.* 6 July 1663; cf. RERESBY, *Memoirs*, p. 104).

In return for this complaisance, Charles treated his wife generally with kindness, sometimes with affection (e.g. PEPPYS, 7 Sept. 1662). Yet courtiers contrasted the gorgeous furniture of the apartments of favourite mistresses with the simple decorations of the queen's private rooms; though the simplicity of her tastes may have partly accounted for the difference, and she certainly possessed some costly furniture and decorations (e.g. EVELYN, 17 April 1673; *Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1665-6, p. 139; and see PEPPYS, 24 June 1664 and 9 June 1662). When at great court festivities the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth were rustling in rich silks and blazing with jewels, Catherine was simply dressed and without diamonds. Goodman the actor kept her waiting for the play till 'his duchess' arrived. Aspirants for place and promotion neglected the wife for the powerful mistress. After the queen-mother's death, Catherine, whose circumstances then became much easier, often abandoned court altogether for her dower-mansion of Somerset House. Her ignorance or indifference to political matters made her the more careless of her absolute want of all political influence.

Catherine was suspected of exercising influence on state affairs in the interests of the catholic religion. In October 1662 she sent her

confidential servant, Richard Bellings [q. v.], himself a very strong catholic, to Rome, with letters to the pope and the leading cardinals (see drafts of the letters in *Add. MS.* 22548, ff. 23-70; MENEZES, *Portugal Restaurado*, iv. 196). They chiefly related to the condition of Portugal, which had thus far been refused recognition as a kingdom by popes devoted to the Spanish interest. Subsequent correspondence of the same kind, though exciting odium, was generally of little importance, and often, as in 1674 to 1682, of a merely formal and complimentary character (*Rawlinson MS.* A. 483). It was also complained that her chapel became the resort of English catholics, and in 1667 an order of council forbade their flocking there (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1667, p. 457). The present of a richly bound Portuguese New Testament from the English chaplain at Goa was the only attempt recorded that could be even suspected as aiming at her conversion (it is still preserved in the Bodleian, MS. Tanner, lxxxiii.)

Catherine followed the history of her country with the keenest interest. Her mother's death, though long kept from her, affected her profoundly (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1665-6, p. 342; cf. *Hatton Correspondence*, i. 49). Generally averse to letter-writing, she yet kept up a very considerable correspondence with her brother Peter (in Egerton MS. 1534 are eighty unedited letters of hers to him in Portuguese holograph). On one occasion her patriotic instincts led her to insult, very unnecessarily, the Spanish ambassador. When on what was thought to be her deathbed, her most earnest requests to her husband were to suffer her body to be buried in her beloved fatherland, and never to desert that alliance on which its independence mainly rested.

Catherine played a very small part in the intellectual life of her age. She encouraged Italian music in this country. Her chapel music, painfully bad when she first came over, was gradually improved. The first Italian opera performed in England was acted in her presence. She was fond of masques, and plays were constantly performed before her (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom., 1666-7, p. 305). She sat to Lely for her portrait, still at Hampton Court. She set a patriotic example of largely wearing English fabrics (*ib.* 1665-6, p. 31). Her devotion to tea, introduced into England by her countrymen, did much to make that beverage popular (see WALLER's poem in *Works*, p. 221, ed. 1729). She is celebrated in the annals of fashion as introducing from Portugal the large green fans with which ladies shaded their faces before the introduction of parasols.

Her council and household had often to contend with the most pressing financial difficulties. On one occasion she complained to parliament that, of 40,000*l.* of her allowance, she had only received 4,000*l.* In 1663 lack of funds postponed a visit to Tunbridge Wells from May to July; and when the physician recommended the waters of Bourbon, she could only get enough money to go to Bath, though its stifling air was soon found to disagree with her (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1663-4, p. 234). A state visit to Bristol and a progress through the West Midlands followed this; and gossips noticed that, with the spread of a rumour that the queen was pregnant, Castlemaine fell out of favour, and Charles became more attentive to his wife (PEPYS, 7 June 1663). Soon, however, after Catherine's return to London, she was prostrated by so severe a 'spotted fever accompanied by sore throat' that her life was despaired of (15 Oct.) Charles was much moved; he spent the greater part of the day in tears by her bedside; and his affection, it was thought, did more to restore Catherine than the cordials and elixirs of her physicians. In March 1664 she was well enough to accompany Charles to the opening of parliament. In 1665 she was driven by the plague to Salisbury, and thence to Oxford to meet the parliament in October. Here she remained several months, lodged in Merton College. In February 1666 she miscarried; 'the evidence of fecundity must allay the trouble of the loss' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. Feb. 5; cf. *Hatton Correspondence*, i. 48). Clarendon's fall in 1667 deprived Catherine of an austere though real friend. His successors were ready to make political capital out of schemes to conciliate popular and court support by projects for her repudiation or divorce. Rumours spread that she was going to retire to a nunnery, and to be divorced on the plea of a vow of chastity, a pre-contract, or some similar excuse (PEPYS, 7 Sept. 1667; cf. EACHARD, p. 842). Some divines recommended polygamy as the better way of getting a direct heir to the throne (BURNET, *Own Times*, Oxford edition, i. 480). Southwell, the English ambassador at Lisbon, was covered with confusion by the Queen of Portugal asking him whether the report had any foundation (Southwell to Arlington, 2-12 Dec. 1667). One wild rumour said that Buckingham had asked Charles for leave to steal her away and send her to some colony, and then ground a divorce on the plea of wilful desertion. Many found in Miss Stewart a new Anne Boleyn. Twice again (in 1668 and in 1669) there were hopes of her bearing children, but again they were doomed to dis-

appointment. As a result of this, perhaps, divorce schemes were renewed. Charles's interest in Lord Ross's marriage bill (1670) was regarded as not wholly disinterested. An absurd story went round that the pope had agreed to the divorce (EACHARD, p. 875). Yet about the same time Charles went with Catherine to Dover to meet the Duchess of Orleans and sign the famous treaty, of which, however, it is not known that she was cognisant. One result of the expedition was that Louise de Quérrouaille was added to the number of her maids of honour. In 1671 Catherine accompanied Charles on a progress to the eastern counties. At Audley End she got involved in an extraordinary frolic, when she and some of her ladies went disguised as countrywomen to Saffron Walden fair and were found out and mobbed. Afterwards she and Charles were magnificently entertained at Norwich by Lord Henry Howard (DAWSON TURNER, *Narrative of King Charles's Visit to Norwich*).

The development of anti-catholic feeling now became troublesome to Catherine. On 5 Feb. 1673 a committee of the lords was appointed to draw up a bill 'that no Romish priest do attend her majesty but such as are subjects of the king of Portugal' (*Lords' Journals*, xii. 627 b; cf. 618 b). The popish plot panic involved her in more serious dangers. Soon after the murder of Sir Edmund-bury Godfrey (12 Oct. 1678) the informer Bedloe attributed the deed to her popish servants. On 8 Nov. 1678 Somerset House was searched for papists connected with the plot (*ib.* xiii. 48 a), and Titus Oates soon outstripped Bedloe by accusing the queen herself of a design to poison the king. He deposed before the council that he had accompanied some jesuits one day in August to Somerset House, and heard through a door left ajar the queen protesting that she would no longer suffer indignities to her bed, and was content with procuring the death of her husband and the propagation of the catholic faith (NORTH, *Examen of the Plot*, pp. 182-3; cf. EACHARD, p. 955). Cross-examination and subsequent investigation showed clearly his entire ignorance of the internal arrangements of Somerset House and the impossibility of his having heard any such conversation. But Bedloe produced corroborative testimony of an interview he pretended to have witnessed between Catherine and some French priests in the gallery of her chapel at Somerset House, which he impudently asserted he had forgotten to mention when he gave in his depositions as to the murder of Godfrey. Wakeman, her physician, was to prepare the poison, Catherine was to deliver it herself; her last

scruples had been overcome by the French jesuits.

On 28 Nov. Bedloe made his depositions at the bar of the House of Commons. Oates followed, and solemnly accused Catherine of high treason (see GREY's *Debates*, vi. 287-300). Next day they repeated their statements to the House of Lords (*Lords' Journals*, xiii. 388 a). On 12 Nov. the commons addressed the king begging him to tender oaths of supremacy to all the queen's English servants (*Commons' Journals*, ix. 539 b; cf. 548); and on 28 Nov. passed another address for the removal of Catherine, her family, and all papists from Whitehall (*ib.* ix. 549 b); which was, despite Shaftesbury's opposition, negatived by the Lords (*Lords' Journals*, xiii. 392 b). For some time Catherine was in imminent danger. Next year fresh depositions, among others from Monmouth's cook, were handed in against her, and on 24 June the council voted that she had better stand her trial. In these distresses her chief adviser was the exiled Count of Castelmelhor, and Dom Pedro, her brother, though not very speedily, despatched a special envoy to interpose in her behalf. But such foreign support would have availed her little against popular feeling. More important was Charles's steady adhesion to her. He said publicly to Burnet that he thought it would be a horrid thing to abandon her, and declared that, though men thought he had a mind to a new wife, he would not see an innocent woman wronged. He issued a public proclamation that he had never been married to any woman besides Catherine. In return for such acts of favour Catherine clung to the king with more affection than ever, declared she was only in safety where he was (*Letters of H. Prideaux*, p. 82, Camden Soc.), and went so far as to include the Duchess of Portsmouth in the nine popish ladies of her household that had been exempted from the test enforced on the rest. The acquittal of Sir George Wakeman and some jesuit priests on the charge of uniting with the queen to poison the king was a first check on the informers. 'The queen is now a mistress,' wrote Lady Sunderland, 'the passion her spouse has for her is so great.' At a dinner at Chiffinch's 'the queen drank a little wine to pledge the king's health and prosperity to his affairs, having drunk no wine this many years.' In August Bedloe died, protesting with his last breath that the queen was ignorant of any design against the king, and had only given money to help the introduction of catholicism. Yet on 17 Nov., after the failure of the Exclusion Bill, Shaftesbury moved in the House of Lords, 'as the

sole remaining chance of liberty, security, and religion, a bill of divorce which by separating the king from Catherine might enable him to marry a protestant consort, and thus to leave the crown to his legitimate issue.' A warm debate ensued, but Shaftesbury gained so little support that, after several adjournments, he refused to persevere with his motion. Charles himself was very active against the bill, and it is recorded that 'on leaving the House of Lords he went straight to the queen, and to give a proof of his extraordinary affection for her he seated himself after dinner in her apartment, and slept there a long time, which he had been in the habit of doing only in the Duchess of Portsmouth's chamber' (Barillon's despatches in *CHRISTIE'S Life of Shaftesbury*, ii. 378; cf. 380). Catherine, who had suffered from illness during the autumn, attended early in the winter the trial of Lord Stafford (30 Nov.-7 Dec.), during which the old accusations against her were freely bandied about, and may have had some share in his conviction. Next year Fitzharris's information also involved the queen. He declared that Dom Francisco de Mello had informed him that she was involved in a design for poisoning Charles. In March 1681 Catherine accompanied her husband to Oxford and was present during the turbulent scenes that resulted in the dissolution of the last parliament of Charles's reign. This brought her troubles to an end. Fitzharris was condemned to death, and just before his execution declared to the council that he had been persuaded to invent the stories involving the queen by the whig sheriffs of London, Cornish and Bethel, and Treby the recorder. The queen's good domestic fortune outlived—though not for long—her troubles. Catherine shared in Charles's renewed popularity, and with some magnanimity interceded for Monmouth's pardon, an office which seems to have led to some coolness between her and the Duke of York, with whom she had already been for trifling causes slightly at variance (*STRICKLAND*, p. 667). Before long, however, the Duchess of Portsmouth returned to court, and the queen's absence from that scene of 'luxury, dissoluteness, and forgetfulness of God' which Evelyn so vividly pictured on the last Sunday of Charles's life indicates that her old difficulties had in nowise abated (1 Feb. 1685). On Charles's sudden illness Catherine, who may have known something of his religious position, without being, as her Portuguese panegyrists say, the chief cause of his conversion, displayed the greatest anxiety for his reconciliation with the catholic church before his death. She earnestly

besought the Duchess of York to exhort the duke to take advantage of the king's 'good moments' with that object (*CAMPANA DE CAVELLI*, tom. 2, doc. ccciii). It was in her chamber, though she herself was senseless in the physician's hands, that James and Barillon made the final arrangements for the king's reconciliation, and one of her priests assisted Huddleston in the administration of the last rites to him. Her grief at his death was extreme. She received her visits of condolence in a bed of mourning in a darkened room hung with black, faintly illuminated by burning tapers (*EVELYN*, 5 Feb.) Two months afterwards she left Whitehall for Somerset House, and there, or at her suburban residence at Hammersmith, where she had privately established a convent of nuns, she spent the first years of her widowhood. She lived in great privacy, amusing herself by cards and concerts. Her chamberlain Feversham governed her household, and her intimacy with him groundlessly excited scandalous gossip. She seems to have been on fair terms with the new king and queen. She interceded, however, in vain for Monmouth, who had addressed piteous supplications to her for help (*ROBERTS, Life of Monmouth*, ii. 112, 119; cf. *Camden Miscellany*, viii.) She was present at the birth of the Prince of Wales on 10 June 1688 (see her own account in a letter to her brother King Pedro in *Egerton MS.* 1534, f. 10), stood godmother for him, and gave evidence before the council that he was truly the son of Mary of Modena.

Catherine proposed to return to Portugal, and ships were prepared for her departure. She delayed, however, in England to carry on a tedious and rather vexatious lawsuit against Lord Clarendon, her former chamberlain, for some large sums asserted to have been lost by his negligence or speculation. Most people shared King James's opinion, that she was a hard woman to deal with, and she seems to have become both greedy and litigious (full details of the suit in the *State Letters and Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon*, especially in the *Diary*, pp. 18, 23-5, 29, 41, 79).

The revolution found Catherine still in England. She received an early visit from the Prince of Orange, who did her a little service by releasing Feversham from custody (*EACHARD*, p. 1136). But, despite her friendly relations with the new government, she was involved in the general attack on all catholics. In July 1689 a bill passed the commons limiting the number of her popish servants to eighteen, but it failed to get through the House of Lords. William himself requested her to leave Somerset House for a less public place

of residence, on the ground that 'there were great meetings and caballings against his government carried on there' (CLARENDON'S *Diary*, p. 244; cf. *Hatton Correspondence*, ii. 150). She replied by appealing to her treaty rights, and William did not press his point; but in his absence more unpleasantness broke out between Queen Mary and Catherine on the ground that a prayer for William's success in Ireland was omitted from the service in the Savoy Chapel, which was under Catherine's jurisdiction and used by the protestants of her household. This renewed Catherine's desire to leave England; but difficulties about the escort put the voyage off till the end of March 1692. She proceeded on her journey with great privacy; refused to visit Versailles and Louis XIV; showed more state when she entered Spain; but was detained on the way by an attack of erysipelas, and did not enter Lisbon until 20 Jan. 1693, where she was received with great demonstrations of delight by the court and people (SOUSA, iv. 327-329). She resided first at the royal quinta of Alcantara, and subsequently at Santa Martha and Belem; but she finally settled in the new palace of Bemposta, which she had built close to Lisbon. There she lived a very quiet life. Her household was reduced to that of a private family, though on days of ceremony it was still thronged by the nobility of Portugal (*Account of the Court of Portugal*, pp. 125-7, London, 1700). In 1703 the Methuen treaty completed the alliance with England, of which she was the advocate. In 1704 she had another attack of erysipelas. On her recovery she was appointed regent to her brother Pedro, whose health had become very bad. This was in 1704, and in 1705 the appointment was renewed. Her administration seems to have been successful, and several victories were gained over the Spaniards (SOUSA, *Provas*, 42; BURNET, *Own Times*, v. 163, ed. 1833). While still acting as regent she died on 31 Dec. 1705 of a sudden attack of colic. The magnificence of her funeral at Belem, the suspension of the tribunals, and the general mourning, attested the respect in which she was held. Her great wealth, the fruit of long years of economy, she left to King Pedro, but charged with many pious legacies (SOUSA, *Provas*, 43).

[The biography of Catherine in Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, v. 478-703, ed. 1854, though not always very critical, frequently discursive and weak on its political side, has collected the greater part of the materials available; Jesse's *Life in the Memoirs of the Court of England during the Reigns of the Stuart Kings* is short and superficial; more im-

portant is the memoir in A. C. de Sousa's *Historia Genealogica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Lisboa, 1735-49), tom. vii., with the original documents in the *Provas*, tom. iv. num. 36-43; from this come most of the facts of her early and later life. P. de Azevedo de Tojal's curious epic poem, *Carlos reduzido, Inglaterra illustrada* (Lisboa, 1716), combines with much high-flown poetic rhapsody a matter-of-fact biography. The marriage negotiations and the whole of Catherine's subsequent relations to Portugal are best studied in the valuable calendar of original documents on the dealings between England and Portugal in vols. xvii. and xviii. of *Quadro Elementar das relações politicas e diplomaticas de Portugal com as diversas potencias do mundo*, by Barros e Sousa Visconde de Santarem and Rebelo da Silva. A general view of Portuguese history during her life can be found in Schäfer's *Geschichte von Portugal*, tom. iv. and v. (Heeren and Vkert's series), and La Clède's *Histoire de Portugal*, tom. ii. Ranke's *History of England*, iii. 343-7 and 380-5 (the Oxford translation), summarises shortly the political bearing of the marriage; Clarendon's *Continuation of his Life*, the Appendix to the *Clarendon State Papers* (vol. iii.); Lister's *Life of Clarendon*, and especially the documents in vol. iii.; L. de Menezes, conde da Ericeira's *Historia de Portugal Restaurado* and the MS. *Relação da Embaixada de Francisco de Mello, conde da Ponte, in Inglaterra* (MS. Add. 15202) are all valuable. The festivities at Lisbon and London and the queen's voyage are specially described in the *Relacion de las Fiestas á Lisboa*; the *Programma das formalidades in Quadro Elementar*, xvii. 236-56; *Ordens para a Recepção da D. Catherina*, MS. Cott. Vesp. c. xiv. no. 29; *Mello's Relação da forma com que se publicou em Inglaterra o casamento da S. D. Catherina* (Lisbon, 1761); the *Exact Relation of the Landing of Her Majesty* (London, 1662); *Sandwich's Diary in Kennet*, and the curious doggerel called *Iter Lusitanicum, or the Portugal Voyage*, by a Cosmopolite. Of the flood of gratulatory poetry, the *Domiduca Oxoniensis* and the *Epithalamia* of the rival university may be mentioned. Other general authorities, such as Pepys, Evelyn, Hamilton, Reresby, the *Calendars of State Papers*, Browne's *Miscellanea Aulica*, Ives, the *Sidney Papers*, the *Hatton Correspondence*, the second Lord Chesterfield's *Letters*, Singer's *Correspondence and Diary of the Second Lord Clarendon*, the *Lords' and Commons' Journals*, Gray's *Debates*, North's *Examen*, and Christie's *Life of Shaftesbury*, have in most instances been quoted in the text, besides other less important authorities. Some letters of Catherine are in Strickland, others in Rawlinson MS. A. 268 and 483, Add. MS. 22548, and in Egerton MS. 1534.]

T. F. T.

CATHROE or KADROE, SAINT (10th cent.) [See CADROE.]

CATLEY, ANN (1745-1789), vocalist, born in 1745 near Tower Hill, London, was

the daughter of a hackney coachman, at one time in the service of the quaker Barclay, and afterwards keeper of the Horns public-house at Norwood. Remarkable for beauty of face and voice, as early as 1755 she amused the officers stationed at the Tower by her singing. About 1760, her voice having attracted the notice of William Bates, a west-end musician, he and her father entered into a bond for 200*l.* that he was to feed and clothe the girl, train her, and get her a public engagement (*Thespian Dict.*) In 1762 she appeared at Vauxhall, and on 8 Oct. sang the part of the Pastoral Nymph in 'Comus' at Covent Garden Theatre. Her beauty and the freedom of her manners quickly made her notorious; and in 1763 her father took process in the king's bench to force Bates to produce her in court, as it was rumoured that she had been basely handed over to a young baronet, Sir Francis Blake Delaval (KIRKMAN, *Macklin*, i. 450-1). Robert Barclay, her father's master, obtained legal assistance for him, and Delaval, Bates, and Delaval's attorney, Frayne, were fined by Lord Mansfield for conspiring to deprive Catley of the custody of his daughter.

Ann Catley obtained an engagement at Marylebone Gardens immediately afterwards, and became a pupil of Macklin. Under his auspices she obtained an engagement (1763) at Dublin, appearing at the Smock Alley Theatre with extraordinary success, at a salary of forty guineas per night (*Thespian Dict.*) O'Keeffe, the dramatist, writes of her popularity and beauty. The ladies of Dublin had their hair 'Catleyfied,' i.e. dressed as Miss Catley dressed hers. She did not return to England till 1770. Lucrative engagements followed rapidly. Her time was passed between Vauxhall, Marylebone Gardens, the theatres, and private concerts; her characters included Isabella in the 'Portrait,' Arnold's music; Rosetta in 'Love in a Village,' which kept a theatre prosperous for two years; and Captain Macheath. In 1770 and 1773 she appeared at Covent Garden (*ib.*), where Horace Walpole saw her in 'Elfrida.' On 6 Feb. 1773 she played Juno in O'Hara's 'Golden Pippin,' and took the town by storm with two songs, 'Push about the jorum' and 'Where's the mortal can resist me?' 'For Miss Catley,' Walpole says (*Letters*, Cunningham's ed. vi. 13), 'she looked so impudent . . . you might have imagined she had been singing the "black joke," only that she would then have been more intelligible.' In 1773 were published some scandalous 'Memoirs of the celebrated Miss Ann C——y, containing a succinct Narrative of the most remarkable Incidents of that Lady's Life, &c.

(2 vols.) In 1777, in Wenman's volume of 'Plays,' article 'Comus,' there appeared a portrait of Ann Catley as Euphrosyne. In 1784 she made her last appearance in public (*Thespian Dict.*), and retired upon a considerable fortune. She had then become the wife of Major-general Francis Lascelles, by whom she was the mother of eight children, four sons and four daughters, the eldest son being old enough at her death to be a cornet of dragoons (*Gent. Mag.* 1789, vol. lix. pt. ii. p. 962). She and the general lived in a handsome house at Ealing, bought by herself for her daughters out of her own fortune, and she died there of decline on 14 Oct. 1789. From her will, signed Anne Cateley, though her death was recorded under the head of Mrs. Lascelles, it appears that her property amounted to 5,000*l.*

In 'Notes and Queries' (4th series, vi. 112; and vii. 41, 217) much curious matter is set down concerning the tune 'Helmsley,' said to have been originally a hornpipe danced by Ann Catley. Dr. Rimbault refers there to Miss Ambross's 'Life and Memoirs of the late Miss Ann Catley, the celebrated actress; with Biographical Sketches of Sir Francis Blake Delaval, and the Hon. Isabella Pawlet, daughter of the Earl of Thanet.' No copy of this work is in the British Museum.

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 326; Thespian Dict. art. 'Catley, Ann; Kirkman's Memoirs of Macklin, i. 448-53; Genest's Hist. of the Stage, vi. 314-15; Brief Narrative of . . . Miss C\*tl\*y, pp. 1, 20, 21, 38; Gent. Mag. vol. lix. pt. ii. pp. 962, 1049, 1050; O'Keeffe's Reminiscences (1826); Monthly Review, enlarged series, i. 581.]  
J. H.

CATLIN, SIR ROBERT (d. 1574), judge, was born at Beby in Leicestershire, though his ancestry is said to have belonged to Northamptonshire. He was a member of the Middle Temple, and was appointed reader to that society in 1547. In 1553, the lordship of his native place having reverted to the crown through the attainder of the Duke of Suffolk, Catlin obtained a grant of it. In the following year he was called to the rank of serjeant-at-law, and two years later to that of king's and queen's serjeant. He was appointed a justice of the common pleas in October 1558, was re-appointed on the accession of Elizabeth in November of the next year, and in the ensuing January was created chief justice of the queen's bench in the room of Sir Edward Saunders, removed on account of his religious opinions, and was knighted. During his tenure of office he would seem to have had next to no judicial business to perform. He

presided over the judges at the trial of the Duke of Norfolk for high treason in conspiring with Mary Stuart to dethrone the queen in January 1571, and the following month sentenced one of the duke's retainers, Robert Hickford, to death as an accomplice. His judgment on this occasion is reported at some length. It is a homily on the sacredness of majesty and the heinousness of treason, and, so regarded, not altogether a discreditable performance. The closing sentences evince an acquaintance with Chaucer's 'House of Fame.' But he does not appear to have been particularly subservient as a judge, as we find that this same year, 1571, he incurred the serious displeasure of the queen by refusing to 'alter the ancient forms of the court' in the interests of the Earl of Leicester. He was accused of denying justice and making the queen's bench 'a court of conscience' by one Thomas Welch in 1566. He married Ann, daughter of John Boles of Wallington, Hertfordshire, and relict of John Burgoyne, by whom he had one daughter, whose first husband was Sir John Spencer. He died at his seat at Newenham, Bedfordshire, in 1574.

[Fuller's Worthies (Leicestershire); Dugdale's Orig. 217, Chron. Ser. 89, 90, 91; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1547-80, pp. 107, 416; Cobbett's State Trials, i. 957, 1042, ii. 1046; Foss's Lives of the Judges.] J. M. R.

**CATNACH, JAMES** (of the Seven Dials), (1792-1841), publisher, born at Alnwick in Northumberland, 18 Aug. 1792, was the son of John Catnach, a printer of that town. The elder Catnach printed and published books which, for the time, were well illustrated; such as 'The Beauties of Natural History, selected from Buffon's History of Quadrupeds, &c., with sixty-seven cuts by Bewick,' 'Poems by Percival Stockdale, with cuts by Thos. Bewick,' 'The Hermit of Warkworth,' and the 'Poetical Works of Robert Burns,' the illustrations being engraved by Bewick. About 1808 he left Alnwick for Newcastle, and five years afterwards removed to London. He had a shop in Wardour Street, Soho, and died 4 Dec. 1813, from the effects of an accident.

His son James, who was then working as a printer at Newcastle-on-Tyne, immediately came to London, and soon afterwards, 1813-1814, commenced business at 2 Monmouth Court, Seven Dials, where he set up his father's old wooden press, and got together some scraps of type and old woodcuts. With these he printed little duodecimo volumes known as 'chap-books' and broadsides.

He was young and energetic, and struck

out a new line for himself, in the shape of children's books, which he published at a farthing each. He bought ballads on every passing event, at the price of half-a-crown per ballad. In cases of popular excitement he did well, and he is reported to have made over 500% by the trial of Thurtell for the murder of Mr. Weare.

His publications were printed on the flimsiest possible paper, with bad ink and worse type, and, as a rule, headed by a woodcut totally irrelevant to the text. Among these woodcuts, especially in the Christmas carol broadsheets, are many of the sixteenth century, which he had bought at various sales of printing material. The British Museum has a large collection of his ballads and those of his competitors, notably two thick volumes, which contain over four thousand purchased in 1868 for 71. 7s.

He made a competence, possibly some 5,000*l.*, and retired from business in 1838, living at Dancer's Hill, South Mimms, near Barnet, but he died at his old shop on 1 Feb. 1841, aged 49, and was buried in Highgate cemetery.

[Hindley's Life and Times of James Catnach, 1878; A Collection of the Books and Woodcuts of James Catnach, 1869.] J. A.

**CATON, WILLIAM** (1636-1665), quaker, was probably a near relation of Margaret Askew, afterwards wife of Thomas Fell, vice-chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. At the age of fourteen he was taken by his father to the judge's house at Swarthmore, near Ulverston, to be educated by a kinsman who was then tutor to the Fell family. The boy was made a companion to the judge's eldest son, and was sent with him to a school at Hawkshead. In 1652 George Fox paid his first visit to Swarthmore Hall, and Caton embraced quakerism. He now refused to study on the ground of its being a worldly occupation, and Margaret Fell employed him at Swarthmore to teach her younger children and act as her secretary. When he was about eighteen, Caton was chosen one of the quaker preachers for the district of which Swarthmore was the centre, and in his 'Journal' he relates that he was often 'beaten, buffeted, stocked, and stoned' by the people of the places in which he attempted to preach. In 1654 he left Swarthmore in order to become an itinerant preacher. Towards the end of the year he was joined by John Stubbs, with whom he proceeded to Maidstone. Here they were both sent to the house of correction and harshly treated, when, the only charge against them being that of preaching, the magistrates were compelled to release them (a



full account of this is preserved in the *MSS. of the Friends of East Kent*). About the middle of 1655 Caton made an attempt to plant his doctrines in France, but went no further than Calais on account of the difficulty he found in preaching through an interpreter, and returned to England without delay. After a preaching tour, which lasted some months, he went to Holland, hoping to convert the Dutch, though he was as ignorant of their language as he was of French. At Flushing and Middelburg he found English congregations, and was roughly handled at both places for interrupting their services. At the end of 1655 he was again in England. He next made an attempt to promulgate quakerism in Scotland, and was the messenger from the Friends in England to General Monk. Early in 1656 Caton was imprisoned for a short time at Congleton. Towards the end of this year he returned to Holland, and, after some adventures, determined to settle in Amsterdam, where there was a small quaker community. He spent some time between England and Holland. In a letter preserved in the 'Swarthmore MSS.' he gives a brief interesting account of the ceremonies attending the proclamation of Charles II in 1660. At the end of 1660 he had an interview with the 'prince palatine' at Heidelberg, to plead for liberty of conscience. About 1662 he married Annekin Derrix or Derricks, a Dutch quakeress. On a later journey to Holland he was forced to take shelter in Yarmouth Roads, where he landed, and was imprisoned for nearly five months for refusing the oath of allegiance. His letters give a graphic account both of the storm and of his severe treatment in prison. Little more is accurately known of his life, except that he returned to Holland. His last known letter is dated 8th month 1665 (O.S.), and Barclay, in his reprint of Caton's 'Journal,' states that there is reason to believe that he died towards the end of 1665. Caton stands out in marked contrast to most of the early quakers, for though an enthusiast he was far from being a fanatic. He wrote largely, both in English and Dutch, and his style was more simple and pointed than that of most of the seventeenth-century Friends. In England, Holland, and Germany his works were for more than a century very highly esteemed, and his 'Journal,' a somewhat wordy and tedious work, is still a popular book among the Friends.

His principal works were: 1. 'A True Declaration of the Bloody Proceedings of the Men of Maidstone,' 1655. 2. 'The Moderate Enquirer resolved . . . by way of Conference concerning the condemned People

commonly called Quakers,' &c., 1659 (translated into Dutch as 'Den matelijcken Ondersoeker voldoen' in 1669). 3. 'Truth's Character of Professors . . .' 1660. 4. 'An Epistle to King Charles II sent from Amsterdam in Holland, the 28 of the 10 month, 1660.' 5. 'William Caton's Salutation and Advice unto God's Elect,' 1660. 6. 'An Abridgement; or a Compendious Commemoration of the Remarkable Chronologies which are contained in that famous Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius Pamphilus,' 1661 (reprinted as 'An Abridgement of Eusebius Pamphilus's Ecclesiastical History'). 7. 'The Testimony of a Cloud of Witnesses,' &c., 1662. 8. 'Two General Epistles given forth in Yarmouth Common Gaol,' 1663. 9. 'A Journal of the Life of . . . Will. Caton, written by his own hand' (edited by George Fox), 1689. Besides the above Caton wrote a large number of small books and tracts in High and Low Dutch, which have never been translated; the most important is 'Eine Beschirmung d'un schuldigen,' 1664.

[William Caton's Journal; Tuke's Life of Caton (Biographical Notices of Friends, vol. ii.); Webb's The Fells of Swarthmore Hall; Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books; Sewel's History of the Rise of the Society of Friends; and manuscripts in the Swarthmore Collection at Devonshire House, Bishopsgate Street, London.] A. C. B.

CATRIK, JOHN (d. 1419), bishop.  
[See KETTERICH.]

CATTERMOLE, GEORGE (1800-1868), water-colour painter, born at Dickleborough, near Diss, Norfolk, on 8 Aug. 1800, was youngest child of a large family. His mother died when he was two, and his education was conducted by his father, of independent means. At the age of fourteen, if not before, he was placed with John Britton [q. v.], the antiquary. His brother Richard was at that time, or soon after, employed to draw for Britton's 'Cathedral Antiquities of England,' and George also executed drawings for that work. In 1819 he commenced to exhibit at the Royal Academy. In that year, and in 1821, he sent views of Peterborough Cathedral, in 1826 'King Henry discovering the relics of King Arthur in Glastonbury Abbey,' a 'View near Salisbury,' and 'A Lighthouse —'; and in 1827 'Trial of Queen Catherine,' his sixth and last contribution to the exhibitions of the Academy. He also during this period (1819-27) exhibited two works at the British Institution. In 1822 he was elected an associate exhibitor of the Society (now the Royal Society) of Painters in Water Colours, and in 1833 he became a full member. It was mainly by his drawings exhibited at the

rooms of this society that he established his fame as an artist. Commencing as an architectural draughtsman, but with a mind well stored with history and archæological detail, his imagination soon began to fill with their ancient life the buildings which he drew, and his art was naturally inspired with that romantic spirit which, long felt in literature, had culminated in the novels of Sir Walter Scott. The great romantic movement among the artists of France was simultaneous with the appearance of Cattermole, who may be considered as the ally of Delacroix and Bonington, and as the greatest representative, if not the founder, in England of the art that sought its motives in the restoration of bygone times, with their manners and customs, their architecture and costumes, their chivalrous and religious sentiment, complete. To perform this part he brought a spirit naturally ardent, controlled by a fine and somewhat severe artistic taste, which, without destroying the energy and freedom of his design, permitted neither extravagance nor affectation. He had a gift of colour, a felicity and directness of touch, and a command of his materials, which have never been excelled in his line of art. He treated landscape and architecture with almost equal skill, and though his figures were on a small scale, and often shared but even honours with the scenes in which they were placed, they were always designed with spirit, living in gesture, and right in expression. Among the more important of the drawings exhibited at the Water-colour Society were: 'After the Sortie,' 1834; 'Sir Walter Raleigh witnessing the Execution of the Earl of Essex in the Tower,' 1839; 'Wanderers entertained,' 1839 (engraved by Egan under the title of 'Old English Hospitality'); 'The Castle Chapel,' 1840; 'Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh preparing to shoot the Regent Murray in 1570,' 1843; 'After the second Battle of Newbury,' 1843; 'Benvenuto Cellini defending the Castle of St. Angelo,' 1845; 'The Unwelcome Return,' 1846. The last has been said to be 'perhaps the most extraordinary display of Cattermole's powers in landscape.' It is of such works as these that Professor Ruskin wrote in the first volume of 'Modern Painters': 'There are signs in George Cattermole's works of very peculiar gifts, and perhaps also of powerful genius... The antiquarian feeling of C. is pure, earnest, and natural, and I think his imagination originally vigorous; certainly his fancy, his grasp of momentary passion, considerable; his sense of action in the human body, vivid and ready.' Cattermole withdrew from the Water-colour Society in 1850. Two reasons have been assigned for this step, which was

taken in opposition to the wishes of his brother members. One of these was his desire to devote himself to painting in oils, and the other his sensitive organisation, which 'always made the conditions of exhibition in planning his work peculiarly irksome to him.' The latter reason may also have induced him to refuse the presidency of this society, which was offered to him about the date of his retirement, and to resist the repeated requests of the members to return to their ranks.

During these years Cattermole was much employed in illustrations for books. In 1830 he travelled in Scotland to make sketches of the buildings and scenery introduced by Scott into his novels, to be used some years afterwards in a finely illustrated volume called 'Scott and Scotland.' In 1834 appeared 'The Calendar of Nature,' a little book with woodcuts, principally landscape; in 1836 came Thomas Roscoe's 'Wanderings and Excursions in North Wales;' in 1840-1 Cattermole's well-known illustrations to 'Master Humphrey's Clock;' and here it may be mentioned that the picturesque design of the Maypole Inn in 'Barnaby Rudge' was entirely the invention of the artist, instead of being drawn from an existing inn at Chigwell as has been supposed. In 1841 appeared the first, and in 1845 the second, volume of 'Cattermole's Historical Annual—the Great Civil War of Charles I and the Parliament,' which contained twenty-eight steel engravings by the best engravers of the day after drawings by Cattermole, and was produced under the superintendence of Charles Heath, who published the second volume as 'Heath's Picturesque Annual' for 1845. The literary part was written by his brother, the Rev. Richard Cattermole [q. v.] In 1846 was published another volume, beautifully illustrated in the same manner, called 'Evenings at Haddon Hall,' with letterpress written to the drawings by the Baroness de Calabrella.

Among other works to which he contributed illustrations were J. P. Lawson's 'Scotland delineated' (1847-54), and S. C. Hall's 'Baronial Halls of England' (1848). He also published a work in two parts called 'Cattermole's Portfolio of Original Drawings,' in which Mr. Hullmandel's process of lithotint (brought to perfection by Cattermole and J. D. Harding) was employed, each part containing ten plates.

Cattermole was naturally of a lively disposition, and full of spirit. As a young man, he was an excellent whip, and fond of driving stage-coaches. In his bachelor days he was a frequent visitor at Gore House, and mixed with the fashionable world of art and literature which gathered round the Countess of

Blessington and Count d'Orsay. There he met among others Carlyle and Dickens, and Prince Louis, afterwards the Emperor Napoleon III. For some years before his marriage he had resided in the Albany in the chambers once occupied by Byron and Bulwer Lytton. In July 1839, soon after the completion of his drawing of the 'Diet of Spiers,' well known through the large engraving by William Walker, he received the offer of knighthood, which he refused. In the following month (20 Aug.) he married Clarissa Hester Elderton, a daughter of James Elderton, deputy remembrancer, &c. of the court of exchequer, and took a house at Clapham Rise, where he resided till 1863. Among his intimate friends were Thackeray and Dickens, Macready and Maclise, Douglas Jerrold and Talfourd, Stanfield and Landseer, Browning and Macaulay, Lytton and Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield). In his life of Dickens, John Forster says: 'Another painter friend was George Cattermole, who had then enough and to spare of fun, as well as fancy, to supply a dozen artists.' Numerous letters exist to testify to the affection between himself and Dickens, in whose amateur theatricals he often took part. In 1845 he specially distinguished himself in the character of Wellbred in 'Every Man in his Humour,' which was acted before the prince consort at 'Miss Kelly's,' now (1887) the Royalty Theatre, Dean Street, Soho.

After his retirement from the Water-colour Society, though still painting his old subjects in his old medium, he devoted himself a good deal to painting in oil-colours, and to scenes from Bible history. A large oil-painting of Macbeth belongs to this period, of which he said that it was the only work of his in which he had realised his own intention; and among the drawings which were in his possession at his death were cartoons of the 'Raising of Lazarus,' the 'Marriage at Cana,' and 'The Last Supper.'

In 1863 he moved to 4 The Cedars Road, Clapham Common; and in September of that year he received from India the tidings of the death of his eldest son, Lieutenant Ernest George Cattermole, who died at Umballa while doing duty with the 22nd native infantry. He had shortly before lost his youngest daughter, and after this second shock a fearful depression fell upon him, from which he never recovered. He retired much from society, and after some years of continual brooding over his loss, he died on 24 July 1868. He was buried in Norwood cemetery. He left a widow, three sons, and four daughters. Of these, all except one son (Edward) are living. Leonardo Cattermole, the eldest sur-

viving son, is well known for the grace and spirit of his pictures of horses.

Cattermole's reputation as an artist was not confined to his own country. The 'Historical Annual' was published in New York and Paris. At the French International Exhibition of 1855 he received one of the two grandes médailles d'honneur awarded to English artists, Sir Edwin Landseer taking the other. In the following year he was elected a member of the Royal Academy of Amsterdam, and of the Society of Water-colour Painters at Brussels.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists (1878); Graves's Dict. of Artists; Clement and Hutton's Artists of the Nineteenth Century; Forster's Life of Dickens; Miss Hogarth's Letters of Charles Dickens; Ruskin's Modern Painters; The Annals of the Fine Arts; Catalogues of the Royal Academy and Royal Society of Painters in Water Colours; Art Journal, July 1857, September 1868, March 1870; Men of the Time; works mentioned in the article and communications from the family.] C. M.

**CATTERMOLE, RICHARD** (1795?-1858), miscellaneous writer, was born about 1795, took orders, and was appointed secretary to the Royal Society of Literature at its first general meeting on 17 June 1823. This office he held till 1852. In 1825 he became connected with the church of St. Matthew, Brixton, Surrey. Here he laboured till 1832. Cattermole studied at Christ's College, Cambridge, and proceeded B.D. in 1831. He was finally appointed vicar of Little Marlow, Buckinghamshire. He died on 6 Dec. 1858 at Boulogne. He was married and had several children, who survived him. Cattermole assisted J. S. Spens in compiling his 'Doctrine of the Church of Geneva' (1st and 2nd ser. 1825-32). He was one of the editors of the 'Sacred Classics, or Select Library of Divinity' (30 vols. 1834-6), and probably edited 'Gems of Sacred Poetry' (1841). Besides a number of sermons, he also wrote the following works: 1. 'Becket and other Poems,' 1832. 2. 'The Book of the Cartoons of Raphael,' 1837. 3. 'The Literature of the Church of England, indicated in Selections from the Writings of Eminent Divines,' 2 vols. 1844. 4. 'The Great Civil War,' 1846 (previously published in two parts, issued in 1841 and 1855 respectively, with illustrations by the artist's brother, George Cattermole [q. v.]).

[Gent. Mag. January 1859, p. 99; Reports, &c. of Royal Society of Literature; Graduati Cantab. (Cambridge, 1884); Brit. Mus. Cat. Add. MSS. (1854-75); List in Index, p. 287.] F. W.-t.

**CATTI, TWM SION** (1530-1620?), Welsh bard. [See JONES, THOMAS.]

**CATTON, CHARLES, R.A.**, the elder (1728-1798), painter, born in 1728 at Norwich, one of a family of thirty-five children, was apprenticed to a London coach-painter, and found time also for some study in the St. Martin's Lane academy. He is chiefly known as a landscape and animal painter, but he had a good knowledge of the figure, and a talent for humorous design. In 1786 he published the 'Margate Packet,' a clever etching in which these qualities appear. Somewhat early in life he became a member of the Society of Artists, and exhibited various pictures in its galleries from 1760 to 1764. He shone in his own profession, painting ornamental panels for carriages, floral embellishments, and heraldic devices in a highly superior manner. He received the appointment of coach-painter to George III, and was one of the foundation members of the Royal Academy. In 1784 he was master of the Company of Painter-Stainers. He exhibited at the Royal Academy from its foundation to the year of his death, sending altogether a large number of works. These were usually landscapes, but occasionally subject-pieces and animal paintings. A 'Jupiter and Leda' and 'Child at Play' were his last works. For the church of St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, he painted an altar-piece, 'The Angel delivering St. Peter.' Some years before his death he gave up the practice of his art. He died at his house in Judd Place in the New Road, 28 Sept. 1798, and was buried in Bloomsbury cemetery.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists.]

**CATTON, CHARLES**, the younger (1756-1819), painter, son of Charles Catton the elder [q. v.], was born in London 30 Dec. 1756. He had the advantage of his father's tuition, and studied also in the Academy schools, where it is stated that he acquired a good knowledge of the figure. He travelled considerably in England and Scotland making sketches, of which some were afterwards engraved and published. He was known as a scene-painter, and also as a topographical draughtsman. In 1775 he exhibited at the Royal Academy a 'View of London from Blackfriars Bridge,' and one of 'Westminster from Westminster Bridge.' In 1793 he exhibited designs for Gay's 'Fables,' together with Burney. These were afterwards published. So also were a number of drawings of animals taken from nature and engraved by himself, 1788. At the Royal Academy he exhibited thirty-seven times altogether from 1776 to 1800. In the latter year he was living at Purley. In 1804 he

left this country for America, and settled in a farm upon the Hudson with his two daughters and a son. There he lived until his death, painting occasionally. At South Kensington there are specimens of his work—some drawings of animals done in a neat, wiry manner. He is said to have 'acquired wealth' by his painting. He died 24 April 1819.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Cat. Eng. Coll. South Kensington Museum.]

**CATTON, THOMAS (1760-1838)**, astronomer, took a degree of B.A. in 1781 from St. John's College, Cambridge, as fourth wrangler and first Smith's prizeman, obtained one of the members' prizes for senior bachelors in 1783, proceeded M.A. in 1784 and B.D. in 1791. He was also a fellow and tutor of his college, and was entrusted with the care of the small observatory situated on one of its towers. Here he observed eclipses, occultations, and other astronomical phenomena from 1791 to 1832 with a 3½-foot transit, a 46-inch, and (after 1811) a 42-inch Dollond's achromatic. The data thus collected were reduced and printed in 1853 under the superintendence of Sir George Airy, at public expense, with the title 'Astronomical Observations made by the Rev. Thomas Catton, B.D.' Besides appearing separately, they formed part of vol. xxii. of 'Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society.' Catton was one of the earliest members of the last-named body, and was also a fellow of the Royal Society. He died at St. John's College, Cambridge, 6 Jan. 1838.

[Annual Register, 1838, p. 194; Gent. Mag. ix. (i.) 216 (new series); Monthly Notices, iv. 110; R. Soc.'s Cat. Sc. Papers.] A. M. C.

**CATTON or CHATTODUNUS, WALTER** (d. 1343), a Franciscan friar of Norwich, was, according to some authorities, head of the Minorite convent situated between the churches of St. Cuthbert and St. Vedast. He seems to have been an author of some repute in his generation, and was, according to Bale, a great student of Aristotle. Towards the close of his life he was summoned to Avignon by the pope, and died a penitentiary in that city in 1343. The titles of his works have been preserved by Leland, viz. 'A Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard' (4 books) and a treatise 'De Paupertate Evangelica,' to which Bale adds two other discussions entitled respectively, 'Adversus Astrologos' and certain 'Resolutiones Questionum.' Pits adds that he was a mathematician.

[Leland's Commentarii, 306; Bale, De Script. Brit. i. 420; Pitts's Relat. de Illustr. Script. Angliæ, 449, 450; Dugdale's Monast. Angliæ. (ed. 1817), vi. pt. iii. 1522.] T. A. A.

CATTWG, DDOETH. [See CADOC.]

**CAULFEILD, JAMES**, fourth Viscount and first Earl of Charlemont (1728-1799), Irish statesman, second son of James, third viscount Charlemont, and Elizabeth, only daughter of Francis Bernard of Castle Bernard, Cork, was born in Dublin 18 Aug. 1728. At six he succeeded to the peerage. Educated privately, he in 1746 went abroad, residing for a year in Turin, and visiting Rome, the Greek Islands, Constantinople, the Levant, and Egypt. At Turin he made the acquaintance of David Hume, and the intimacy was renewed in England. Although not coinciding with either Hume's philosophical or political opinions, he was a warm admirer of his writings, and cherished for him personally a great regard. Shortly after Charlemont's return to Ireland in 1754, he undertook, with the approbation of the lord-lieutenant, to mediate between Primate Stone and Henry Boyle, speaker of the House of Commons, afterwards Earl of Shannon [q. v.], regarding the apportionment of 20,000*l.* of Irish surplus, and succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between them. His experience of the conduct of the Irish leaders in this and other matters made Charlemont early resolve to act as an independent nobleman, and tended strongly to bias his mind in favour of a general reform of the administration and of popular liberty. At the same time his loyalty always remained thorough and sincere. Of this he gave proof in the alacrity with which he proceeded to the north to command the raw levies collected for the defence of Belfast, after the occupation of Carrickfergus by the French in February 1760. Not long afterwards he had an opportunity of engaging in an equally chivalrous if less hazardous mission, the vindication of the rights of the Irish peers to walk in the procession at the coronation of George III. Having succeeded by his prudence and courageous self-restraint in quieting without bloodshed the serious disturbances that were threatened in the north of Ireland, he was in recognition of his services raised in December 1763 to the dignity of an earl; but his opposition to the address returning thanks for the treaty of Paris prevented further court favours, even a promise to appoint him a trustee of the linen board being immediately after this disregarded. In January 1764 he proceeded to London, where till 1773 he had a town residence. His literary and artistic

tastes found gratification in the society of Burke, Johnson, Reynolds, Goldsmith, Beauclerk, and Hogarth, and he acted as chairman of the committee of the Dilettanti Club, appointed to superintend researches under the auspices of the society into the classical antiquities of Asia Minor. At the same time the political condition of Ireland continued to occupy much of his attention. Almost equally with Flood he shared the honour of passing the Octennial Bill in 1768, limiting the duration of the parliament to eight years instead of making its continuance depend upon the life of the sovereign. Taking advantage of the rising tide of sentiment in favour of the bill, he prevailed on the House of Lords to read it three times in one day. In 1768 Charlemont married Miss Hickman, daughter of Robert Hickman of county Clare, and about 1770 he began to build a house in Rutland Square, Dublin, and also to reconstruct his residence at Marino, having come to the conclusion, notwithstanding the attractive connections he had formed among Englishmen, that residence in Ireland was the first of his political duties, 'since without it all others are impracticable.' For some time he gave his strenuous support to Flood's proposal for an absentee tax, but latterly he became so impressed with the difficulties connected with the matter as to consider its general application inadvisable. In Dublin Charlemont's house was for many years the great centre of attraction among the educated and upper classes, and his bent towards the liberal and polite arts assisted to give an elevation to the general tone of society. His influence in politics was not less beneficent; for though he could not lay claim to the higher gifts of statesmanship or oratory, he possessed the insight resulting from a single-minded and unselfish regard for the general welfare, while his genial temper and polished manners fitted him to act with success as a mediator between the government and the country. Grattan's estimate of his character was no doubt to some extent coloured by personal regard, but with his usual happy gift of delineation he has indicated in a few sentences the secret of his influence. 'Formed to unite the aristocracy and the people; with the manners of a court and the principles of a patriot; with the flame of liberty and the love of order; unassailable by the approaches of power, of profit, or of titles; he annexed to the love of freedom a veneration for order, and cast on the crowd that followed him the gracious light of his own accomplishments, so that the very rabble grew civilised as it approached his person' (*Memoirs of Grattan*,

iii. 197). Grattan entered parliament under his auspices as member for Charlemont; and in the steps taken towards securing Ireland's political independence they worked hand in hand as the leaders of the Irish nation. The embodiment of the volunteers, a necessity which England could not avoid, supplied them with an armed political convention, through which the wishes of the nation could not only be accurately represented, but, if need be, enforced; and of this convention they made use with equal courage and prudence. 'To that institution,' Charlemont said, 'my country owes its liberty, prosperity, and safety; and if after her obligations I can mention my own, I owe the principal and dearest honours of my life' (*Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont*, 2nd ed. i. 378). At first commander of the body of men raised by the town of Armagh, he was in July 1780 chosen commander-in-chief of the whole force, a position which he continued to hold during the remainder of their embodiment. When the House of Commons in October 1779 went to present to the lord-lieutenant their famous resolution that 'nothing but a free trade could save the country from ruin,' the volunteers significantly lined the streets as they passed, and for their conduct they received the unanimous thanks of the commons. It was in concert with Charlemont that Grattan drew up the famous resolution regarding the rights of Ireland which he moved with such effect on 19 April 1780. As the English government were slow in recognising the importance of the motion, Flood, Grattan, and Charlemont met privately at Charlemont's in the beginning of 1782, and drew up resolutions on independence, which on being submitted to a great meeting of volunteer delegates were adopted unanimously. The attitude of the volunteers decided the question; for, on account of the disasters to the English arms in America, the government had in reality no choice but submission to the armed demands of the Irish nation. Grattan exactly described the situation when on 16 April he uttered the famous sentence, 'I am now addressing a free people.' The concessions which he had thus by anticipation appropriated were granted on 17 May. These were—first, the repeal of the declaratory act of George I, thus restoring the appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords; secondly, the repeal of the provision in Poyning's Act that Irish legislation should receive the sanction of the privy council of Ireland and England; and thirdly, the alteration of the perpetual Irish Mutiny Act into a temporary act. The concessions amounted in spirit to home rule, but their effect was greatly

modified by the fact that the constitution of the parliament remained unchanged. Shortly after the appointment in April 1783 of Lord Northington as lord-lieutenant, Charlemont was nominated a privy councillor, having consented to the nomination on condition that the name of Grattan should be submitted at the same time as his own. Although Charlemont did not approve of the general action of the volunteer convention which met at Dublin in November 1783, he consented to act as president, and by the influence of his personal character succeeded in preventing the disputes between them and the parliament from resulting in violence. Charlemont was at this time adverse to catholic emancipation, and by no means zealous for the constitutional reform of the commons. Unable to resist directly the influence of Flood's oratory over the convention, he therefore adopted the expedient of advising a dissolution of the convention, in order that their scheme of reform might be laid before country meetings regularly convened to consider it. No convention was again summoned, and from this time the influence of the volunteers on Irish legislation ceased almost as suddenly as it had come into existence. Charlemont in 1789 sided with Grattan in regard to the regency question, and moved in the upper house the address to the Prince of Wales, requesting him 'to take upon himself the government of Ireland, with the style and title of prince regent, and in the name and behalf of his majesty to exercise all regal powers, during his majesty's indisposition and no longer.' The motion was carried by 45 to 26, but the lord-lieutenant regarded it as inconsistent with his oath to transmit it. This independent action on the part of the Irish parliament was undoubtedly the chief cause of its abolition by the legislative union with Great Britain. In the same year Charlemont took an active part in founding the Whig Club, composed of the leading members of the opposition in both houses of parliament, at which the general policy of the party was discussed and decided on. He strongly opposed the proposals for union; but the excitement connected with the discussions had serious effects on his health, and he did not live to experience the pain of witnessing its completion. His death took place on 4 Aug. 1799. He was buried in the family vault in Armagh Cathedral. Among his papers he left the following epitaph: 'Here lies the body of James, earl of Charlemont, a sincere, zealous, and active friend to his country. Let his posterity imitate him in that alone, and forget his manifold errors.' He was

succeeded in the earldom by his eldest son, Francis William, who was created an English baron in 1837. He also left other two sons and one daughter. 'Select Sonnets of Petrarch, with Translations and Illustrative Notes, by James, late earl of Charlemont,' appeared in 1822.

[Hardy's *Life of the Earl of Charlemont*, 1810, 2nd edition, 2 vols. 1812; *Memoirs of Grattan*; *Original Letters of Lord Charlemont and others to Henry Flood*, 1820; *Madden's United Irishmen*, first series; *MacNevin's History of the Volunteers of 1782, 1845*; *European Magazine*, v. 83; *Gent. Mag.* lxi. 812-15; *Burke's Peerage*; *Lecky's Leaders of Political Opinion in Ireland*; *Froude's English in Ireland*; *Charlemont MSS.* (Hist. MSS. Comm.)] T. F. H.

**CAULFEILD, SIR TOBY or TOBIAS**, first **BARON CHARLEMONT** (1565-1627), was descended from a family which had been settled in Oxfordshire for many generations, his father being Alexander Caulfeild of Great Milton in that county. He was born 2 Dec. 1565. When a youth he served under Frobisher, and next under Lord Howard. He was also with the Earl of Essex at the capture of Cadiz, 21 June 1596. In 1598 he accompanied Essex to Ireland, in command of a troop of horse, and was for a time stationed at Newry. In 1601, under Lord Mountjoy, he took part in the capture of Kinsale from the Spaniards. By Lord Mountjoy he was left in charge of a bridge built by him over the Blackwater, with command of a hundred and fifty men, the fort erected for its protection being named Charlemont. After the accession of King James he received the honour of knighthood. On the flight of the Earl of Tyrone in 1607 he was appointed receiver of his rents until the estate was given out to undertakers in 1610, an allowance of 100*l.* a year being made to him for discharging this duty. The account of his collection of the earl's rents (*State Papers*, Irish Series, 1608-1610, pp. 532-46) is a document of great interest, for the light which it casts on the land system of Ireland at this particular period. On the division of the estates, Caulfeild received a grant of a thousand acres. Previous to this he had, in 1608, been appointed to the command of the upper part of Tyrone and of Armagh. On 17 April 1613 he was named a privy councillor, and the same year he was chosen knight of the shire for Armagh. On 19 Feb. 1615 he was made master of the ordinance, and on 10 May of the same year one of the council for the province of Munster. Subsequently he was appointed a member of the commission for the parcelling out of escheated lands. In consideration of his long and valuable services to the crown,

recorded in detail in the patent (*State Papers*, Irish Series, 1615-25, p. 309), he was created Baron Charlemont, and as he had not been married, the succession of the honour was granted to his nephew, Sir William Caulfeild, and son of his brother James. He died 17 Aug. 1627, and was buried in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin.

[*Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*; *Lodge's Peerage of Ireland*, iii. 127-34; *State Papers*, Irish Series, from 1603 to 1625.] T. F. H.

**CAULFEILD, TOBY or TOBIAS**, third **BARON CHARLEMONT** (d. 1642), was the eldest son of Sir William Caulfeild, second baron, and Mary, daughter of Sir John King, knight (ancestor to the Earl of Kingston). In 1639 he was returned to parliament for the county of Tyrone. At the time of the rebellion of 1641 he succeeded his father as governor of Fort Charlemont. On 22 Oct. 1641 Sir Phelim O'Neill [q. v.] went to dine with him, and was courteously received; but meantime O'Neill's followers surprised Charlemont. After being retained fifteen weeks a prisoner in Charlemont, he was removed to O'Neill's castle at Kinard, on entering which he was shot dead by Edmund Boy O'Hugh, foster-brother to O'Neill, 1 March 1642. He was succeeded by his brother Robert, who died a few months later.

[*Lodge's Irish Peerage* (edit. 1789), iii. 140-2.] T. F. H.

**CAULFEILD, WILLIAM**, fifth **BARON** and first **VISCOUNT CHARLEMONT** (d. 1671), third son of Sir William Caulfeild, second baron, and brother of Toby, third baron [q. v.], succeeded his brother Robert in the title and estates in 1642. He caused the apprehension of Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was chargeable with the murder of Toby, third baron, and had him executed. After the Restoration he was chosen a member of the privy council, and in 1661 he was nominated one of the lords to prepare a declaration requiring conformity to episcopacy. He was named constable and governor of the fort of Charlemont for life, but on 13 April 1664 sold it to the crown for 3,500*l.* By Charles II he was in 1665 advanced to the degree of viscount. He died in April 1671, and was buried in the cathedral church of Armagh, where there is an elaborate monument to his memory.

[*Lodge's Irish Peerage* (edit. 1789), iii. 142-6.] T. F. H.

**CAULFEILD, WILLIAM**, second **VISCOUNT CHARLEMONT** (d. 1726), was the second son of William, first viscount [q. v.], and

Sarah, second daughter of Charles, second viscount Moore of Drogheda. Having taken up arms against James II, he was attainted and his estates sequestrated 7 May 1689, but he was afterwards reinstated in them by William, who made him governor of the fort of Charlemont, and *custos rotulorum* of Tyrone and Armagh. In the business of the house of peers he took an active part, being in 1692 selected to prepare an address to the lord-lieutenant to recommend the stationing of men-of-war on the coasts, and in 1695 to prepare a bill against the inheritance of protestant estates by papists. He was colonel 36th foot 1701-6. In 1702 he sailed with the fleet to the West Indies. In 1705 he served under the Earl of Peterborough in the Spanish war, and distinguished himself at Barcelona. At the attack on the citadel of Monjuich he was one of the first to march into the fort at the head of his men, and received for his conduct the special thanks of the king of Spain. On 25 Aug. 1705 he was promoted brigadier-general, and on 22 April 1708 major-general. He was also chosen a privy councillor, and in May 1726 he was sworn of the privy council of George I. He died 21 July of the same year, and was buried in the vault of the family in Armagh. By his wife Anne, only daughter of Dr. James Margetson, archbishop of Armagh, he had seven sons and five daughters. [Lodge's *Irish Peerage* (ed. 1789), iii. 148-150; *Burke's Peerage*; *Political State of Great Britain*, xxxii. 98; *Luttrell's Narrative*.]

T. F. H.

**CAULFIELD, JAMES** (1764-1826), author and printseller, was born in the Vineyard, Clerkenwell, on 11 Feb. 1764. Weak eyesight prevented him following the business of his father, a music engraver, who took him when about eight years old to Cambridge for the benefit of his health. Here he afterwards came under the notice of Christopher Sharpe, the well-known print collector. Sharpe gave him a number of etchings, and five pounds to purchase more. All Caulfield's boyish savings now went in the same direction, and he became a constant bidder for cheap lots at Hutchins's sale-room in King Street, Covent Garden. This induced his father to set him up in business as a printseller, and he opened a small shop in Old Round Court, Strand, where he was visited by Dr. Johnson, R. Cosway, R.A., and other celebrities. In 1784 Caulfield assisted his father, who had been engaged by John Ashley [q.v.] to engrave a large quantity of music wanted for the Handel commemoration. The additional capital acquired by this labour enabled him to remove to larger premises in Castle Street, Leicester Square. In his 'En-

quiry into the conduct of E. Malone,' Caulfield tells us that 'having been a considerable collector of materials for publishing the memoirs of remarkable persons, I began [in 1788] to engage engravers to carry on that work, and in 1790 I produced the first number of "Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons." Other parts followed at irregular intervals, without order, as the engravings were ready, and in 1794-5 appeared the complete work, embracing the period from Edward III to the Revolution. Caulfield's 'remarkable characters' are persons famous for their eccentricity, immorality, dishonesty, and so forth. The publication of Granger's 'Biographical History of England' in 1769 had given a marked impetus to the taste for engraved portraits. In the advertisement Caulfield announces: 'Of the twelve different classes of engraved portraits arranged by the late ingenious Mr. Granger, there is not one so difficult to perfect, with original prints, as that which relates to persons of the lowest description.'

About 1795 Caulfield removed to 6 Clare Court, Drury Lane, where he issued a reprint of Taylor the Water Poet's 'Life of Old Parr,' with some additional portraits. In 1796 he visited Oxford, and transcribed a manuscript 'Anecdotes of Extraordinary Persons,' mentioned by Granger, which was in the Ashmolean Museum. In 1797 appeared 'The Oxford Cabinet,' with engravings and anecdotes from the notes of Aubrey and others. Malone then claimed a prior right to the manuscript; Caulfield was refused any further use of it, and the work was stopped when only two numbers had been published. This drew from the publisher his 'Enquiry into the Conduct of E. Malone,' who is said to have bought up the whole stock of two hundred and fifty copies in one day. In 1797 Caulfield successively occupied premises in William Street, Adelphi, and 11 Old Compton Street, Soho. His next literary undertaking was to assist William Granger (not the biographical historian) to bring out 'The New Wonderful Museum' in rivalry with Kirby's 'Wonderful and Scientific Museum.' It appeared in numbers, with upwards of a hundred and fifty portraits and plates, some of them familiar in Caulfield's previous publications. The work consists of descriptions of remarkable events and objects, and lives of eccentric individuals. The sixth volume is noteworthy for its accounts of booksellers. His 'History of the Gunpowder Plot,' chiefly biographical notices from original sources, came out in 1804. The 'Cromwelliana' (1810) is usually attributed to its publisher, Machell Stace, but the book was really edited by Caulfield. It consists



of extracts from contemporary newspapers and other documents, and it was intended as a basis for illustration. Caulfield edited for the same person a series of reprints of Burton's (or Crouch's) topographical pieces, with full indexes and additional woodcuts, as well as a treatise on 'The Antiquity, Honour, and Dignity of Trade' (1813), which had come into the hands of the publisher, with other documents, from Penshurst. The writer was not a member of the Sidney family. The book contains a long list of English merchants who have attained great honour. The stock and coppers of Caulfield's 'Memoirs, &c., of Remarkable Persons,' passed into other hands in 1799. Originally published at fifty shillings, it became so much sought after, that copies were fetching seven guineas apiece, and R. S. Kirby arranged with the author to produce a new edition, which was issued in 1813. It contained all the characters of Granger's twelfth class, 'such as lived to a great age, deformed persons, convicts, &c.,' with many additions unknown to him, Bromley, Noble, and other authorities. In this edition the portraits are arranged chronologically for the first time. There are upwards of fifty more than in the former one, which only contained sixty.

In 1814 much scandal was caused by 'Chalcographimania,' by Satiricus Sculptor,' a satirical poem after the style of Mathias's 'Pursuits of Literature,' full of ill-natured gossip about artists, print-sellers, and collectors. The verse is supposed to have been written by W. H. Ireland, and the notes supplied by Thomas Coram. Not many months passed before Caulfield published 'Calceographiana,' a serious and useful treatise, in which he vigorously denied 'upon my oath' any connection with 'Chalcographimania.' George Smeeton, his biographer, assures us that 'the manuscript was offered to the writer of this sketch, who instantly refused it, and it was then sold to Mr. Kirby. Caulfield for a few shillings, while *in banco Regis*, did certainly read over the work, and added the note *k* on page 171.' This note is one of the least important in the whole book, which bears in several places unmistakable signs of Caulfield's co-operation. In 1814 he issued, among other books, a useful 'Catalogue of Portraits of Foreigners who have visited England;' the 'Eccentric Magazine,' with lives and portraits of misers, dwarfs, murderers, idiots, and similar personages; a new edition of Naunton's 'Fragmenta Regalia;' 'Memoirs' of the same author; and the commencement of an important undertaking, 'A Gallery of British Portraits.' He now resided in Wells Street, Oxford Street,

and until 1820 was chiefly occupied in the sale of engravings, the illustration of books, and the compilation of catalogues. That he should have been obliged to take to the latter occupation rather points to a decline of fortune. In more prosperous times he was patronised by the chief collectors of the day, among whom were Earl Spencer, Towneley, Bindley, Cracherode, and others. His next publication was a continuation of his 'Portraits, &c., of Remarkable Persons,' carrying the series from 1688 down to the end of the reign of George II. One of these, representing a lady known as 'Mulled Sack,' had sold for forty guineas. Another publication was 'The High Court of Justice,' in which the portraits of the regicides are decorated with skulls, crossbones, axes and chains. One of his sons seems to have now entered into business, as the last book is 'printed and published by John Caulfield, print and book seller, Little Newport Street, Leicester Square.' In 1821 Caulfield edited an edition of the 'Memoirs of the Kit-Cat Club,' and two years later he brought out three numbers of 'Biographical Sketches of British History,' of which sufficient matter was left to make three volumes. Almost his last undertaking was to edit the fifth and best edition of Granger.

Caulfield had a good memory. His knowledge of English history and biography was minute and extensive, while his acquaintance with engraved British portraits was unequalled by any person of his time. His liberality in imparting his information, and even the mysterious secrets of the trade, was viewed with great jealousy by his rivals. The numerous works written and edited by him usually attain a high standard of excellence. He was always fond of attending places of amusement, and at one time was conspicuous for neatness of dress. With advancing years Caulfield took to drink, became neglectful of his appearance, and troublesome in his social relations. He always worked hard and spent freely, but never lost the generosity which formerly led him to support his aged parents. In the last twelve months of his life, while only earning five shillings a day as a cataloguer, he kept his youngest daughter and her family. In January 1826 he broke his knee-pan, and was conveyed to the house in Camden Town of his brother Joseph. Here he remained six weeks, and then went to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, where, after remaining ten days in King Henry VIII's ward, he died on 22 April 1826. He lies buried in the family vault in Clerkenwell Church. He married Miss Mary Gascoigne, who died in 1816, and by whom he had seven children; four survived him. He had several brothers, among whom was

Thomas, a comedian and mimic, of Drury Lane Theatre, who died in America, and the Joseph mentioned above, 'a music engraver and most excellent teacher of the pianoforte' (J. T. SMITH, *Nollekens and his Times*, i. 222). A portrait of Caulfield was prefixed to his 'Calceographiana,' 'to supersede the multiplicity of caricatures of my person.'

The following is a list of his works: 1. 'Caulfield's edition of curious Tracts: the Age and long Life of Thomas Parr, illustrated with seven elegant Prints from the Designs of Anthony Van Assen,' London, 1794, 12mo, a reprint of Taylor the Water Poet's life, 1635. 2. 'Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of remarkable Persons, from the Reign of Edward III to the Revolution; collected from the most authentic accounts extant by J. C.,' London, 1794-5, 2 vols. roy. 8vo. 3. 'The Oxford Cabinet [ed. by J. C.],' London, 1797, 4to. 4. 'An Enquiry into the Conduct of Edmond Malone, Esq., concerning the Manuscript Papers of John Aubrey, F.R.S., in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [by J. C.],' 1797, 12mo. 5. 'The new Wonderful Museum and Extraordinary Magazine . . . by Wm. Granger, assisted by many valuable articles communicated by J. C. and others' [1803]-1808, 6 vols. 8vo. 6. 'The History of the Gunpowder Plot, by J. C.,' 1804, 8vo. 7. 'Londina Illustrata,' 1805-25, 2 vols. 4to; the principal part of the letterpress was supplied by J. C. 8. 'Cromwelliana, a Chronological Detail of Events in which Oliver Cromwell was engaged from 1642 to 1658, with a continuation to the Restoration [ed. by J. C.],' 1810, folio. 9. 'Historical Remarks on the ancient and present State of the Cities of London and Westminster,' Westminster, 1810; 'The Wars in England, Scotland, and Ireland from 1625 to 1660,' *ib.* 1810; 'Admirable Curiosities, Rarities, and Wonders in England, Scotland, and Ireland,' *ib.* 1811; 'The History of the Kingdom of Scotland,' *ib.* 1813; 'The History of the House of Orange,' *ib.* 1814, 6 pieces, 8vo, edited by J. C. from the editions of 1681-5, usually attributed to Richard or Robert Burton [q. v.], the pseudonym under which the publisher and author, Nathaniel Crouch, published his works. 10. 'The Antiquity, Honour, and Dignity of Trade [ed. by J. C.],' 1813, 8vo. 11. 'Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons from the reign of Edward III to the Revolution. A new edition completing the twelfth class of Granger's Biographical History of England, by J. C.,' London, 1813, 3 vols. 8vo. 12. 'Calceographiana, Guide to the Knowledge and Value of Engraved British Portraits, by J. C.,' London, 1814, 8vo, portrait of J. C. 13. 'A Catalogue of Portraits of

Foreigners who have visited England, as noticed by Clarendon, Thurloe, &c. [by J. C.],' London, 1814, sm. 8vo. 14. 'The Eccentric Magazine [ed. by Henry Lemoine and J. C.],' 1814, 2 vols. 8vo. 15. 'The Court of Queen Elizabeth, originally written by Sir Robert Naunton under the title of "Fragmenta Regalia," with considerable biographical additions by J. C.,' London, 1814, 4to. 16. 'A Gallery of British Portraits during the reigns of James I, Charles I, and the Commonwealth,' 1814, parts i. and ii. folio. 17. 'Memoirs of Sir Robert Naunton, Knt.,' 1814, 4to. 18. 'Portraits, Memoirs, and Characters of Remarkable Persons, from the Revolution in 1688 to the end of the reign of George II, collected by J. C.,' 1819-20, 4 vols. roy. 8vo. 19. 'The High Court of Justice, by J. C.,' 1820, 4to. 20. 'Memoirs of the celebrated Persons comprising the Kit-Cat Club [by J. C.],' 1821, roy. 4to. 21. 'Biographical Sketches illustrative of British History [by J. C.],' London, 1823; only three numbers issued. 22. 'A Biographical History of England, by the Rev. James Granger, fifth edition, with upwards of 400 additional Lives [ed. by J. C.],' London, 1824, 6 vols. 8vo.

[A biographical sketch was contributed by G[eorge] S[meeton], Caulfield's friend and printer, to the *Gent. Mag.* 1826, pt. i. p. 569; reproduced in the *Annual Register*, 1826, p. 246, and the *Annual Biogr. and Register*, xi. 1827, pp. 441-3. See also Nichols's *Illustr. vi.* 441.]  
H. R. T.

**CAUNT, BENJAMIN** (1815-1861), champion pugilist, was born in the village of Hucknall-Torkard, Nottinghamshire, on 22 March 1815. His father, a tenant of Lord Byron, was engaged in some humble capacity at Newstead. The son, according to his own account, was a gamekeeper or a watcher, but other people said he was a navvy. His height was 6 feet 2½ inches, and his weight 14 stone 7 lbs. At an early age he aspired to pugilistic honours. On 21 July 1835 he was defeated by William Thompson, known as Bendigo. On 17 Aug. 1837 Caunt defeated William Butler in fourteen rounds for a stake of 20*l.* a side. The reputation of Bendigo having in the meantime much risen, another encounter between him and Caunt came off on 3 April 1838 on Skipwith Common, near Selby, when, after a fight of seventy-five rounds, lasting eighty minutes, a dispute arose, which was settled in favour of Caunt, who now took the title of champion. On 26 Oct. 1840 he beat John Leechman, known as Brasse, after 101 rounds, and was hailed 'champion of England.' In a fight with Nicholas Ward on

2 Feb. 1841 Caunt was disqualified for a foul blow. At a match with the same opponent at Long Marston, near Stratford-on-Avon, on 11 May, Ward gave in after the thirty-fifth round. Some time previously a subscription had been raised to purchase a 'champion's belt.' Caunt in September 1841 went to the United States, taking with him the belt. No fighting, however, took place in America. He exhibited himself in theatres, and returned to England on 10 March 1842. He brought back with him Charles Freeman, an American giant, 6 feet 10½ inches high, weighing 18 stone, and with him made a sparring tour throughout the United Kingdom. Freeman died of consumption in the Winchester hospital on 18 Oct. 1845, aged 28, when his weight had fallen to 10 stone. In 1843 Caunt became proprietor of the Coach and Horses public-house, St. Martin's Lane, London. He went into training in 1845, and, having reduced himself from 17 stone to 14 stone, met Bendigo near Sutfield Green, Oxfordshire, on 9 Sept. 1845, and, in the presence of upwards of ten thousand persons, contested for 2000. and the championship. The fight lasted over two hours, and in the ninety-third round the referee, George Osbaldiston, gave a decision (of doubtful correctness) in favour of Bendigo. On 15 Jan. 1851 a fire took place in the Coach and Horses, when two of the landlord's children were burnt to death. Great sympathy was felt with Caunt under this dreadful calamity, and a ballad upon it had a very extensive sale. On his last appearance in the ring he met Nathaniel Langham (the only man who ever beat the famous Tom Sayers) on 23 Sept. 1857, when, after an unsatisfactory fight of sixty rounds, the men shook hands and no decision was given. Caunt still kept the Coach and Horses, where the parlour was a general resort for aspirants for pugilistic honours and their patrons. He was also well known as a pigeon-shooter, and it was while taking part in a match early in 1860 that he caught cold, and died on 10 Sept. 1861. He was in his forty-seventh year. He was buried in Hucknall-Torkard churchyard on 14 Sept. From first to last he showed no improvement in his style of fighting; his positions were inartistic, and he lacked judgment, but was a manly upright boxer, and there never was a question of his pluck.

[Miles's Pugilistica, with portrait (1880), iii. 47-93; Fights for the Championship, by the Editor of Bell's Life (1860), pp. 135-42, 158-209; Fisticana (1868), pp. 21, 134; Modern Boxing, by Pendragon, i.e. Henry Sampson (1879), pp. 2-3.] G. C. B.

CAUNTER, JOHN HOBART (1794-1851), miscellaneous writer, born at Dittisham, Devonshire, 21 July 1794, went to India as a cadet about 1809. He was soon disgusted with oriental life, and 'having discovered, much to his disappointment, nothing on the continent of Asia to interest him,' he returned home. He recorded his impressions of India in a poem entitled the 'Cadet' (2 vols. 1814). Caunter then studied at Cambridge for the ministry of the church of England. In 1828 he obtained the degree of B.D. 'After he had entered holy orders he was for nineteen years the incumbent minister of St. Paul's Chapel, Foley Place, in the parish of Marylebone. In 1846 he took a lease of a proprietary chapel at Kennington. He held for a short time the rectory of Hailsham in Sussex, and was also chaplain to the late Earl of Thanet' (*Gent. Mag.*) At the time of his death, which took place in London, 14 Nov. 1851, he was curate of Prittlewell, Essex. His wife and three young children survived him. Caunter's best known work is his 'Romance of History,' India, 3 vols. 1836 (republished in 1872), which formed part of a popular series. Under the form of stories it treats of the most remarkable incidents of the Mahomedan conquests in India. Caunter also wrote: 'The Island Bride, in six cantos,' 1830; 'Sermons,' 3 vols. 1832; 'Familiar Lectures to Children,' 1835; 'St. Leon, a Drama, in three acts,' 1835; 'Posthumous Records of a London Clergyman,' 1835; 'Descriptions to Westall and Martin's Illustrations of the Bible,' 1835; 'The Fellow Commoner; a Novel,' 3 vols. 1836; 'The Poetry of the Pentateuch,' 2 vols. 1839; 'The Triumph of Evil; a Poem,' 1845; 'Illustrations of the Five Books of Moses,' 2 vols. 1847; 'An Inquiry into the History and Character of Rahab,' 1850. Besides various sermons, theological notes, &c., Caunter was engaged in the production of ten 'Oriental Annuals' between 1830 and 1840.

[Gentleman's Mag. for 1852, xxxvii. 627-8; Times, 20 Nov. 1851; Graduati Cantabrigien-ses, p. 96 (Cambridge, 1884); Notes and Queries for 1870, 4th ser. vi. 274, 353, 445; Add. MSS. 24867, f. 41, Brit. Mus. Cat.] F. W.-T.

CAUS, SOLOMON DE (1576-1630), engineer. [See DE CAUS.]

CAUSTON, MICHAEL DE. [See CAWSTON.]

CAUSTON, THOMAS (*d.* 1569), musical composer, was a gentleman of the chapel royal under Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. Nothing is known of his parentage,

but it is possible that he is identical with a Thomas Causton who was living about the same date at Oxted in Surrey. This individual was the son of William Causton of Orpington, by Katherine Banister, and was married to Agnes Polley of Shoreham. Their son William (*d.* 1638) had a numerous family, who lived at Oxted until late in the seventeenth century. On 29 Oct. 1558 Mary wrote to the mayor and aldermen of London in favour of Thomas Causton, 'one of the gentlemen of the chappell,' requesting that he should be admitted into the freedom of the city. In 1560 he contributed some music to John Day's rare 'Certain Notes, set forth in four and three parts, to be sung at the Morning, Communion, and Evening Prayer.' The same publisher's 'Whole Psalmes in Foure Parties' (1563) also contains no less than twenty-seven compositions by Causton. A Venite and service by him have been reprinted in the 'Ecclesiologist,' and a fine Te Deum and Benedictus in score are preserved in the British Museum (*Add. MS.* 31226). As far as can be judged from these compositions, Causton was a composer in every respect worthy of the school of which Redford and Tallis are the great lights. He died on 28 Oct. 1569, and was succeeded at the Chapel Royal by Richard Farrant.

[Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal, ed. Rim-bault, p. 2; Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 326; State Papers, Domestic Ser. Mary, 1558, Docq.; *Add. MS.* 16279, fol. 435; Registers of Oxted, communicated by the Rev. F. Parnell.]

W. B. S.

**CAUTLEY, SIR PROBY THOMAS** (1802-1871), colonel, the projector and constructor of the Ganges Canal, was the son of the Rev. Thomas Cautley of Stratford St. Mary's, Suffolk. He joined the Bengal artillery in 1819, and after some years' service with that corps, in which he was for a time (1823 and 1824) an acting adjutant and quartermaster, he was appointed by Lord Amherst assistant to Captain (afterwards Colonel) Robert Smith of the Bengal engineers, who was at that time employed in reconstructing the Doáb Canal, an old channel of irrigation drawn from the left bank of the Jumna at the foot of the Siválik hills. In December 1825 Cautley, with the rest of the canal officers, was called to join the army engaged in the siege of Bhurtpore, under Lord Combermere, and, after serving with the artillery through that operation, rejoined his work on the canal, which was opened in 1830. In 1831 Cautley succeeded to the charge of the canal, and remained in charge of it for twelve years. The construction of the upper

part of the canal was beset with difficulties, owing to a number of mountain torrents descending from the Siváliks and sometimes bringing down suddenly huge volumes of water, which traversed its alignment, and across which the canal at different relative levels had to be carried. In combating these difficulties Cautley displayed great skill and dexterity, and gradually developed the canal into an extremely efficient instrument of irrigation. It was not on a very large scale, extending with its distributaries to about a hundred and thirty miles in length and with a head flow of about a thousand cubic feet per second. While employed on this duty Cautley visited the Dehra valley, where he projected and executed the Bijapur and Dehra watercourses, and projected also a line from the Jumna, which was carried out later.

The great work of Cautley's life was the Ganges canal. This was a purely British work. It was first contemplated by Colonel Colvin of the Bengal engineers, by whose advice Cautley examined the project, but with results so discouraging that the idea of the canal was temporarily abandoned by him (*Cuttack Review*, xii. 150). The severe famine of 1837-8 led to a re-examination of the project, which was reported on by Cautley in 1840, and sanctioned by Lord Auckland and eventually by the court of directors in 1841, the court directing that the projected canal should be 'constructed on such a scale as would admit of irrigation being supplied to the whole of the Doáb, or the country lying between the rivers Ganges, Hindun, and Jumna, forming the principal part of the north-western provinces.' Cautley's services in framing the project were acknowledged by the court by a donation of ten thousand rupees. The actual construction of the work was not commenced until 1843, and its progress was much retarded by the opposition of Lord Ellenborough, who did all that he could to discourage the project, withholding sufficient officers' assistance, and, with a strange misconception of the object for which the canal was mainly required, directing that it should be constructed 'primarily for navigation, not for irrigation,' and that 'only such water should be applied to the latter object as was not required for the former.' Until the beginning of 1844 Cautley was obliged, from the want of subordinate agency, to conduct with his own hands the drudgery of surveying, levelling, and such like work. In 1845 Cautley was compelled by ill-health to return to Europe. During his absence the work was efficiently carried on by Major (afterwards Sir William) Baker [q. v.] While in England, Cautley omitted no means of improving

his qualifications for the work which he had left, by visiting such hydraulic works as could then be seen in Great Britain, while on his way back to India he examined the irrigation works in Lombardy and Piedmont and the barrage works then in progress on the Nile. After his return to India in 1848, when he assumed the office of director of canals in the N.-W. Provinces, which had been constituted in his absence, the canal made rapid progress under the active encouragement given to Cautley both by the lieutenant-governor, Mr. Thomason, and by the governor-general, Lord Dalhousie. It was opened on 8 April 1854, and in the following month Cautley left India, receiving on the occasion of his embarkation a salute from the guns of Fort William, which had been ordered by the governor-general in special recognition of the high value attached to Cautley's great work. The city of Calcutta presented Cautley with a memorial and placed his bust in the town hall, and the engineers who had been employed under him on the canal gave him a piece of plate. On reaching England he was created a K.C.B., and in 1858 he was selected to fill one of the seats in the new council of India, which he retained until 1868. In the latter part of his life Cautley became involved in a professional controversy with General Sir Arthur Cotton, the eminent hydraulic engineer, to whose genius the south of India is indebted for some of its most important irrigation works. The main point in dispute was whether the head of the Ganges canal should have been fixed where the river, with a shingle bed and a high incline, quitted the Sub-Himalaya, or much lower down, where it flows in a depressed alluvial trough of comparatively small slope. The former course, adopted by Cautley, was supposed to afford a better base for the works regulating the supply, but involved crossing, at great cost, numerous torrents similar to those already referred to. The latter course involved the foundation of the works on sand and a considerable length of very deep cutting before the surface of the plain to be irrigated was reached. Subsequent experience, derived from the construction of dams built on sites such as Sir Arthur Cotton contemplated, across the Ganges for the lower Ganges canal, and across the Jumna for the Ágra canal, appears to have shown that the view of the latter was correct in principle, but that he considerably underestimated what would have been the cost of the work if carried out on his plan. The most serious fault of the canal was excess of slope, and to rectify this parts of it were remodelled at a cost (which,

however, included extensions of work necessary in any case) of fifty-five lakhs of rupees, the original cost of the work having been 217 lakhs. In submitting the plans and estimates for the improvements the government of India remarked that, 'considering the unprecedented character of the Ganges canal project and its great magnitude,' they did not think that 'the credit of its designer was really diminished by what had occurred.' They believed that 'very few engineering works of equal novelty of design and magnitude would be found to bear the test of actual experience with a more favourable result.' 'Whatever,' they added, 'be the present ascertained defects of the Ganges canal, the claims of Sir Proby Cautley to the consideration of the government of India for his eminent services are, in our estimation, in no way diminished, and his title to honour as an engineer still remains of the highest order' (*Despatch from the Governor-general of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India*, 1 March 1865).

In addition to his labours as an engineer Cautley rendered distinguished service to geological and palæontological science by his explorations in the Siválík range, which is rich in fossil remains. His researches were chiefly carried on in association with Dr. Hugh Falconer, at that time in charge of the botanical garden at Saháranpur, and, their joint discoveries attracting attention in Europe, they were awarded by the Geological Society in 1837 the Woollaston medal in duplicate. It is stated that Cautley's collection of fossils presented by him to the British Museum filled 214 chests, averaging in weight 4 cwt. each. Cautley was a frequent contributor of papers both to the Bengal Asiatic Society and to the Geological Society of London. The following may be mentioned: In the 'Asiatic Researches,' vol. xvi. (1828), notice of 'Coal and Lignite in the Himálaya,' vol. xix. pt. i. (1836), 'On the Fossil Crocodile of the Siválíks,' 'On the Fossil Ghariál of the Siválíks.' In 'Journal As. Soc. Bengal,' vol. i. (1832), 'On Gypsum of the Himálaya,' iii. (1833), 'On Discovery of an Ancient City near Behut in the Doáb,' iv. (1835), 'On Gold-washings of the Gúnti River,' 'On a New Species of Snake discovered in the Doáb,' v. (1836), 'On the Teeth of the Siválík Mastodon à dents étroites,' 'On the Mastodons of the Siválíks,' vi. (1837), 'On a Siválík Ruminant allied to the Giraffidæ,' viii. (1839), 'On the Use of Wells in Foundations, as practised by the Natives of the Northern Doáb,' ix. pt. i. (1840), 'On the Fossil Camelidæ of the Siválíks,' xi. (1842), 'On the Proposed For-

mation of a Canal of Irrigation from the Jumna, in the Dhera Dûn.' In 'Geological Society's Proceedings,' vol. ii. (1838), 'On Remains of Mammalia found in the Siválík Mountains;' 'On the Discovery of Quadrumanous Remains in the Siválík.' In 'Geological Society's Transactions,' 2nd ser., v. (1840), 'On the Structure of the Siválík Hills, and Organic Remains found in them.' Also written conjointly with Dr. Hugh Falconer: in 'Asiatic Researches,' xix., 'On Sivatheium Giganteum;' 'On Siválík Fossil Hippopotamus;' 'On Saválík Fossil Camel;' 'On Felis Cristata and Ursus Siválensis;' also papers in 'Journal As. Soc. Bengal,' vols. iv. and vi., and in 'Proceedings Geol. Soc.,' No. 98, and in 'Transactions Geol. Soc.,' 2nd ser. vol. v.

Cautley also wrote an elaborate report on the construction of the Ganges canal, consisting of 2 vols. 8vo, 1 vol. 4to, and a large atlas of plans, published in 1860. In 1853 he published 'Notes and Memoranda on the Eastern Jumna, or Doáb Canal, and on the Watercourses in the Dhera Dûn.' Cautley died at Sydenham on 25 Jan. 1871.

[Obituary notice in Times, 28 Jan. 1871; Calcutta Review, vols. xii. xxi.; India Office Records. In preparing this article the writer has received valuable assistance from Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., R.E.] A. J. A.

**CAUX, JOHN DE.** [See CALETO, JOHN DE.]

**CAVAGNARI, SIR PIERRE LOUIS NAPOLEON** (1841-1879), soldier and diplomatist, son of General Adolphe Cavagnari, who served under the Emperor Napoleon, by his marriage with Caroline, third daughter of Hugh Lyons Montgomery of Laurencetown, county Down, was born at Stenay, department of the Meuse, France, on 4 July 1841, entered Christ's Hospital, London, in 1851, and, after studying there for six years, passed the necessary examinations at Addiscombe, and became a direct cadet of the East India Company on 9 April 1858, and was appointed an ensign in the 67th regiment of native infantry on 21 June. He had previously, on 7 Dec. 1857, been granted a certificate of naturalisation by the home secretary under the name of P. L. N. Cavagnaré, but does not seem to have adopted this method of writing his name. Arriving in India on 12 July, and joining the 1st Bengal European fusiliers, he served throughout the Oudh campaign (1858-9), and having taken part in the capture of five guns from the Nussirabad brigade on 30 Oct. 1858, was decorated with the Indian mutiny medal. Promoted to be a lieutenant on 17 March

1860, in July 1861 he was appointed to the staff corps, and gazetted an assistant-commissioner in the Punjab. Possessed of remarkable energy, indomitable courage, and a genial character, he soon acquired distinction in the frontier service, and was ultimately appointed deputy-commissioner of Kohat. He held political charge of the Kohat district from April 1866 to May 1877, when he was named deputy-commissioner of Pesháwar, and as chief political officer served in several hill expeditions between 1868 and 1878, the most important of which was the Afridi expedition, 1875-7. When the despatch of a British mission to the Ameer of Afghanistan, Shere Ali Khan, in September 1878, under Sir Neville Chamberlain, was decided upon, Cavagnari was attached to the staff, and was the officer who interviewed Faiz Mahomed Khan when that official of the ameer on 21 Sept. 1878 refused to allow the mission to proceed. After the death of the ameer, 21 Feb. 1879, and the succession of Yakub Khan to the government of Afghanistan, Cavagnari, in a personal interview with the new ruler, negotiated and signed the treaty of Gandamak, 26 May 1879, for which service he was made a K.C.B. on 19 July; he had previously, on 1 June 1877, been named commander of the Star of India. He was then sent to Cabul as the British resident, and, entering that city on 24 July, took up his residence in the Bala Hissar. His reception by Yakub Khan was friendly, but on 3 Sept. 1879 several of the Afghan regiments mutinied, and, attacking the citadel where Cavagnari and the other members of the embassy were living, massacred all the Europeans. Cavagnari made a stout resistance, but at last his head was split open with a blow. He fell back against a wall, and just about the same time the burning roof fell in; his body must have been consumed in the flames. His age was only thirty-eight. No Englishman who survived was present on the occasion, so that the details have to be taken from native sources. He married on 23 Nov. 1871 Emma, second daughter of Henry Graves, M.D., of Cookstown, county Tyrone.

[Káliprasanna's Life of Sir L. Cavagnari, with portrait, Calcutta, 1881; Annual Register, 1879, pp. 262-70; Illustrated London News, with portrait, 1879, lxxv. 229; Graphic, with portrait, 1879, xx. 4, 29, 261, 304.] G. C. B.

**CAVALIER or CAVALLIER, JEAN** (1681-1740), major-general, lieutenant-governor of Jersey, was born 28 Nov. 1681 at Ribaute, near Anduze, in that part of Languedoc which is now the department of the

Gard. His father was a peasant, and Jean, after herding cattle, was apprenticed to a baker at Anduze. Brought up ostensibly a catholic he was secretly taught protestant doctrines by his mother, and to escape persecution for non-attendance at mass he made his way, about the age of twenty, to Geneva, where he worked as a baker. A report that his parents had been thrown into prison induced him to return to his native district, and on the breaking out of the revolt in the Cevennes (autumn of 1702) he joined the insurgents. His intrepidity and skill, aided by his gift of prophesying and preaching, led to his election as one of the five leaders of the revolt. The region assigned to him was the plain of Lower Languedoc stretching to the sea, though he made frequent forays in the hill-country of the Cevennes. In less than two years he became the most conspicuous of the insurgent chiefs, and with few intermissions his guerilla warfare was successful. His band had grown to be one of twelve hundred men when he was defeated with great slaughter, being surrounded by a superior force under Marshal Montrevel, who commanded in Languedoc, in a series of engagements near Nages, 16 April 1704. This defeat, followed by the betrayal to the king's troops of the caverns in which the insurgents had concealed their stores of all kinds, disposed Cavalier to negotiate with Montrevel's successor, Marshal Villars, especially as hopes of succour from England had been baffled. On 16 May 1704 Villars and Cavalier had a conference in a garden outside Nismes, and Villars (*Mémoires*, p. 139) bears testimony to the firmness, good sense, and good faith displayed by Cavalier throughout the negotiation, as well as to his military capacity. Ultimately an agreement was signed, in which Villars made some concessions to the protestants of Languedoc. One of its articles permitted Cavalier to select from his band and from the protestant prisoners who were to be liberated under another article two thousand men for a regiment to be despatched to fight for France in Portugal. Cavalier received from the king a colonel's commission and a pension of twelve hundred livres. But the agreement with Villars satisfied neither the other leaders of the insurrection nor Cavalier's own band, and the regiment was not formed. At his request Cavalier was allowed an interview with Louis XIV at Versailles, during which, according to his own account, he pleaded the cause of the protestants of Languedoc, and refused the king's invitation to him to become a catholic. The authenticity of the agreement with Villars and the interview with Louis XIV have been doubted, but on insufficient grounds (PEYRAT,

ii. 133 n. and 198 n.; KEMBLE, pp. 420 and 431).

In August 1704 Cavalier received orders from the French authorities to proceed under escort to the Rhine fortress of Neu Breisach. Alarmed by reports that he was to be detained there a captive for life, he escaped from his escort, and with the followers who accompanied him took refuge in Switzerland. Here he entered the military service of the Duke of Savoy, afterwards Victor Amadeus I, who had joined the league against France. At the beginning of 1706 he raised in Holland a regiment of foot, one-third of the expenses of which were to be paid by the Dutch, the other by the English government. After visiting England, and having an interview with Godolphin (AGNEW, ii. 63; *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1708-14, p. 16), he proceeded with his regiment to Spain, and commanded it at the battle of Almanza, 25 April 1707, where it was drawn up opposite a French regiment. According to Voltaire (*Œuvres*, ed. Beuchot, xx. 399), the Marshal Duke of Berwick, who commanded the French at Almanza, frequently described the two regiments as rushing at each other with the bayonet without firing a shot, and as fighting so desperately that not three hundred men of them survived. Cavalier was severely wounded, and before escaping lay for some time among the killed (CAVALIER, letter to the States of Holland in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme en France*, vi. 70; OLDMIXON, *History of England*, being a sequel to the reigns of the Stuarts, 1735, p. 391).

Cavalier now re-entered the service of the Duke of Savoy, but is found in Holland again in December 1707. While at the Hague he drew up the first of several affidavits, in which he denounced as liars and impostors three of the so-called 'French prophets' in London, who pretended to the possession of supernatural gifts, and claimed to have exercised them in the Cevennes. One of them, another Jean Cavalier, claimed a relationship with Colonel Cavalier, by whom it was indignantly repudiated (*Nouveaux Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des Trois Camisards . . . où l'on trouve les déclarations de Monsieur le Colonel Cavalier*, 1708). It was probably during this sojourn at the Hague that he sought in marriage the Mademoiselle Dunoyer who some years afterwards captivated the young Voltaire. The match was broken off, and, according to her mother, under circumstances very discreditable to Cavalier, whom she accused of having retained possession of the dowry, and whom she otherwise vilifies (MADAME DUNOYER, *Lettres Historiques et*

*Galantes* (edition of 1790), v. 156-62). Writing to the English secretary at war in March 1711, the Duke of Marlborough (*Despatches*, 1845, v. 269) begs his correspondent to tell Cavalier that unless he complies with the 'just requests' of Mme. Dunoyer 'I shall be obliged to complain of him to the queen, that she may have justice done her out of his pension.' Cavalier was now settled with a British pension in the United Kingdom. He spent much of the remainder of his life with the French colony founded at Portarlington by Ruvigny, earl of Galway [q. v.], and there he married the daughter of an aristocratic refugee, a Mademoiselle de Ponthieu. He is represented as having suffered frequently from pecuniary embarrassments, and these, it has also been said (AGNEW, ii. 64), led to the issue of his 'Memoirs,' which were published by subscription at Dublin in 1726, with a dedication (signed 'Jas. Cavallier') to Carteret, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland. The volume professes to have been 'written in French and translated into English,' and is undoubtedly Cavalier's handiwork, though the 'Biographie Universelle' ascribes its composition to Galli, a French refugee. It is written with animation, and is full of military detail, but as a contribution to the history of the revolt in the Cévennes it is very fragmentary. Some of its most startling stories seem to be confirmed by the testimony of hostile witnesses, contemporaries of the events recorded (PEYRAT, i. 345 n. and 374 n.). The inaccuracies which have been detected in it are comparatively unimportant, with the exception of a grave misrepresentation of the spirit in which his companions opposed the treaty with Villars. Though the 'Memoirs' breathe a strongly protestant spirit, they are silent as to Cavalier's early gift of prophesying and preaching.

In 1727 Cavalier came to England with a recommendatory letter to the Duke of Newcastle from the Irish primate, Boulter. He was made a brigadier 27 Oct. 1735, and in March 1738 lieutenant-governor of Jersey, at several meetings of the estates of which island he presided. Appointed a major-general 2 July 1739, he died at Chelsea 17 May 1740, and was buried in Chelsea churchyard. Voltaire (*Œuvres*, xx. 397), who had known him, describes him as a 'little fair man with a mild and agreeable countenance.'

Besides the authorities given below there may be consulted the article 'Jean Cavallier and the Camisards' in the 'Edinburgh Review' for July 1856. An idealised Cavalier figures in Ludwig Tieck's unfinished novel, 'Der Aufrühr in den Cévennes' (English translation, 1845), and he is the hero of Eu-

gène Sue's historical romance, 'Jean Cavalier ou les Fanatiques des Cévennes,' translated into English as 'The Protestant Leader, a novel,' 1849.

[Cavalier's *Memoirs*; Peyrat's *Histoire des Pasteurs du Désert*, 1842; Agnew's *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, 2nd edit. 1871; Haag's *La France Protestante*, 2nd edit. 1877; *Mémoires du Maréchal de Villars* in vol. ix. of Michaud and Poujoulat's *Nouvelle Collection des Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de France*, 1839; F. Espinasse's *Life and Times of Voltaire*, 1866.] F. E.

CAVALLO, TIBERIUS (1749-1809), natural philosopher, was born in Naples in 1749, his father being a physician practising in that city. At an early age he left Italy, and settled for life in this country. In October 1775 he published a notice of 'Extraordinary Electricity of the Atmosphere observed at Islington.' This was reprinted in 'Sturgeon's *Annals of Electricity*' (1843, p. 158). Cavallo was the inventor of several philosophical instruments and pieces of apparatus for electrical and chemical experiments. Much ingenuity was shown in their construction, all his instruments for the measurement of the quantity and force of electricity being remarkable for their extreme delicacy and correctness.

Cavallo was on 9 Dec. 1779 admitted as a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1781 he published a quarto volume entitled 'A Treatise on the Nature and Properties of Air and other permanently Elastic Fluids.' In this treatise he deals with chemistry and hydrostatics as they bear on the composition and physical properties of aeriform and other fluids. He examines with caution most of Dr. Priestley's experiments on air, and institutes many new ones, to determine more accurately the composition of the atmosphere and the conditions of inflammable and fixed air. Phlogisticated air forms the subject of inquiry, but it is evident that Cavallo could not receive the hypothesis of phlogiston, and yet did not feel himself on such sure ground as would justify his advancing any new doctrine. His investigations into the influences of air and light on the growth of plants are very original, and advanced him very nearly to the discovery of many new truths in connection with organic life.

In 1786 Cavallo published his 'Complete Treatise on Electricity,' which reached a third edition in 1795. It proves him to have been a true philosopher, holding his judgment suspended until he is satisfied by demonstrative evidence of the truth. In 1787 he published 'A Treatise on Magnetism in Theory



and Practice,' which embraces all that was known on the subject at the time; and in 1797 he contributed to 'Nicholson's Journal' a paper 'On the Multiplier of Electricity.' Cavallo gave some attention to aerostation, on the history and practice of which he published a treatise in 1785. About this period meteoric phenomena claimed his observation. In the latter part of his life he devoted much time to the use of electricity as a curative agent. In 1780 he published a work 'On Medical Electricity,' and in 1798 the 'Medicinal Properties of Factitious Air.' His latest large work was 'Elements of Natural and Experimental Philosophy' (1803, 4 vols. 8vo). He contributed an article on meteors to the 'Philosophical Transactions.' Cavallo died, at the age of sixty, in 1809.

[Nicholson's Journal, 1797, p. 394; Catalogue of Scientific Papers, Royal Society; Transactions of the Royal Society; Watt's Bibl. Brit. 1824.]  
R. H-T.

**CAVAN, EARLS OF.** [See LAMBART, CHARLES, first EARL, 1600-1660; LAMBART, RICHARD FORD WILLIAM, seventh EARL, 1763-1836.]

**CAVE, SIR AMBROSE** (d. 1568), chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, was fourth son of Roger Cave of Stanford, Northamptonshire, by his second wife, Margaret Saxby. It is stated that he was a student at one time at St. John's College, Cambridge, and at another at Magdalen, Oxford. In 1525 he visited Rhodes as a knight hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem. He was a brother of the Knights' Hospital at Shingay, Cambridgeshire, the governorship of which he tried hard to obtain, and in 1540, when the order was dissolved, received a pension of 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* He became sheriff of Warwickshire and Leicestershire in 1548, M.P. for Leicestershire 1545, 1547, and 1553, and for Warwickshire 1558, 1559, and 1562, a privy councillor on Elizabeth's accession, as one 'well affected to the protestant religion,' a commissioner to compound with holders of land worth 50*l.* a year who refused to be knighted 20 Dec. 1558 and 28 March 1559, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster 22 Dec. 1558, and a commissioner 'for the northern parts towards Scotland and Berwick' a day later. In parliament Cave played a very small part. On 6 March 1558-9 he stated that a London alderman, Sir Thomas White, 'misliked the Book of Common Prayer,' and White was summoned to the house, which readily accepted his explanation. Cave was busily employed in 1559. He was nominated a commissioner to administer the oath of supremacy, 31 March; a searcher of the books and lodgings of two bishops, White of Win-

chester and Watson of Lincoln, suspected of papist leanings, 3 April; a joint-lieutenant of Warwickshire, 26 May; a commissioner for the visitation of the dioceses of Oxford, Lincoln, Lichfield and Coventry, and Peterborough, 22 July; a commissioner for raising men in Warwickshire and Shropshire for service at Berwick, 25 Sept. On 13 Feb. 1563-4 he went on a special commission for the trial of murders, burglaries, and other felonies. Cave was often at court, and the story runs that he once picked up the queen's garter, which had slipped off while she was dancing; Elizabeth declined to take it from him; he thereupon tied it on his left arm, and said he would wear it all his life for the sake of his mistress. A portrait of Cave with the garter round his arm was formerly the property of the Rev. Sir Charles Cave of Theddingworth, Leicestershire. Cave died 2 April 1568, and was buried at Stanford.

He married Margaret, daughter of William Willington of Barcheston, Warwickshire, and widow of Thomas Holte, justice of North Wales. By her he had one child, Margaret, wife of Henry Knollys, son of Sir Henry Knollys, K.G.

Thomas Cave of Stanford, the grandson of Sir Ambrose's eldest brother, was created a baronet by Charles I 30 June 1641. Sir Thomas's family still survives, and bears the surname of Cave-Browne-Cave (FOSTER, *Baronetage*, pp. 110-11).

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 251-2; Hayward's *Annals of Elizabeth*, p. 12; Cal. State Papers (Dom.), 1547-90; Bridges's *Northamptonshire*, i. 583; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. passim.] S. L.

**CAVE, EDWARD** (1691-1754), printer, born at Newton, near Rugby, 27 Feb. 1691, was son of Joseph, a younger son of Edward Cave of the lone house on the Watling Street Road, called Cave's Hole. The entail of the family estate being cut off, Joseph Cave was reduced to follow the trade of a cobbler at Rugby. The son had a right of admittance to Rugby grammar school, which he entered in 1700. Dr. Holyoke, the principal, thought him fit for a university education; but he was charged with robbing Mrs. Holyoke's hen-roost and clandestinely assisting fellow-scholars, brought into discredit, and compelled to leave the school. Cave was next a clerk to a collector of excise; but he soon left his place to seek employment in London. After working with a timber merchant at Bankside, he was apprenticed to Deputy-alderman Collins, a well-known London printer. In two years his ability was recognised, and he was sent to Norwich to manage a printing office and conduct a weekly paper, the 'Norwich Courant.'

His master died before his 'articles' ceased, and, not being able to bear the perversities of his mistress, he quitted her house and settled at Bow, where he married a young widow with a little money. He then became journeyman to Alderman (afterwards lord mayor) Barber, and for years was a writer in 'Mist's Weekly Journal.' When about thirty he obtained a position in the post office, by his wife's interest, but continued his occupation as a printer. He corrected the 'Gradus ad Parnassum' for the Stationers' Company, and wrote an 'Account of the Criminals,' as well as several pamphlets on current topics. He was shortly afterwards appointed clerk of the franks.

With the knowledge gained from his official position Cave about this time (1725) furnished country news to a London journal, in what were called 'news-letters,' for a guinea a week. He then began to convey London news to country papers, at Gloucester, Stamford, and Canterbury. Cave's position brought him into intercourse with members of both houses, and he would retire to a coffee-house and work up a news-letter. In 1727 he and Robert Raikes of the 'Gloucester Journal' were taken into custody for breach of privilege. Cave suffered ten days' imprisonment, but on expressing contrition and paying heavy fines he was released with a reprimand. His strictness as clerk of the franks had made enemies, and he was cited before the House of Commons for another breach of privilege in stopping a frank given by a member to the old Duchess of Marlborough. He was charged with opening letters to obtain 'news,' and dismissed from his post, although the statements made were never proved.

Cave had saved enough to purchase a small printing office at St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell, in 1731. Here, in the gateway of the old priory of the knights of St. John, he started business as a printer under the name of 'R. Newton,' and began the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' His intention was to form a collection or 'magazine' (the first use of the name in this sense), 'to contain the essays and intelligence which appeared in the two hundred half sheets which the London press then threw off monthly,' and in 'probably as many more half sheets printed elsewhere in the three kingdoms.' The periodical was to comprise varieties of all kinds. He had talked of his plan for years, but every bookseller refused to join him, although he had numerous followers. The first number of the 'Gentleman's Magazine, or Traders' Monthly Intelligencer . . . by Sylvanus Urban, Gent.,' appeared in January 1730-1. Some of the early numbers were said to be 'printed by Edward Cave,

jun.,' an imaginary nephew; others 'printed for R. Newton,' and sometimes he falsely described himself as 'Sylvanus Urban of Aldermanbury, Gent.' His magazine was a vast improvement upon the gossiping and abusive papers of the time. Johnson says its sale was over ten thousand in 1739, and every effort was made to keep up its circulation, Cave 'scarcely ever looking out of his window but with a view to its improvement.' A few years afterwards it had risen to fifteen thousand. Though without literary ability, Cave was an able editor. In 1732 he began the publication of a regular series of the parliamentary debates of both houses, giving only the initials and finals of personal names. He had friends posted in each house to watch the proceedings, and fix important speeches in the memory. Reports were afterwards put together from these materials by William Guthrie [q. v.] Members at times privately forwarded copies of their own speeches. The reports grew to be very lengthy, and at every year's end a supplement had to be published. The 'London Magazine' and 'Scots Magazine' followed the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' The 'London Magazine,' which lasted from 1732 to 1781, was his most successful rival. In April 1738 occurred the debate on the publication of proceedings in parliament, in consequence of Cave having given the king's answer to an address of parliament before it had even been reported from the chair, and the commons passed a resolution of 'high indignation.' The 'Gentleman's Magazine' and 'London Magazine' hit upon very similar evasions. The debates were attributed to a 'parliament of the empire of Lilliput' in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' or 'the proceedings of a Roman literary club' in the 'London Magazine.' Quaint pseudonyms were adopted. The proceedings were also thrown out of chronological order. In November 1740 Johnson succeeded Guthrie and reported for about three years. Johnson's account of his first visit to St. John's Gate in 1738, when 'he beheld it with reverence,' is well known. For years, until Cave died with his hand 'gently pressing' Johnson's, their friendship survived. In 1747 Cave, along with Astle of the 'London Magazine,' was again in trouble for printing accounts of the trial of Lord Lovat. On paying fees and begging pardon on their knees the offenders were discharged with a reprimand. The reports, however, had to be given up, and they were not resumed until 1752; Cave's press was not stopped again. When the officers threatened to stamp the last half sheet of magazines as if it were a newspaper, and the rival editors were about to give way, he stood out and the idea was relinquished. From 1742 to

1748 Cave published an occasional magazine, entitled 'Miscellaneous Correspondence,' of which nine numbers only appeared. From 1744 to 1753 he issued a second work, 'Miscellanea Curiosa Mathematica,' 4to. Both these are very scarce, and a complete set of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' of the first edition would be difficult to find in any library. In the British Museum copy the first two volumes alone are made up of six editions, some printed twenty-three years after the first issue, and with the most varied imprints.

Besides the magazine Cave published Johnson's 'Rambler.' His press also produced Du Halde's 'History of China' in weekly numbers, forming 2 vols. fol. 1736; Mackrell's 'History and Antiquities of King's Lynn,' 1738, 8vo; 'Debates of the House of Commons, by the Hon. Anchtel Grey,' 10 vols. 1745, 8vo; Dr. Newton's 'Compleat Herbal,' 1752, 8vo; an edition of the works of Sydenham, the physician; several of Dr. Johnson's books ('London,' 'Irene,' 'Life of Savage,' &c.), and other works. Cave bought an old coach and a pair of older horses, and in lieu of a coat of arms or simple crest he had a representation of St. John's Gate painted on the door panels; his plate bore the same picture.

In 1740 Cave purchased a machine to spin wool or cotton into thread yarn or worsted, and had a mill erected to work on the Turnmill Brook, near the river Fleet. Lewis Paul of Birmingham, the patentee, undertook the management, but it was never brought into proper working order, or it would have anticipated the labours of Arkwright and Peel. He set up a water-wheel and machinery at Northampton with fifty pairs of hands, and the use of Paul's carding cylinder, patented in 1743, but this was also neglected and failed. He was very friendly to Benjamin Franklin, and in 1750 placed one of his electric spires or lightning conductors on the eastern tower of St. John's Gate. On the same gate he mounted four portable cannons of his own invention. They were so light as to be carried on the shoulder, and yet could discharge either a large ball or a number of bullets. From one of the 'Poetical Epistles' it appears that his wife was named Milton, and her first husband Newton. She signs another humorous poem as 'Su. Urban.' She died of asthma in 1751. Cave travelled much in his later years, for health's sake, to Gloucester, Northampton, and Reading, and loved to announce himself to school friends as 'old Cave the cobbler.' He died at St. John's Gate 10 Jan. 1754, and was buried at St. James's, Clerkenwell; the long and interesting epitaph on a tablet in Rugby churchyard

VOL. III.

to him and his father (who died 1747) was by Hawkesworth.

Cave was over six feet in height and bulky. In early life he was very healthy, and fond of feats of strength and agility. Later in life he suffered much from gout, took the Bath waters in 1736, for twenty years before his death his only beverage was milk and water, and for four years he adopted a vegetarian diet. His sedentary habits were remarkable, writing during breakfast and supper, and taking at times only a little shuttlecock exercise in the gateway with a friend or two. He was reserved but generous, and not without humour. Cave's portrait, etched by Worlidge from Kyte's oil painting, 1740, is in 'Gent. Mag.' 1754, p. 55. A second portrait was produced when Worlidge's was worn out. There is a third by Grignon, surrounded with emblematical devices, and with a four-line inscription; a fourth by Basire is the frontispiece to vol. v. of Nichols's 'Literary Anecdotes,' 1812; and a fifth by E. Scriven is in Murray's edition of Boswell's 'Johnson.' Mr. B. Foster, a tenant of St. John's Gate when it had become a tavern, found in an old room a three-quarter length portrait, said to be Hogarth's. This was placed, along with Goldsmith's and Johnson's, in the rooms of the 'Urban Club.' The 'Gentleman's Magazine' was Cave's sole property till his death. It was continued by David Henry, a printer, who married Cave's sister Mary in 1734, and by Richard Cave, a nephew. Henry's connection with it lasted till 1792, when he died. John Nichols, having obtained a share in 1778, edited it from that time till his death in 1816. Up to 1781 it was published at St. John's Gate. In 1850 great alterations were made. In 1856 it passed from the Nichols family to the Parkers of Oxford, and in 1865 to Bradbury & Evans. It still exists in a changed form.

[Nichols's Lit. Anecd. vii. 66-7, 531; Boswell's Johnson (Croker's), 101-21; Timperley's Lit. and Typogr. Anecd. 624, 636, 643, 656, 688, 775, 806; Andrews's British Journalism, i. 140, ii. 206, 269, 271; West's Warwickshire, p. 107; Gratton, The Gallery, p. 19; Rugby School Register, p. 15; Hawkins's Life of Johnson, p. 27; Journal of House of Commons, xxi. 85, 118, 119, 127, xxiii. 148; Journal of House of Lords, xxvii. 94, 100, 107-9; Gent. Mag. 1735, p. 3, 1754, p. 57, 1792, pt. i. 578, 1856, pp. 3, 131, 267, 531, 667, 1857, pp. 3, 149, 282, 379; Quarterly Review, cvii. 52; Cox's Memoirs of Walpole, i. 573; Sloane MS. 4302; Add. MS. 5972-3; Foster's Priory and Gate of St. John.] J. W.-G.

CAVE, JOHN (d. 1657), ejected clergyman, was born at Pickwell in Leicestershire, and was the third son of 'John Cave, Esq., and Elizabeth Brudenell, his wife.' He

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was educated at Lincoln College, Oxford, where he was for eight years chamber fellow with the famous Robert Sanderson. In 1629 he was presented to the rectory of his native parish, where he 'attended to his ministerial cure with great diligence, and lived in great esteem and respect till the breaking out of the rebellion in 1642.' A long and vivid account of his sufferings was given by his son, William Cave [q.v.], to Mr. Walker, who has inserted it in full in his 'Sufferings of the Clergy' (pt. ii. 220). He was dispossessed, and was at first entertained with his family by his old neighbours, 'but was not suffered to continue there, nor to teach school there or elsewhere. Whereupon he took up his dwelling near Stamford, where not being suffered to abide long, he removed up to London; where, being broken with age and sufferings, and worn out with long and tedious winter journeys from committee to committee, he departed this life in November 1657.'

The only publication of Cave's extant is to be found in the 'Lachrymæ Musarum,' 1650. It is entitled 'An Elegie upon the much lamented Death of the Lord Hastings, only Son and Heir of the Earl of Huntingdon, deceased at London, 1649. Sic flevit deditiss. familiæ ejusdem et humillimus servus, J. Cave.'

[Nichols's History and Antiquities of Leicestershire, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 773, &c.; Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, pt. ii. 220.] J. H. O.

**CAVE, SIR STEPHEN** (1820-1880), politician, eldest son of Daniel Cave of Cleve Hill, near Bristol (d. 9 March 1872), by his marriage on 15 April 1820 with Frances, only daughter of Henry Locock, M.D., of London, was born at Clifton on 28 Dec. 1820, was educated at Harrow and Balliol College, Oxford, where he graduated B.A. in 1843, and M.A. in 1846. Being called to the bar at the Inner Temple on 20 Nov. 1846, he commenced his career by going the western circuit. On 29 April 1859 he entered parliament in the conservative interest for Shoreham, and retained his seat for that constituency to 24 March 1880. He was sworn a member of the privy council on 10 July 1866, and served as a paymaster-general and vice-president of the board of trade from that date to December 1868; in 1866 he was appointed chief commissioner for negotiating a fishery convention in Paris. As judge-advocate and paymaster-general he acted from 52 Feb. 1874 to November 1875, and from that date to 24 March 1880 as paymaster-general only. In December 1875 he was sent on a special mission to Egypt, charged by Lord Beaconsfield to report on the financial

condition of that country; he returned in March 1876, and was nominated a G.C.B. on 20 March 1880. He was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Zoological Society, and of other learned societies; chairman of the West India Committee, and a director of the Bank of England and of the London Dock Company. He died at Chambéry, Savoy, 6 June 1880. He married, on 7 Sept. 1852, Emma Jane, eldest daughter of the Rev. William Smyth of Elkington Hall, Lincolnshire. He wrote: 1. 'A Few Words on the Encouragement given to Slavery and the Slave Trade by recent Measures, and chiefly by the Sugar Bill of 1846,' 1849. 2. 'Prevention and Reformation the Duty of the State or of Individuals?' With some account of a Reformatory Institution,' 1856. 3. 'On the distinctive Principles of Punishment and Reformation,' 1857. 4. 'Papers relating to Free Labour and the Slave Trade,' 1861.

[Law Times, 19 June 1880, p. 146; Graphic, with portrait, 11 Dec. 1875, pp. 574, 589; Illustrated London News, with portrait, 11 Dec. 1875, p. 501.] G. C. B.

**CAVE, WILLIAM** (1637-1713), Anglican divine, was born in 1637 at Pickwell in Leicestershire, of which parish his father, John Cave [q.v.], was vicar. He was educated at Oakham school, and in 1653 was admitted a 'sub or proper sizar of St. John's College, Cambridge; in 1654 he was likewise admitted scholar of the house in one of the Lady Margaret's own scholarships.' He was contemporary with William Beveridge at St. John's. He took his B.A. degree in 1656, and his M.A. in 1660. In 1662 he was instituted to the vicarage of Islington, and in 1679 he was collated by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sancroft) to the rectory of All-hallows the Great, Thames Street, London. During his incumbency the church of All-hallows was rebuilt by Sir Christopher Wren. In 1681 he was incorporated D.D. at Oxford. He was made chaplain to Charles II, and in 1684 was installed canon of Windsor. He resigned Allhallows in 1689 and Islington in 1691, having been admitted in the previous November to the vicarage of Isleworth, a quiet place which suited his studious temper. He married Anna, the only daughter of the Rev. Walter Stonehouse, by whom he had a large family; she died in 1691, and was buried at Islington; a monument in St. Mary's Church relates that four sons and two daughters were also buried there in their parents' lifetime. Cave himself died (4 July 1713) at Windsor, but was buried at Islington, near his wife and children. Hewas a very intimate friend of Dr. Comber,

dean of Durham, author of 'The Companion to the Temple,' and is said to have been 'of a learned and communicative conversation;' he is also reported to have been 'a florid and eloquent preacher,' and the two printed sermons he has left behind him bear out this character. But his fame rests upon his writings on church history, which are voluminous and valuable. They are as follows: 1. 'Primitive Christianity, or the Religion of Ancient Christians in the First Ages of the Gospel,' 1672; it was dedicated to Nathaniel Crewe, lord bishop of Oxford, and has been often reprinted. 2. 'Tabulæ Ecclesiasticæ; Tables of Ecclesiastical Writers,' 1674. 3. 'Antiquitates Apostolicæ; a History of the Lives, Acts, and Martyrdoms of the Holy Apostles of our Saviour and the Two Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke. To which is added, an introductory discourse concerning the Three Great Dispensations of the Church—the Patriarchal, the Mosaic, and the Evangelical. Being a continuation of the "Antiquitates Christianæ; or, the Life and Death of Holy Jesus," by Jeremy Taylor,' 1676. 4. 'Apostolici, or a History of the Lives, Acts, Deaths, and Martyrdoms of those who were contemporary with or immediately succeeded the Apostles; as also of the most eminent of the primitive Fathers for the first three hundred years. To which is added a Chronology of the Three First Ages of the Church,' 1677. 5. 'Ecclesiastici, or a History of the Lives, Acts, Deaths, and Writings of the most eminent Fathers of the Church in the Fourth Century; wherein, among other things, an account is given of the rise, growth, and progress of Arianism and all other sects of that age descending from it. Together with an Introduction containing an Historical Account of the State of Paganism under the first Christian Emperor,' 1682. 6. 'A Dissertation concerning the Government of the Ancient Church by Bishops, Metropolitans, and Patriarchs. More particularly concerning the ancient power and jurisdiction of the Bishops of Rome and the encroachments of that upon other sees, especially the see of Constantinople,' 1683. 7. 'Chartophylax Ecclesiasticus,' 1685; a sort of abridgment of the 'Tabulæ Ecclesiasticæ' and 'Historia Literaria,' containing a short account of most of the ecclesiastical writers from the birth of Christ to 1517 A.D. 8. 'Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria,' a literary history of ecclesiastical writers, in two parts, the first part published in 1688, the second in 1698. Besides these historical works Dr. Cave published: 9. 'A Serious Exhortation, with some important Advices relating to the late cases about Conformity, recommended to

the present Dissenters from the Church of England, being the twenty-second in the London Cases.' 10. 'A Sermon before the Lord Mayor at St. Mary-le-Bow, 5 Nov. 1680.' 11. 'A Sermon before the King at Whitehall, 18 Jan. 1684,' published by his majesty's command. 12. 'Epistola Apologetica adversus iniquas J. Clerici Criminationes in Epistolis Criticis et Ecclesiasticis nuper editis. Quæ argumenta ejus pro Eusebii Arianismo ad examen revocantur,' 1700.

The merits of Cave as a writer consist in the thoroughness of his research, the clearness of his style, and, above all, the admirably lucid method of his arrangement. Thus, in 'Primitive Christianity,' in part i., he deals systematically with the charges against the primitive christians—the novelty of their doctrines, their mean condition, their manner of life; then dwells on 'the positive parts of their religion,' their piety to God, places of worship, fasts and festivals, ministers, sacraments. In part ii. he discusses their 'religion as respecting themselves, their humility, heavenly-mindedness, sobriety of dress, temperance, chastity, religious constancy, patience in suffering.' In part iii. he treats of their 'religion as respecting other men,' their justice and honesty, love and charity, unity and peaceableness, obedience to civil government, and discipline and penance.

In his 'Historia Literaria,' the most elaborate of all his works, he divides his subject methodically into fifteen ' sæcula ' (Apostolicum, Gnosticum, &c.), and gives, at the beginning of each, a short 'conspectus sæculi,' and then an exhaustive account of the writers in it.

Cave had various troubles in connection with his publications. He was accused, without the slightest reason, of Socinianism. He was charged, perhaps with a little more reason, by Le Clerc, who was then writing his 'Bibliothèque Universelle,' with 'writing panegyrics rather than lives,' and also with 'having forcibly drawn Eusebius, who was plainly enough Arian, over to the side of the orthodox, and made a trinitarian of him;' this produced a paper warfare between the two great writers. His 'Tabulæ Ecclesiasticæ' was reprinted at Hamburg in 1676 without his knowledge ('me planè inscio'), and evidently to his great annoyance. His 'Historia Literaria' was in a similar way published at Geneva in 1705, which is said to have caused the author great loss, and to have so disgusted him that he would not issue a second edition; but he spent much time during the later years of his life in revising repeatedly this great work. He made alterations and additions equal to one-third of

the whole work, and wrote new prolegomena. The copy was left in the hands of executors, Chief-justice Reeve and Dr. Jones, a brother canon of Windsor; they both died soon after the work went to press, and Dr. Daniel Waterland (than whom no more competent man could possibly have been found) undertook the care of it. It was published by subscription in 1740, and this, of course, is the best edition. Cave had another trouble in connection with this work. When he was engaged in compiling it, in 1686, Henry Wharton, then a young man (aged 22), was recommended to him by Dr. Barker, senior fellow of Caius, as an assistant. Cave was suffering from bad health and required such aid; Wharton lived in the house with Cave, and matters went on amicably between the workers, and Cave acknowledged most gratefully in his prolegomena the services of Wharton, testifying that the appendix of the three last centuries was almost wholly owing to him. A rupture, however, arose; Cave complained of Wharton, and Wharton of Cave, but it is not easy, nor at all necessary, to understand the nature of the dispute.

[Cave's Works, *passim*; Nichols's History and Antiquities of Leicestershire, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 773, &c.; Life of Henry Wharton, prefixed to his Sermons; information from Major Cave Orme, Cave's descendant.] J. H. O.

CAVELLUS, HUGO. [See MACCAGHWELL, HUGH.]

CAVENDISH, CHARLES (1620-1643), royalist general, second son of William, second earl of Devonshire [q. v.], was born on 20 May 1620, and named after Prince Charles, his godfather. In 1638 he was sent abroad to travel with a governor; succeeded in reaching Cairo and saw a large part of Turkey. He returned to England in May 1641, and then served for a campaign under the Prince of Orange. On the outbreak of the war he entered the king's troop of guards as a volunteer under the command of Lord Bernard Stuart. At Edgehill he so distinguished himself by his valour that he was given the command of the Duke of York's troop left vacant by the death of Lord Aubigny. In consequence of a disagreement with an inferior officer, he sought an independent command, and obtained from the king a commission to raise a regiment of horse in the north. He then established himself at Newark, and so distinguished himself by his activity against the parliamentarians, that, on the petition of the king's commissioners for Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the forces of those two counties, with the rank of colonel-general.

On 23 March 1643 he took Grantham, and on 11 April defeated young Hotham at Ancaster, and threatened an irruption into the eastern association. He received the queen at Newark, and escorted her part of her way to Oxford, taking Burton-on-Trent by assault during the march, 2 July 1643 (RUSHWORTH, v. 274). But attempting to prevent the raising of the siege of Gainsborough, he was defeated by Cromwell, and fell by the hand of James Berry, Cromwell's captain-lieutenant (28 July 1643). He was buried at Newark, but thirty years later his body was removed to Derby, to be interred with his mother.

[Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, 1708. Kennet gives extracts from a manuscript life of Colonel Cavendish; Aubrey's Letters (ed. 1813), ii. 274; Lloyd's Memoirs of Excellent Personages, p. 672; Carlyle's Cromwell, Letter xii, and appendix 5. Waller wrote an epitaph on Charles Cavendish, which is to be found in his collected Poems; there is also a poem on him in the Characters and Elegies of Sir Francis Wortley.] C. H. F.

CAVENDISH, CHRISTIANA, COUNTESS OF DEVONSHIRE (d. 1675), was the daughter of Edward Bruce of Kinloss (1549?-1611) [q. v.]. In token of her father's services she, on her marriage to William Cavendish, second earl of Devonshire [q. v.], received from the king a grant of 10,000*l*. After the death of her husband in 1628 she had the wardship of the young lord and the care of the estates, the value of which she greatly increased by her prudent management. At the rebellion she was one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the cause of the king, and her devotion to it was increased by the death of her second son, Charles [q. v.], who was slain at Gainsborough on 28 July 1643. She took charge of the king's effects after the battle of Worcester, and during the protectorate was accustomed to entertain the friends of the cause at her house at Roehampton, and also kept up a correspondence with the principal royalists on the continent. General Monk, it is said, sent her a private signal to make her aware of his intention to restore the king. After the Restoration Charles II frequently resorted to her house at Roehampton, and the queen mother lived on terms of unusual intimacy with her till her death. She is described by her biographer as 'of that affability and sweet address, with so great wit and judgment, as captivated all who conversed with her.' After the Restoration she was accustomed frequently to entertain the wits and men of letters, one of her favourite friends being Edmund Waller, who had been a sufferer in the royal cause. Waller dedicated to her his 'Epistles,' which

conclude with an 'Epistle to the Duchess,' and he also wrote an epitaph on her son. William, earl of Pembroke, wrote a volume of poems in praise of her and Lady Rich, which was published with a dedication to her by Donne. A portrait of the countess by Theodore Russell was in the Duke of Bedford's collection at Woburn. She died on 16 Jan. 1674-5.

[Life of the Right Honourable and Religious Lady, Christian, late Countess Dowager of Devonshire, London, 1685; Sir William Temple's Works, ii. 135; Kennet's Memoirs of the Family of Cavendish, pp. 12-20; Collins's Peerage, ed. 1812, i. 325-33; Lysons's Environs of London, i. 430-2.] T. F. H.

**CAVENDISH, ELIZABETH, DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE** (1758-1824), daughter of the fourth Earl of Bristol, was baptised 13 May 1758. In early life she married John Thomas Foster. After she became a widow she spent some time on the continent with Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire [q. v.], and other ladies, and at Lausanne in 1787 met Gibbon, who had then just finished his 'History.' He read to her some of the concluding portions, and her admiration was so warmly expressed that Gibbon suddenly surprised her by an offer of his hand. The offer was declined, but Gibbon took the disappointment philosophically, and while his estimate of her fascinations remained as high as ever, his friendly feelings towards her underwent no change. Comparing her with Georgiana, the first duchess, he writes: 'Bess is much nearer the level of a mortal, but a mortal for whom the wisest man, historic or medical, would throw away two or three worlds if he had them in possession.' He also gave it as his opinion that 'if she chose to beckon the lord chancellor from his woollack in full sight of the world, he could not resist obedience.' In 1809 she became the second wife of the fifth duke of Devonshire, and after the death of her husband in 1811 she took up her residence in Rome, where she enjoyed the friendship of some of the most distinguished Italians and foreign residents, and her house became the great resort of the brilliant society gathered together in Rome from all countries. Ticknor relates that he went to her 'conversations as to a great exchange to see who is in Rome, and to meet what is called the world' (*Letters and Journals*, i. 180), and Moore refers to her and Lady Davy as the rival ciceroni at Rome (*Journal and Correspondence*, iii. 48). Ticknor gives it as his opinion that the duchess, though 'a good respectable woman in her way,' yet 'attempts to play the Mæcenas a little too much.' She spent large sums in excavations at the Forum with con-

siderable success, and she was one of the most liberal patrons of the fine arts. Canova and Thorwaldsen were her personal friends. In 1816 she printed at Rome a splendid edition of Horace's 'Iter ad Brundisium,' or Fifth Satire of the First Book, with engravings by the brothers Ripenhausen, and an Italian translation attributed to Molagani. Its title is 'Horatius Flaccus Quintus: Satyrum lib. i. Satyra v. (cum Italiciana versione), Romæ de Romanis.' On account of various errors in the translation and printing, discovered too late to prevent its circulation, she resolved, on the advice of Cardinal Consalvi, to have another version prepared, which was printed at Parma by the press of Madame Bodoni, with engravings by Caraccioli, and is one of the finest works ever issued by that famous press. Its title is 'Horatius Flaccus Quintus: Di Q. Orazio Flacco Satira v., traduzione italiana con rami allusivi (col testo latino). Parma con tipi Bodoniani, 1818.' In the following year she printed in two volumes a similar edition of the 'Æneid' of Virgil, with engravings by Marchetti from designs by Lawrence. It is entitled 'L'Æneide di Virgilio recata in versi italiani da Annibal Caro, Roma de Romanis,' 1819. Her portrait is prefixed. Copies of these works were presented by her to various European sovereigns, and to several of the more important public libraries. She also published in 1816 a 'Journey through Switzerland,' originally published anonymously in 1796, and added to it the poem by Georgiana, the former duchess, on the 'Passage of the St. Gothard.' She contemplated *éditions de luxe* of the works of Cora and Dante, but died before these purposes were carried into execution, 30 March 1824. On her death several medals illustrative of her works were struck. Her portrait when Lady Elizabeth Foster was painted by both Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough. A portrait by the latter, stolen in 1876 from the London gallery of Messrs. Agnew, who had purchased it from the Wynn Ellis collection, was recovered in Chicago in 1901 and, after exhibition in London, was sold to Pierpont Morgan of New York for 30,000*l*.

[Annual Register, lxi. 217-18; Gent. Mag. 1843, new ser., xx. 586-91; Gibbon's Autobiography and Correspondence; Moore's Journal and Correspondence; Ticknor's Journals; Notes and Queries, 5th ser. vii. 137, 179, 413, viii. 79; Cat. Chatsworth Libr.] T. F. H.

**CAVENDISH, LORD FREDERICK** (1729-1803), field-marshal, third son of William, third duke of Devonshire, K.G., was born in August 1729. He entered the army as an ensign in the 2nd or Coldstream guards in 1750, and was promoted lieutenant and

captain on 17 March 1752, captain and lieutenant-colonel on 3 May 1756, and colonel on 7 May 1758. He was elected M.P. for Derbyshire on 27 June 1751, in the room of his elder brother, the Marquis of Hartington, who was summoned to the House of Lords as Lord Cavendish of Hardwick, in his father's barony, and for Derby in 1754, a seat which he held without intermission till 1780. He was a most enthusiastic soldier, and with three other young officers, Wolfe, Monckton, and Keppel, made a compact on the outbreak of the seven years' war not to marry until France was conquered. Family influence secured his rapid promotion, and in April 1757 he proceeded to Germany as aide-de-camp to the Duke of Cumberland, and served the campaign of that year there. In September 1758 he accompanied the Duke of Marlborough in his ludicrous expedition against St. Malo as aide-de-camp, and was taken prisoner at the affair of St. Cas. He at first refused to go on parole, on the ground that his duty as a member of parliament would make it necessary for him to vote the supplies for further war against France; but the Duc d'Aiguillon overruled his objections, and said, 'Let not that prevent you, for we should no more object to your voting in parliament than to your begetting children lest they should one day fight against France.' In 1760, after his exchange had been arranged, he went to Germany again as brigadier-general, and held command of a brigade of infantry in the army of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick till the conclusion of the war in 1763. In 1759-60 he was colonel 67th regiment. On 30 Oct. 1760 he was made colonel of the 34th regiment, a command which he held for thirty-seven years, and on 7 March 1761 he was promoted major-general. He succeeded to the beautiful estate of Twickenham Park under the will of the Countess of Mountrath in 1766, and was promoted lieutenant-general on 30 April 1770. His political principles prevented him from applying for a command in the American war of independence, but he was promoted general on 20 Nov. 1782, and made a field-marshal on 30 July 1796. He died at Twickenham, unmarried, on 21 Oct. 1803, at the age of seventy-four, leaving the bulk of his immense property to his favourite nephew, Lord George Cavendish, M.P., afterwards first earl of Burlington.

[Rose's Biog. Dict.; Historical Record of the 34th Regiment.] H. M. S.

CAVENDISH, LORD FREDERICK CHARLES (1836-1882), chief secretary for Ireland, was second son of William Caven-

dish, seventh duke of Devonshire, by his marriage, 6 Aug. 1829, with Blanche Georgiana Howard, fourth daughter of George, sixth earl of Carlisle. He was born at Compton Place, Eastbourne, on 30 Nov. 1836, and after being educated at home, matriculated in 1855 from Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1858, and then served as a cornet in the Duke of Lancaster's own yeomanry cavalry. From 1859 to 1864 he was private secretary to Lord Granville. He travelled in the United States in 1859-60, and in Spain in 1860. He entered parliament as a liberal for the northern division of the West Riding of Yorkshire, 15 July 1865, and retained that seat until his death. After serving as private secretary to the prime minister, Mr. Gladstone, from July 1872 to August 1873 he became a junior lord of the treasury, and held office until the resignation of the ministry. He performed the duties of financial secretary to the treasury from April 1880 to May 1882, when on the resignation of Mr. W. E. Forster, chief secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, he was appointed to succeed him. In company with Earl Spencer, lord-lieutenant, he proceeded to Dublin, and took the oath as chief secretary at the Castle, Dublin, on 6 May 1882; but on the afternoon of the same day, while walking in the Phoenix Park in company with Thomas Henry Burke [q. v.], the under-secretary, he was attacked from behind by several men, who with knives murdered Mr. Burke and himself. His body being brought to England, was buried in Edensor churchyard, near Chatsworth, on 11 May, when three hundred members of the House of Commons and thirty thousand other persons followed the remains to the grave. The trial of the murderers in 1883 [see CAREY, JAMES] made it evident that the death of Cavendish was not premeditated, and that he was not recognised by the assassins; the plot was laid against Mr. Burke, and the former was murdered because he happened to be in the company of a person who had been marked out for destruction. A window to Cavendish's memory was placed in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, at the cost of the members of the House of Commons. He was known as an industrious administrator, who seldom spoke in the house except upon subjects of which he had official cognisance or special experience, but he took an interest in educational questions, and on every side was highly esteemed for his urbanity and devotion to business. He married, on 7 June 1864, Lucy Caroline, second daughter of George William Lyttelton, fourth baron Lyttelton, and maid of honour to the queen.



[Graphic, 13 May 1882, with portrait, and 20 May; Illustrated London News, 10 Feb. 1866, with portrait, 13 May 1882, with portrait, and 20 May; Annual Register for 1882 and 1883; Cornelius Brown's *Life of Earl of Beaconsfield* (1882), ii. 237, with portrait; *Yorkshire Notes and Queries*, 1886, with portrait.] G. C. B.

**CAVENDISH, GEORGE** (1500-1561P), biographer of Wolsey, was the elder son of Thomas Cavendish, clerk of the pipe in the exchequer, who married the daughter and heiress of John Smith of Padbrook Hall in Suffolk. In 1524 his father died, and soon afterwards he married Margery, daughter of William Kemp of Spains Hall in Essex, and niece of Sir Thomas More. In 1526 or 1527 he entered the service of Cardinal Wolsey as gentleman-usher, 'abandoning,' as Wolsey said, 'his own country, wife, and children, his own house and family, his rest and quietness, only to serve me.' From this time to Wolsey's death he was in close attendance upon him and accompanied him in his embassy to France, about which he gives many curious particulars. When Wolsey lost the royal favour Cavendish stayed with him, and he gives a full account of the life of the great cardinal in his adversity. He was with him when he died at Leicester, and after his funeral went to London, where he was questioned before the privy council about Wolsey's last words. The Duke of Norfolk bore witness in his behalf: 'This gentleman both justly and painfully served the cardinal, his master, like a just and diligent servant.' Henry VIII rewarded him by giving him six of Wolsey's best cart horses, with a cart to carry his stuff, and five marks for his costs homewards, also ten pounds of unpaid wages, and twenty pounds for a reward. With this Cavendish, in 1530, returned to his home at Glemsford in Suffolk, where he lived a quiet life. He had no further desire to try his fortunes at court. He laid to heart the lesson of Wolsey's fall, and eschewed ambition. He was attached to the old faith, and looked on with misgivings at the changes of the later years of Henry VIII. In the reign of Mary he was cheered by a ray of hope, and set to work to write down his remembrances of the master whom he loved, but whose career had served to him as a warning against the vanity of human endeavour. Internal evidence shows that his '*Life of Wolsey*' was written in 1557; but it was not published, for the accession of Elizabeth brought forth changes, and it was dangerous to publish a work which necessarily spoke of disputed questions and reflected on persons who were still alive. Cavendish was contented to regard himself as one who had failed in life. He saw his

younger brother, William [q. v.], succeeding and growing prosperous, while he himself grew poorer. In 1558 he granted his manor of Cavendish Overhill to his son William, a London mercer, for 40*l.* a year; his grandson, William, sold it in 1569. From this time the record of the family is lost. It followed the example of its ancestor and fell into decay. Cavendish himself died in 1561 or 1562.

Cavendish's work, the '*Life of Cardinal Wolsey*,' long remained in manuscript. Extracts from it were inserted by Stowe in his '*Annals*.' In 1641 was published for party purposes a garbled text under the title of '*The Negotiations of Thomas Woolsey, the great Cardinall of England, composed by one of his own servants, being his gentleman-usher*.' This edition was reprinted with slight changes of title in 1667 and 1708, and in the '*Harleian Miscellany*,' 1744-6. Grove, in his '*History of the Life and Times of Cardinal Wolsey*' (1742-4), republished the same text, but, finding his mistake, issued a few copies from the manuscript in 1761. It was edited from two manuscripts in the Lambeth Library by Wordsworth in his '*Ecclesiastical Biography*' in 1810; and more completely by Singer, '*Cavendish's Life of Cardinal Wolsey*,' 1815, 2nd edition 1827. Singer's text was reproduced by Professor H. Morley in a volume of the '*Universal Library*,' 1885. Many manuscripts are in existence, and the book had a large circulation before it was committed to the press.

For a long time there was some uncertainty about the authorship, whether it was the work of George Cavendish or of his better known brother William [q. v.] The question was settled in 1814, by Rev. Joseph Hunter of Bath, in a pamphlet, '*Who wrote Cavendish's Life of Wolsey?*' which is reprinted in vol. ii. of Singer's edition. Hunter proved satisfactorily by internal evidence that George, not William, Cavendish was Wolsey's usher, and consequently author of the book. William Cavendish's eldest son was born in 1534, so that he could not have left wife and children to enter Wolsey's service; also he died in 1557, before the book was finished. The general character of the book does not fit in with the prosperity of William Cavendish's career. It is the production of a refined, pious, and gentle nature, which looks back over many years of quiet melancholy upon a period when he too had borne a part in great affairs. The view of Wolsey taken by Cavendish is substantially the same as that of Shakespeare, and it is by no means improbable that Shakespeare had read Cavendish in manuscript. Cavendish writes with the fullest admiration for Wolsey and

sympathy with his aims; but reflection has taught him the pathetic side of all worldly aims. He admits Wolsey's haughtiness, his 'respect to the honour of his person rather than to his spiritual profession,' but this does not diminish his personal affection or destroy the glamour of the cardinal's glory. The picture which Cavendish draws of Wolsey is most attractive, and recalls vividly the impression which he produced in his own time. The refinement, the simplicity, the genuine goodness of the writer is present at every page. The fulness of portraiture, the clearness of personal details, the graceful description, the reserve shown in drawing from memories of a time long past and outlived, give the book a distinction of its own, and place it high among English biographies.

Besides the 'Life of Wolsey,' Singer publishes, from a manuscript in the Douce collection, some poems of George Cavendish which he calls 'Metrical Visions.' They are written in the style of Skelton, after the fashion of the 'Mirrour for Magistrates,' and represent the lamentations of fallen favourites bemoaning their errors. The poems are rough and halting. If they are the production of George Cavendish, he certainly had no claims to rank as a poet.

[The Cavendish family is dealt with in a paper by G. T. Ruggles in the *Archæologia*, xi. 50, &c., 'The Manor of Cavendish in Suffolk.' All that is known of George Cavendish is collected by Hunter in his pamphlet above mentioned; a good account of the fortunes of his book is given by Professor Morley in the preface to his edition.]

M. C.

**CAVENDISH, GEORGIANA, DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE** (1757-1806), eldest daughter of John, first earl Spencer, was born 9 June 1757. She married in June 1774 the fifth duke of Devonshire, who was regarded as the 'first match' in England, and his wife became the reigning queen of society. She set the fashion in dress, and introduced a simple and graceful style to supersede the ridiculous hoop. But though entering with great zest into the fashionable amusements of the time, she possessed intellectual and moral characteristics of a kind which entitles her to be classed above the ordinary women of fashion. Great as were her personal charms, they were not the chief source of her influence even over the majority of her admirers; 'it lay in the amenity and graces of her deportment, in her irresistible manners, and the seduction of her society' (WRAXALL, *Posthumous Memoirs*, iii. 342). Walpole writes of her, she 'effaces all without being a beauty; but her youthful figure, flowing good nature, sense and lively modesty, and modest familiarity

make her a phenomenon' (*Letters*, vi. 186). Madame d'Arblay when she met her did not find so much beauty as she expected, but 'far more of manner, politeness, and gentle quiet' (*Diary*, v. 254). She delighted in the society of persons of talent, and numbered among her special friends Fox, Sheridan, and Selwyn. Wraxall records that he has 'seen the Duchess of Devonshire, then in the first bloom of youth, hanging on the sentences that fell from Johnson's lips, and contending for the nearest place to his chair' (*Memoirs*, i. 133). Johnson when seventy-five visited the duke and duchess in 1784 at Chatsworth, and was, he mentions, 'kindly received and honestly pressed to stay,' but on account of his bodily infirmities declined to prolong his visit (BOSWELL, *Life of Johnson*). The Duchess of Devonshire was very strongly opposed to the political party in power, and, notwithstanding 'the endeavours of the court party to deter her by the most illiberal and indecent abuse' (WALPOLE, *Letters*, viii. 373), devoted her utmost efforts to secure the return of Fox at the famous Westminster election of 1784. During her canvass she entered 'some of the most blackguard houses in the Long Acre' (*Cornwallis Correspondence*, i. 166); though very 'coarsely received by some worse than tars' (WALPOLE, *Letters*, viii. 469), she was not in the least daunted, and is said to have exchanged kisses for promises of votes. She died at Devonshire House, Piccadilly, 30 March 1806, and was buried in the family vault at St. Stephen's Church, Derby. She left a son and two daughters. The duchess wrote verse, some of which displays very apt and elegant expression, while the sentiment also rises above the commonplace. Walpole refers to a number of poems circulating in manuscript, written by her while a girl to her father (*ib.* vi. 217), and mentions also having seen an 'Ode to Hope' by her, 'easy and prettily expressed, though it does not express much,' and 'Hope's Answer' by the Rev. William Mason, of which he entertained a much higher opinion. A poem by her on the 'Passage of the Mountain of St. Gothard,' dedicated to her children, was published with a French translation by the Abbé de Lille in 1802; an Italian translation by Signor Polidori appeared in 1803; a German translation in 1805; and in 1816 it was reprinted by the duke's second wife, Elizabeth [q.v.], along with a 'Journey through Switzerland,' originally published in 1796. It gave occasion to the ode of Coleridge with the refrain—

O lady, nursed in pomp and pleasure,  
Whence learned you that heroic measure?

Several portraits of the duchess are at Althorpe, Northamptonshire, the seat of Earl Spencer. One by Sir Joshua Reynolds and another by Gainsborough represent her as a child. Both Sir Joshua and Gainsborough also painted full-length pictures of her when duchess, and a fifth portrait is by Angelica Kauffmann. The Duke of Devonshire is the owner of two other portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds, one at Chatsworth and the other at Chiswick (unfinished, with hat and feather). Other portraits by Gainsborough, Cosway, Downham, and Nixon are extant, and several have been engraved. According to Walpole, Lady Di Beauclerk had also drawn her portrait, and it had been engraved by Bartolozzi, but only a few impressions were taken (*Letters*, vii. 54). Wraxall states that 'the Duchess of Devonshire succeeded Lady Melbourne in the attachment of the Prince of Wales;' but 'of what nature was that attachment, and what limits were affixed to it by the duchess, must remain matter of conjecture' (*Memoirs*, v. 371).

[Gent. Mag. lxxvi. pt. i. p. 386; Annual Register, xlvii. 324; Evans's Catalogue of Engraved Portraits, i. 98, ii. 122; Madame d'Arblay's Diary; Mrs. Delany's Correspondence; Thomas Raikes's Journal; Cornwallis Correspondence; Trotter's Memoirs of Fox; Notes and Queries, 4th ser. xi. 155, 227. The duchess was the theme of the 'Piccadilly Beauty' and other ballads.] T. F. H.

**CAVENDISH, SIR HENRY** (1732-1804), parliamentary reporter, eldest son of Sir Henry Cavendish, bart., of Doveridge Hall, Derbyshire, was born on 13 Sept. 1732, and sat as member for Lostwithiel in Cornwall from 1768 to 1774. He succeeded to the baronetcy on his father's death in 1776. Three years later he was made receiver-general for Ireland, and sworn of the privy council in that country, and in 1795 he was appointed deputy vice-treasurer of Ireland. He sat in the Irish House of Commons for Lismore 1766-8, 1776-91, and 1798-1800, and for Killibegs 1791-7. In 1757 he married Sarah, only daughter and heiress of Richard Bradshaw, esq., and this lady was in 1792 advanced to the peerage of Ireland by the title of Baroness of Waterpark. Cavendish died at Blackrock, near Dublin, on 3 Aug. 1804, and on the decease of his widow in 1807, his eldest son, Sir Richard Cavendish, became Lord Waterpark. His only published work is 'A Statement of the Public Accounts of Ireland,' London, 1791, 8vo.

Sir Henry took, in Gurney's system of shorthand, copious verbatim notes of the debates in what has been termed the unreported parliament, from 10 May 1768 to 13 June 1774. The manuscripts, consisting of forty-eight quarto

volumes, are now in the British Museum (*Egerton Collection*, Nos. 215-62). The historical value of these manuscripts may be estimated from the fact that they contain two hundred and fifty speeches of Edmund Burke, together with a number of the most striking speeches of George Grenville, Lord North, Dowdeswell, Charles James Fox, Wedderburn, Dunning, Lord John Cavendish, Thurlow, Sir George Savile, Colonel Barré, Blackstone, Serjeant Glynn, Alderman Beckford, and other distinguished public characters. Mr. J. Wright, editor of the 'Parliamentary History of England,' extracted from Cavendish's notes an account of the 'Debates of the House of Commons in the year 1774 on the Bill for making more effectual provision for the Government of the Province of Quebec,' London, 1839, 8vo. Mr. Wright also published by subscription another portion of 'Sir Henry Cavendish's Debates of the House of Commons during the thirteenth Parliament of Great Britain, commonly called the unreported Parliament,' 2 vols. London, 1841-3. The work was to have extended to four volumes, but was not proceeded with beyond the eighth part, which ends on 27 March 1771. It is to be hoped that this important historical publication will some day be completed. The early portion of Cavendish's collection has evidently been written out under the inspection or from the dictation of the reporter himself, and apparently with a view to publication; another portion is transcribed from the shorthand notes, but the outline is not filled up; while a third portion remains still in shorthand, but is easily decipherable by any one who is acquainted with Gurney's system, especially with the aid of the alphabetical list of contractions given in the Egerton MS. 263\*.

[Wright's prefaces to the Parliamentary Debates; McDougall's Sketches of Irish Political Characters, 208; Croker's Correspondence and Diaries, iii. 293; Blacker's Sketches of Booters-town and Donnybrook, 182, 194; Cooper's Parliamentary Shorthand; Gent. Mag. lxxiv. (ii.) 789.] T. C.

**CAVENDISH, HENRY** (1731-1810), natural philosopher, was the eldest son of Lord Charles Cavendish, third son of the second Duke of Devonshire by Lady Anne Grey, fourth daughter of Henry, duke of Kent. He was born on 10 Oct. 1731, not in England, as is sometimes stated, but, according to Lord Burlington, at Nice, where his mother had gone on account of ill-health. His mother died when he was about two years old. In 1742 he became a pupil of the Rev. Dr. Newcombe, who was master of the Hackney seminary. On 18 Dec. 1749 Cavendish went

directly from school to Cambridge, and entered Peterhouse College. He commenced residence on 24 Nov., and resided very regularly until 23 Feb. 1753, when he left without taking his degree.

After leaving college, Cavendish appears to have lived chiefly in London, though we find him, accompanied by his brother Frederick, visiting Paris. The obscurity which hangs over Cavendish's private history renders it impossible to determine what induced him to devote himself to the study of experimental science. Mathematics appear, from the numerous unpublished papers which are still in existence, to have been his favourite study. His first recorded scientific work was 'Experiments on Arsenic,' which he carefully wrote out for the instruction of some friends, and which from a date on some memorandums appear to have been the subject of his investigations in 1764. In Cavendish's 'Note-book of Experiments' we find notices of an extensive series of experiments on heat bearing the date of 5 Feb. 1765, which were never publicly referred to until 1783. These researches were remarkable from being made when the doctrine of phlogiston was generally adopted, and had they been published they would have given Cavendish chronological precedence to Black. Cavendish certainly investigated the evolution of heat which attends the solidification of liquids and the condensation of gases. He also constructed tables of the specific heats of various bodies, being at this time evidently ignorant of the labours of Black in that direction. In 1766 Cavendish made his first public contribution to science by sending to the Royal Society a paper on 'Factitious Airs.' Three parts only of this memoir were published. In 1767 we find in the 'Philosophical Transactions' a communication from Cavendish, being the 'Analysis of one of the London Pump-waters' (that of Rathbone Place). In this he noticed the large quantity of calcareous earth which was deposited on boiling, which he proved was retained in solution by carbonic acid. Finding that other London pump-waters gave a precipitate of calcareous earth with lime water, and yielded a similar residue by evaporation, Cavendish thought it 'reasonable to conclude that the unneutralised earth in all waters is suspended merely by being united to more than its natural proportion of fixed air' (i.e. carbonic acid). Cavendish was prepared for this by the investigation of Dr. Brownrigg, who had found 'that a great deal of fixed air is contained in spa water.' Dr. Black also, in his 'Inaugural Dissertation' in 1754, explained to his students at the university of Glasgow the properties of carbonic acid, and exhibited

some of its characteristic peculiarities. Cavendish, however, determined the specific gravity of this gas, and was the first to show that a small quantity of it was sufficient to deprive common air of the power of supporting flame or sustaining life. In January 1783 Cavendish read before the Royal Society 'An Account of a new Eudiometer.' During this long interval Bergmann, Scheele, Lavoisier, and Priestley had been actively engaged in endeavouring to determine the composition of the atmosphere. The prevailing hypothesis of chemists at this time was that there existed an hypothetical principle, called 'phlogiston' by Stahl, which accounted for the phenomena of combustion.

It is evident that this hypothetical phlogiston, or matter of heat, was identical with hydrogen gas, and Priestley called this element 'inflammable air.' Cavendish, in the first part of his paper on 'Factitious Airs,' treats of hydrogen, and some writers have consequently regarded him as the discoverer of that gas. He certainly never claims this himself, and referring to the explosibility of a mixture of air and hydrogen, he says 'it has been observed by others.' Boyle in the seventeenth century mentions this gas as being familiar to many, and Dr. T. Thomson informs us that the combustibility of hydrogen was known about the beginning of the eighteenth century, and was often exhibited as a curiosity, being especially mentioned in Cramer's 'Elementa Docimasia' (1739). Cavendish, with his usual honesty, states that his experiments 'on the explosion of inflammable air' with common and dephlogisticated air were made in the summer of 1781. The production of 'fixed air' was at this time regarded as the invariable result of phlogistication, or, as we should call it, of the deoxidation of atmospheric air. Cavendish readily disproved the correctness of this view, and he began to inquire what was the product of the combustion of hydrogen in air and in oxygen. Dr. Priestley and Warrtine, a lecturer on natural philosophy in Birmingham, were experimenting on the same subject with a detonating tube, and they observed a deposition of moisture to follow each explosion. Priestley does not appear to have paid any attention to this phenomenon, and Warrtine referred it to the condensation of water which had existed in a state of vapour in the gases. The hypothesis that phlogiston was present in all combustibles led Priestley and La Place astray, and the appearance of nitric acid—the composition of which was quite unknown in 1784—in the condensed water tended to involve the problem. Cavendish, by most

ingenious experiments, proved that the nitric acid was formed from the atmospheric nitrogen present in the detonating globe, and demonstrated that the only product of the combustion of pure hydrogen and oxygen was pure water. In his own words he came to the conclusion 'that water consists of dephlogisticated air (oxygen) united with phlogiston (hydrogen).' He was thus the first who, by purely inductive experiments, converted oxygen and hydrogen into water, and who taught that water consisted of these gases. He must also be regarded as the discoverer of nitric acid. In the history of chemistry we do not find any discovery which has led to the same amount of angry discussion as that which followed the important announcement by Cavendish in his 'Experiments on Air,' which were begun in 1777 or 1778, but which were not published until 1783.

On 15 Jan. 1784 the 'Experiments on Air,' by Henry Cavendish, Esq., was read before the Royal Society. An interpolation by Dr. Blagden (who for some time acted as secretary to Cavendish), after the paper was read, states that all the experiments on the explosion of inflammable air with common and dephlogisticated airs were made in the summer of 1781. Cavendish himself commences his paper 'Experiments on Air' by stating that his experiments were made 'with a view to find out the cause of the diminution which common air is well known to suffer, by all the various ways in which it is phlogisticated, and to discover what becomes of the air thus lost or consumed.' To this he adds subsequently that his experimental results, beyond 'determining this fact, also throw light on the constitution and means of production of dephlogisticated air.' This question excited much attention among the chemists of Europe in 1777. Priestley and Scheele about the same time discovered oxygen, and this gas was regarded by them as air perfectly respirable, and exhibiting its great power of supporting combustion, because it was deprived of phlogiston. It was, in accordance with this hypothesis, named by chemists dephlogisticated air. For some time the atmosphere was believed to consist of two parts of dephlogisticated air (our oxygen) and one part of phlogisticated air (our nitrogen). Cavendish resolved on ascertaining with precision the true constitution of the aerial fluid. With this object in view he burnt various bodies in measured quantities of air, confined over water at first, and then over mercury. As early as 1766 Cavendish had satisfied himself of the constant composition of the atmosphere. With his usual care he

prosecuted this inquiry. Dr. Priestley and his friend Warltire repeated and modified Cavendish's experiments, and in 1781 Priestley refers to Warltire's observations on the moisture left by burning inflammable air. Warltire is said to have burned the gases in a close vessel by means of electricity, weighing the vessel before and after the explosion, observing the dewy deposit and finding only a very trifling loss of weight. Mr. James Patrick Muirhead, in his 'Correspondence of the late James Watt,' volunteers the information that there appears 'no conclusion as to the real origin of water published (in 1781) by Mr. Cavendish, nor communicated to any individual, nor contained in the journal and notes of his experiments; nor alleged by himself, nor by any one else, to have been then drawn by him.' In 1766 Cavendish employed hydrogen and air, and he then noticed 'a certain amount of liquid' being found in the flask in which the gases were exploded, and he unhesitatingly concludes that 'almost all the inflammable air, and about one-fifth of the common air, lose their elasticity and are condensed into the dew which lines the glass.' His full conclusion was 'that this dew is plain water, and consequently that almost all the inflammable air, and about one-fifth of the common air, are turned into pure water.' Watt, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Black, Mr. de Luc, M. la Place, M. Lavoisier, and others were deeply interested in the phlogistic hypothesis, and all of them were in constant communication, meeting in scientific societies or corresponding with each other. Cavendish, it must be regretted, did not pursue his brilliant career with any activity. He led a strangely retired life, and consequently he frequently was left in ignorance of the progress of discovery. Cuvier, in his *éloge* on Cavendish, said of him, 'his demeanour and the modest tone of his writings procured him the uncommon distinction of never having his repose disturbed either by jealousy or by criticism.'

Arago, on the contrary, brought before the French Academy of Sciences a direct charge of deceit and plagiarism, affirming that Cavendish learned the composition of water by obtaining a sight of a letter from Watt to Priestley.

The researches of Cavendish were communicated to Dr. Priestley before 24 June 1781; even Watt's son does not doubt this. On 26 March 1783 Watt mentions as new to him Priestley's experiment on exploding the gases by electricity. On 21 April in the same year Watt writes to Dr. Black, and on 26 April to Dr. Priestley, his conclusion

'that water is composed of dephlogisticated and inflammable air.' Dr. Priestley received this letter in London, submitted it to Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, and to Dr. Blagden, the intimate friend of Cavendish, and his secretary. This letter was to have been read before the Royal Society, but Watt requested that the public reading of it might be delayed until he should examine some new experiments, said by Dr. Priestley to contradict his theory.

Cavendish's memoir having been read 15 Jan. 1784, Watt's first letter was, according to his own request, read at the Royal Society on 22 April, his second letter being read on 29 April. In these communications Watt writes, referring to Dr. Priestley: 'If my deductions have any merit, it is to be attributed principally to the perspicuity, attention, and industry with which you have pursued the experiments which gave birth to them, and to the candour with which you receive the communications of your friends.' From this it is evident that Watt himself admits his obligations to Dr. Priestley, and we have seen that Cavendish and Priestley were friendly correspondents; consequently it may safely be concluded that the speculations on the composition of water were the common subjects of talk in the scientific societies of London and Birmingham.

J. A. De Luc [q. v.], the Genevese philosopher, was a fellow of the Royal Society at this time, and it was from him that Watt first heard of Cavendish's paper. Weld, the assistant secretary, in his 'History of the Royal Society,' says that 'in July of the same year his paper was printed in the "Transactions," bearing the erroneous date of 1784 instead of 1783, which stands upon the manuscript.' Many were deceived, and among them Cuvier, by this error. As soon as it was discovered, Cavendish wrote to the editor of one of the principal foreign journals to correct it. The discussion which prevailed for some time in France and England as to the priority of Cavendish or Watt as discoverers was unpleasantly aggravated by the errors of the dates printed, and yet more so by two interpolations, made after the reading of Cavendish's paper, by Dr. Blagden, who was appointed secretary to the Royal Society on 5 May 1784, and to whom was entrusted the superintendence of the printing of both Watt's letters, and who made the interpolations in Cavendish's contribution.

The only conclusion to which we can arrive is, that both Cavendish and Watt made about the same time experiments on air and water; that they framed hypotheses which were of an analogous character,

differing mainly in respect to elementary heat, which Watt regarded as a material entity, but which Cavendish rejected as insufficient to account for the observed phenomena. They both worked honestly, in ignorance of each other's studies, and they both arrived at similar conclusions.

If Cavendish had been more communicative, there is no doubt he would have avoided the annoyance of the claims made by Watt and other investigators to a discovery the merit of which was justly his own. It is satisfactory to record that in 1785 Watt became a fellow of the Royal Society; he then formed the acquaintance of Cavendish, and they terminated their scientific rivalries in the most amicable manner.

It is necessary to mention a 'Mémoire où l'on prouve par la décomposition de l'eau, que ce fluide n'est point une substance simple,' &c., by MM. Meusnier et Lavoisier, printed in 1784; a second paper on the same subject by Lavoisier alone; and a 'Mémoire sur le résultat de l'inflammation du gaz inflammable et de l'air déphlogistiqué dans des vaisseaux clos,' par M. Monge, printed in 1786. There is, however, satisfactory evidence to prove that the French chemists had been previously informed of the discoveries of Cavendish and Watt.

The use of light in promoting the growth of plants was most carefully investigated by Cavendish, but the conclusions which he drew from his experiments were vitiated by the theory of phlogiston, which had not yet been entirely abandoned.

The views entertained by Cavendish on specific and latent heat greatly advanced our views, and, associated with the fine investigations made by Dr. Black, paved the way to the more philosophical deductions of the present day.

After 1785, Cavendish made no new discoveries. His papers on heat, the original records of which prove that this investigation was commenced in 1764, were written out for the use of a friend, but he published no part of them until nineteen years after most of the experiments had been completed, and then a trifling portion only appears incidentally in a paper on the 'Freezing of Mercury,' read at the Royal Society in 1783.

It has been suggested that the reason why those researches on heat were never published was that Cavendish had considerable reluctance to enter into even the appearance of rivalry with Dr. Black.

In 1772 and in 1776 Cavendish was engaged in investigating the principal phenomena of electricity, and two papers on the

subject appear in the 'Philosophical Transactions.' These papers contain the first distinct statement of the difference between animal and common electricity, and twenty-seven propositions upon the action of the electric fluid, treated mathematically. Besides those two papers Cavendish left behind him some twenty packets of manuscript essays on mathematical and experimental electricity. Of these Sir William Snow Harris states that 'Cavendish had really anticipated all those great facts in common electricity which were subsequently made known to the scientific world through the investigations of Coulomb and other philosophers, and had also obtained the more immediate results of experiments of a more refined kind instituted in our own day.'

On 21 June 1798 a paper by Cavendish was read before the Royal Society entitled 'Experiments to determine the Density of the Earth.' The Rev. John Michell had suggested a method for doing this, and had constructed the apparatus which was in the main adopted by Cavendish, with several improvements. It occurred to him that this force could be measured by accurately observing the action of bodies suddenly presented in the neighbourhood of a horizontal lever, 40 inches long, nicely balanced, and loaded with leaden balls of equal size, about 2 inches diameter, at its two ends, and protected from any current of air. Two heavy spherical masses of metal were then brought near to the balls, so that their attractions conspired in drawing the lever aside. From the known weight of the mass of metal, the distance of the centres of the mass and of the ball, and the ascertained attraction, it was not difficult to determine the attraction of an equal spherical mass of water upon a particle as heavy as the ball placed on its surface, and from this can be found the attraction of a sphere of water of the same diameter as the earth, upon the ball placed on its surface. The experiments made were few; seventeen only are recorded. From these Cavendish deduced twenty-three results, from the mean of which he computed the density of the earth to be equal to 5.45.

The accuracy of Cavendish's observations is shown by the fact that Reich, professor of natural philosophy at Freiberg in Saxony, after fifty-seven experiments came to the conclusion that the density of the earth was 5.44. Francis Baily [q. v.] repeated Cavendish's experiments with similar apparatus, somewhat modified. The final result obtained by Baily was 5.660. Sir George Airy

in May 1826 carried out a series of pendulum experiments in Harton Colliery, and determined the mean density of the earth as 5.566.

A paper on the civil year of the Hindus should be mentioned in order to show the varied character of Cavendish's investigations. The mass of manuscripts which he left behind him proves that nearly every subject which in his time engaged the attention of the chemist or of the natural philosopher had been closely studied by him. The 'Catalogue of Scientific Papers of the Royal Society' credits Cavendish with sixteen memoirs. Watt assigns him eighteen. The personal history of this great philosopher is told in his works. He was a man of reserved disposition, a shy habit, and many singularities of manner. Added to these a difficulty of speech, and a thin, shrill voice, increased his dislike of society, and his avoidance of conversation.

Cavendish lived on Clapham Common, his large library being some distance from his house. He allowed friends the free use of his books, but he himself never took a book from it without leaving a receipt behind. His large income was allowed to accumulate, and his habits were of the most inexpensive kind. He received no stranger at his residence, he ordered his dinner daily by a note left on the hall table, and from his morbid shyness he objected to any communication with his female domestics. He scarcely ever went into society. Lord Brougham says he had met him at the meetings of the Royal Society and at Sir Joseph Banks's weekly conversations, 'and recollects the shrill cry he uttered as he shuffled quickly from room to room, seeming to be annoyed if looked at, but sometimes approaching to hear what was passing among others. His walk was quick and uneasy. He probably uttered fewer words in the course of his life than any man who ever lived to fourscore years, not at all excepting the monks of La Trappe.' On all points which had not some scientific bearing Cavendish was coldly indifferent. When the discovery of a new truth was told to him, a glow of interest came over him. He was never known to express himself warmly on any question of religion or politics; indeed he appeared to reject all human sympathy.

He died on 10 March 1810, after probably the only illness from which he ever suffered. Having ordered his servant not to come near him till night, he was all day alone. His servant found him apparently in a dying state, and immediately sent for Sir Everard Home.

Cavendish told Sir Everard 'that any prolongation of life would only prolong its miseries.' He was buried in All Saints' Church, Derby. He left a fortune of 1,175,000*l*. His residuary legatee was his cousin, Lord George Cavendish, whose grandson was seventh Duke of Devonshire [see SUPPLEMENT].

[Philosophical Transactions, lxxiv. 119, 329, 354; Royal Soc. Cat. of Scientific Papers, and Supplement; Watt's Bibl. Brit.; Wilson's Life of Cavendish (Cavendish Society's Works), vol. i. 1846; Muirhead's Correspondence of Watt; Brougham's Lives of Philosophers of the time of George III, 1846; Weld's History of the Royal Society, vol. ii. 1848; Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, 1781, pp. 151, 171, 269; Arago's Éloge Historique de James Watt, 1839; British Association Reports, 1839, President's address.] R. H.-T.

CAVENDISH, SIR JOHN (*d.* 1381), judge, is said to have been the son of Roger or Robert de Gernum, and grandson of Ralph de Gernum, justice itinerant in the reign of Henry III, but to have assumed his wife's name of Cavendish on his marriage. Probably, however, he was the son of John de 'Cavendych,' who appears as surety for Thomas de Letchford, member of parliament for Lynne in 1322. As early as 1348 mention is made of a pleader whose name is indicated by the abbreviation Caund. (subsequently Cand.), which unquestionably stands for Caundish or Candish. In 1352 he was one of the collectors of the tenth and the fifteenth for Essex and Suffolk. In 1359 one John de Odyngseles, knight, conveyed, by fine, the manor of Overhall and Cavendish to John Cavendish and Alice his wife, probably by way of what we should now call marriage settlement. Cavendish was serjeant-at-law as early as 1366. He did not cease to plead until 1372, but from 1370 to 1372 inclusive he acted as justice of assize in some of the eastern counties. Dugdale designates him chief justice of the king's bench as early as 1366. This is certainly a mistake, but the date may mark his appointment to be justice of assize. He became a puisne judge of the common pleas on 27 Nov. 1371, and next year (15 July) was created chief justice of the king's bench. No fine appears to have been levied before him earlier than the ensuing October, and it is in the parliament of this year that he makes his first appearance as a trier of petitions. He was reappointed chief justice of the king's bench on the accession of Richard II, 1378, with a salary of a hundred marks. He continued in office until 1381, when (15 June) he was brutally murdered at Bury St. Edmunds, together with his friend Sir John of Cambridge, prior of the abbey, by the insurgent peasantry under Jack

Straw. In the preceding year he had been elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge. Shortly before his death he made his will, a somewhat quaintly worded instrument, by which, after an exordium in Latin, bequeathing his soul to God, and directing his body to be buried beside his wife in the chancel of the church at Cavendish, he continues, in Norman French, to give 'un lit de worstede' and some cattle to his son Andrew, 'un lit vermayl et un coupe d'argent en ou est emprente une rose, c'est assavoir ceo que jeo avois de don de la Countesse de la Marche,' to Rose, Andrew's wife, to their daughter Margaret 'un lit de saperye poudre des popingays,' and the rest of his personality to charitable uses. His judgments bulk largely in the year-books of the latter years of Edward III's reign. One of them has acquired a kind of immortality. A lady alleging her minority in order to defeat a grant of land made by her and her husband, offered, as there was some difficulty in proving the fact, to abide by Cavendish's verdict, but he declined to express any opinion, remarking: 'Il n'ad nul home en Engleterre que luy adjudge a droit deins age ou de plein age, car ascuns femes que sont de age de xxx ans voile apperer d'age de xviii' (*Year-book*, 50 Edw. III, pl. 12).

[Archæologia, xi. 50-6; Year-books, 21 Edw. III, Mich. Term, pl. 81, 38 Edw. III, Hil. Term, pl. 15, 40 Edw. III ad fin., 45 Edw. III, Trin. Term, pl. 23, 50 Edw. III, Trin. Term, pl. 12; Brantingham's Issue Roll (Devon), p. 360; Rot. Parl. ii. 309, 455; Kals. and Invs. Exch. (Palgrave), i. 239; Parl. Writs, ii. div. ii. pl. i. 652; Dugdale's Orig. 45, Chron. Ser. 50; Fuller's Hist. Univ. Cambr. p. 53; Knighton and Walsingham, anno 1381; Holinshed, ii. 744; Foss's Lives of the Judges.] J. M. R.

CAVENDISH, LORD JOHN (1732-1796), chancellor of the exchequer, was the fourth son of William, third duke of Devonshire, and his wife Catherine, daughter and heiress of John Hoskins of Middlesex. He was born on 22 Oct. 1732, and educated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, where the poet Mason was his tutor, who, upon his pupil leaving the university, addressed an elegy to him beginning with 'Ere yet, ingenuous youth, thy steps retire' (*Works of William Mason*, 1811, i. 93-96). Cavendish obtained the degree of M.A. in 1753. In April of the following year he was elected for Weymouth and Melcombe Regis, which he continued to represent until the general election of 1761, when he was returned for Knaresborough. In July 1765 the Marquis of Rockingham became prime minister, and Cavendish was appointed one of the lords of the treasury. Upon the



dismissal of the ministry, after being a little more than a year in office, he was offered by Lord Chatham a place in the Duke of Grafton's administration, but he declined to separate himself from his friend Lord Rockingham. From 1768 to 1784 he represented the city of York. On Lord Rockingham becoming prime minister for the second time, Cavendish was appointed chancellor of the exchequer on 27 March 1782, and on the same day was sworn a member of the privy council. Lord Rockingham died on 1 July, and Cavendish, refusing to serve under the Earl of Shelburne, retired from the ministry with Fox and other members of the Rockingham party. Early in the morning of 22 Feb. 1783 Cavendish's resolution censuring the terms of the peace was carried against the Shelburne ministry in the House of Commons by 207 to 190. Though Shelburne immediately resigned, Pitt retained office for some five weeks afterwards. At length, early in April 1783, William, third duke of Portland (who had married Cavendish's niece, the only daughter of William, fourth duke of Devonshire), became prime minister, and Cavendish was once more appointed chancellor of the exchequer. He had not been in office a fortnight before he was obliged to bring in a loan bill for raising nearly 12,500,000*l.*, which he proposed to do by means of annuities and a lottery. On 26 May he introduced his first and only budget, one feature of which was the first imposition of a tax upon quack medicines (*Parliamentary History*, xxiii. 931-6). Owing to the king's unconstitutional interference, the East India Bill, which had been carried successfully through the commons, was rejected by the lords on 17 Dec., and the coalition ministry was dismissed in favour of Pitt. On Pitt's appeal to the country in June 1790, Cavendish failed to gain a seat, and consequently for four years disappeared from parliamentary life. In May 1794 he was elected for Derbyshire in the place of his brother, Lord George, and at the general election in June 1796 he was again re-elected for the same constituency. Cavendish was never married, and died at his brother's house at Twickenham on 18 Dec. 1796, in his sixty-fifth year. He was buried on the 26th in the family vault in All Saints' Church, Derby. Considering the position which he held in the House of Commons, he was by no means a frequent speaker. He voted in the minority on the debate on the illegality of general warrants, opposed the expulsion of Wilkes from the house, voted in favour of receiving the clerical petition, on which occasion he spoke strongly in favour

of religious and political freedom, moved an amendment to the address deprecating a civil war, 'of which he disapproved in the commencement and in all its stages,' opposed the increase of the civil list, and supported Burke's plan for public economy and reform. Though the Duke of Richmond considered Cavendish to be 'diffident of the effect of any parliamentary reform' (*Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham*, ii. 481), he was elected a member of the committee of the Westminster Association on 2 Feb. 1780, and his name appears in the list of members which was made on 20 Feb. 1783. From an examination of the minutes, it appears, however, that he does not seem to have attended any of the meetings. Burke, in a letter to Dudley North dated 28 Dec. 1796, describes Cavendish as 'one of the oldest and best friends I ever had, or that our common country possessed' (BURKE, *Correspondence*, iv. 550), and in sketching his character (*ib.* iv. 526-7), says that 'he is a man who would have adorned the best of commonwealths at the brightest of its periods. An accomplished scholar, and an excellent critic, in every part of polite literature, thoroughly acquainted with history ancient and modern; with a sound judgment; a memory singularly retentive and exact, perfectly conversant in business, and particularly in that of finance; of great integrity, great tenderness and sensibility of heart, with friendships few and unalterable; of perfect disinterestedness; the ancient English reserve and simplicity of manner.' Walpole, on the other hand, is never tired of sneering at him, the reason for which will be pretty obvious to any one who reads the references to Cavendish in the 'Letters' and 'Memoirs.' In reality Cavendish seems to have been a thoroughly honourable and upright man, whose speeches were more remarkable for their breadth of view and sound common sense than for any brilliance or originality of thought, and whose taste for literature and country pursuits (especially fox-hunting) was considerably stronger than for an active parliamentary life. Selwyn gave him the name of 'the learned canary bird,' on account of his prodigious memory and the smallness of his stature. His portrait was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in February 1767 (LESLIE and TAYLOR, *Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 1865, i. 282), and engraved by T. Grozer in 1786.

[Burke's *Correspondence*, 1844, ii. iii. iv.; Lord Fitzmaurice's *Life of William, Earl of Shelburne*, 1875-6; Trevelyan's *Early History of C. J. Fox*, 1880; Walpole's *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, 1845, ii. iii. iv.; Walpole's *Letters*, 1841, iii. iv. v. vii. viii.; Earl of Albe-

marle's *Memoirs of the Marquis of Rockingham*, 1852, i. ii.; Collins's *Peerage*, 1812, i. 358; *Parl. Hist.* xv-xxiv; *Parl. Papers*, 1878, lxii, pt. ii.]  
G. F. R. B.

CAVENDISH, MARGARET, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE (1624?-1674), writer, was born at St. John's, near Colchester in Essex. Her father, Sir Thomas Lucas, whom in the autobiographical sketch appended to the first edition of her 'Nature's Pictures, drawn by Fancy's Pencil to the Life,' she calls 'Master Lucas,' a gentleman of large estates and much consideration, died when she was an infant. The youngest of a family of eight, consisting of three sons and five daughters, she was, according to her own account, bred by her mother 'in plenty, or rather with superfluity,' and received a training the influences of which are apparent in her life. In the autobiographical sketch a curious picture is afforded of the manner in which she and her sisters were trained, 'virtuously, modestly, civilly, honourably, and on honest principles.' Their dress was not only 'neat and cleanly, fine and gay,' but 'rich and costly,' their mother holding it more consonant with her husband's opinions to maintain her family 'to the height of her estate, but not beyond it,' and to bestow her substance on their 'breeding, honest pleasures, and harmless delights,' than to practise an economy which might chance to create 'sharking qualities, mean thoughts, and base actions.' At the hands of tutors the young ladies received all sorts of 'vertues,' as 'singing, dancing, playing on musick, reading, writing, working, and the like,' together with some knowledge of foreign languages. From her mother, Elizabeth, daughter of John Leighton, whom she describes as a woman of singular beauty, she inherited her good looks. Of the personal appearance of her brothers and sisters she gives a naïve description. According to this they were 'every ways proportionable, likewise well featured, clear complexions, brown haire, but some lighter than others, sound teeth, sweet breaths, plain speeches, tunable voices, I mean not so much to sing as in speaking, not so stuttering, nor wharling in the throat, or speaking through the nose, or hoarsly unless they had a cold, or squeakingly, which impediments many have.'

The happy life at St. John's was interrupted by the outbreak of civil war. The brothers, two of whom were married, resided mostly, when in the country, with their mother, as did the three sisters who married, and who exercised over their youngest sister a supervision which though kind was so close that she was always bashful when out of their

sight. But the brothers now joined the standard of the king, and two of them shortly afterwards died. Their death was followed by that of her mother, and anticipated by that of her eldest sister. A strong desire on the part of Margaret Lucas to be maid of honour to the queen was, in spite of the opposition of her brothers and sisters, encouraged by her mother, and when the young girl, disappointed at the life of court, and discontented at being regarded, owing to her shyness and prudery, as a 'natural fool,' repented of her wish, her mother counselled her to stay. For two years accordingly, 1643-5, Margaret Lucas remained in attendance upon Henrietta-Maria, whom she accompanied to Paris. Here, in April 1645, she first met her future husband, William Cavendish, marquis and subsequently duke of Newcastle [q. v.]. From her brother, Lord Lucas, an animated account of her beauty and gifts had been received. The conquest of the marquis was accordingly soon effected, and the pair were married in Paris in 1645. During their residence in Paris, in Rotterdam, and in Antwerp, they were in constant pecuniary straits. The efforts of the marchioness to obtain money for her husband to keep up the state which, even when their joint fortunes were at their lowest, he held due to himself, were incessant. On one occasion, in company with her brother-in-law, Sir Charles Cavendish, she visited London for the purpose of claiming some subsistence out of the estate of the marquis, or in any manner realising money for her husband's needs. Her success was slight. As the wife of 'the greatest traitor of England' parliament would grant her no allowance, and she would have starved but for assistance in the shape of loans obtained by Sir Charles. After an absence of a year and a half she returned to Antwerp.

Upon the Restoration she followed, after some delay, her husband to England. She seems to have exercised her influence to induce him to retire from a court in which her virtues no less than her peculiarities rendered her somewhat of a laughing-stock; she desired him to devote himself in the country to the task of gathering together and repairing what he calls 'the chips' of his former estates. She died in London, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on 7 Jan. 1673-4. In the north transept of that building is a monument erected by her husband, who survived her three years. The epitaph supplies a high tribute to her virtues and accomplishments, and adds, in words which Addison quotes with warm encomium: 'Her name was Margaret Lucas youngest daughter of Lord

Lucas, earl of Colchester, a noble family, for all the brothers were valiant, and all the sisters virtuous.' At an early age she displayed some disposition towards literature, and wrote upon philosophical subjects. This tendency developed with her increasing years. During her banishment from England she found consolation in the composition of the folio volumes which bear her name, and the same occupation cheered the hours of her voluntary seclusion from court life. She is said in her later life to have 'kept a great many young ladies about her person, who occasionally wrote what she dictated. Some of them slept in a room contiguous to that in which her grace lay, and were ready, at the call of her bell, to rise any hour of the night to write down her conceptions lest they should escape her memory' (CIBBER, *Lives of the Poets*, ii. 165). Her poems and plays, together with her 'Philosophical Fancies,' and her 'Philosophical and Physical Opinions,' and one or two other works, were written previous to or during her exile. The remainder are of later date. A full bibliography of her works has yet to be written. The following list of the editions published during her life is compiled from the British Museum and from Lowndes, supplemented by a private collection of her works: 1. 'Philosophical Fancies,' London, 21 May 1653, 8vo. 2. 'Poems and Fancies,' London, 1653, folio; second edition, London, 1664, folio; third edition, London, 1668, folio. 3. 'Philosophical and Physical Opinions,' London, 1655, folio; reprinted, London, 1663, folio. 4. 'Nature's Pictures drawn by Fancie's Pencil to the Life,' London, 1656 (some copies 1655), folio; second edition, London, 1671, folio. 5. 'The World's Olio,' London, 1655, folio; second edition, London, 1671, folio (Lowndes treats the two forementioned works as the same). 6. 'Playes,' London, 1662, folio, containing twenty-one plays. 7. 'Plays never before printed,' London, 1668, folio, containing five plays. 8. 'Orations of Divers Sorts,' London, 1662, folio (in some copies the date is 1663); second edition, 1668, fol. 9. 'Philosophical Letters, or Modest Reflections upon some Opinions in Natural Philosophy maintained by several learned authors of the age,' London, 1664, folio. 10. 'ccxi Sociable Letters,' London, 1664, folio. 11. 'Observations upon Experimental Philosophy; to which is added the 'Description of a New World,' London, 1666, folio; second edition, 1668. 12. 'The Life of William Cavendish, Duke, Marquis, and Earl of Newcastle, Earl of Ogle, Viscount Mansfield, and Baron of Bolsover, of Ogle, Bothal, and Hepple, &c.' London, 1667, fol.; another edition, London, 1675, 4to.

A Latin translation was published, London, 1668, fol. 13. 'Grounds of Natural Philosophy,' London, 1668, fol. This is a second edition, much altered, of 'Philosophical and Physical Opinions.' In many cases succeeding editions differ widely from the first. To point out alterations, or even to give the full titles of the various works, is impossible within reasonable limits. The 'Select Poems' of the duchess have been edited and reprinted at the Lee Priory Press, 8vo, 1813, as has the 'True Relation of the Birth, Breeding, and Life of Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle, written by Herself' (Lee Priory Press, 8vo, 1814), which saw the light in the first edition of 'Nature's Pictures drawn by Fancie's Pencil,' and is absent from the second edition. The life of the duchess, and that of the duke, edited by M. A. Lower, were both printed in a volume of the 'Library of Old Authors' of J. R. Smith, London, 1872, and the life of the duchess, with a selection from her poems, opinions, orations, and letters, edited by Mr. Edward Jenkins, was published in the same year. Mr. C. H. Firth edited a new edition of both lives in 1886. In these works so much of the literary baggage of the duchess as time will care to burden itself with is preserved. To the student of early literature the ponderous folios in which her writings exist will have a measure of the charm they had for Lamb. Through the quaintness and the conceits of her poems a pleasant light of fancy frequently breaks. Her fairy poems are good enough to rank with those of Herrick and Mennis, though scarcely with those of Shakespeare, as some enthusiasts have maintained. The thoughts, when they are not obscured by her ineradicable tendency to philosophise, are generous and noble, and she is one of the earliest writers to hint at the cruelty of field sports. In a paper in the 'Connoisseur,' in which a fanciful picture is afforded of the duchess mounting her Pegasus, Shakespeare and Milton are represented as aiding her to descend. The duchess then, at the request of Euterpe, reads her beautiful lines against 'Melancholy.' All the while these lines were repeating Milton seemed very attentive, and it was whispered by some that he was obliged for many of the thoughts in his 'L'Allegro' and 'Il Penseroso' to this lady's 'Dialogue between Mirth and Melancholy' (*Connoisseur*, ii. 265, edit. 1774). This suggestion of indebtedness is, it is needless to say, futile. Her gnomical utterances are often thoughtful and pregnant. In her plays she is seen almost at her worst. The praise accorded her by Langbaine for the invention of her own plots is cheaply earned,

since she could not have stolen them. Her characters are mere abstractions figuring certain virtues or vices. In a scene in the second part of 'Youth's Glory and Death's Banquet,' she appears under the character of Lady Sanspareille, and gives what may be supposed to be a picture of her own reception at court. As the Lady Contemplation in the play of that name, as the Lady Chastity of the 'Matrimonial Trouble,' and in a score other characters, the duchess is recognisable. Not seldom the speeches assigned the characters in her plays are as scholastic and as voluminous as her letters or her philosophical opinions. She does not hesitate to introduce wanton characters and to employ language which goes beyond coarseness. Her philosophy is the dead weight which drags her to the ground. In these deliveries an occasional piece of common sense is buried in avalanches of ignorance and extravagance. Her life of the duke is in its way a masterpiece. With it may be classed her autobiographical sketch, the naïveté and beauty of which are equal. Not easy is it to find a picture so faithful and attractive of an English interior. Not all the respect due to her husband's services to the crown, and to her own high position, could save her from some irreverence in the court of Charles II. Her occasional appearance in theatrical costume, and her reputation for purity of life, together with her vanity and affectation, contributed to gain her a reputation for madness. Horace Walpole, in 'Royal and Noble Authors,' sneers at her as a 'fertile pedant.' The duchess has been, however, the subject of the most unmixt adulation to which an author has often listened. A folio volume, entitled 'Letters and Poems in Honour of the incomparable Princess Margaret, Dutchess of Newcastle, Written by several Persons of Honour and Learning. In the Savoy, 1676,' consists of poems and letters, in English and Latin, written chiefly in acknowledgment of the receipt of presentation copies of her works by various people, including the senate of the university of Cambridge. Among those who are guilty of the most fulsome adulation are Henry More, Jasper Mayne, Jn. Glanville, G. Etherege, and Thomas Shadwell. Adulatory poems in plenty are also prefixed to her various volumes, a curious feature in which is the number of dedications to her husband, her companion the reader, philosophers in general, and others. Among her encomiasts are also Hobbes and Bishop Pearson. Portraits of the duchess, sometimes alone and at other times in the midst of her family, were appended to many of her volumes. These are ordinarily absent, however, and are scarcer

than the volumes themselves, the rarity of some of which is excessive. A portrait of her by Diepenbeke in a theatrical habit, which she constantly wore, is still (1887) in existence at Welbeck. In the early catalogues of the gallery it is erroneously ascribed to Lely. An engraved portrait by Van Schuppen from Diepenbeke, prefixed to the second volume of her plays, exhibits her as a tall and strikingly handsome woman. Her description may indeed be read in that previously given of her family. Pepys gives an amusing account of the performance of her 'silly play,' 'The Humorous Lovers,' 30 March 1667, describes her, 12 April 1667, making 'her respects to the players from her box,' dwells upon her 'footman in velvet coats and herself in an antique dress,' and adds: 'The whole story of this lady is a romance, and all she does is romantic.' Three folio volumes of her poems are said to remain in manuscript, and volumes of her works, with manuscript notes in her handwriting, are in the British Museum Library. Her husband's poems are so mixed up with hers that it is not always easy to separate them. The married life of the duke and duchess seems to have been exceptionally happy. A story that the duke, in answer to congratulations upon the wisdom of his wife, replied, 'Sir, a very wise woman is a very foolish thing,' rests upon no very trustworthy authority—the *ipse dixit* of a Mr. Fellows, preserved by Jonathan Richardson. Walpole's charge, that she did not revise the copies of her works, lest it should disturb her later conceptions, rests on her own authority, and must accordingly be accepted. An attempt to render into Latin some of her works, other than her life of the duke, was commenced but abandoned.

[Works of the Duchess of Newcastle mentioned above; Langbaine's Lives of the Dramatic Poets; Ballard's Memoirs of British Ladies, 1775; Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors; The Connoisseur; Lowndes's Bibliographer's Manual; Letters and Poems in Honour of the Duchess of Newcastle, 1676; Stanley's Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey, 1868; other works cited.]

J. K.

CAVENDISH, RICHARD (*d.* 1601?), politician and author, was the second son of Sir Richard Gernon, alias Cavendish, by his wife Beatrice, daughter of — Gould (*Harleian MS.* 1449, f. 96). He was a native of Suffolk, and was for some time a member of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (*MASTERS, Hist. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, pt. i. Append. p. 11). In 1568 and 1569 he was engaged in conveying to Mary Queen of Scots letters and tokens to further her marriage

with the Duke of Norfolk (Lodge, *Illustrations of British History*, ed. 1888, i. 473, 475; STRYPE, *Annals*, i. 630, folio). The earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon in the latter year vainly endeavoured to apprehend Cavendish and his writings. He appeared as a witness against the Duke of Norfolk at his trial on 16 Jan. 1571-2, when the duke 'gave him reproachful words of discredit' (JARDINE, *Criminal Trials*, i. 176-8). To the parliament which met 8 May 1572 he was returned for the borough of Denbigh, in opposition to the inclination and threats of the Earl of Leicester, a fact not without significance, as it has been surmised that he had been employed by that nobleman to entrap the Duke of Norfolk (PENNANT, *Tour in Wales*, ed. 1784, ii. 46-8). He was created M.A. of the university of Cambridge on 15 Feb. 1572-3. The grace for his degree states that he had studied for twenty-eight years at Cambridge and Oxford (COOPER, *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 302; *Addit. MS.* 5865, f. 47). He was a second time returned for the borough of Denbigh to the parliament which assembled on 23 Nov. 1585.

In 1587 a circumstance occurred of much constitutional importance (HALLAM, *Constitutional Hist.* ed. 1855, i. 279). Cavendish had suggested to the queen that it was in her power to create a new office for making out all writs of supersedeas quia improvidè emanavit in the court of common pleas. Accordingly her majesty granted the office to him for a certain number of years, and the judges of the court received a verbal command by a queen's messenger to admit him. This they neglected or refused to do. Thereupon he procured a letter under the sign manual and signet to be directed to the judges, wherein her majesty commanded them to sequester the profits of the office which had become due since her grant, and which might thereafter become due until the controversy for the execution of the said office should be decided. The judges after a consultation decided that they could not lawfully obey these commands. The queen addressed to them another letter (21 April 1587), ordering them in imperative terms immediately to sequester the profits of the office, and to admit Cavendish. This letter was delivered in the presence of the lord chancellor and the Earl of Leicester, who had been commanded by the queen to hear the judges' answer. After deliberating for some time the judges replied that they could not obey without being perjured. The queen thereupon commanded the lord chancellor, the chief justice of the queen's bench, and the master of the rolls to hear the judges' reasons. The queen's serjeant

argued for the queen's prerogative, but the judges refused to answer on the ground that, as the prothonotaries and exigers of the court claimed a freehold during their lives in the profits of such writs, they, and not the judges, ought to be brought to answer. Thereupon the queen's letters were produced, and the judges charged with not having obeyed the commands therein contained. They confessed the fact, but alleged that the commands were against the law of the land. The lord chancellor reported the proceedings to the queen, who wisely avoided the threatened collision between the prerogative and the law by allowing the matter to drop (ANDERSON, *Reports*, i. 152; PETYT, *Jus Parliamentarium*, 203; MANNING, *Serviens ad Legem*, 306-10).

Cavendish appears to have died in 1601, as in that year a monument to his memory 'promised and made by Margaret, countess of Cumberland,' with a quaint inscription in English, was erected to his memory in the south aisle of Hornsey Church, Middlesex (*Addit. MSS.* 5825 f. 223 b, 5836 f. 83, 5861 f. 195 b).

He was the author of: 1. A Translation of Euclid into English. 2. 'The Image of Nature and Grace, conteynyng the whole course and condition of Mans Estate. Written by Richard Caundishe,' London, John Day, n. d. and 1574, 8vo, dedicated to 'those who, through simplicities of conscience and lacke of true knowledge, embrace the doctrine of the papistes.'

A poem in the 'Paradyse of Dayntie Devises,' conjecturally ascribed to Thomas Cavendish [q.v.], the circumnavigator, was more probably by his uncle Richard.

[Authorities cited above.]

T. C.

CAVENDISH, THOMAS (1560-1592), circumnavigator, was born at the ancestral home, Grimston Hall, in the parish of Trimley St. Martin, Suffolk, near Harwich, and was baptised 19 Sept. 1560 (*Addit. MSS.* 19122, f. 350, and 19087, f. 131). Like other gentlemen of the period, he took to piracy as a means to recover his squandered patrimony. His first recorded adventure at sea was in a ship of his own in the 'The viage made by Sir Richard Greenville for Sir Walter Raleigh in the year 1585' (HAKLUYT, 1599, iii. 251), in order to plant the first unfortunate colony in Virginia. The fleet of seven sail left Plymouth on 9 April in the above year. Sailing by way of the Canaries to the West Indies, they waited at St. Juan de Porto Rico for a fortnight, ostensibly with the object of building a pinnace, but really with a view of annoying the Spaniards, from whom they captured two frigates, one of

which contained 'good and rich freight, and divers Spaniards of account,' whom they 'ransomed for good round summes,' which employment was much more congenial to Cavendish than Raleigh's scheme of 'Westerne planting.' Proceeding on their course to Isabella in Hispaniola (Hayti), where they landed, they sailed through the Bahamas, and after sighting the mainland of Florida they arrived on 26 June at their anchorage of Wocokon in Virginia. On July 11 Cavendish formed one of a select company who landed with Grenville, and, among others, Thomas Harriott and John White, the artist to the expedition, in order to explore the mainland of what is now known as North Carolina. After having discovered three towns and a great lake, and industriously sown the seeds of future troubles by their lawless conquest of the harmless natives during a period of eight days, they returned to the fleet. On 27 July the fleet removed to Hatoraske (Hatteras inlet); on 25 Aug. Grenville set sail for England, capturing on his way another richly laden Spanish ship, with which he arrived at Plymouth 18 Sept. 1585. That he was accompanied by Cavendish on his return is certain, as the name of the latter is omitted from the list of 108 gentlemen 'that remained one whole yeere in Virginia' under Ralph Lane, the first governor of the colony (HAKLUIT, 1598, iii. 251-4).

Immediately after his return to England Cavendish began to prepare on his own account an expedition closely modelled upon that of Sir Francis Drake of eight years before. Of this famous voyage, by which he is best known, there are preserved two accounts: 1. 'The worthy and famous Voyage of Master Thomas Cavendish, made round about the Globe of the Earth, in the space of two years and less than two months,' by N. H. (*ib.* 1589, p. 809). 2. 'The admirable and prosperous Voyage of the Worshipful Mr. Thomas Cavendish, of Trimley, in the county of Suffolk, esquire, into the South Sea, and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth; begun in the year of our Lord 1586, and finished 1588. Written by Mr. Francis Pretty, lately of Eye, in Suffolk, a gentleman employed in the same action' (*ib.* 1599-1600, iii. 803). The fleet of three ships, manned by 123 hands all told, consisted of the *Desire* of 140 tons, the *Content* of 60 tons, and the *Hugh Gallant*, a barque of 40 tons. Cavendish departed from London 10 June 1586, and, after calling at Harwich, proceeded to Plymouth, whence they sailed 21 July. From internal evidence it may be safely inferred that the first and shorter narrative by N. H. was written under

the eye of Cavendish on board the *Desire*; but the second and more interesting one was partly written by Pretty on board the *Hugh Gallant* barque before it was sunk near the equator in the Pacific, for want of hands. After an ineffectual skirmish with five large Biscayan ships off Cape Finisterre, five days out from England, Cavendish sailed by the coast of Barbary and the Canaries to Sierra Leone, where he anchored in the harbour 21 Aug. Here his stay of ten days was varied by an attempt to burn the native town and the capture of a sailor of Oporto belonging to a Portuguese ship cast away in the inner harbour. On 6 Sept. he departed from Sierra Leone, and, after a short stay at one of the Cape Verde islands, he shaped his course for South America, reached Cape Frio in Brazil 31 Oct. and anchored the next day under the island of St. Sebastian. Here, in order to refit, take in water and fuel, and to build a new pinnace of 10 tons, he anchored for twenty-three days. On 23 Nov. he set sail towards the Straits of Magellan, discovering on his way (17 Dec.) a fine harbour almost as large as Plymouth, known to this day as Port *Desire*, so named after his own ship, where he spent Christmas in studying the manners and arts of the Patagonians. Departing from Port *Desire* 28 Dec., Cavendish went coasting along S.S.W. until 3 Jan. 1587, when he reached the opening of the straits, where he lost an anchor in a great storm which lasted three days. On the 6th he commenced his tortuous passage through the straits. The next day he observed traveling overland towards the River Plate a party of twenty-three poor starved Spaniards, two of whom were women, all that remained of the two unfortunate colonies of four hundred persons planted by Pedro Sarmiento, and starved to death in King Philip's City, built and fortified three years before to command the narrowest part of the straits. On 9 Jan. Cavendish reached the ill-fated city, which he renamed the 'Town of Famine,' now known as Port Famine; here during his stay of five days he discovered, buried within the four forts, six pieces of ordnance, which he carried off. Cavendish was only too 'glad to hasten from this place for the noisome stench and vile saunour wherewith it was infected, through the contagion of the Spaniards' pined and dead carcases' (N. H.). Near the same spot a rescued Spaniard pointed out the hull of a small barque which was judged to be the *John Thomas*, probably abandoned by Sir Francis Drake nine years before. On 14 Jan. Cavendish resumed his perilous voyage through the straits, which occupied him more than six

weeks; wherein 'they hazarded their best cables and anchors that we had for to hold, which if they had failed we had been in danger to have been cast away, or at least famished.' For quite a month, adds Pretty, 'we fed almost altogether on muscles, and limpets, and birds, or such as we could get on shore, seeking for them every day as the fowls of the air do, where they can find food, in continual rainy weather.'

On 24 Feb. Cavendish entered the South Sea or Pacific and plied along the coast of Chili until 30 March, when he reached the Bay of Quintero, a little to the N. of Valparaiso; here Hernando, the Spaniard saved from starvation in the straits, upon being landed to parley with three other mounted Spaniards, leaped up behind and rode away with one of them, and doubtless alarmed the Spaniards along the whole seaboard. On 1 April a handful of the three crews was attacked by nearly two hundred horsemen while watering, but the enemy retired with a loss of twenty-five men as against twelve slain of the English. Sailing along the coast from 15 to 23 April, Cavendish, with two of his ships, came athwart the Port of Mormoreno (Monte Moreno), where he landed. He afterwards came to Arica, where he awaited the arrival of the Content, the crew of which had found in a bay fourteen leagues southwards of Arica 300 tons of botizios of wine of Castile buried in the sand, and she laded herself with as many as she could carry. In this place Cavendish burned three barques and a large ship of 100 tons, which last the inhabitants refused to ransom in exchange for English prisoners taken at Quintero. The Spanish authorities were now thoroughly roused, for Cavendish intercepted two barques coming from the southward towards Lima, 25 to 27 April; the second, from Santiago, near Quintero, had on board letters of advice for the viceroy concerning Cavendish, which were thrown overboard before they could be secured. The contents were revealed by one of the Spaniards, who, by the order of Cavendish, 'was tormented with his thumbs in a wrench.' Among the captured was also found 'a reasonable pilot for those seas,' who, according to N. H., was also a Spaniard, but according to Pretty a Greek. From 3 to 5 May the little fleet rode in Pisa bay, near the Chincha islands, now famed for its guano deposits. Sailing forward on 16 and 17 May they captured three large ships, one worth 20,000*l.*, which had the chief merchandise in it. Cavendish filled his ships with as much of this as they could carry and burnt the remainder with the captured ships. On 25 May Cavendish arrived at the island of Puna in

the gulf of Guayaquil; here they remained eleven days, hauled the Desire and Content on shore for repairs, sank a large Spanish ship lying at anchor, with all her furniture, and burned the town, out of revenge for an unsuccessful sortie of the Spaniards and natives upon a foraging party wherein forty of the enemy were slain, with the loss of twelve English. Pretty describes the 'great casique' of the island, his Spanish wife and treasures, his palace with its chambers decorated with old-world hangings of 'Cordovan leather gilded all over and painted very rare and rich.' On 7 June Cavendish set forward for Rio Dolce, near the equator, where he sank the Hugh Gallant for want of men. Five days later they doubled the equinoctial line and continued their course northward until 9 July, when off the coast of Guatemala they captured a ship in ballast piloted by Michael Sancius, a Provençal, who informed Cavendish of a great prize that was on its way from the Philippines. Cavendish burned the ship in ballast, as also a barque which he captured the next day which was sent from Lima to carry warning all along the coast. On 28 July he reached Aguatalco (Guatulco), which town they also spoiled and burned during a stay of five days. Weighing anchor from this place in the night of 2 Aug. he overshot Acapulco, the Mexican port for the arrival and departure of the Spanish fleet for the Philippines, and came on 24 Aug. to Puerto de Natividad, where he landed and captured a mounted mulatto, from whom he took more letters of advice. After setting fire to the town and shipping he proceeded to a small island near Mazatlan, where he anchored to water and refit from 27 Sept. until 9 Oct., when the ships weighed anchor for Cape St. Lucas, the well-known headland of Lower California, which Pretty remarks 'is very like the Needles at the Isle of Wight.' Here the Desire and Content were beating up and down the coast from 14 Oct. for a whole month, when, between seven and eight in the morning of 14 Nov., the crews of the two ships were roused by the watch in the main-top of the Desire by the cry of 'A sail!' which proved to be no other than the long-expected prize from the Philippines, the Admiral of the South Sea, owned by the king of Spain, the Great St. Anna of 700 tons richly laden. Cavendish captured the ship after an obstinate fight of six hours and brought it into the neighbouring harbour of Aguada Segura, where he proceeded to divide the treasure among his own company and that of the Content, who were inclined to mutiny about their share of the money taken. Besides 22,000 pesos of gold the prize contained 600

tons of the richest merchandise, of which Cavendish could only take forty tons for each of his ships, which were already laden to the full. According to the narrative of N. H., 'this was one of the richest vessels that ever sailed on the seas; and was able to have made many hundreds wealthy if we had had means to have brought it home.' Cavendish also took out of the Great St. Anna two youths born in Japan and three boys natives of Manilla, the youngest of whom, about nine years old, afterwards found a home with the Countess of Essex. He also took Nicholas Roderigo, a Portuguese, who had resided in Canton and other parts of China, from whom he probably obtained the large map of China referred to at length by Hakluyt (p. 813), and Thomas de Ersola, a Spanish pilot for the Philippines. On the afternoon of 19 Nov., after having burnt his great prize with its contents to the water's edge, Cavendish joyfully set sail alone towards England, leaving the Content in the road, whose company they never saw afterwards. Cavendish continued his voyage across the Pacific until 3 Jan. 1588, when he sighted the island of Guana (Guañan), one of the Ladrões, where he met with a reception from the natives strikingly similar to that experienced by Magellan on their first discovery in 1521. Eleven days later, falling in with Capo Spirito Santo, on the island of Tadaia (Samar), he commenced his tortuous navigation of the Philippines and Moluccas, so evidently misapprehended by Molyneux in his praiseworthy attempt to track and record it on his famous globe of 1593.

On 15 Jan., while anchoring off the small island of Capul, at the south end of Luzon, Cavendish was compelled for his own safety to hang the Spanish pilot De Ersola, who, by a secret letter, attempted to betray him into the hands of the authorities at Manilla, then an unvalled town guarded by galleys. On 24 Jan., after making the island of Masbate, he passed between Panama (Panay) and the island of Negroes, and sailing west of Mindanao, he directed his course S.E. until 8 Feb., when he sighted Batachina (Batchian), one of the Moluccas S. of Gilolo. Here we are met by two geographical puzzles. According to N. H., Cavendish sailed down the Straits of Macassar to the W. of the Celebes, for he writes 'we ran between Celebes or Batachina and Borneo until the 12th day of February' (HAKLUYT, 1589, p. 812). In consequence, Molyneux in his globe (see *infra*) assigns the name of Batachina to the Celebes; this error, however, is corrected by Pretty, who writes: 'On the 14th day of February we fell with eleven or twelve very small islands, lying low

and flat. These islands (evidently the Xullas), near the Moluccas, stand in three degrees, 10 minutes to the southward of the line' (*ib.* iii. 820). Again, on 28 Feb. N. H. writes: 'We put through between the Straits of Java major and Java minor and anchored under the south-west part of Java major' (*ib.* 1589, p. 812). The identity of Java major with Java proper is undisputed, but the hitherto unsettled questions have been, the identification of the Straits, Java minor, and the anchorage. Professor Arber (*English Garner*, iv. 125) holds that the Straits were those of Sunda, W. of Java proper. Colonel Yule, however, suggests (*Marco Polo*, ii. 267) that they were the Straits of Baly, E. of Java, and that the Java minor of Cavendish was the island of Baly. Both these assumptions are, however, disproved by Thos. Fuller, the sailing master of the *Desire*, who writes: 'From the W. end of Java minor unto the E. end of Java major the course is W. and by N. and E. and by S. and the distance between them is 18 leagues; in the which course there lieth an island between them, which island (referred to in the margin as Baly) is in length 14 leagues' (*ib.* iii. 832). Again he writes: 'The first day of March wee passed the Straights at the W. head of the island of Java minor (i.e. Lombok), and the 5th day of March we anchored in the bay at the Wester (*sic*) end of Java maior, where wee watered and had great store of victuals from the town of Polambo' (*ib.* p. 834). Pretty adds to the confusion when he writes that the king of that (i.e. the W.) part of the island was 'Raja Bolamboang,' who it is to be feared has been confounded with the Raja of Balamboang, whose descendants were to be found at the E. end of Java down to 1788 (cf. VAN DER AAL). From this it follows that, after passing through the Straits of Lombok with Baly, on the E., Cavendish sailed along the S. coast of Java proper for five days, and that his anchorage for twelve days afterwards was at Paliboam-Ratoe, in Wijnkoopers Bay, under the S.W. end of Java, as stated by all the three narratives of N. H., Pretty, and Fuller. From 11 March and all through April Cavendish traversed the main between Java and Africa, when on 19 March he sighted the long-wished-for Cape of Good Hope. On 8 June he anchored under the island of St. Helena, where he stayed twelve days for refreshment, and was the first to discover it to the English nation. On 20 June he shaped his course for England, where, upon arriving off the Lizard 3 Sept., he was greeted by a Flemish vessel with the news of the overthrow of the Spanish Armada. After encountering a violent storm



of four days' duration in the Channel, N. H. closes his narrative thus: 'On . . . 10 Sept. 1588, like wearied men, through the favour of the Almighty, we got into Plymouth, where the townsmen received us with all humanity' (HAKLUYT, 1589).

The fame of Cavendish as the second English circumnavigator of the globe was now almost at its zenith. Popular feeling respecting the voyage and its leader found expression in ballads, the titles only of three of which are preserved to us under their respective entries for publication (3 Nov. 1588): 'A Ballad of Master Cavendish's Voyage, who by travel compassed the Globe of the World, arriving in England with abundance of treasure' (14 Nov. 1588); 'A new Ballad of the famous and honourable coming home of Master Cavendish's Ship the Desire, before the Queen's Maiesty at her Court at Greenwich,' 12 Nov. 1588, &c. (3 Dec. 1588); 'Captain Robert's Welcome of good-will to Captain Cavendish.' This last, however, may have been either a ballad or a broadside (cf. ARBER, *Reg. Stat. Comp.* ii. 505-9). Two of the rarest cartographical records of the voyage are to be found on the terrestrial globe by Molyneux (see *supra*), and an equally rare map by Jodocus Hondius, who engraved the gores for the globe. Respecting the first Blundeville writes: 'The voyage as well of Sir F. Drake as of Mr. Th. Candish is set down and showed by help of two lines, the one red . . . doth show what course Sir Francis observed in all his voyage . . . the blew line sheweth in like manner the voyage of Master Candish.' A unique example of this globe, the first made in England in 1592, the year of Cavendish's death, is preserved in the library of the Middle Temple. The map of the world in hemispheres, engraved by Hondius in 1597, evidently copied from the globe, is also accompanied by the accounts of Sir F. Drake's voyage, and that of Cavendish by N. H., both translated from Hakluyt (1589) into Dutch. The allusion in one of the ballads to Cavendish's reception by the queen at Greenwich serves somewhat to confirm the tradition that a greater part of his wealth, either inherited or acquired by spoiling the Spaniards, was squandered 'in gallantry and following the court' (*Diog. Brit.*) The tradition also serves to throw some light upon the causes that led him to undertake his last fated voyage, which was evidently meant for a repetition of the previous one in every particular, as proved by the heading of the record preserved to us, which reads, 'The last Voyage of the worshipfull M. Thomas Candish (*sic*), esquire, intended for the South sea, the Phillipines, and the coast of China,

with three tall ships and two barks. Written by M. J. Jane' (HAKLUYT). The fleet, comprising the Leicester galleon, commanded by Cavendish, the Roebucke, his old ship the Desire, commanded by Captain John Davis of Arctic fame [q.v.], the Black Pinnace, and the Daintie, left Plymouth on 26 Aug. 1591, and sighted the coast of Brazil at St. Salvador (lat. 12° 58' 16" S.), or Campos (lat. 21° 36' 30" S.), on 29 Nov., where they were becalmed four days. After a feeble attempt to take the town of Santos (lat. 23° 55' 1" S.) on 24 Jan., he set forward on his voyage, but, owing to the lateness of the season and the unusually bad weather, Cavendish was separated from the rest of his fleet until 18 March, when he rejoined Davis at Port Desire. Two days later they sailed for the Straits of Magellan, where, after many furious storms, they sailed halfway through the straits, and on 21 April 1592 the ships anchored in a cove four leagues W. from Cape Froward, where they remained until 15 May, enduring great hardships, Cavendish all the while being with Davis on board the Desire. It soon became obvious that Cavendish had outlived his reputation as a leader of men; unnerved probably by his own misery and that of his crews, he resolved against their wishes to make for the Cape of Good Hope in his own ship, the Leicester, but being deterred by the sound advice of Davis from attempting 'so hard an enterprise with so feeble a crew,' he determined to depart out of the Straits of Magellan, 'and to return again for Santos in Brazil.' On 20 May, the fleet being once more off Port Desire about thirty leagues, Cavendish in the night altered his course to seaward, in consequence of which, the Desire and Black Pinnace being lost sight of in the darkness, he never saw Davis afterwards. Cavendish once more made for Brazil. After several disastrous attempts to land at Santos and Espirito Santo, where he was deserted by the Roebucke, he made one last effort to reach St. Helena. He 'got within two leagues,' and afterwards sought for an island in 8° S. lat. (evidently Ascension). The last notice of Cavendish in the homeward voyage of the Leicester is his own record of the death of his cousin, John Locke, in 8° N. lat. Cavendish died a few days later, probably of a broken heart. In his last hours he accused Davis of having deserted him, but from all we know of the character of Davis this is not only unjust, but also incredible. Long after the separation of the fleet on 20 May previous, Davis not only returned to Port Desire to seek for Cavendish, but he also made no less than three unsuccessful attempts to sail through the straits

down to the end of 1592. Such were the hardships they endured, that out of a crew of seventy-six men who sailed from England two years before, only a 'small remnant' of fifteen lived to return with Davis in misery and weakness so great that they 'could not take in or heave out a saile' of the *Desire*, which arrived off Bearhaven in Ireland on 11 June 1593, fully a year after the death and burial of Cavendish at sea. For engraved portraits of Cavendish, see Grainger (i. 247).

[*Aa's Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek der Nederlanden*, 1840, 2<sup>e</sup> deel, p. 51; Arber's *English Garner*, 4, 125; Arber's *Transcript of Registers of Stationers' Company*, ii. 505-9; *Biog. Brit.* i. 1196; *Blundeville's Exercises*, 1594; Davis's *Voyages* (*Hakluyt Soc.*), 1880; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, art. 'Globe,' *Hakluyt*, 1589-99, vol. iii.; *Holland's Hero-ologia*, p. 89; *Lediard's Naval History*, 1735, p. 229; *Yule's Marco Polo*, 2nd ed. 1875; *Cal. Carew MSS.*; *Hist. MSS. Comm.* App. 4th Rep. 372; *Harl. MS.* 268, f. 161; *Cooper's Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 136.] C. H. C.

**CAVENDISH, SIR WILLIAM** (1505?-1557), statesman, born about 1505, was second son of Thomas Cavendish of Cavendish, Suffolk, clerk of the pipe, by Alice, daughter of John Smith of Padbrook Hall, and was directly descended from Sir John Cavendish, the judge (*d.* 1381) [q. v.]. William's eldest brother was George Cavendish [q. v.], Wolsey's biographer. His father's will is dated 13 April 1523, when his family was residing in the city parish of St. Alban's, Wood Street. His mother was buried in St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate. Probably through the influence of his brother George, Wolsey's friend, William was first introduced to court. In 1530 he was one of the commissioners who visited the monasteries to demand the surrender of their property to the crown, and in that year seized the abbey at Sheen. In 1541 he was auditor of the court of augmentations, and received grants of land in Hertfordshire formerly belonging to the dissolved monasteries. In 1546 he became treasurer of the king's chamber, was knighted, and was sworn of the privy council. Edward VI showed as much affection for Cavendish as Henry VIII, continued him in his office, and largely increased his landed property by fresh grants of monastic estates. Cavendish conformed under Mary, was reappointed by her treasurer of the royal chamber, and died on 25 Oct. 1557, being buried on 30 Oct. (*MACHYN, Diary*, p. 156). Cavendish has often been erroneously represented as the author of the well-known 'Life of Wolsey,' the work of his brother George. On his marriage with his third wife, Elizabeth, a Derbyshire heiress, Cavendish sold most of his

estates in other counties to purchase more land in Derbyshire, and began to build in 1553 a great mansion at Chatsworth, which was completed by his widow at a total cost of 80,000*l.*

Sir William married, first, Margaret (*d.* 1540), daughter of Edward Bostock of Cheshire, by whom he had a son, who died young, and four daughters, two of whom died in infancy; secondly, on 3 Nov. 1542, 'at the Black Fryars in London,' Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Parker of Poslingford, Suffolk, by whom there was no issue; thirdly, Elizabeth, a very rich Derbyshire heiress, daughter of John Hardwick of Hardwick, Derbyshire, and widow of Robert Barley of Barley, Derbyshire. The last marriage took place at Bradgate, Leicestershire, on 20 Aug. 1547. His third wife twice remarried after Cavendish's death, her fourth husband being George Talbot, sixth earl of Shrewsbury, and lived till 13 Feb. 1607-8 [see TALBOT, ELIZABETH, COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY]. She built Hardwick Hall and Oldcotes and finished Chatsworth, making all three houses over to her second son by Cavendish—William, first earl of Devonshire [q. v.]. Cavendish had by her two other sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Henry, M.P. for Derbyshire 1572, 1584, 1586, 1588, 1592, and 1597, won repute as a soldier in the Low Countries in 1578; travelled in the East; married Grace Talbot, eldest daughter of his stepfather, the Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had no issue; befriended Mary Queen of Scots, for many years the Earl of Shrewsbury's prisoner at Hardwicke Hall, and afterwards in confinement at Cavendish's own house, Tutbury, Staffordshire (SIR AMIAS POULET, *Letter-book*, ed. Morris); died on 12 Oct. 1616, and was buried at Edensor, near Chatsworth. His account of his Eastern travels is still in manuscript at Hardwick (*Hist. MSS. Comm.* 3rd Rep.)

The third son, Charles, settled at Welbeck, Nottinghamshire; was knighted; married Catherine, daughter of Cuthbert, lord Ogle; died in June 1617, was buried at Bolsover, Derbyshire, and was the father of William, first duke of Newcastle [q. v.]

Of the daughters, Frances married Sir Henry Pierpoint of Holme Pierpoint, Nottinghamshire, and was the ancestress of the Dukes of Kingston; Elizabeth married Charles Stuart, earl of Lennox, and was the mother of Arabella Stuart; and Mary married Gilbert Talbot, the son of her stepfather, the Earl of Shrewsbury.

[*Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); *Kennet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family* (1737); *Arthur Collins's Hist. Coll. of the Noble Families of Cavendish, &c.* (1752); *Joseph Grove's Lives of all the Earls and Dukes of Devonshire* (1764).] S. L.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM**, first EARL OF DEVONSHIRE (*d.* 1626), second son of Sir William Cavendish [q.v.], was educated with the children of George Talbot, sixth earl of Shrewsbury, whom his mother married after his father's death. The Countess of Shrewsbury showed him special favour, and made him a rich allowance in his youth. He was M.P. for Liverpool in 1586 and for Newport in 1588, and high sheriff of Derbyshire, where the estates of his family lay, in 1595. He was created Baron Cavendish of Hardwicke on the christening of the Princess Sophia in May 1605. He aided largely in the colonisation of the Bermudas, and one of the islands was called after him. His mother's death in 1608, and his elder brother Henry's death in 1616, gave him a vast fortune. He was in attendance on James I in a progress in Wiltshire in 1618, and on 2 Aug. was created Earl of Devonshire, while the court was staying at the Bishop of Salisbury's palace. He was currently reported to have paid 10,000*l.* for the title. He was named lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire 1 May 1619. He died on 3 March 1625-6, and was buried at Edensor.

His first wife was Anne, daughter of Henry Keighley of Keighley, Yorkshire, by whom he had three sons and three daughters. Of the former, Gilbert, who has been credited with the authorship of 'Horæ Subsecivæ' [see BRYDGES, GREY], died young; William became second earl [q.v.]; and James died in infancy. Cavendish's second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Boughton of Causton, Warwickshire, widow of Sir Richard Wortley of Wortley, Yorkshire, by whom he had a son, John (*d.* 1618), made K.B. when Prince Charles was created Prince of Wales, 3 Nov. 1616.

[*Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); *Life of Duke of Newcastle*, ed. C. H. Firth (1886); *Doyle's Baronage*; *Gardiner's Hist. of England*, iii. 215; *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.); *Kenet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family* (1737).] S. L.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM**, second EARL OF DEVONSHIRE (1591?-1628), second son of William, first earl [q.v.], by his first wife, Anne Keighley, was educated by Thomas Hobbes, the philosopher, who resided at Chatsworth as his private tutor for many years and accompanied him in a tour through France and Italy before his coming of age. Hobbes states that he was his pupil's friend for twenty years, and eulogises his learning in the dedication of his translation of Thucydides. Cavendish was knighted at Whitehall in 1609; married, about 1612, Christiana, daughter of Edward, lord Bruce of Kinloss, and was afterwards a leader of court society, and an intimate friend of James I. He was

M.P. for Bishop's Castle 1610, and for Derbyshire in 1614, 1621, 1624, 1625, and 1626; lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire jointly with his father in 1619 and alone after his father's death in 1626. In April 1622 he introduced to audiences with the king ambassadors from the Emperor Ferdinand, Venice, and the United Provinces. In 1625 he was present at Charles I's marriage with Henrietta Maria. Early in 1626 the death of his father gave him a seat in the House of Lords, and he showed some independence in resisting Buckingham's high-handed attempt to foist a treasonable meaning on a speech of Sir Dudley Digges (13 May 1626). His lavish hospitality strained his ample resources in his last years, and he procured a private act of parliament to enable him to sell some of the entailed estates in discharge of his debts (1628). His London house was in Bishopsgate, on the site afterwards occupied by Devonshire Square. He died there (from excessive indulgence in good living, it is said) on 20 June 1628, and was buried in All-hallows Church, Derby. His wife Christiana is separately noticed. By her he had three sons: William, third earl [q.v.], Charles [q.v.], and Henry who died in youth. His daughter Anne, a well-known patroness of literature, married Robert, lord Rich, heir of the Earl of Warwick. A drawing of the second earl is in the Sutherland collection at the Bodleian Library.

[*Kenet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family* (1737), pp. 10-11; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); *Doyle's Baronage*; *Hobbes's Life* (1681); *Lords' Journal*, iii. 698 et seq.; *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1600-1628.] S. L.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM**, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE (1592-1676), son of Sir Charles Cavendish and Catherine, second daughter of Cuthbert, lord Ogle, was born in 1592, and educated at St. John's College, Cambridge. In 1610, when Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, Cavendish was made a knight of the Bath. He was then sent on his travels under the care of Sir Henry Wotton, at that time ambassador to the Duke of Savoy. On his return he married Elizabeth, daughter of William Basset of Blore, Staffordshire, and widow of Henry Howard, third son of the Earl of Suffolk. In 1619 King James visited Welbeck, and in the following year raised Cavendish to the peerage by the title of Viscount Mansfield (3 Nov. 1620). On 7 March 1628 he was further created Earl of Newcastle, and in the following year the barony of Ogle was revived in favour of Lady Catherine Cavendish (4 Dec. 1629), which title at her death descended to the Earl of Newcastle. On the king's journey into Scot-

land he was entertained at Welbeck 'in such a wonderful manner, and in such an excess of feasting, as had scarce ever before been known in England; and would have been thought very prodigious if the same noble person had not within a year afterwards made the king and queen a more stupendous entertainment, which no man ever after in those days imitated' (CLARENDON, *Rebellion*, i. 167). For the first of these visits Jonson wrote the masque entitled 'Love's Welcome at Welbeck;' for the second, 'Love's Welcome at Bolsover.' The two entertainments together cost the earl 20,000*l.* (*Life*, p. 192). He was lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire 1628-38, and of Wiltshire 1628-42 and from 1660 till death. A letter to Strafford, dated 5 Aug. 1633, shows his desire of important court office. 'I have hurt my estate with the hope of it. If I obtained what I desire, it would be a more painful life, and since I am so plunged in debt, it would help very well to undo me. Children come on apace, and with this weight of debt which lies on me I know no diet better than a strict diet in the country' (*Strafford Correspondence*, i. 101). The earl's ambition was at length gratified when in 1638 the king appointed him governor of the Prince of Wales, and made him a member of the privy council (*Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 7; COLLINS, p. 27). For Prince Charles the earl drew up a very interesting paper of instructions, which has been printed by Sir Henry Ellis (*Original Letters*, 1st ser. iii. 288). The prince is warned not to be too devout, for one may be a good man and a bad king, bidden to be courteous to everybody, and enjoined to remember that he cannot be too civil to women. The earl succeeded in making his pupil an accomplished horseman. 'Our gracious and most excellent king,' he wrote in after years, 'is not only the handsomest and most comely horseman in the world, but as knowing and understanding in the art as any man' (*New Method and Extraordinary Invention*, p. 7). The outbreak of the Scotch rebellion enabled the earl to show his loyalty. He lent the king 10,000*l.*, and raised a volunteer troop which consisted entirely of knights and gentlemen of quality (*Life*, p. 9). In defence of the dignity of this troop Newcastle challenged the general of the horse, the Earl of Holland, to a duel to be fought when the war was over. The king, however, intervened. In May 1641 Newcastle resigned his office as governor of the prince, and retired from court (17 May, WHITELOCK, 144). According to Clarendon, his resignation was due to the hostility of Essex and Holland, who thought that his influence with the prince 'would not be agreeable to their designs' (*Rebellion*, iv. 293).

A more likely reason is the discovery of the earl's share in the first army plot which became known about this time. Suckling and Jermyn had selected him to succeed Northumberland in the command of the army, and the earl, with the prince, according to the deposition of Colonel Ballard, was to meet the army in Nottinghamshire with a thousand horse. 'Although there was not ground enough for a judicial proceeding, yet there was ground of suspicion,' says the parliament in its remonstrance of 26 May 1642, and their suspicions made them resent the king's appointment of Newcastle as governor of Hull (11 Jan. 1642; *Lords' Journals*, 14 Feb.) The earl hastened down secretly to seize that important magazine. 'I am here at Hull,' he wrote to the king on the 15th, 'but the town will not admit of me by no means, so I am very flat and out of countenance' (*S. P. Dom.* Charles I, vol. cccclxxxviii. No. 55). He strove to gain a party in the town, and, according to the duchess, would have secured the admission of the king's troops had not Charles changed his policy and suddenly recalled him. The House of Lords, which had required his attendance, admitted the king's commission as sufficient defence, and allowed him to retire to the country. In the summer, when the king began to raise forces, Newcastle joined him at York, and was despatched thence in the middle of June to secure Newcastle-upon-Tyne and take the command of the four northern counties. The lands and influence he inherited from the family of Ogle enabled him rapidly to raise troops, while the possession of a port enabled him to forward to the king supplies of arms and money from Denmark and Holland, and facilitated his correspondence with the queen. The appeals of the Yorkshire royalists for help obliged Newcastle to march south, but he prudently refused to move till the support of his army was assured (*A New Discovery of Hidden Secrets*, 1645). At the end of November 1642 he entered Yorkshire, defeating Hotham at Piercebridge, and successfully raising the blockade of York. A few days later he attacked Fairfax at Tadcaster, and though the battle itself was indecisive, Fairfax was forced to retreat and abandon the attempt to hold the line of the Ouse (7 Dec. 1642). Newcastle proceeded to garrison Pontefract, to despatch troops to occupy Newark, and to send a strong division to invade the West Riding, but its repulse from Bradford, and the recapture of Leeds by Sir Thomas Fairfax (23 Jan. 1643), obliged him to return to York and await reinforcements. In February he carried on an animated controversy with Lord Fairfax on the propriety of employing

catholics and the rights of kings and subjects. Each accused the other of permitting indiscipline and pillage, and Newcastle concluded by challenging his opponent 'to follow the example of our heroic ancestors, who used not to spend their time in scratching one another out of holes, but in pitched fields determined their doubts' (RUSHWORTH, v. 78, 113). At the end of February the queen landed, and was received by Newcastle and conducted to York. In April he made a second attack on the West Riding, and, though obliged to abandon the siege of Leeds, took Wakefield, Rotherham, and Sheffield. Again Sir Thomas Fairfax, by the surprise of Wakefield (21 May), forced him to abandon his conquests. But though obliged to detach a large portion of his troops to escort the queen to Oxford, Newcastle returned to the attack in June, took Howley House (22 June), defeated the Fairfaxes at Adwalton Moor (30 June), captured Bradford, and subjected all Yorkshire, with the exception of Wressell Castle and Hull, to the king's authority. He is generally blamed for not advancing southwards to join the king, and his action attributed to jealousy of Prince Rupert. The king had wished Newcastle to join him against Essex in June, but in August he seems to have instructed him to attack the eastern association (GREEN, *Letters of Henrietta Maria*, 219, 225). In accordance with a design which Newcastle had previously announced to Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs*, p. 243), he entered Lincolnshire, recapturing Gainsborough on 30 July, occupying Lincoln, and threatening to raise the siege of Lynn. 'His orders, which I have seen,' says Lord Fairfax, 'were to go into Essex and block up London on that side' (MASTERS, i. 431; CLARENDON, vii. 177). But the appeals of the Yorkshire committee, the reluctance of his local levies to march further from their homes, and the activity of the garrison of Hull in his rear, induced him to return to besiege the last-named town. After lying before it for six weeks, a destructive sally forced him to raise the siege, while on the same day the division which had been left to protect Lincolnshire was defeated by Cromwell at Winceby, and that county entirely lost (11 Oct. 1643). A few days later the king raised Newcastle to the rank of marquis (27 Oct. 1643, COLLINS, *Historical Collections*, p. 31). In January 1644 the Scots entered England, and Newcastle was called north to oppose them. But he could neither prevent the passage of the Tyne, nor bring the Scots to a battle (RUSHWORTH, v. 614). His own army was greatly superior in cavalry, and he distressed the enemy by cutting off

their supplies. The severity of the weather was ruinous to his forces. The defeat of the army left in Yorkshire (Selby, 11 April 1644) obliged Newcastle to make a hurried retreat to York, where the armies of Fairfax, Manchester, and the Scots closed in upon him. On 1 July Prince Rupert successfully raised the siege, and on the following day the battle of Marston Moor took place. Newcastle had vainly urged the prince to await the arrival of expected reinforcements, or the separation of the three armies opposed to him. 'He held no command in the battle, but fought as a volunteer at the head of a troop of gentlemen, distinguishing himself as usual by his courage. The next day he announced his intention of leaving England. Already in the previous April he had thought of laying down his commission to escape from the criticisms of his own party. 'If you leave my service,' wrote the king, 'I am sure all the north is lost. Remember all courage is not in fighting, constancy in a good cause being the chief, and the despising of slanderous tongues and pens being not the least ingredient' (ELLIS, *Original Letters*, i. iii. 298). But Newcastle, according to Clarendon, was utterly tired of his employment as a general, and 'transported with passion and despair' at the way in which the army he so painfully raised had been thrown away (*Rebellion*, viii. 87). When Prince Rupert urged him to endeavour to recruit his forces, 'No,' says he, 'I will not endure the laughter of the court' (WARBURTON, *Prince Rupert*, ii. 468). Accordingly he set sail from Scarborough a few days later, taking with him his two sons and his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, and many friends, but leaving the rest of his family in England. He landed at Hamburg on 8 July 1644, stayed there till February 1645, and then set out for Paris, where he arrived in April, and remained for the next three years. Here, soon after his arrival, he married Margaret [see CAVENDISH MARGARET, DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE], daughter of Sir Thomas Lucas of St. John's, Colchester, his first wife, Elizabeth Basset, having died in April 1643 (*Letters of Queen Henrietta Maria*, p. 188). When Prince Charles went to Holland in the spring of 1648 to take command of the ships which had revolted from the parliament, Newcastle was desired by the queen to follow him, but did not arrive until the prince had put to sea.

Six months he stayed at Rotterdam, but hopes of further opportunities were destroyed by the defeats of the royalists, and about the end of the same year he removed to Antwerp. At Antwerp he remained for the rest of his exile, being 'so well pleased with the great

civilities he received from that city that he was resolved to choose no other resting-place all the time of his banishment: he being not only credited there for all manner of provisions and necessities for his subsistence, but also free both from ordinary and extraordinary taxes and paying excise' (*Life*, 118). In April 1650 he was made a member of the privy council of Charles II, and was one of the party in it which urged the king to 'make an agreement with his subjects of Scotland upon any condition, and go into Scotland in person himself, that he might but be sure of an army, there being no probability or appearance then of getting an army anywhere else.' He pressed the king also to reconcile the parties of Argyll and Hamilton. 'If his majesty could but get the power into his own hands, he might do hereafter what he pleased' (*Life*, 104). In August 1651 Newcastle, whom the Scots had not permitted to accompany his master, was engaged in negotiating with the elector of Brandenburg for an auxiliary corps of ten thousand men, and with the king of Denmark for ships to carry them to Scotland; but the battle of Worcester put an end to these designs (*Cal. Clarendon State Papers*, ii. 105-7). During the rest of his exile Newcastle seems to have taken no part in political transactions. Probably one cause of this was the growing influence of Hyde, who opposed the policy advocated by Newcastle with reference to Scotland, and describes him in one of his letters as 'a most lamentable man, as fit to be a general as to be a bishop' (*ib.* 63). Nevertheless, Hyde and Newcastle continued outwardly on very good terms, and when Hyde was accused in 1653 of betraying the king's councils, Newcastle wrote him 'a very comfortable letter of advice' (*ib.* 280).

Newcastle had left England in 1644 with not more than 90*l.* in his possession (*Life*, 84). As one of the chief delinquents, he had been excluded by the parliament from pardon, and his estates had been confiscated without the alternative of paying a composition being offered to him. He had been at times reduced to great extremities, and even obliged to pawn his wife's jewels. The queen gave him 2,000*l.*, and assisted him with her credit. The Earl of Devonshire and the Marquis of Hertford lent him another 2,000*l.*, and William Aylesbury 200*l.* (*ib.* 91, 97, 98). These resources were now exhausted, and he despatched his wife and his brother, Sir Charles Cavendish, to England, to endeavour to raise some money. The sequestration committee refused to allow Lady Newcastle the customary share of her husband's estate allowed to the wives of delinquents, on the plea that

the marriage had taken place since the sequestration (*ib.* 109, 298). But Sir Charles Cavendish succeeded in compounding for his estate, and sent a supply to his brother; and after the death of Sir Charles Newcastle obtained the remainder of his estate (*ib.* 125). As Newcastle was also aided by his eldest daughter, Lady Cheiny, and by his two sons, who had made advantageous matches in England, he was sufficiently prosperous during the latter part of his exile (*ib.* 125, 133). In February 1658 he entertained with great magnificence the king and the royal family (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1657-8, 296, 311). About the same time he published the first of his two works on horsemanship, 'La Methode et Invention Nouvelle de dresser les Chevaux,' Antwerp, 1657, folio. Shortly before leaving Paris, Newcastle had bought a pair of Barbary horses, 'resolving, for his own recreation and divertisement in his banished condition, to exercise the art of manage' (*Life*, 90). In these horses—soon increased to eight in number—he took so much delight and pleasure that though he was then in distress for money, yet he would sooner have tried all other ways than parted with any one of them' (*ib.* 100). No stranger of distinction passed through Antwerp without visiting the Marquis of Newcastle's riding-house, and he has himself recorded, in the preface to his second book, the compliments paid him on his skill. The 'Methode et Invention' contained the theory and practice of 'the art of manage,' the results of these nine years of experiments and studies. The illustrations by Diepenbeke are remarkable not only for their excellence, but for the number of portraits they contain. Numerous diagrams represent Newcastle training horses in his riding school. In the large plates he is performing various feats of horsemanship before Welbeck, Bolsover, or some other of his houses. There are also two allegorical designs, in which he is adored by a circle of reverential horses. The cost of this work was above 1,300*l.*, in defraying which Newcastle was generously helped by his friends Sir Hugh Cartwright and Mr. Loving (letter to Nicholas, 15 Feb. 1656, *State Papers*, Dom.) A second edition was published in 1737, London, folio, and a translation of the duke's treatise is contained in the first volume of 'A General System of Horsemanship,' London, 1743 or 1748, folio. Lowndes also mentions editions published at Paris and Nuremberg.

At the Restoration, Newcastle followed the king to London, leaving his wife at Antwerp as a pledge for the payment of his debts. But soon after she arrived in London he retired to the country, to order and re-establish

his ruined estate. Those of his lands which had been confiscated by the parliament or the Commonwealth were restored to him by a private act. Those purchased by the regicides had been given by the king to the Duke of York, who graciously restored them to their lawful owner (*Egerton MS.* No. 2551). But those which had been alienated by his sons or by feoffees in trust, even when they had acted without his sanction, he could not recover. The duchess computes that he lost in this way lands worth 50,000*l.*, and he was obliged to sell others, to the value of 60,000*l.*, to pay debts contracted during the war and exile. His woods had been cut down, his houses and farms plundered, and he had lost sixteen years' rents. The total of his losses is estimated by the duchess to be about 940,000*l.*

Charles II rewarded his sufferings and services by restoring him to the offices which he had held before the rebellion. He was, in addition, made chief justice in eyre, Trent north (10 July 1661, DOYLE), and created Duke of Newcastle (16 March 1665, COLLINS, 43). He was also invested with the order of the Garter (15 April 1661), which had been conferred on him during his exile (12 Jan. 1650, *ib.* 38, 42). During the remainder of his life he took no part in public affairs. The restoration of his estate occupied most of his time; his leisure he employed in literature and horsemanship. Soon after his return he established a racecourse near Welbeck, drawing up himself rules for the races which were to be run every month during six months of the year, which have been preserved by the care of Anthony à Wood (broadsides in the Bodleian). In 1667 he published a second book on his favourite subject, 'A New Method and Extraordinary Invention to Dress Horses, and Work them, according to Nature; as also to Perfect Nature by the Subtlety of Art; which was never found out but by the thrice noble, high, and puissant Prince, William Cavendish,' &c. In the preface he explains that this work is 'neither a translation of the first, nor an absolutely necessary addition to it,' which 'may be of use by itself without the other, as the other without this; but both together will questionless do best.' Other editions of this second book were published in 1677 (London, folio), in 1740 (Dublin), and a French translation in 1671.

Although Newcastle is chiefly remembered by his two works on horsemanship, he was also the author of numerous plays and poems. 'His comedies,' says the duchess, 'do sufficiently show his great observation and judgment; for they are composed of these three ingredients, viz. wit, humour, and satire; and

his chief design in them is to divulge and laugh at the follies of mankind, to persecute vice and to encourage virtue.' The following is a list of the duke's comedies: 1. 'The Country Captain,' 12mo, 1649, said in the title to have been acted with applause at Blackfriars, and printed at the Hague and London. Pepys terms it 'so silly a play as in all my life I never saw' (*Diary*, 26 Oct. 1661). 2. 'The Variety,' printed with the 'Country Captain.' 3. 'The Humorous Lovers,' acted at the Duke's Theatre, 4to, 1677. Pepys, who attributes this to the duchess, calls it 'the most silly thing that ever came upon the stage' (30 March 1667). 4. 'The Triumphant Widow, or the Medley of Humours,' acted at the Duke's Theatre, 4to, 1677. The plays are certainly not good plays, yet they contain amusing scenes. Shadwell incorporated a large part of the 'Triumphant Widow' in 'Bury Fair,' and a droll, entitled the 'French Dancing Master,' was made out of the 'Variety,' and is printed in 'Sport upon Sport' (1671). The duke also translated Molière's 'L'Etourdi,' which Dryden converted into 'Sir Martin Mar-All.' This play, printed in 1668, did not appear with Dryden's name until 1697, and is entered in the 'Stationers' Register' under that of the duke; but, according to Pepys, every one knew at the time that Dryden had assisted his patron (*ib.* 16 Aug. 1667; SCOTT, *Dryden*, i.)

In the plays of the duchess occasional scenes are the contribution of the duke. His poems consist of some tales in verse, published in his wife's book entitled 'Nature's Pictures by Fancie's Pencil,' adulatory verses prefixed to her various publications, and songs interspersed in her plays and his own. But he deserves praise rather as a patron than a producer of poetry. 'Since the time of Augustus,' writes Langbaine, 'no person better understood dramatic poetry, nor more generously encouraged poets; so that we may truly call him our English Mæcenæus.' Jonson wrote, besides the two masques already mentioned for his entertainments, elegies to celebrate the duke's riding and fencing, epitaphs for his father and mother, and an interlude for the christening of his eldest son (JONSON, ed. Cunningham, i. cxxxix). Shirley dedicated to Newcastle his own play of the 'Traitor,' and assisted his patron in the composition of his plays (WOOD, *Athenæ*, iii. 739; DRYCE, *Shirley*, i. xliii). Wood also states that Newcastle invited Shirley 'to take his fortune with him in the wars,' and Davenant certainly held the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance under him. 'Such kind of witty society,' says Warwick, 'diverted many counsels and lost many opportunities' (*Memoirs*, p. 235).



After the Restoration, Dryden, Shadwell, and Flecknoe were among the recipients of the duke's favours. Dryden dedicated the 'Mock Astrologer' to him, Shadwell the 'Virtuoso' and the 'Libertine.' Flecknoe also has poems addressed both to the duke and the duchess. Nor did Newcastle confine his patronage to poets. 'I have heard Mr. Edmund Waller say,' writes Aubrey, 'that W. Lord Marquis of Newcastle was a great patron to Dr. Gassendi and M. Des Cartes, as well as to Mr. Hobbes, and that he had dined with them all three at the marquis's table at Paris' (AUBREY's *Letters*, ii. 603).

Newcastle died on 25 Dec. 1676, and was buried in St. Michael's Chapel, Westminster Abbey (COLLINS). His wife, in the life of her husband, which she published in 1667, describes at length his person, habits, and character. 'His shape is neat and exactly proportioned, his stature of a middle size, and his complexion sanguine. His behaviour is such that it might be a pattern to all gentlemen; for it is courtly, civil, easy and free, without formality or constraint, and yet hath something in it of grandeur, that causes an awful respect for him.' Clarendon, so severe in his judgment of Newcastle as a general and a politician, sums up by describing him as 'a very fine gentleman.'

[The Life of the Duke of Newcastle, by his second wife, was published in 1667 (London, folio). Pepys, in his Diary (18 March 1668), refers to it as 'the ridiculous history of my lord Newcastle, wrote by his wife, which shows her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an ass to suffer her to write what she writes to him and of him.' A Latin version, translated by Walter Charlton, followed in 1668, and a second English edition, in quarto, in 1675. A careful reprint of the first edition, edited by M. A. Lower, is contained in Russell Smith's Library of Old Authors. Another edition, with notes and illustrative papers, edited by C. H. Firth, was published in 1886. Letters of the Duke of Newcastle are printed in the following collections: the Strafford Papers, the Clarendon State Papers, Warburton's Prince Rupert, and the Calendar of Domestic State Papers. Rushworth's Collection contains the declaration of the Earl of Newcastle on marching into Yorkshire, and his declaration in answer to Lord Fairfax; also letters relating to the siege of York (v. 78, 133, 624). Other letters are contained in Hunter's Hallamshire and the Pythouse Papers; an intercepted one is printed in Several Proceedings in Parliament, 18-25 Sept. 1651, and a number of unpublished letters addressed to Strafford are in the possession of Lord Fitzwilliam. Sir H. Ellis gives six letters from Charles I to Newcastle in Original Letters (series 1, iii. 291-303), twenty from the queen are in Mrs. Green's collection of her letters, and four

from Ben Jonson in Cunningham's edition of his works. In addition to these sources may be mentioned Collins's Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Cavendish, Holles, &c., the Calendar of Domestic State Papers, the Clarendon State Papers, Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, Masere's Tracts, and the Memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick.] C. H. F.

CAVENDISH, WILLIAM, third EARL OF DEVONSHIRE (1617-1684), eldest son of William, second earl [q. v.], was educated by his mother Christiana [q. v.] in conjunction with his father's old tutor, Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes's translation of Thucydides is dedicated to Cavendish, and from 1634 to 1637 the young man travelled abroad with the philosopher. He was created a knight of the Bath at Charles I's coronation in 1625. Cavendish was both wealthy and handsome, and the Countess of Leicester was anxious for him to marry Lady Dorothy Sidney, Waller's Sacharissa; but the scheme came to nothing, and Elizabeth, second daughter of William Cecil, second earl of Salisbury, became Cavendish's wife. Cavendish was lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire from 13 Nov. 1638 to 22 March 1641-2, was high steward of Ampthill 4 Feb. 1639-40, and joint-commissioner of array for Leicestershire 12 Jan. 1641-2. As a prominent royalist he opposed Strafford's attainder, was summoned to a private conference with the queen in October 1641, was with Charles I at York in June 1642, absented himself from his place in the parliament, was impeached with eight other peers of high crimes and misdemeanors, refused to appear at the bar of the House of Lords, was expelled on 20 July 1642, and was ordered to stand committed to the Tower. He left England, and his estates were sequestered. He returned from the continent in 1645, submitted to the parliament, was pardoned for his former delinquency in 1646, was fined 5,000*l.*, and lived in retirement with his mother at Latimers, Buckinghamshire. Charles I stayed a night with him there on 13 Oct. 1645. At the Restoration all his disabilities were removed, he was reappointed lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire (20 Aug. 1660), became steward of Tutbury (8 Aug.), and of the High Peak (1661). He was always well affected to science and literature, was intimate with John Evelyn, and was one of the original fellows of the Royal Society (20 May 1663). He was a commissioner of trade 5 March 1668-1669, but lived mainly in the country. He died on 23 Nov. 1684, at his house at Roehampton, Surrey, and was buried at Edensor. His wife Elizabeth died five years later, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He had two sons: William, his successor [q. v.], and Charles,



who died unmarried on 3 March 1670-1. His only daughter, Anne, married, first, Charles, lord Rich, son of the Earl of Warwick; secondly, John, earl of Exeter. She died on 18 July 1703. A drawing of the third earl is in the Sutherland collection at the Bodleian.

[Biog. Brit. (Kippis); Konnet's Memoirs of the Cavendish Family (1737); Lords' Journals; Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1640-1, 1660-7; Life of Duke of Newcastle, ed. C. H. Firth (1886), p. 212; Evelyn's Diary, ed. Bray and Wheatley, ii. 39, 148, iv. 100.] S. L.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM**, first DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE (1640-1707), eldest son of William Cavendish, third earl of Devonshire [q. v.], by his wife Elizabeth, second daughter of William Cecil, second earl of Salisbury, was born 25 Jan. 1640. The commotion of the civil wars rendered his early education somewhat irregular, and after being brought up chiefly under the eye of the Countess of Devonshire, his grandmother, he was sent to travel abroad with Dr. Killigrew, afterwards master of the Savoy. Upon his return he was chosen one of four young noblemen to bear Charles II's train at his coronation 23 April 1661, and in the same year was elected member of parliament for Derby. Next year he went to Ireland, and on 27 Oct. married at Kilkenny Lady Mary, second daughter of James, Duke of Ormonde. In 1663 he returned to England, and was on 23 Sept. created an M.A. at Oxford, along with the Earls of Suffolk and Bath, by special command of the chancellor, who was then with the king and court at Oxford (Wood, *Athenæ*, ii. 830; *Catalogue of Graduates*). In 1665 he volunteered for service in the fleet, and was present in attendance upon the Duke of York at the fight with De Ruyter on 4 June. 'Lord Cavendish,' writes Sir Thomas Clifford to Lord Arlington (5 June 1665, GREEN, *State Papers*, p. 431), 'behaved very well, and the shallop that brought him and the writer having six guns did much good.' In 1666 he was in his place in parliament, and joined in an address by the commons, praying to have the laws against popery enforced, which produced a proclamation, but was otherwise fruitless. In the following year he gave proof of the fairness of his disposition by seconding a motion to fix a day on which Clarendon might be heard in his own defence upon the lords sending down their bill for his banishment. In 1669 he went with Mr. Montagu, afterwards Duke of Montagu, upon an embassy to France, and was there engaged in an affair which attracted attention throughout Europe. Being on the stage at the opera he was insulted

by three French officers of the king's guard. One he struck, whereon they drew, and he, throwing himself against the side scenes, stood on his guard, but would have been overborne had not a Swiss of Mr. Montagu's taken him round the waist, and thrown him over into the pit for safety. In falling his arm was torn so that he bore the scar to his death. His assailants were arrested, but were liberated on his intercession. How much this matter was noticed appears by a complimentary letter to him from Sir William Temple 18 Jan. 1669. A similar affair illustrates his character after his return to his place in parliament in 1675. A Colonel Howard having been killed in the French war, it was reported that Lord Cavendish and Sir Thomas Meres had publicly wished 'that all others were equally served who acted against a vote of parliament.' Howard's brother Thomas hearing this report circulated a broadsheet attacking Cavendish, and this on 14 Oct. was brought by a member before the House of Commons. Cavendish, learning the matter for the first time, was for quitting the house, when William afterwards Lord Russell moved and carried that he be enjoined to stay, and that neither he nor Sir T. Meres do give or accept any challenge from Howard; and Howard's print was also voted a breach of privilege. Howard, however, boasted that Cavendish had not dared to take notice of it till he was forced to do so by its publication in the house; whereon Cavendish, in spite of the resolution of the commons, posted on the palace gate a paper denouncing Howard as a poltroon. This was on 20 Oct. laid before the house, and, the speaker having informed Cavendish that he had broken privilege, he was after debate committed to the Tower. Howard, too, was summoned and called on to answer on his knees, and was committed; but Cavendish after two days, and Howard on 8 Nov., each on his own petition, were discharged, and the house directed them and Meres to attend Mr. Speaker, to be by him reconciled. On 25 Oct. the house had, on Mr. Waller's motion, voted it a breach of privilege to carry the affair further, and a bill was brought in, though not proceeded with, forbidding duelling.

From this time Cavendish engaged himself in parliamentary opposition to the court party. When parliament met in 1676, after a prorogation of fifteen months, it was he who moved that the act of Edward III for annual parliaments should be laid on the table, arguing that by the prorogation parliament was *ipso facto* dissolved. In 1677 he promoted a bill for recalling the English forces out of the French king's service, which was

read a second time 22 Feb., revived in committee 21 May, and passed 27 May. On 29 May the king ordered the house to adjourn to 16 July, and when Seymour, the speaker, had declared the house adjourned, he fairly ran out of the house to avoid Cavendish's question, by what authority save the house's consent that could be done. When the house reassembled on 16 July, Cavendish moved to read the journals to show how the house came to have been adjourned; but the matter was disposed of by further adjournments to 28 Jan. 1677-8. After the disclosure of the popish plot Cavendish was active in the protestant interest. He was a member of committees, for privileges and elections, against popish recusants, for inquiring into the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, and for bringing in the lords to concert means for securing the king and the protestant religion. In October he was a member of a select committee to take the examination in Newgate of Coleman as to the plot, and to report on the plot to the House of Lords; and on 2 Dec. of another to urge the king, to a stricter observance of the laws against popery. On the same day, 19 Dec., he was both chosen to attend the king with the votes relating to an information against Montagu, and to draw articles of impeachment against Danby. A new parliament met on 6 March 1678-9, and the king refusing the reappointment of Seymour as speaker, Cavendish was among the chief members who waited on the king with the vote on the election of a new one. On 16 April 1679 he was appointed a member of a committee to draw a bill against the growth of popery, and on 14 May he carried up an address against papists. So vigorous and popular were his speeches that they got abroad in an imperfect copy, and a pamphlet called 'A Speech of Lord Cavendish' was even referred to a committee of the House of Commons.

The fall of Danby's ministry was now inevitable, and the king determined to adopt the scheme, originated by Sir William Temple, of raising the privy council into a counterpoise to the House of Commons. Shaftesbury was president, and Russell, Cavendish, Essex, and Halifax were sworn in as ordinary members. In April and May the king and the new government brought in resolutions for preserving the protestant religion without interfering with the hereditary succession, but the commons pressing their exclusion bill, in spite of a remonstrance from Cavendish in favour of first trying milder measures, they were hastily prorogued on 27 May 1679. In this session Cavendish had also been forward in procuring the passing of the Habeas Corpus Act. Parliament was shortly after dissolved, and

before the new parliament met, on 17 Oct., the Duke of York had returned from Flanders and retired into Scotland. The new parliament was at once prorogued to prevent any legislation for his exclusion. Before it reassembled the king, falling ill, recalled the duke, 25 Jan. 1679-80, whereupon the coalition of the country and court parties into one government broke down, and Cavendish, Russell, Capel, and Powle praying leave to withdraw from the council, their prayer was very readily granted. Sunderland, Godolphin, and Lawrence Hyde remained in power. Parliament again met 21 Oct. 1680, and Cavendish carried up articles of impeachment against Sir William Scroggs, chief justice of the king's bench. While the grand jury of Middlesex was sitting at Westminster Hall, Lord Shaftesbury induced Huntingdon, Russell, Cavendish, Thynne, and others to appear with him before them, to present reasons for indicting the Duke of York as a popish recusant. While the grand jury were deliberating on this, they were hastily discharged by the queen's bench. The committee of the commons which sat to consider the conduct of the queen's bench resolved that the discharge was illegal, and the house directed Cavendish to prepare articles, but parliament being prorogued the matter dropped. He was also active in debates upon the exclusion of the duke, and promoted an address praying the king to remove his ministers. Parliament, however, was prorogued 10 Jan., and dissolved 18 Jan. 1680-1. In the new parliament, which met at Oxford on 21 March and was dissolved in a week, Cavendish showed his natural fairness, when Mr. Secretary Jenkins absolutely refused to obey the house's order to carry up articles of impeachment against Fitzharris, an Irish papist, then under arrest for a libel on the king. The house was crying 'To the bar! to the bar!' when Cavendish interposed and induced Jenkins to submit himself to the house. A similar proof of his superiority to mere party spirit appears in his protest against the description of Monmouth, when in favour, in commissions as 'the king's dear and entirely beloved son,' showing that his zeal for the exclusion of the Duke of York was not due to mere devotion to Monmouth. Afterwards, in 1681, in grand committee of the House of Commons, Mr. Powle in the chair, Cavendish renewed his efforts for the duke's exclusion by moving for leave to bring in a bill for the association of all protestant subjects, for the safety of the king's person and religion, and the exclusion of the duke from succession to the crown. But when, after the flight of Shaftesbury, Russell and

others began to concert measures against the king's absolutism, Cavendish, alarmed at their expressions, early withdrew himself from their meetings; nor was he at a later date in any way implicated in Monmouth's rising. In May there was some talk of his quitting the popular for the court party along with Lord Howard of Escrick, and in October he kissed the king's hand at Newmarket, and was received into favour (LUTTRELL, i. 89, 133). Still he appeared as a witness for the prisoner on Russell's trial, and even, according to Burnet, offered, through Sir John Forbes, to change clothes with him in prison, they both being of much the same tall figure, though otherwise unlike enough. Russell, however, refused, and when Cavendish attended him on the day of execution, Russell earnestly exhorted him to a more christian way of life, and produced a deep impression by his farewell. Cavendish was also a very intimate friend of Mr. Thomas Thynne, and when the latter was assassinated in Pall Mall by three Germans, in Count Coningsmarck's pay, he not only brought the assassins to justice, but when Coningsmarck was corruptly acquitted, challenged him to a duel at Calais. The challenge only reached the count at Newport in Flanders, and he replied that he would wait there three weeks. The reply was sent in a packet to the Swedish president, who, mistrusting its contents, opened it and communicated them to the secretary of state. Thereon a writ of *ne exeat regno* was issued and was served on Cavendish and Lord Mordant, who also had sent a challenge, and they were compelled to give security. Later on Colonel Maccarty, meeting the count in Paris, told him of Cavendish's desire to meet him, to which the count replied that he was in the employment of Louis XIV, and that the French law rigorously forbade duels (*ib.* 174, 210). Cavendish had been out before. In 1676 he fought and dangerously wounded Lord Mohun, and in 1680 was Lord Plymouth's second in his duel with Sir G. Huet (*Hutton Correspondence*, Camd. Soc., i. 142, 222).

In 1684 he succeeded his father in the earldom, and on the accession of James he was one of the peers who proposed to discuss the speech from the throne. After Monmouth's rebellion he withdrew from court. Having been insulted by Colonel Thomas Colepeper [q. v.] he had forgiven him upon the terms of his appearing at Whitehall no more. But on Monmouth's defeat Colepeper reappeared. Evelyn, who was present, says (9 July 1685): 'Just as I was coming into the lodgings at Whitehall, my lord of Devonshire standing very neare his majesty's bed-chamber

doore in the lobby, came Colonel Colepeper and in a rude manner looking my lord in the face asked whether this was a time and place for excluders to appear. My lord told him he was no excluder; the other affirming it again, my lord told him he lied, on which Colepeper struck him a box on the ear, which my lord returned, and felled him' (cf. *Ellis Correspondence*, ii. 289). On this an information was issued against Devonshire out of the king's bench, and in spite of his plea of peer's privilege the court, whether with or without consultation with the king or chancellor, sentenced him to a fine of 30,000*l.*, and committed him to the king's bench prison till payment. The countess, his mother, brought to James bonds of Charles I for 60,000*l.*, lent to him in the civil war by the Cavendishes, and offered them all for the release of 'her son Billy;' but James was obdurate. Devonshire, however, found means to escape, and fled to Chatsworth, where, when the sheriff of Derby and his posse came to arrest him, he imprisoned the whole force till he arranged for his liberty by giving his bond for payment of the fine. But the duke had his revenge. On 30 June 1697, 'meeting Colonel Colepeper at the Auction House in St. Alban's Street, he caned him for being troublesome to him in the late reign' (LUTTRELL, iv. 246). After the revolution the bond was found among James's papers and cancelled, and the record of the conviction was removed from the file of the exchequer. A committee of the lords reported, 22 April 1689, that the 'court of king's bench, in overruling the Earl of Devonshire's plea of privilege of parliament and forcing him to plead over in chief, it being the usual time of privilege, did thereby commit a manifest breach of the privileges of parliament;' the records were brought up, the judges, Sir Robert Wright, Sir Richard Holloway, and Mr. Justice Powell, brought to the bar (6 May), and after they had humbly apologised for their error, the legality of the committal of a peer was argued, and the opinions of the judges taken on 7 and 15 May, and it was decided to be illegal.

For some years Devonshire remained in strict retirement, and occupied himself with the erection of Chatsworth. The work began 12 April 1687, and lasted till 1706; the architect was William Talman; Verrio and Thornhill were employed on the painting; and it is said that the wood carving, though this is doubtful, was the work of Grinling Gibbons. It is a remarkable instance of the purity of the earl's taste that at this period and afterwards, in the time of the Dutch fashion, he should, in his building and collections, have adhered to the best Italian

manner, but in architecture and fine art he was reputed a consummate judge. In the result, says Bishop Kennet, 'though the situation seems to be somewhat horrid, this really adds to the beauty of it; the glorious house seems to be art insulting nature.'

But in his retirement he was secretly engaged in concerting plans for bringing in the Prince of Orange. James, suspecting his loyalty, first sent to summon him to court; the earl excused himself, and his kinsman, the Duke of Newcastle, whom the king sent later, could not change his purpose. In May 1687 Dijkvelt left England with letters from Devonshire, Bedford, Shrewsbury, Nottingham, and the Hydes, asking William to come over to the nation's assistance. Communications were usually kept up through Edward Russell and Henry Sidney, who were now in London, now in Holland, and through Vice-admiral Herbert, who remained at the Hague. After the birth of James's son, in 1688, the invitations became more urgent, and Devonshire was one of the whig lords who signed the cipher letter of 30 June. He was now reconciled to Danby, whom he owned he had misjudged, and with him, Lord Delamere, and Mr. D'Arcy, he laid plans for a rising. The meetings took place at Sir Henry Goodrick's in Yorkshire, and at Whittington, near Scarsdale in Derbyshire, in a farmhouse chamber, long known in the country-side as the 'plotting parlour.' At first it was designed that William should land in the north. Devonshire was to secure Nottingham, and Danby, York. The attack on York was to precede that on Nottingham, the former having a governor and a small garrison, who might take alarm if Nottingham, an open town, were first occupied. However, on hearing of William's landing at Brixham, the earl at once moved on Derby, and, being always one who kept on terms with the leaders of the middle class, invited the mayor and gentry to join him, and read to them his 'Declaration in Defence of the Protestant Religion.' For a short time he was in danger; a courier arrived with a letter in his boot-heel announcing James's flight and William's march on London, but it was hardly legible; the news was not credited, and James's party took heart. The earl, however, presently moved on Nottingham, and was well supported, and there he issued a proclamation justifying the rising and drilled troops. He raised a regiment of horse, afterwards the 4th regiment, and one of the first to go to Ireland next year, and was himself its colonel, and on 25 Nov., hearing of a plan to intercept the Princess Anne, while on her way from London to take refuge with him, he marched out

to meet her, and conducted her to the castle. For some time he entertained her at his own charge, and then, his stock running low, accepted some contributions, and 'at last borrowed the public money in such a manner as to satisfy the collectors and please the country.' When Anne removed to Oxford to join Prince George, the earl escorted her to Christ Church, and thence, with one or two more, hastened to London, and met William at Sion House. On 25 Dec. the lords assembled at Westminster, and Devonshire was forward in procuring the address to the Prince of Orange, praying him to carry on the government till a convention could meet. The convention met 22 Jan. 1688-9, and the earl argued against Clarendon and Rochester for James's deposition and for a king, not merely a regent. This was rejected, whereupon he and forty others entered their protest, and finally it was carried. He now received the favours of the new sovereign. On 14 Feb. he was sworn of the privy council, on 16 March appointed lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire and lord-steward of the household; he was elected a knight of the Garter on 3 April and installed on 14 May. At the coronation on 11 April he acted for the day as lord high steward of England, and bore the crown, while his daughter bore the queen's train.

He now devoted himself to procuring the remission of his own fine and the reversal of the attainders of Lord Russell, Colonel Sidney, and others. On 18 Jan. 1689-90 he sailed with the king from Gravesend for the congress at the Hague. He was with the king when, at great peril to his life, William left the fleet in a shallop to hasten on shore. At the Hague he made a peculiarly splendid figure, outshining with his plate and furniture almost all the other nobles there assembled. On 9 March he gave a banquet to the elector of Brandenburg, the landgrave of Hesse, and the Prince de Commeray, at which the king appeared incognito, and in March of the year following he was present at the siege of Mons in attendance on the king, and with him returned to Whitehall on 13 April. Early in July, after the battle of Beachy Head, he and the Earl of Pembroke placed themselves at the queen's disposal, and were sent to Dover, and thence to the fleet, to inquire into its conduct under Lord Torrington during that battle (*Hutton Correspondence*, Camd. Soc., ii. 155, 156). In the same year, when Admiral Russell objected to the plan for a landing by Schomberg and Ruigny on the French coast, on the ground that the men-of-war were of too great draught for the purpose, Devonshire was one of the ministers

who visited the fleet at St. Helen's to inspect it, but the news of Heinkirk disposed of this design. In May 1692 he went, with the Duke of Richmond and the earls of Essex and Doncaster, as a volunteer to the camp in Flanders (LUTTRELL, ii. 463). He was lord-lieutenant of Nottinghamshire 1692-4. On 12 May 1694 he was created Duke of Devonshire and Marquis of Hartington, and having been omitted from the commission of the peace on succeeding his father in the title, was now appointed a justice in eyre, and in 1697 was elected recorder of Nottingham. When William quitted England, after Queen Mary's death in 1694, the Duke of Devonshire was named one of the lords justices for the administration of the kingdom, and he and Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, were the only lords who held that appointment on all the occasions of the king's absence during the whole seven years of its existence. While in this office the case of Sir John Fenwick arose, in which the duke, though convinced by repeated interviews (see *ib.* iv. 83, 11 July and 24 Sept. 1696) of his guilt, was so apprehensive of creating a precedent that, almost alone of the whigs, he refused to agree to the bill for his attainer.

The question of the Irish land grants had long been a burning one. As early as 1690 the king disposed of the forfeited estates at his own private pleasure, and much offence was given by the grants to Mrs. Villiers and to foreigners like Ruvigny, Bentinck, and Ginkel. On 7 Feb. 1698 leave was given to bring in a bill 'for vacating all grants of estates forfeited in Ireland since 13 Feb. 1688, and for appropriating them to the use of the public,' and though the bill then dropped, a commission was in 1699 appointed to examine the grants, and on 15 Dec. their report, containing an exposure of the intrigues practised to obtain them, was laid on the table. The bill to resume all grants and to create a separate court to try all claims was read a second time 18 Jan. 1699-1700, and in April 1700 reached the lords. Devonshire strenuously opposed it, declaring 'that by this bill the barriers between crown and people would be broken down,' and by his influence with the younger peers carried material amendments. The commons, however, refused them, and though the whig peers would have stood firm, Sunderland induced the king to beg his friends to give way; the bill passed, and parliament was prorogued 11 April 1700. In 1701 he strenuously opposed the partition treaty, and on William's death and Anne's accession was confirmed in all his offices, acted with the Duke of Somerset as supporter to Prince George, at the king's funeral, and

was again lord high steward at Anne's coronation. In March 1702 he introduced to the queen 127 dissenting ministers to congratulate her on her accession, to whom she promised her protection (LUTTRELL, v. 153). In May he was appointed, with Duke of Somerset, Lords Jersey, Marlborough, and Albemarle, to examine the late king's papers which were said to contain matter adverse to Anne's accession, and reported that the rumour was groundless (*ib.* 169). This was a check to the Tories, who had originated the rumour. On 17 Dec. 1702, and on 19 Jan. 1703, upon the bill against occasional conformity, he was chief manager for the lords in the conference with the commons, and reported in favour of toleration, and in March 1705 was again manager in the conference arising out of the 'writ of error for the Aylesbury men' (*ib.* 529). He actively supported the protestant succession and the French war, and having been a commissioner in 1703 to negotiate the union of England and Scotland, without success, he at last, in 1706, brought that great measure to a successful issue. In April 1705 he attended the queen to Cambridge, and there, with his eldest son, was created an LL.D., but being borne down with dropsy, gout, and the stone, and his disease proving incurable, he treated with the Marquis of Dorchester for the transfer to him of the lord high stewardship in April 1707, and at length died, professing repentance and firm faith, at Devonshire House, Piccadilly, at 9 a.m., 18 Aug. 1707. He was attended on his deathbed by the Bishop of Ely. The autopsy proved stone and strangury to have caused his death (*ib.* 18 Aug. 1707). His body was conveyed in great state by the Strand to the city, and thence to Derby, where it was buried, 1 Sept., at Allhallows Church. His wife survived him, and dying 31 July 1710, aged 68, was buried in Westminster Abbey. He left three sons, William (who married Rachel, Lord Russell's eldest daughter, and succeeded to the dukedom), Lord James, Lord Henry, M.P. for Derby, who died of palsy in 1700, and a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Sir John Wentworth, bart., of Brodsworth, Yorkshire, and afterwards the second Sir James Lowther.

The duke was addicted to sport, constantly visiting Newmarket for horse-racing and cock-fighting, now winning 500 guineas, now losing 1,000*l.* (LUTTRELL, iii. 539-40, iv. 340, 505, v. 231; EVELYN, *Memoirs*, 30 March 1699). He was munificent, giving 500*l.* to Greenwich Hospital, a supper and masked ball costing 1,000*l.*, and a 'fine concert of musick at Kensington.' He lost heavily by the fire at Montagu House in 1686, and at

Whitehall in 1698 (LUTTRELL, iv. 328, 531, 600; ELLIS, *Correspondence*, ii. 11, 25). At various times he was engaged in many lawsuits; in 1696 with the Marquis of Normanby about the purchase of Berkely House by him, which, after discussion on the privilege of peers in the House of Lords (10 Dec.), he eventually won in the court of chancery by judgment of the lord chancellor and both chief justices, December 1697; in February 1698 and again in June 1699 against Mr. Frampton, about a horse-race, in which he obtained a verdict; in 1699 as ranger of Needwood Forest against the Earl of Stamford, who claimed a right to hunt there as chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and in 1707 at the suit of the Duke of Buckinghamshire for damages by a fire at Arlington House, which he lost (LUTTRELL, iv. 151, 224, 298, 340, 474, vi. 187).

In person the duke was tall and handsome, and of an engaging and commanding mien and courteous address. He was a good Latin scholar, and especially a student of Horace, acquainted with Homer and Plutarch, so fine a critic that Lord Roscommon entrusted to him his poems for correction, and an admirable judge of art and music. The philosophy of Hobbes had influenced his early education, but in a work ascribed to him, 'Reasons for Passing the Bill for Exclusion' (1681), he uses the social compact as an argument for submitting the will of the monarch to that of his people, and is said by his domestic chaplain, Mr. Griffiths, 'to have publicly disowned Mr. Hobbes's principles as damnable.' He wrote an ode on the death of Queen Mary, which Dryden praised as the best written on that subject, and a poem called 'The Charms of Liberty'; an allusion to the Archbishop of Cambrai's 'Telemachus,' written in 1707, and published after his death. Lord Orford's character of him was, 'a patriot among the men, a Corydon among the ladies.' He was personally dissolute, leaving many natural children, among them being Mrs. Heneage, who married Lord Huntingtower, eldest son of the Earl of Dysart (LUTTRELL, 10 Dec. 1706; cf. *Wentworth Papers*, 19 July 1709), and is said to have taken Mrs. Anne Campion from the stage into keeping, but as he was then an old man this may be ill-authenticated; at any rate he erected a tomb to her memory, and gave her a private funeral. A poem, 'by a lady,' upon his death, says of him,

Whose awful sweetness challenged our esteem,  
Our sex's wonder and our sex's theme;  
Whose soft commanding looks our breasts assailed;

He came and saw and at first sight prevailed.

[Bishop Kennet's Memoir; Grove's Lives of the Earls and Dukes of Devonshire; Kennet's Funeral Sermon; Griffith's Funeral Sermon; Monthly Miscellany, i. 326; Braybrooke's Notes to Pepys, v. 251; Glover's Derbyshire, ii. 223; Akenside's Ode to the Earl of Huntingdon; Introduction to Danby's Letters, 1710; Commons' Journals; Von Ranke's History of England; Hazard of a Deathbed Repentance, London, 1728; Jacob's Complete Peerage, 1766, i. 247; Lodge's Portraits, vol. iv. (after the painting by Riley); Courtenay's Memoirs of Sir W. Temple.]

J. A. H.

CAVENDISH, WILLIAM, fourth DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE (1720-1764), first lord of the treasury, and prime minister from November 1756 to May 1757, at the beginning of the seven years' war, eldest son of William Cavendish, third duke of Devonshire, K.G., and lord-lieutenant of Ireland from 1737 to 1744, was born in 1720. He was elected to the House of Commons as M.P. for Derbyshire in 1741, directly he came of age, and was re-elected in 1747, and on 20 March 1748 married Charlotte, baroness Clifford of Londesborough in her own right, only daughter and heiress of Richard Boyle, earl of Burlington and Cork, who brought him Lismore Castle and large estates in Ireland. This marriage greatly increased his political importance, and on 13 June 1751 the Marquis of Hartington, as he was then styled, was summoned to the House of Lords in his father's barony as Lord Cavendish of Hardwicke, and in the following month he was made master of the horse and sworn of the privy council. In March 1754 the Marquis of Hartington was made lord-treasurer of Ireland, and on 27 March constituted lord-lieutenant and general-governor of that island, and on 5 Dec. 1755 he succeeded his father as fourth duke of Devonshire. In Ireland he displayed no very great political ability, but succeeded very happily in pleasing all parties and making himself extremely popular. In 1756 the seven years' war broke out, and all England demanded that Mr. Pitt should be placed at the head of affairs; he absolutely declined to serve under the Duke of Newcastle, who had been prime minister ever since the death of his brother, Henry Pelham, in 1754, and the influence of the great whig families was strong enough to prevent the king from at once making Pitt prime minister. In this dilemma Devonshire was summoned from Ireland, and asked to become prime minister, with Pitt as secretary of state to manage the war. He was eminently a fit man for the post; his rank as a born leader of the whigs, his experience in the House of Commons, and his

popularity in Ireland all recommended him, and he was sworn in as first lord of the treasury on 16 Nov. 1756. He was not, however, a success in his new capacity; his leader of the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Robinson, only excited the risibility of Pitt, and Pitt himself soon recognised the necessity of making up his differences with the Duke of Newcastle. In May 1757, therefore, Devonshire, who had been made lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire on 15 Dec. 1756, and a K.G. on 13 Nov. 1756, resigned to the Duke of Newcastle, and was appointed lord-chamberlain of the household, a post which he held until 1762. His health was rapidly declining, and he died at Spa on 3 Oct. 1764, at the age of forty-four.

[Collins's Peerage, and the histories of England during the eighteenth century.]

H. M. S.

**CAVENDISH, WILLIAM GEORGE SPENCER**, sixth DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE (1790-1858), only son of William Cavendish, fifth duke of Devonshire, and Georgiana, elder daughter of John Spencer, first earl Spencer, was born in Paris on 21 May 1790. His education was received at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. 1811, and proceeded LL.B. in the following year. Shortly after attaining his majority he succeeded to the dukedom and took his place in the House of Lords, where he assisted the whig party by his influence and his silent vote, for he never spoke in that assembly on any of the great political questions of the day. He was lord-lieutenant of Derbyshire from 1811 till death. His tastes were literary. He purchased in 1812 the library of Thomas Dampier, bishop of Ely, for 10,000*l.*, and in 1821 John Kemble's dramatic collections for 2,000*l.* In 1826 he was sent on a special mission to Russia on the occasion of the coronation of the Emperor Nicholas, 25 April, when his retinue was of the most superb character.

This mission is said to have cost the duke 50,000*l.* beyond the allowance made to him by the government. The emperor, in acknowledgment of his liberality, conferred upon him the orders of St. Andrew and of St. Alexander Newski, and when in England, in 1844, paid him a special visit at his villa, at Chiswick, on 8 June (*Illustrated London News*, 15 June 1844, pp. 384-5). He was chosen a privy councillor on 30 April 1827 and made a K.G. on 10 May following, acted as lord chamberlain of the household of George IV from 5 May 1827 to 18 Feb. 1828, and served in the same capacity to William IV from 22 Nov. 1830 to 15 Dec. 1834. He was lord-lieutenant and custos rotularum of

Derbyshire, high steward of Derby, and president of the Horticultural Society. Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Paxton was employed by the duke as manager of his Derbyshire estates, and under his hands a gigantic conservatory, 300 feet long, 145 feet wide, 60 feet high, and covering nearly an acre of ground, was erected at Chatsworth, and served to some extent as the model for the Great Exhibition of 1851. The duke was well versed in the old English dramatic literature, and added largely to his books from the library of the Duke of Roxburghe. After 1835 he removed many of his pictures from Devonshire House and Chiswick to increase the interest of his gallery at Chatsworth. His collection of coins and medals, which is said to have cost him upwards of 50,000*l.*, was disposed of at Christie's in a twelve days' sale, commencing on 18 March 1844, and realised the sum of 7,057*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* He died from the effects of a paralytic seizure at Hardwicke Hall on 17 Jan. 1858; he was never married, and the dukedom passed to his cousin, William Cavendish, second earl of Burlington.

[*Illustrated London News*, 23 Jan. 1858, p. 75; *Gent. Mag.* February 1858, pp. 209-10; *Waagen's Treasures of Art*, ii. 88-96, iii. 344-71; *Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth*, 1879, 4 vols.]

G. C. B.

**CAVENDISH-BENTINCK.** [See **BENTINCK.**]

**CAVERHILL, JOHN** (*d.* 1781), physician, a Scotchman, was admitted a licentiate of the London College of Physicians in 1767. He died at Old Melrose, Roxburghshire, on 1 Sept. 1781. He wrote a 'Treatise on the Cause and Cure of Gout,' 8vo, London, 1769, in which he put forward the theory that the matter of nerves was earthy, and descended through the nerves to form the bones, and that the friction of this earthy substance, in its way to the bones, gave rise to animal heat. He followed this by 'Experiments on the Causes of Heat in Living Animals,' 8vo, London, 1770, in which he attempted to prove his theory by a large number of barbarous experiments on rabbits, destroying various nerves or portions of the spinal cord, and awaiting the death of the animals. He also wrote a 'Dissertation on Nervous Ganglions and Nervous Plexus,' 8vo, London, 1772, and an 'Explanation of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel,' 8vo, London, 1777.

[*Munk's Coll. of Phys.* 1878, ii. 281; Caverhill's works.]

G. T. B.

**CAW, JOHN YOUNG** (1810?-1858), banker and miscellaneous writer, was born at Perth about 1810, but passed the last

thirty years of his life in Manchester, where he died on 22 Oct. 1858. He was educated at St. Andrews, whence he proceeded to Trinity College, Cambridge, but did not stay to take a degree. His first thoughts were of the Anglican ministry, but this design was abandoned and he filled responsible positions in connection with the Bank of Manchester and the Manchester and Salford Bank. His leisure was devoted to literary and archæological studies, and to the extension of the offertory system in the church of England. He was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, a member of the Royal Society of Literature, and of various local associations. He wrote: 1. 'Plan for the Endowment of the Church of St. Andrew, Ancoats, Manchester,' Manchester, 1846 (anonymous). 2. 'The Necessity and Advantages of a Bankers' Clearing House: addressed to the Commercial Public of Manchester,' Manchester, 1847. 3. 'The Duty of Increasing the Stipends of the Manchester Clergy, stated and proved by a practical example,' Manchester, 1852 (anonymous). 4. 'Some Remarks on "The Deserted Village" of Oliver Goldsmith,' Manchester, 1852. The poet is here surveyed from the standpoint of a political economist.

Caw had the reputation of an earnest-minded man of liberal disposition and intellectual sympathies. He is buried at St. Luke's, Cheetham Hill, and there is a memorial of him in the church of St. Andrew, Ancoats, of which he was a benefactor.

[Grindon's Manchester Banks and Bankers; Manchester Courier, 30 Oct. 1858; Proceedings of Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, 1858; Catalogue of the Manchester Public Free Library.] W. E. A. A.

**CAWDELL, JAMES** (*d.* 1800), dramatist, was the manager and chief comedian of various theatres in the north of England, including those of Scarborough, Sunderland, and Shields. He retired from the stage in 1798, having disposed of his property to Mr. Stephen Kemble, and died at Durham in January 1800. He published a volume of poems in 1784 or 1785, and was the author of the following dramatic pieces: 1. 'Appeal to the Muses,' 1778. 2. 'Melpomene's Overthrow,' a mock masque, 1778. 3. 'Trump of Genius,' 1785. 4. 'Apollo's Holiday,' a prelude, 1792. 5. 'Battered Batavians,' 1798.

[Baker's *Biographia Dramatica*.]

**CAWDRY, DANIEL** (1588–1664), nonconformist divine, was the youngest son of Robert Cawdry, not of Zachary Cawdry, vicar of Melton Mowbray, as Mr. Nichols supposes (*History of Leicestershire*). He was edu-

cated at Peterhouse, Cambridge, and was instituted to the living of Great Billing, Northamptonshire, in 1625, 'in the presentation of the king by wardship of Christopher Hatton, esq.' He became one of the leading members of the assembly of divines appointed by parliament in 1643 for the regulation of religion. He was one of the presbyterian ministers who signed the address to the Lord General Fairfax remonstrating against all personal violence against the king. At the Restoration he was recommended to Lord Clarendon for a bishopric. Instead, however, of coveting further promotion, he refused to submit to the Act of Uniformity in 1662, and was ejected from his benefice, upon which he retired to Wellingborough, where he died in October 1664 in his seventy-sixth year. He was an able and voluminous writer of controversial divinity, both against the Anglicans on the one side and the independents on the other; and he measured swords with two of the ablest advocates of both, Henry Hammond and John Owen. The titles of his works tell their own tales. The principal of them are: 1. 'Sabbatum Redivivum; or, the Christian Sabbath vindicated,' 1645. 2. 'The Inconsistency of the Independent Way with Scripture and itself,' 1651. 3. 'An Answer to Mr. Giles Firmin's Questions concerning Baptism,' 1652. 4. 'A Diatribe concerning Superstition, Will-worship, and the Christmas Festival,' 1654. 5. 'Independence, a Great Schism, proved against Dr. (John) Owen's Apology,' 1657. 6. 'Survey of Dr. Owen's Review of his Treatise on Schism,' 1658. 7. 'A Vindication of the Diatribe against Dr. Hammond; or, the Account audited and discounted,' 1658. 8. 'Bowling towards the Altar Superstitious; being an answer to Dr. Duncan's "Determination,"' 1661. He also published several devotional works, and a great number of single sermons.

[Baker's *History of Northamptonshire*, p. 23; Daniel Cawdry's Works; Palmer's *Memorial*, iii. 27.] J. H. O.

**CAWDRY, ZACHARY** (1616–1684), author of the 'Discourse of Patronage,' was born in 1616 at Melton Mowbray, of which town his father, also called Zachary, was vicar. He was educated for seven years at the free school at Melton, and went thence, at the age of sixteen, to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he was 'sub or proper sizar to the then master, Dr. Humphrey Gower.' In 1642 he proceeded M.A., was proctor 1647–8, and in 1649 became rector of Barthomley in Cheshire. He continued at Barthomley until his death in 1684, and was buried there near his wife, Helen, and his very dear pupil, John



Crewe.' His one title to fame is his 'Discourse of Patronage,' which, though little more than a pamphlet (it contains only forty-five pages), well deserves to escape oblivion. It gives a very lucid and sensible account of the subject, written with great vigour and eloquence, and closes with an earnest appeal for reform. Its full title is 'A Discourse of Patronage; being a Modest Enquiry into the Original of it, and a further Prosecution of the History of it, with a True Account of the Original and Rise of Vicarages, and a Proposal for the Enlarging their Revenues. Also an Humble Supplication to the Pious Nobility and Gentry to endeavour the Prevention of Abuses of the Honorary Trust of Patronage, with a Proposal of some Expedients for regulating it, most agreeable to Primitive Pattern; wherein at once the just Rights of Patrons are secured, and the People's Liberty of Election of their own Minister in a great measure indulged. By Z. Cawdry, 1675.' The little work is divided into seven chapters, which treat respectively of (1) The Original of the Evangelical Ministry, showing the Primitive Church to have been not Parochial, but Diocesan. (2) The Maintenance of the Clergy in Primitive Churches. (3) The Donation of Tithes by Kings and Emperors. (4) The Original of Patronage by Donation of Manse and Glebe. (5) The Original of Impropriation and Vicarages. (6) Mischiefs of Simony. (7) A Supplication to the Nobility and Gentry. The only other publication of Cawdry extant is a single sermon preached at Bowdon in Cheshire, at the funeral of Lord Delamere, better known as Sir George Booth, whose rising in 1659 'gave' (to use the language of the preacher) 'the first warm and invigorating spring-beam to the frostnipt loyalty of the nation.'

[Ormerod's Hist. of Cheshire; Nichols's Hist. and Antiq. of Leicestershire, ii. 259; Cawdry's Discourse and Sermons.] J. H. O.

**CAWLEY, WILLIAM** (1602-1667), regicide, was the eldest son of John Cawley, a brewer of Chichester, who was three times mayor. The date of his baptism, as entered in the register for the parish of St. Andrew's, is 3 Nov. 1602. John Cawley died in 1621, bequeathing his property to William, who became one of the richest and most influential men in Western Sussex. Soon after he had succeeded to his inheritance he expended some of it in the foundation of a hospital outside North Gate, Chichester, for ten poor and aged persons of both sexes. The house was completed in 1626, including the chapel, which was dedicated to St. Bartholomew,

and consecrated by the bishop of Chichester, George Carleton. There is a long account of the ceremony in 'Chichester Cathedral Records' (liber K).

At the beginning of the reign of Charles I persons possessed of lands to the value of 40*l.* per annum or upwards were ordered to take up their knighthood under the so-called statute *de militibus* (6 Edward I). In January 1628-9 commissioners were appointed to extort a composition from all who declined to obey the order. In the majority of cases a composition of 10*l.* was accepted, but the name of 'William Cawley, gent.' appears in the return (*Book of Composition* in Record Office) as having compounded for 14*l.*

From the beginning of the civil troubles Cawley was a firm parliamentarian. He was elected M.P. for Chichester in 1627; but this parliament was dissolved in less than a year, and throughout the Long parliament he sat as member for Midhurst. When Chichester was surprised by a party of royalists in November 1642, Cawley brought the news to Colonel Morley, one of the most active of the parliamentary officers, and the successful expedition of Sir William Waller into Sussex followed, in which Chichester was retaken on 29 Dec. 1642, after a siege of eight days. Cawley took the covenant on 6 June 1643, the same day on which it was signed by Selden and Cromwell. He was appointed by the House of Commons one of the commissioners 'for demolishing superstitious pictures and monuments' in London, and he was selected to return thanks to the divines who had preached before parliament on the 'fast day,' 28 Aug. 1644, for 'the pains' they had taken 'in their sermons.' Under an ordinance of parliament, made 31 March 1643, he was appointed one of the commissioners for the sequestration of the estates real and personal of those who had raised or should raise arms against the parliament or contribute any aid to the king's forces. On 6 June in the same year the estates of the Bishop of Chichester, Lord Montague of Cowdray, and others were sequestered under this ordinance, and in February 1644 Cawley was empowered by parliament to pay 'three able preaching ministers 100*l.* per annum out of the confiscated estates of the dean and chapter until the revenues of the said dean and chapter in general shall be fixed.' In 1646 this allowance was augmented to 150*l.* Cawley was one of the members of the high court of justice appointed by parliament in 1648 to try the king for treason. He attended every meeting of the court and signed the sentence which condemned the king to death. He was made one of the council of state in 1650-1, and

a commissioner and sequestrator for Sussex. He bought the manor of Wartling, near Hastings, out of the estates of Lord Craven, and two manors which had belonged to the crown in the parish of West Hampnett, near Chichester. In the Convention parliament of 1659 his son William (not himself) obtained a seat, being elected for Chichester along with Henry Pelham. After the Restoration, 1660, his name appears among those who were absolutely excepted from pardon, and he fled for refuge, first to Belgium, and afterwards to Switzerland, where he died at Vevey on 6 Jan. 1666-7. The place of his burial was not certainly known until a few years ago, when a tomb was discovered beneath the boarded floor of the church of St. Martin at Vevey, bearing the following inscription: 'Hic jacet tabernaculum terrestre Gulielmi Cawley, armigeri Anglicani, nup. de Cicestria in comitatu Sussexiæ, qui, postquam ætate sua inservivit Dei consilio, obdormivit 6 Jan. 1666-7, ætat. suæ 63.' There is a tradition that his remains were afterwards transported to England, and buried in the vault under the chapel of his hospital at Chichester. This was opened in 1883, and a leaden case enclosing a male skeleton was found there, but it bore no inscription. His son, W. Cawley, petitioned in 1660 to have the estate of his 'late father' restored to him, on the grounds that most of it had been settled on him at his marriage, that his father-in-law's estate had been sequestrated for his loyalty, and that he himself had earnestly entreated his father not to 'enter the detestable plot,' meaning the king's trial. The petition, however, does not seem to have been successful, and most of Cawley's property was bestowed on the Duke of York, afterwards James II. Another son, John Cawley, was archdeacon of Lincoln 1667-1709. The memory of his name is still preserved in 'Cawley Lane,' at Rumboldswyke, close to Chichester, and 'Cawley Priory,' a house in the city which stands on the site of his residence.

A portrait of Cawley has been preserved in his hospital, now converted into a work-house. It was taken when he was about eighteen years of age, and represents him as a dark-eyed and dark-complexioned refined-looking youth, with laced collar and cuffs.

[Noble's History of the Regicides, i. 136; History of the King-Killers, i. 50; Dallaway's Western Sussex, vol. i.; Journals of the House of Commons; Sussex Archaeolog. Journal, vols. v. xiii. xix. xxxiv.; Fleet's Glimpses of our Ancestors, 1st series, p. 164.] W. R. W. S.

CAWOOD, JOHN (1514-1572), printer, was of an old Yorkshire family, as set forth

in a book at the Heralds' office, which has the entry, 'Cawood, Typographus Regius Reginae Mariæ,' and gives the arms and description of the De Cawoods of Cawood, near York. He was born in 1514, and apprenticed to John Raynes, printer, whose portrait, along with his own, he gave to the Company of Stationers of London, as noted in the warden's accounts, July 1561. Their place of business was the George Inn, St. Paul's Churchyard. When he printed for himself he was established at the sign of the Holy Ghost in St. Paul's Churchyard. The first book given to him in the Lambeth list of books is 'a Bible and New Testament,' 4to, 1549, but the authority is not stated. From 1550, however, to the year of his death, his successive publications, fifty-nine in number, are fairly recorded in the 'Typographical Antiquities' of Ames, Herbert, and Dibdin (London, 1819). In 1553, in the reign of Edward VI, Richard Grafton, being queen's printer, was employed to print the proclamation by which Lady Jane Grey was declared successor to the crown, by virtue of the measures of the Duke of Northumberland, her father-in-law; but on Queen Mary's accession, he was deprived of his office and imprisoned, and Cawood was put in his place with directions to print, at the salary of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, all 'statute books, acts, proclamations, injunctions, and other volumes and things,' in English, with the profit appertaining, and also with the right, on Reginald Wolfe's decease, to print and sell books in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, when he was to receive an additional 16*s.* 8*d.* per annum. On Queen Elizabeth's accession he was appointed printer to the queen, by patent 24 March 1560, on similar conditions, but jointly with Richard Jugge, who was made the senior. For this branch of the business he and his partner rented a room at Stationers' Hall for 'xxx.' a year.

Cawood was elected warden to the Stationers' Company in 1554, and was re-elected 1555-7. On 4 May 1556 this institution (a guild as early as 1463) received its first charter, granted to the 'master and keepers or wardens and commonalty of the mystery or art of the stationers of the city of London,' which gave remarkable rights over all literary compositions, and power to search for all books obnoxious to the stationers or contrary to law. This charter appoints Thomas Dockwray, master; John Cawood and Henry Coke, wardens; and ninety-four others freemen. At the suit of Cawood and others, 1 Feb. 1560, the lord mayor created the incorporated fellowship of the stationers into one of the livery companies of the city of London. Cawood was three times master,

1561, 1562, and 1566, and took great interest in the Stationers' Company. The registers show from time to time some thirteen valuable gifts from him, including the 'patent, given by harolds [heralds], concerning armes to the stacyoners.' His name is found but once on the black list, and that in 1565, 'for stechen of bookes which ys contrarie to the orders of the howse,' when he and sixteen others were fined 16s. 8d.

He was thrice married. By his second and third wives, whose names are unknown, he had no children. By his first wife, Joane —, he had three sons and four daughters. John, bachelor of laws, fellow of New College, Oxford (*d.* 1570), was probably the John Cawood the younger who took up his freedom in the Stationers' Company 18 May 1565; Gabriel, also a printer, was master of the Stationers' Company 1592, 1599; Edmund (*d.* 1570); Mary, whose gifts to this company are recorded under 1608, 1613, married George Bishop, deputy-printer to the queen, and alderman of London, who died in 1610; Isabel married Thomas Woodcock, stationer; Susannah was wife of Robert Bullock; and Barbara, wife of Mark Norton. Cawood died 1 April 1572. He was buried at St. Faith's under St. Paul's, where a tomb was erected by his son Gabriel when churchwarden in 1591. His epitaph, setting forth various family details, is preserved in Dugdale's 'History of St. Paul's.'

[Timperley's *Encyclopædia*, pp. 318, 321, 350, 378, 411, 417, 463; Rymer's *Fœdera*, 29 Dec. 1553; Nichols's *Lit. Anecd.* iii. 551-2, 555, 559, 566, 568, 587; Nichols's *Illust.* i. 176, 177, 195, 222; Ames's *Typogr. Antiq.* (Dibdin's, 1818), iv. 385; Wheeler's *Sherburn and Cawood* (1882); Hansard's *Typographia* (1826), p. 246; Arber's *Register of Co. of Stationers*, i. 49, 61, 62, 86, 90, 129, 138, 165, 190, 223, 280, 428; *Repertory*, No. 14, fol. 287 b; Records of the Corporation of London; 'W. Grafton, vi. A B C London,' in *Heralds' Office*.] J. W.-G.

**CAWSTON** or **CAUSTON**, **MICHAEL DE** (*d.* 1395), master of Michaelhouse, Cambridge, was a Norfolk man (CARTER, *History of Cambridge*, i. 403), presumably a native of the village of Cawston, about twelve miles north-west of Norwich. He became fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge (LE KEUX, *Memorials of Cambridge*, i. 56, ed. C. H. Cooper), doctor of divinity, and master of Michaelhouse. His appointment as master was apparently made subsequently to 1359, when William of Gotham is mentioned as holding that office (CARTER, p. 303). In 1361 (or 1362, as LE NEVE gives the date, *Fasti*, iii. 598, ed. Hardy) Cawston was chancellor of his university. He is famous as

one of its benefactors; and it was enacted by the ancient statutes 'that each year for ever in the three general processions a special recommendation should be made of [his] soul' (*Anc. Stat.* 172, JAMES HEYWOOD's *Collection of Statutes for Cambridge*, p. 175). Cawston's munificence is also said to have extended to all the colleges that subsisted at his time in the university, his gifts to their libraries being specially commemorated. A note in one of the volumes presented by him to Peterhouse describes him as holding, besides his Cambridge office, the preferment of dean of Chichester (CARTER, p. 38). His name does not occur in Le Neve's list (*ubi supra*, i. 256); but here there is a gap of a number of years between the elevation of Dean Richard le Scrope to the bishopric of Chichester in 1383 and the next name in the series, that of John de Maydenhith, who emerges in 1400. It is natural then to place Cawston in this interval. He died in 1395 (according to PEACOCK, *Observations on the Statutes of Cambridge*, appendix, p. xvi, note; and COOPER, *Annals of Cambridge*, i. 142), for the date 1396 (given in COOPER's edition of LE KEUX, l.c.) is apparently a misprint.

[Authorities mentioned above.] R. L. P.

**CAWTHORN**, **JAMES** (1719-1761), poet, born 4 Nov. 1719, at Sheffield, was a son of Thomas Cawthorn, upholsterer (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxi. pt. ii. p. 1081). The boy was first sent to the Sheffield grammar school, where he displayed some literary talent by trying to establish a periodical, 'The Tea-Table.' He was removed to the grammar school of Kirkby Lonsdale in 1735; he in 1736 became assistant-teacher at Rotherham school, and published the 'Perjured Lovers,' at Sheffield (*ib.*), and a 'Meditation' soon afterwards in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' v. 549. On 8 July 1738 he matriculated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, but did not reside, and became assistant to a schoolmaster in Soho Square. About 1743 he married Mary, this schoolmaster's daughter; was ordained and was elected head-master of Tonbridge grammar school. In 1746 he published 'Abelard and Heloise' in the 'Poetical Calendar'; in 1748 he published a sermon, on the title-page of which he describes himself as M.A. He established a library in his school and wrote 'Annual Visitation Poems,' and other trifles. On 15 April 1761 he was thrown from his horse and killed.

Cawthorn was buried in Tonbridge church, where a marble slab with a Latin epitaph was put up for him, and verses were printed to his memory by Lord Eardley in the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' xxxi. 232. His poems

were not collected till 1771, when they were published by subscription, 4to.

Cawthorn was included among 'English Poets' in Johnson's edition, though not till 1790 (vol. lxxv.); in Park's 'British Poets,' 1808 (vol. iv.); in Platt's 'Cabinet of Poetry,' same year (vol. v.); in Sanford's 'British Poets,' 1819 (vol. xxiv.); in the Chiswick ed. 1822 (vol. lx.); in Chalmers's ed. (vol. xiv.); in Anderson's, and others; while his 'Abe-lard and Heloise' was also separately collected, with Pope's 'Epistle,' twice at least, viz. in 1805 and 1818.

[Gent. Mag. 1791, vol. lxi. pt. ii. pp. 1081-3 (where is a list of the scholars who recited the Visitation Poems), vol. lxii. pt. i. p. 68; Chalmers's English Poets, xiv. 229; Monthly Review, xlv. 1-5, 9, 336.] J. H.

CAWTON, THOMAS, the elder (1605-1659), divine, was born at Rainham, Norfolk, in 1605. He was sent to Queens' College, Cambridge, by Sir Roger Townshend, and became so remarkable for his piety, that profane scholars used 'Cawtonist' as 'Simeonite' or 'Puseyite' were used more recently. After seven years at Cambridge, he studied theology at the house of Herbert Palmer, the puritan vicar of Ashwell. He was then for four years chaplain to Sir William Armine of Orton, Northamptonshire, and in 1637 was presented by Sir Roger Townshend to the vicarage of Wivenhoe, Essex, where he persuaded his parishioners not to sell fish on Sunday. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Jenkin, a preacher of Sudbury, and sister of William Jenkin, ejected in 1662. Seven years later he became minister of St. Bartholomew's, London. He joined in the declaration of the London ministers against the death of Charles, and preached a sermon before the mayor and aldermen at Mercers' Chapel on 25 Feb. 1648-1649, when he prayed for the royal family and Charles II. He was brought before the council of state, and, refusing to recant, was committed to the Gatehouse. He was released with other prisoners on 14 Aug. 1649 as a thanksgiving for Jones's victory in Ireland. He was concerned with his brother-in-law, William Jenkin, and others, in the plot to support Charles in Scotland, for which Christopher Love [q. v.] was executed on 22 Aug. 1651, and escaped to Holland, where he was chosen pastor of the English church in Rotterdam. Here he became acquainted with many eminent men, and took pains to encourage Castell's 'Lexicon Heptaglotton,' and Walton's polyglot bible. On 7 Nov. 1658 Charles II addressed a letter to him, professing his zeal for the protestant faith, and requesting Cawton to defend him among the Dutch ministers (NEAL, *Puritans*, iv. 283).

Cawton died at Rotterdam on 7 Aug. 1659. He is said to have been a man of great learning as well as piety, but the only work ascribed to him is the sermon above mentioned.

His son, THOMAS CAWTON the younger, learned the oriental languages under his father at Rotterdam, and studied for three years at Utrecht. He afterwards entered Merton College to be near Samuel Clarke (1623-1669), the orientalist. He graduated B.A. in 1660, when he produced high testimonials to his oriental knowledge from Professor Leusden of Utrecht. He wrote a copy of Hebrew verses on the Restoration, and was ordained in 1661, but refusing to conform in 1662, left the university and became chaplain to Sir Anthony Irby. In the plague year Irby retired to Lincolnshire, which did not suit Cawton's health. He then became chaplain to Lady (Mary) Armine [q. v.], and collected a congregation in Westminster. He died on 10 April 1677, aged about forty, and was buried in the new church at Tothill Street, Westminster. His congregation obeyed his dying request by appointing Vincent Alsop [q. v.] as his successor. Calamy and Kippis were later successors in the same pastorate. Cawton wrote: 1. 'Philologi mixti disputatio nona, quæ est de Versione Syriaca vet. et novi Testamenti,' Utrecht, 1657 (an elaborate discussion of the authenticity, date, and value of the Syriac versions). 2. 'Disputationum in Theologia Naturali selectarum Decima septa, continens Decisionem Questionis: An Deus creare possit creaturam perfectissimam?' Utrecht, 1658. 3. 'Dissertatio de usu linguæ Hebraicæ in Philosophia Theoretica,' Utrecht, 1659. 4. 'Life and Death of . . . Thomas Cawton' (together with his father's portrait and sermon noticed above), 1662. 5. 'Balaam's Wish, a sermon,' 1670.

[Life of T. Cawton, 1662; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* (Bliss), iii. 1108; Palmer's Calamy, i. 252; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, iv. 233, 244; Brook's *Lives of the Puritans*, iii. 320-55; Bate's *Elenchus*, ii. 133; Calamy's *Abridgement*, ii. 73; Funeral sermons by H. Hurst and W. Vincent; Kippis's *Biog. Brit.*; Granger, iii. 47; Wilson's *Dissenting Churches*, i. 335, iv. 59-63.]

CAXTON, WILLIAM (1422?-1491), first English printer, was born, he himself states, 'in Kent in the Weeld'—at Tenterden. The name was usually pronounced *Cauxton*, and often written Causton, and Kentish antiquaries connect Caxton's family with the Caustons or Caxtons who held a manor of the same name near Hadlow in the Weald of Kent in the thirteenth century. Before the fifteenth century the manor had passed into other hands, but offshoots of the family appear to have been still settled in the neighbourhood and in Essex. A William de Caus-

ton was a prominent mercer in London in the fourteenth century (see his will dated 1354 in *Athenæum* for 25 Dec. 1880), and it has been suggested that he was Caxton's grandfather on the ground that Caxton was afterwards apprenticed to his trade. The argument is of little value, however, because the manufacture of cloth was the leading Kentish industry in the fifteenth century, and well-to-do parents invariably endeavoured to apprentice their sons to London mercers. In 1474 one Oliver Causton was buried at the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and in 1478 one William Caxton. The great printer was settled in Westminster at the latter date, and the William Caxton then buried may have been his father; but nothing is known for certain. His parents, whatever their names and condition, gave Caxton some education. 'I am bounden to pray,' he writes in the prologue to his 'Charles the Grete' (1485), 'for my fader and moder's souls that in my youthe sent me to schoole, by which by the suffraunce of God I gete my living, I hope truly.' On 24 June 1438, according to the extant accounts of the Mercers' Company, Caxton was apprenticed to Robert Large, a mercer of high reputation in the city of London. Assuming that he was sixteen years old on becoming an apprentice—it is not likely that he would be older—Caxton would have been born in 1422. Caxton, writing about 1474 (prologue to the *Recuyell*), speaks of himself as an old man. M. J. P. A. Madden and others therefore insist that Caxton could not then have been less than sixty years old, and suggest the date 1411 as the year of his birth, but many considerations conflict with this inference. Caxton's master, Large, was sheriff in 1430 and lord mayor in 1439-40; he lived in a great house in the Old Jewry, and showed the esteem in which he held Caxton, who was still in his indentures at the time of his death (24 April 1441), by bequeathing him twenty marks. Very soon after his master's death the young apprentice left England for Bruges, where the English mercers had a large commercial connection, and he 'contynued for the space of xxx. yere' in the Low Countries. Caxton's apprenticeship lasted till 1448, when he went into business for himself at Bruges. In 1450 he became surety in behalf of another English merchant for the payment of 110*l.*—a sign of some prosperity—and in 1453 he paid a brief visit to London to formally enter the livery of the Mercers' Company, a proof, in spite of the absence of direct documentary evidence, that he had already become a freeman of the guild. On 16 April 1462 Edward IV granted the Merchant Adventurers—an association of

English merchants at home and abroad—a new charter for the better government of the English merchants settled in the Low Countries, and permission was given them to appoint a governor at Bruges. The members of the society were chiefly mercers, and their headquarters were at the hall of the Mercers' Company, London. Between 24 June 1462 and 24 June 1463 Caxton, according to entries in the Mercers' archives, was fulfilling the duties of the new office of governor, and before 16 Aug. 1465 he had been definitely appointed to it. His functions were highly responsible. With a small jury of fellow-merchants he decided all disputes among English merchants in the Low Countries; he regulated and personally overlooked the importation and exportation of merchandise, and he corresponded with the English government on commercial matters. At Bruges the English merchants had their own 'house,' in which Caxton resided. On 24 Oct. 1464 Caxton, together with Sir Richard Whitehill, was commissioned to renew a trading treaty between England and the Low Countries which was about to lapse. But the negotiations proved unsuccessful; the treaty was not renewed, and Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, excluded all English-made cloth from his dominions, while the English government retaliated by prohibiting the importation of Flemish goods. The English merchants endeavoured to override these new laws by smuggling their merchandise into England, and the Earl of Warwick in 1466 ordered Caxton to enforce penalties against the offenders. Caxton appealed to the lord mayor of London and the Mercers' Company, but those authorities were unable to relieve him of his anxieties. The death of Duke Philip (15 June 1467) and the accession of Charles the Bold placed matters on a better footing. On 9 July 1468 Edward IV's sister, Margaret, married the new duke at Bruges, and in the following October Caxton, with two English envoys, was able to renew the old trading relations between the two countries.

Caxton appears to have found time for travelling and for literary pursuits in these busy years. He visited Utrecht in 1464, 1465, and 1467, and in March 1468-9 began to translate into English, as a preventive against idleness (he tells us), the popular mediæval romance, 'Le Recueil des Histoires de Troye.' Later in 1469 he was called on to arbitrate in a commercial dispute at Bruges between a Genoese and an English merchant, but temporary absence from Bruges prevented him from signing the final award (dated 12 May 1469). On 13 Aug. 1469 he received a gift of wine, *honoris causa*, apparently in

his capacity of governor. But this is the last date at which he appears to have been fulfilling the duties of his commercial office.

The English princess who had become Duchess of Burgundy in 1468 showed Caxton much attention from her first arrival in the Low Countries, and when her brother Edward IV took refuge in Flanders in October 1470 from the successful rebellion of the Earl of Warwick, there is little doubt that Caxton was brought into personal relations with him. Before March 1470-1 Caxton had wholly relinquished his commercial pursuits for the household service of the duchess. Doubtless this change was due to an increasing desire on his part for leisure in which to essay various literary enterprises. In 1471, while at Ghent, he busily employed himself in completing the translation of 'Le Recueil,' which he had neglected for two years, and on 19 Sept. 1471 the work was finished at Cologne. The book was in great demand, and, in order to multiply copies with the greater ease, Caxton (as he tells us in his 'Prologe') resolved to put himself to the pains of learning the newly discovered art of printing.

In all likelihood 1474 was the year in which 'The Recuyell' was printed. This, the first English book printed, gives no indication of time or place, and the date and the exact circumstances of its publication have been, in the absence of precise evidence, the subject of much controversy. At Bruges there lived a skilful calligrapher named Colard Mansion, who set up a press in that city for the first time about 1473. Mr. Blades states that Caxton probably supplied Mansion with money to carry out his enterprise, and placed himself under Mansion's tuition at Bruges. That Caxton and Mansion were acquainted with one another is not disputed. But Caxton's explicit mention of Cologne as the place in which he finished his translation in 1471, and the remark of Caxton's successor, Wynkyn de Worde, that Caxton printed a Latin book, 'Bartholomæus de Proprietatibus Rerum,' at Cologne (W. DE WORDE, Proheme to his ed. of *Bartholomæus*, n.d.), powerfully support the conclusion that Caxton was associated with Cologne in his early printing operations. M. J. P. A. Madden suggests that Caxton and Mansion were fellow-students of the art of printing at Cologne some time between 1471 and 1474, and this is very probable. For the rest, the absence from the 'Recuyell' of many technical points met with in Cologne books of the time, and the presence there of most, though not all, the technical points found in the early books of Mansion's press, point to the conclusion that

Caxton, having learned printing at Cologne, returned to Bruges about 1474, and printed the 'Recuyell' at Mansion's press there.

On 31 March 1474-5 Caxton states that he completed another translation—'The Game and Playe of the Chesse'—from Jean de Vignay's French version (1360) of J. de Cessolis's 'Ludus Scacchorum.' This was the second English book printed. The same types were used as in the case of 'The Recuyell,' and although it also is without printer's name, place, or date, it may be referred to Colard Mansion's press at Bruges and dated 1475. 'I did do set [it] in imprinte,' writes Caxton when bringing out a later edition, and the expression probably means that he caused it to be printed, but did not actually print it with his own hands.

In 1476 Caxton left Bruges to practise his newly acquired art in his native country, and on 18 Nov. 1477 he printed at Westminster a book called 'The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers.' This work contains a colophon giving for the first time the name of printer, the place of publication, and date. The copy in the Rylands Library supplies the day of the month. The 'Dictes' is undoubtedly the first book printed in England. Its type, though dissimilar from that of the two former books in which Caxton had been concerned, is identical with that used in Mansion's later books. It is therefore probable that Caxton brought to Westminster his printing apparatus from Bruges. The translation (from the French 'Les dits moraux des philosophes') was from the pen of Earl Rivers, but was revised at the earl's request by Caxton, who added a prologue and a chapter 'touchyng wymmen.' The 'History of Jason,' an English translation of Raoul Lefevre's 'Les Fais . . . du . . . Chevalier Jason,' which seems to have been first printed by Mansion about 1478, was another early publication of Caxton's Westminster press. But the claim of precedence over the 'Dictes,' as the first book printed in England, which has been put forward in its behalf, rests on shadowy evidence.

From 1477 to 1491 Caxton was busily employed in printing and translating. His later assistant, Robert Copland, in the prologue to his edition of 'Kinge Apolyn of Thyre,' speaks of Caxton 'begynnyng with small storyes and pamphletes and so to other,' but it would seem that Caxton was more ambitious from the first. Chaucer's 'Canterbury Tales,' a large folio, was one of his early ventures, and although he printed very many 'Horæ,' 'Indulgentiæ,' Sarum service books, and other ecclesiastical handbooks, together with many brief pamphlets of poems and

ballads, he never seems to have confined himself to short tracts or to any one class of publications. Gibbon has complained that no classical author came from Caxton's press, and has vehemently denounced his choice of books. But Lydgate and Gower, besides Chaucer, were repeatedly issued by him in large folio volumes, and the publication of Sir Thomas Malory's 'King Arthur' (1485), of translations of Cicero's 'De Senectute,' Cicero's 'De Amicitia' (1481), and a Dutch version of 'Reynard the Fox' (1481), together with paraphrases of the 'Æneid,' proves some literary taste. In the epilogue to Chaucer's 'Book of Fame' (No. 47 below) the printer criticises the poet in a highly appreciative spirit. His industry while in England almost baffles conception. He printed in fourteen years more than eighteen thousand pages, nearly all of folio size, and nearly eighty separate books, some of which passed through two editions, and a few through three. The names of three assistants are known, those of Wynkyn de Worde, Richard Pynson, and Robert Copland. It is quite possible that Machlinia and Treveris—also early English printers—were his workmen, but there is no evidence on the point. In any case his assistants hardly appear to have been numerous or skilled enough to have relieved Caxton of even much mechanical labour.

The amount of his work as a translator is even more remarkable. He states himself that he translated twenty-one books, mainly romances, from the French and one from the Dutch ('Reynard the Fox'). His knowledge of French was very thorough, and the number of Latin books he undertook leaves little doubt that he was also acquainted with that language. As a voluminous translator Caxton did something to fix the literary language of the sixteenth century. He was never very literal; he interpolated some passages and paraphrased others. Not unnaturally his vocabulary borrows much from the French, but his style is idiomatic and rarely reminds the reader that the work before him is other than an original composition.

Caxton was a favourite at the courts of Edward IV and Richard III, and doubtless reflected his patrons' predilections in his choice of books. On 15 June 1479 King Edward gave him 20*l.* 'for certain causes and matters performed;' whether Caxton's services in Edward's behalf at Bruges are referred to, or his magnificent enterprise at Westminster, is uncertain. Edward IV is known to have possessed at least one of Caxton's books (No. 31 below), and Caxton describes several works as printed under Edward's protection. Earl Rivers and the Earl

of Worcester were not only intimate friends of Caxton, but translated books for his press, and Margaret, countess of Richmond, and Henry Bourchier, earl of Essex, showed him many attentions. To Richard III Caxton dedicated his 'Order of Chivalry.' Henry VII bade Caxton print the 'Fayts of Arms,' and the 'Eneydos' was dedicated to Arthur, prince of Wales. William, earl of Arundel, allowed him a buck every summer and a doe in winter. Sir John Fastolf eagerly purchased his books, and many rich mercers were his fastest friends.

In the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, where Caxton lived, he was from the first a man of mark. He audited the parochial accounts for each year from 1478 to 1484. In 1490 his friend William Pratt, a mercer of London, died, and requested him on his deathbed to print the 'Book of Good Manners,' and in 1491 Caxton's own busy life came to a close. On his last day he was engaged in translating the 'Vitæ Patrum,' which his assistant Wynkyn de Worde printed in 1495. There is no entry of his death accessible, but the St. Margaret's parish accounts for the period 1490-2 state that 6*s.* 8*d.* was paid for four torches 'atte bureying of William Caxton,' and 6*d.* 'for the belle atte same bureying.' His will has not been discovered, but the parish accounts record that fifteen copies of his 'Golden Legend' were 'bequothed to the church . . . by William Caxton,' and other entries describe the distribution of the books. The printer was buried in the church of St. Margaret's, Westminster, and in 1820 the Roxburghe Club erected there a tablet to his memory. In 1883 a stained-glass window was also set up in his honour by the London printers and publishers, and upon it is emblazoned an inscription by Lord Tennyson.

Caxton married probably about 1469. Maud Caxton, who was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1490, may have been his wife. It was in that year that Caxton undertook his 'Arte and Craft how to die.' One daughter, Elizabeth, married Gerard Crophe, a merchant tailor of London, and on 20 May 1496 obtained from the ecclesiastical courts at Westminster a deed of separation from her husband. In consideration of this arrangement Crophe received, out of a bequest of Caxton's, 'twenty legends' valued at 13*s.* 4*d.* each (*Academy*, 4 April 1874).

An interesting discussion has been held as to the exact site of Caxton's house and workshop in Westminster. In the colophons of seven books Caxton describes himself as printing or translating in Westminster Abbey; in other books he merely states that they were

printed at Westminster. Some of Caxton's biographers have stated that Caxton's office was the scriptorium of the abbey, lent to him by the abbot (John Esteney). There is, however, no proof that Esteney showed Caxton any special favour. Caxton dedicated no book to him, and only mentions him once in the prologue of the 'Eneydos' (1490), where the printer states that the abbot had sent him some old documents of the abbey with a view to his translating them into modern English. Stow states, very inaccurately, that about 1471 Islip (who was not dean till 1500) erected 'the first presse of booke-printing' in that part of the abbey precincts at Westminster known as the Almonry, and that Caxton practised printing there. In an advertisement sheet issued by Caxton about 1479, announcing the sale of 'ony pyes of two and three comemoracions of salisbury vse' (i.e. books of ecclesiastical offices), the printer bids the customer 'come to Westminster in to the almonesrye at the reed pale.' Mr. Blades's conclusion is that Caxton rented of the abbot's chamberlain, in the ordinary way of business, a house which bore the sign of a red pale, in the enclosure 'west-south-west of the western front of the abbey,' well known as the Almonry, and so called from the presence of a number of almshouses there, built by Margaret Beaufort, mother of Henry VII. Wynkyn de Worde, who occupied Caxton's workshop for some years after his master's death, dates many books from 'Caxton's hous,' or 'In domo Caxton,' at Westminster and near the abbey, but gives no more precise particulars.

Another difficulty is the meaning of the device which appears in twelve of Caxton's books, all printed after 1487. The device is first met with at the end of a 'Sarum Missal.' This book, of which a unique copy belongs to Mr. W. J. Legh, was, unlike Caxton's other books, printed for him at Paris by W. Maynaye. On the arrival of the sheets at Westminster Caxton added a leaf with his device upon it, and published the work at Westminster in 1487. The device consists of Caxton's initials in capitals, with a strange interlacement of lines between the two letters, while near the W is a stroke resembling a small s, and near the C a stroke resembling a small c. The whole is enclosed in floral borders. The central lines have been assumed by the best critics to be a fantastic imprint of the figures '74,' and a reference to the all-important fact that in 1474 Caxton printed the first English book. The circumstances attending the first employment of the device prove that Caxton regarded it as his peculiar trade-mark, and may support the conclusion that the design has no

special meaning, and was merely intended to enable the public to identify easily Caxton's wares. The small letters 's. c.' have been explained by M. J. P. A. Madden as the initials of 'Sancta Colonia,' i.e. Cologne; and this interpretation plays an important part in his argument in favour of Cologne rather than Bruges as Caxton's printing school. Although no other suggestion has been offered, this looks too fantastic to be probable. Wynkyn de Worde adopted Caxton's device as his own after Caxton's death; but he modified the cut, and often omitted the s and c, so that it is possible for an expert to detect the difference between Caxton's trade-mark and that of his pupil and successor.

There is no authentic portrait of Caxton. In Lewis's 'Life' and in Ames's 'Typographical Antiquities' a supposed portrait appears, but its association with Caxton's name is unwarranted. The print from which it is in both cases inaccurately copied belonged to John Bagford [q. v.], and is attributed to the well-known engraver, William Faithorne. Although Faithorne and Bagford pretended that it was an authentic representation of the great printer, Dr. Dibdin discovered that it was in reality a reproduction of the portrait of an Italian poet, Burchiello, which is prefixed to the 1554 edition (small octavo) of his poems. Faithorne is believed to have originated the fraud, and Bagford is regarded as the engraver's dupe.

Caxton printed on paper made in most cases in the Low Countries, and very rarely used vellum. He employed from first to last movable types of the Gothic character, but his type is copied so closely from the calligraphy of his time that many of his books have been mistaken for manuscript. He often renewed his fount, and each fount that he employed differed in some respect from its predecessor. Caxton never mixed his founts in his books. The earliest fount, evidently imitated from contemporary French handwriting, was only used in Bruges. The second fount, used in England from 1477 to 1479, was also derived from Mansion's office, and is known as 'gros bâtarde,' a new variety of this fount, employed in 1479-80, has thinner facings and fewer ornamental strokes. Caxton's third distinct fount, in use from 1479 to 1483, chiefly for Latin books, is imitated from the church text of the scribes, and closely resembles the later 'black letter.' The fourth fount, in use from 1480 to 1485, is smaller than any of its fore-runners, and resembles Caslon's standard type; another variety of this fount appears in Gower's 'Confessio' (1483) and 'The Knight of the Tower' (1483). The fifth fount, in use from 1487 to 1491, has large Lombardic capi-



tals, and otherwise resembles the third fount. The sixth and last fount, in use from 1489 to 1491, is not unlike the first fount. Caxton's books have no title-pages, but prologues and colophons are not uncommon. Some of the books, especially poetry and Latin works, have no punctuation at all; in others the full point or colon is used exclusively; in one ('Paris and Vienne') only the long comma (,). The sign ¶ or a coloured capital often indicates the beginning of a new sentence. The semicolon was unknown to Caxton, and commas are only represented by short (,) or long lines (,). The pages were never numbered, but bore at the bottom a signature, a j, a i j, and so on. The binding usually consisted of a stiff piece of parchment with the edges turned in, and often filled out with waste proof sheets. Caxton first introduced woodcuts into the third edition of the 'Parvus et Magnus Catho' about 1481, and woodcut initials appear first in the 'Fables of Æsop,' 1484. The same woodcut is often used in different books, and to illustrate different subject-matter. It is evident that Caxton employed several artists. Sure signs of a genuine Caxton are the *absence* (1) of title-pages, (2) of Roman or italic type, (3) of ordinary commas, (4) of catchwords at the foot of the page. The British Museum has eighty-four Caxtons; of these twenty-five are duplicates. The Rylands Library, Manchester, has fifty-seven separate works, formerly in Lord Spencer's library at Althorp. The Cambridge University Library has forty-two separate works, many of them unique, the Bodleian thirty-four, and the Duke of Devonshire twenty-five. Thirty-eight of the 102 works or editions known to have been printed by Caxton are extant only in fragments.

Many fragments of Caxton's work have been found in the bindings of old books in old libraries. Mr. Blades records a remarkable discovery of the fragments of thirteen books printed by Caxton in the binding of a copy of Caxton's Chaucer's 'Boethius,' found in 1858 in the library of St. Albans grammar school. Mr. Henry Bradshaw was on many occasions equally fortunate, and to his bibliographical genius the Cambridge University Library owes the possession of its many unique Caxtons and unique Caxton fragments.

In 1877 the four hundredth anniversary of the publication of the first English-printed book in England was celebrated by a festival service in St. Paul's Cathedral (19 June), and by an exhibition of Caxton's books and early printing appliances (June to September) at South Kensington (BULLEN, *Cat. of Loan Collection*, London, 1877).

The following is a list of the books printed by Caxton. Asterisks imply that a copy of

the work is in the British Museum; notes of interrogation after the dates and places of publication denote that no mention is made of them in the book, and that they have been ascertained approximately by internal evidence; the numbers enclosed in brackets at the close of each entry stand for the approximate number of copies of the work now known to be extant; a dagger (†) shows that Caxton mentions in the book that he was its printer:

- \* 'The Recuyell of the Histories of Troy,' fol. Bruges? (Mansion & Caxton), 1474? [6].
2. 'The Game and Play of the Chess Moralized,' translated by Caxton from Jean de Vignay's French version of J. de Cessolis's 'Ludus Scacchorum,' folio, 1st edition,\* Bruges? 1474-5 [10]; 2nd edition,\* with sixteen woodcuts,† Westminster? 1481? [13]. The second edition was reproduced in facsimile by Vincent Figgins in 1860.
3. 'The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers,' folio, 1st edition,\*† Westminster, 18 Nov. 1477 [13], translated by Earl Rivers and revised by Caxton; 2nd edition,\*† Westminster, 1480? [4]; 3rd edition,\* Westminster, 1490? [6]. The first edition was reproduced from Mr. Christie Miller's perfect copy by Mr. W. Blades in 1857.
- 4.\* 'The History of Jason,' translated by Caxton, Westminster? 1477? [7].
5. 'Horæ [ad usum Sarum],' 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? 1478? unique fragment in Bodleian; 2nd edition,\* 4to, unique fragment, 1483?; 3rd edition,\* 8vo, 1488, unique fragment; 4th edition,\* 8vo, 1490? unique fragment.
- 6.\* 'Chaucer's Canterbury Tales,' folio, 1st edition, Westminster? 1478? [9]; 2nd edition, Westminster? 1484? with woodcuts [8]. A few leaves were facsimiled for private distribution by Mr. W. Blades (BEDDHAM, *Caxton Reproductions*, p. 16).
7. 'The Moral Proverbs of Christyne de Pise,' translated by Earl Rivers, folio,† Westminster, February 1478 [3]. Reproduced for private distribution by Mr. Blades in 1859.
8. 'Propositio Johannis Russell,' 4to [a speech delivered by John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, when investing the Duke of Burgundy with the order of the Garter in February 1469-70], Westminster? 1478? [2].
9. Lydgate's 'Stans Puer ad Mensam,' translated from Sulpitius's 'Carmen Juvenile de moribus puerorum,' with 'Moral distichs' and 'Salve Regina,' 4to [unique copy in Cambridge University Library], Westminster? 1477?
10. 'Parvus Catho: Magnus Catho,' a translation of Cato's distiches by Benedict Burgh [q. v.], undertaken in behalf of William Bourchier, son of Earl of Essex, 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? ante 1479? [unique in Cambridge University Library]; 2nd edition, 4to, Westminster? ante 1479? [unique at Chatsworth]; 3rd edition, folio,

with two woodcuts, Westminster? 1481? [3]. 11. Lydgate's 'The Horse, the Sheep, and the Goose,' and other verses, 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique copy in Cambridge University Library]; 2nd edition, 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique in York Cathedral Library; fragment in Cambridge University Library]. The second edition was reprinted for the Roxburghe Club. 12. 'Infancia Salvatoris,' an adaptation of 'Evangelium Infantiae' (cf. FABRICIUS, *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, i.), 4to, Westminster? 1478? [unique in Göttingen University Library]. 13. 'The Temple of Glass,' a poem attributed to Lydgate, 4to, Westminster? 1478? [unique in Cambridge University Library]. 14. 'The Chorle and the Bird,' a poem attributed to Lydgate, 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? 1478? [unique in Cambridge University Library; fragment in British Museum]; 2nd edition, 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique in York Cathedral Library]. The second edition was reprinted for the Roxburghe Club. 15. 'Temple of Brass, or Parliament of Fowls,' Ballads; 'Chaucer's Envoy to Seogan,' 4to, Westminster? 1478? [fragments in Cambridge University Library and British Museum]. 16. 'The Book of Courtesy,' 1st edition, 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique in Cambridge University Library]; 2nd edition, Westminster, 1491? [fragment in Bodleian]. The first edition was reprinted by Dr. F. J. Furnivall for the Early English Text Society in 1868. 17. Queen Anelida and False Arcyte: 'Chaucer's Complaint to his Purse,' 4to, Westminster? 1479? [unique in Cambridge University Library]. 18.\* Boethius's 'De Consolatione Philosophiae,' translated by Chaucer, folio, †, Westminster? 1479? [16]. 19.\* 'Cordiale, or the Four Last Things,' a translation from the French ascribed to Earl Rivers, folio, †, Westminster? 24 March 1479 [9]. 20. A Latin Treatise on Rhetoric, by Laurentius Gulielmus de Traversanis of Savona, folio, Westminster? 1479? [2]. 21.\* 'Latin Letters of Indulgence issued with Sixtus IV's authority in 1480 for assistance at the Siege of Rhodes' (parchment), folio, Westminster? 31 March 1480 [2]. 22. 'The Mirroure of the World,' translated by Caxton, through the French, from Vincent de Beauvais's 'Speculum Naturale,' at the request of Hugh Brice, for presentation to Lord Hastings, 1st edition,\* folio, with woodcuts, Westminster? 1481 [16]; 2nd edition, folio, 1490? [13]. 23. 'The History of Reynard the Fox,' translated from the Dutch by Caxton at Westminster in 1481, 1st edition,\* folio, Westminster? 1481? [4]; 2nd edition, folio, Westminster? 1489? [unique in Magdalene Col-

lege, Cambridge]. 24.\* 'Tully of Old Age and Friendship: The Declamation of Noblesse,' †, folio, Westminster? 1481 [22]. The translation, through the French, of Cicero's 'De Senectute,' undertaken at the desire of Sir John Fastolf, is attributed by Leland to Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, and by Anstis to Wynkyn de Worde. There seems, however, no doubt that the work was undertaken by William of Worcester [q.v.] 25. Caxton's 'Advertisement' (long 8vo), Westminster, 1478? [Althorp and Bodleian]. 26. 'Directorium seu Pica Sarum,' version i,\* 4to, 1478? [unique fragment]; version ii. ('Directorium Sacerdotum'), with woodcut, 1st edition,\* †, Westminster, 1487? [unique]; 2nd edition, †, Westminster, 1489? [unique in Bodleian]. 27.\* 'Psalterium,' in Latin, 4to, Westminster? 1480? [unique]. 28. 'The Chronicles of England,' called 'Caxton's Chronicle,' though it is merely an imprint of the popular 'Chronicle of Brut,' 1st edition, folio, †, Westminster, 10 June 1480 [13]; 2nd edition,\* folio, †, Westminster, 8 Oct. 1482 [6]. 29.\* 'Description of Britain,' a translation by Caxton of a chapter of Higden's 'Polyconicon,' folio, †, Westminster? 18 Aug. 1480 [12]. 30. 'Curia Sapientiae, or the Court of Sapience,' an English poem by Lydgate, fol. Westminster? 1481 [2; fragments in Bodleian and Brit. Mus.]. 31.\* 'The History of Godfrey of Boulogne,' translated by Caxton from the French, fol. †, Westminster, 20 Nov. 1481 [12]. Mr. Holford has a copy inscribed 'This was king Edw. y<sup>e</sup> fourth Booke.' 32.\* 'Letters of Indulgences for assistance against the Turks,' in Latin, 1st edition, Westminster? 1481, in parchment [unique fragment]; 2nd edition, 1481 [unique in Bedford Library; fragment at Cambridge University Library]. 33.\* 'Polyconicon,' a revised version by Caxton of Trevisa's English translation of Higden's Chronicle, fol. †, Westminster, 1482 [30]. 34. 'Pilgrimage of the Soul,' a translation from the French, ascribed to Lydgate, †, Westminster, 6 June 1483 [5]. 35. 'Vocabulary in French and English,' a book for travellers, fol. Westminster? 1483? [4]. 36.\* 'The Festial (Liber Festialis),' an English translation by John Mirkus, fol. \*, 1st edition, †, Westminster, 30 June 1483 [4]; \* 2nd edition, with a few additions, †, 1491 [6]. 37. 'Four Sermons,' in English,\* 1st edition fol. †, Westminster, 1483? [9]; \* 2nd edition, 1491? [5]. A copy of this work at St. Andrews is carefully described in 'Notes and Queries,' 7th ser. ii. 264. It has been reprinted by the Roxburghe Club. 38.\* 'Servitium de Visitatione B. Mariae Virginis,' Latin, 4to, Westminster, 1482? [unique]. 39.\* 'Sex perelegantissimæ Epistolæ per Petrum Carmelianum emen-

datte,' dating from 11 Dec. 1482 to February 1483, 4to, †, Westminster, 1483? [The unique copy in Hecht-Heinean Library, Halberstadt, was purchased by the British Museum in 1890]. 40.\* Gower's 'Confessio Amantis,' large fol. †, Westminster, 2 Sept. 1483; the year is given as 'a thousand cccc lxxxiiij,' a typographical error for lxxxiiij [17]. 41.\* 'The Knight of the Tower's book of teaching for his daughters,' translated from the French by Caxton from 'Le Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry,' fol. †, Westminster, 31 Jan. 1484 [6]. 42.\* 'Caton,' an elaborate commentary on Cato's distiches, translated by Caxton from the French in 1483, fol. Westminster? 1484? [12]. 43.\* 'The Golden Legend,' paraphrased (20 Nov. 1483) by Caxton from Jacobus a Voragine's 'Aurea Legenda' or lives of saints, with the help of English and French translations, large fol. \*, with woodcuts; 1st edition †, Westminster, 1484? [30]; 2nd edition 1487? [fragments only in British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge University Library, and Chatsworth Library]; 3rd edition, though with colophon, '1494 [printed] By me, Wyllyam Caxton,' obviously printed by Wynkyn de Worde. 44. 'Death-bed Prayers,' fol. broadside, 1484? [unique, Rylands Libr.] 45. 'The Fables of Æsop,' translated by Caxton from the French, fol. †, Westminster, 26 March 1484, with woodcuts [unique perfect copy at Windsor, imperfect copies at British Museum and Oxford]. 46.\* 'The Order of Chivalry,' translated by Caxton and dedicated to Richard III, 4to, Westminster? 1484? [4]. 47.\* 'The Book of Fame made by Gefferey Chaucer,' with an epilogue, giving the printer's opinion of Chaucer as a great poet, fol. †, Westminster? 1484? [4]. 48.\* 'The Curial,' translated by Caxton from the French of Alain Chartier, fol. Westminster? 1484? [2]. 49.\* Chaucer's 'Troylus and Creside,' fol. Westminster? 1484? [4]. 50.\* Lydgate's 'Life of our Lady,' †, Westminster, 1484? [9]. 51.\* 'The Life of Saint Winifred,' translated by Caxton, fol. Westminster? 1485? [3]. 52. 'The Noble Histories of King Arthur and of certain of his Knights,' by Sir Thomas Malory, fol. †, Westminster, 31 July 1485 [unique perfect copy formerly in Earl Jersey's library at Osterley Park, sold in 1885 to Robert Hoe, of New York; Rylands Libr. has an imperfect copy, and a fragment is in British Museum]. This book has been very frequently reprinted, and is still popular as the source of all the numerous English poetic versions of the Arthurian romance. 53.\* 'The Life of Charles the Great,' translated by Caxton, fol. †, Westminster? 1 Dec. 1485 [unique in British Museum]. Reprinted by the Early English

Text Society in 1881-2. 54.\* 'The Knight Paris and the Fair Vienne,' translated from the French romance by Caxton, fol. †, Westminster, 19 Dec. 1485 [unique in British Museum]. Reprinted for the Roxburghe Club in 1868. 55. 'The Book of Good Manners,' translated by Caxton at the desire of his friend Pratt, fol. †, Westminster? 11 May 1487 [3]. 56.\* 'Speculum Vitæ Christi,' translated by an anonymous hand from St. Bonaventura's Latin life of Christ, edit. A, fol. †, Westminster? 1487 [8]. One copy in British Museum is on vellum. Edit. B, fol. †, Westminster? 1488? [5]. 57.\* 'The Royal Book, or Book for a King,' translated from the French by Caxton (13 Sept. 1484), fol. with small vignette woodcuts; Westminster? 1488? [8]. 58. 'The Image of Pity,' 4to, broadside, with woodcuts of crucifixion, 1489? 59. 'The Doctrinal of Sapience,' translated from the French by Caxton, 7 May 1489, fol. †, Westminster? 1489? [10]. The copy at Windsor is on vellum. 60. 'Commemoratio Lamentationis sive Compassionis B. Mariæ in morte filii,' 4to, Westminster? 1491? [unique in Ghent Library]. 61.\* 'Servitium de Transfiguratione Jhesu Christi,' 4to, †, Westminster? 1491? [unique]. 62.\* 'Fayts of Arms and Chivalry,' translated by Caxton from the French of Christine de Pisan, fol. †, Westminster? 14 July 1489 [21]. 63.\* 'Statutes of Henry VII,' fol. Westminster, 1489? [4]. Reprinted in 1869, edited by John Rae. 65. 'The Governal of Health: Medicina Stomachi,' the first part being an early translation from the Latin, and the second a work of Lydgate, 4to, Westminster? 1489? [2]. Reprinted by Mr. W. Blades in 1858. 66. 'The Historie of Blanchardin and Eglantine,' fol. translated by Caxton at request of Margaret, duchess of Somerset, Westminster? 1489? [unique copy, Rylands Libr.; and one leaf in British Museum]. 67. 'Four Sons of Aymon,' apparently translated by Caxton, fol. Westminster? 1489? [unique imperfect copy, Rylands Libr.] Reprinted by Early English Text Society in 1885-6. 68.\* 'Eneydos,' translated by Caxton (22 June 1490) from a French romance based on Virgil's Æneid and Boccaccio's 'Fall of Princes,' fol. Westminster? 1490? [21]. 69. 'A Book of Divers Ghostly Matters, containing the Seven Points of True Love or Orologium Sapientie: the Twelve Profits of Tribulation, and the Rule of St. Benet,' translations from the Latin †, Westminster? 1490? [6]. 70.\* 'Fifteen Oes and other Prayers,' printed by Caxton at the command of Elizabeth, Henry VII's wife, and of Margaret, his mother (the fifteen prayers all begin with O) †, Westminster? 1491? [unique copy in British Museum]. Also see

Henry Bradshaw's 'Notice of a Fragment of the Fifteen Oes . . . by William Caxton . . . in the Library of the Baptist College, Bristol,' London, 1877. Reproduced in photolithography in 1869. 71. \*'Art and Craft to know how well to die,' translated from French by Caxton, 15 June 1490, fol. Westminster? 1491? [3]. A similar work, of which a unique copy is in the Bodleian, was issued by Caxton about the same time, 'Ars Moriendi: the Craft for to die for the Health of Man's Soul,' apparently translated from the Latin by Caxton. The original has not been identified.

The few French works printed by Colard Mansion before Caxton left Bruges are not included in this list, although Mr. Blades has enumerated them among Caxton's books. There is no proof that Caxton was personally concerned in their publication.

Immediately after Caxton's death Wynkyn de Worde, his assistant, began to print from Caxton's fount and in Caxton's house; and it is difficult to determine, with any certainty, the printer of several books which appeared about 1491, the year of Caxton's death. The following books, often attributed to Caxton, are more probably the work of Wynkyn de Worde, viz.: 'The Chastising of God's Children,' fol. 1491? (with title-page); 'A Treatise of Love,' fol. 1493?; 'The Life of St. Katherine, and Revelation of St. Elizabeth of Hungary,' fol. 1493; and 'The Siege of Rhodes,' fol. (cf. CARUS, JOHN, *J.* 1480). Wynkyn de Worde states that Caxton printed, *at Cologne*, a book entitled 'Bartolomeus de Proprietatibus Rerum,' of which Wynkyn issued a later edition. No such work is known. In the prologue to 'The Four Sons of Aymon' Caxton says that he had translated, at the request of John, earl of Oxford, 'The Life and Miracles of Robert, earl of Oxford,' but of this nothing is extant. In the Pepysian Collection (2124) at Magdalene College, Cambridge, is a manuscript (unprinted) translation by Caxton of six books of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, dated from Westminster, 22 April 1480.

The price of Caxton's books mainly depends on their condition and on the number of copies known to be extant. The highest prices include 1,950*l.*, given by Mr. Robert Hoe, of New York, at Sotheby's, on 6 May 1885, for the unique copy of Malory's 'King Arthur,' in the Osterley Park Library. At the same time and place 1,820*l.* was paid for Caxton's 'Recuyell,' the first book in the printing of which he was concerned. The fine Ashburnham copy of Le Fevre's 'Boke of the Hoole Lyf of Jason' fetched at Sotheby's 2,100*l.* 9 Dec. 1897, and 'The Royal Book' 2,225*l.* 17 March 1902.

[The earliest life of Caxton is that by the Rev. John Lewis of Margate, published in 1737,

and later writers, up to 1861, depended almost entirely on Lewis's work. Neither Oldys, in the *Biographia Britannica*, 1748, nor Ames, in his *Typogr. Antiq.* 1749, nor Herbert, in his edition of Ames, 1785, nor T. F. Dibdin, in his revision of Ames, with the aid of new notes by Herbert and Gough, added to Lewis's facts, although bibliographical details are treated more elaborately by Dibdin than by any of his predecessors. In 1861 Mr. William Blades superseded all existing lives of Caxton by the first volume of his new life of the printer, which was followed in 1863 by a second volume, treating almost exclusively of Caxton's typography. Abbreviated editions of this book appeared in a single volume in 1877 and 1882, and it is undoubtedly the standard authority. Full reprints are given of original documents, and numerous plates give the reader the opportunity of studying Caxton's varied types. Mr. Blades has also issued a useful little pamphlet, 'How to tell a Caxton,' London, 1870, and a short Catalogue of Books printed by Caxton, London, 1865. Mr. Blades's Prefaces to his several reproductions of Caxton's books, mentioned in the list in the text, are also of great service. M. J. P. A. Madden has criticised adversely many of Mr. Blades's conclusions in his *Lettres d'un Bibliographe*, 4th ser. Paris, 1875, pp. 12-38. Mr. Blades's researches have been largely used in this article, and the writer has also to thank Mr. Bernard Quaritch for kindly supplying him with information respecting recent Caxton sales. See also Wyman and Bigmore's *Bibliography of Printing*; Beedham's *Caxton Reproductions*, Iowa, 1879; T. F. Dibdin's *Ædes Althorpiæ*; Cat. of the British Museum, Cambridge University, Bodleian, Chatsworth, Rylands, and Huth Libraries. In the early part of the eighteenth century an attempt was made to deprive Caxton of the honour of introducing printing into England, and to confer the distinction on Corsellis, a German printer alleged to have settled at Oxford in 1464. For the history of the controversy, and the baselessness of the contention, see art. RICHARD ATKYNS, 1615-1677, *supra*, and Conyers Middleton's *Dissertation concerning the Origin of Printing in England*, 1735.] S. L.

CAY, JOHN (1700-1757), editor of the 'Statutes,' third son of John Cay of North Charlton, Northumberland, by Grace, daughter and coheir of Henry Wolf of Bridlington, Yorkshire, was born in 1700 (BURKE, *Landed Gentry*, 1868, p. 225). Intended for the legal profession he was entered at Gray's Inn on 3 Sept. 1719, called to the bar by that society on 20 June 1724, and subsequently made a bencher (*Gray's Inn Admission Register*). In 1750 he was appointed steward and one of the judges of the Marshalsea (*Gent. Mag.* xx. 429). Cay, as a classical antiquary, was admitted in August 1736 to the Society of Antiquaries. Together with his brother Robert, a merchant at Newcastle-

upon-Tyne, who died on 22 April 1754 (*Gent. Mag.* xxiv. 243), he was the friend and correspondent of John Horsley, and upon Horsley's death in January 1732, the brothers were indefatigable in their endeavours to promote the sale and collect the proceeds of the 'Britannia Romana' for Mrs. Horsley's benefit (STUKLEY, *Diaries and Letters*, Surtees Soc. ii. 143 n.) Cay died at his house in Essex Street, Strand, on 11 April 1757 (*Gent. Mag.* xxvii. 189; Will reg. in P. C. C. 114, Her-ring). By his wife Sarah, daughter of Henry Boulton of Gray's Inn and Reading, he left a son, Henry, and two daughters. The year following his death there appeared 'The Statutes at Large, from Magna Charta to the 30th Geo. II,' 6 vols. folio, London, 1758. This edition, which has been justly praised for its learning and accuracy, was continued by Owen Ruffhead to 13 Geo. III, 3 vols. folio, London, 1769-73. Cay had previously published 'Abridgment of the Publick Statutes, in force and use, from Magna Charta to the 11th Geo. II,' 2 vols. folio, London, 1739, which was continued by supplements by his son, Henry Boulton Cay. In 1762 a second edition in two volumes was published, and in 1766 a supplemental volume, containing the statutes from 11 Geo. II to 1 Geo. III. Cay's 'Abridgment' used to be continued by the abstracts of acts to 35 Geo. III, after which period they were not printed.

HENRY BOULT CAY, who completed his father's labours, was educated at Clare College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1752 as second wrangler, and obtained a fellowship, which he vacated by his marriage, in August 1770, to Miss Stawell Piggott of Basingbourn, Cambridgeshire. Called to the bar at the Middle Temple, he afterwards filled several minor legal offices, and died at his residence in Cursitor Street on 24 Jan. 1795, leaving two daughters (*Gent. Mag.* xl. 392, lxxv. i. 171, lxxvi. i. 166).

[Manuscript note by H. B. Cay in J. Cay's annotated copy of Rolle's Abridgment in Brit. Mus.; Burke's *Commoners*, i. 384-5; Hodgson's *Northumberland*, pt. ii. vol. ii. 442; Hutchinson's *Northumberland*, i. 148-9, 173, 199; Marvin's *Legal Bibliography*, p. 180.]

G. G.

CAYLEY, ARTHUR (*d.* 1848), biographer, was the son of Arthur Cayley, third son of Sir George Cayley, bart., of Brompton, Yorkshire, by his wife Anne Eleanor Shultz (FOSTER, *Pedigrees of Yorkshire Families*, ii.) He received his academical education at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1796 as fourth wrangler, but is said to have been refused a fellowship on

account of his political opinions (*Biog. Dict. of Living Authors*, 1816, p. 59). When the 'Anti-Jacobin Review' was started in 1798, Cayley became an occasional contributor; he also attempted some satire in the manner of the 'New Bath Guide.' He subsequently took orders, and in 1814 was presented to the rectory of Normanby, Yorkshire. He died at York on 22 April 1848, aged 72 (*Gent. Mag.* 1848, xxx. 101). Cayley married Lucy, eldest daughter of his uncle, the Rev. Digby Cayley, rector of Thormanby. He was the author of: 1. 'The Life of Sir Walter Raleigh, Knt.,' 2 vols. 4to, London, 1805 (second edition, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1806), a work not distinguished either for depth of research or grace of style. The same must be said of 2. 'Memoirs of Sir Thomas More, with a new Translation of his Utopia, also his History of King Richard III, and his Latin Poems,' 2 vols. 4to, London, 1808.

[Authorities as above.]

G. G.

CAYLEY, CHARLES BAGOT (1823-1883), translator, son of Henry Cayley, a Russia merchant, and younger brother of Arthur Cayley, the mathematician [see SUPPLEMENT], was born on 9 July 1823 in the neighbourhood of St. Petersburg. He was educated at Mr. Pollecary's school, Blackheath, King's College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge, where he graduated B.A. in 1845, taking a second class in the classical tripos. He led the quiet and unpretentious life of a scholar, passed much of his time in the reading-room of the British Museum, and died suddenly of heart disease in the night of 5-6 Dec. 1883 at his lodgings in South Crescent, Bedford Square. He was buried at Hastings. His works are: 1. 'Dante's Divine Comedy. Translated in the original ternary rhyme,' 3 vols. Lond. 1851-4, 8vo, with a fourth vol. of notes, 1855. Mr. W. M. Rossetti remarks that 'when all imperfections have been allowed for, Cayley's version must be pronounced to be very considerably the best and most thorough rendering into English of the "Commedia," the one which, attempting most and aiming highest, reaches also furthest.' 2. 'Psyche's Interludes,' a small volume of poems, Lond. 1857, 8vo. 3. 'The Psalms in Metre,' Lond. 1860, 8vo. 4. 'Filippo Malincontri, or Student Life in Venetia. An autobiography,' translated from the Italian, 2 vols. Lond. 1861, 8vo. 5. 'Introduction to the Grammar of the Romance Languages, by Friedrich Diez,' translated, Lond. 1863, 8vo. 6. 'The Prometheus Bound of Æschylus. Translated in the original metres,' Lond. 1867, 8vo. 7. 'History of

Political and Religious Persecutions,' 2 vols. Lond. 1876, 8vo, conjointly with Fernando Garrido. 8. 'The Iliad of Homer, Homometrically translated,' Lond. 1877, 8vo. 9. 'The Sonnets and Stanzas of Petrarch,' translated, Lond. 1879, 8vo.

[Dr. J. A. H. Murray's Address to the Philological Society, 16 May 1884; Times, 10 Dec. 1883; Athenæum, 1883, ii. 776, 817; Academy, 1883, ii. 397; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Graduati Cantab. (1884), 96.] T. C.

CAYLEY, CORNELIUS (1729-1780?), religious writer, was born in 1729 at Hull. At nineteen Lord Scarborough introduced him to a place at court as clerk in the treasury of the Prince of Wales. With a view to promotion he learnt foreign languages and practised music and dancing, and after a time made application to go as under-secretary to the ambassador to Paris; but superior interest procured the place for another. After this disappointment he attempted to indulge in the gaieties of London life; but a strongly religious temperament led him into other pursuits. He became acquainted with James Hervey, author of the 'Meditations,' and through him he visited the Tabernacle in Moorfields. There for a time he was in constant attendance, read religious books of the old puritan sort, and soon took to preaching about London. He printed a little treatise on 'The Doctrine of Jesus Christ,' for presentation. For a time he made his home in the house of Lady Cornelia Piers at Mill Hill, where he preached to very select company. His autumn vacations were usually spent in travelling through the country and preaching wherever opportunity offered. He still held his place at the treasury, until he was told that he must give up preaching, when he resigned his post to devote himself entirely to religious work. He then settled for a time at Norwich, which he left in 1761. While there, in 1756, he composed a Christmas anthem, which was frequently sung to a fine piece of cathedral music, and he published a letter in answer to Mr. Potter, a clergyman of Reymerston, who had printed a sermon against the methodists. In the autumn of 1772 Cayley started on a tour through Holland, Flanders, and France. He wrote an account of his travels on the way: it was printed in parts in the 'Leeds Weekly Newspaper,' and afterwards printed separately in a 12mo volume. On arriving at Dover he set off for his 'little retirement near Leeds.' There, in 1778, he published the third edition of his 'Life' (originally published at Norwich in 1757-8), with enlargements, but with little further account of himself after 1761. A portrait of 'Cornelius Cayley,

minister of the gospel,' drawn by Swanfelder and engraved by I. Taylor, is prefixed to this third edition. The book has been reprinted four times in the present century, so recently as 1862 and again in 1863. Cayley also published: 1. 'The Seraphical Young Shepherd and a Small Bunch of Violets,' 1762, 2nd edit. 1769. 2. 'The Amethyst; or some Beams of Eternal Light,' 1763. 3. 'The Day-Star of Glory rising in the Hearts of the Saints,' 1769. 4. 'The Olive Branch of Peace and the Shulamite: a poem,' 1771. 5. 'An Evangelical Dialogue,' 1780, and various other small things. He also wrote largely on the 'Mystery of the Two Adams,' but the manuscript has not been traced, nor any further account of the author after 1780.

[Life of Cornelius Cayley, written by himself, 3rd edit. Leeds, 1778; Cayley's Tour through Holland, Flanders, and part of France, 2nd edit. Leeds, 1777.] J. H. T.

CEADDA, Saint (*d.* 672), better known as CHAD, was a Northumbrian by birth. He had three brothers, Cedd, Cynibill, and Caelin. All four were ordained to the priesthood, and two, Cedd and Ceadda, became bishops (BEDE, iii. 23). He was one of St. Aidan's disciples, but spent part of his youth in Ireland in the monastery of Rathmelsige, now Melfont, in company with Ecgberht, another young Northumbrian of noble family, eminent for piety and missionary zeal. In 664 Ceadda's brother Cedd, bishop of the East-Saxons, died at his monastery of Lastingham, in Deira [see CEDD], of which he was abbot, and by his appointment Ceadda succeeded him in the office (*ib.* iii. 23). In the same year the synod of Whitby had been held, which, through the influence of Wilfrith, had decided to adopt the Roman time of keeping Easter. Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, who adhered to the Scottish usage, resigned his see, and Tuda, his successor, died soon afterwards of the plague. Wilfrith was then elected bishop, and the see, probably at his request, was moved to York, where there had been no bishop since the flight of Paulinus in 633 [see CÆDWALLA I and PAULINUS]. Wilfrith went to Gaul to be consecrated, and tarried there so long that Oswy, king of Northumbria, and his people grew impatient, and resolved to have Ceadda made bishop instead. He was accordingly sent to Canterbury for consecration, accompanied by Eadhað, afterwards bishop of Ripon. On their arrival they found the see just vacant by the death of Archbishop Deusdedit, so they repaired to Wessex, where Ceadda was consecrated by Wini, bishop of Winchester, assisted by two British bishops probably from Cornwall (*ib.* iii. 28). He

then returned to Northumbria, and for three years ruled his diocese nobly ('sublimiter regens,' BEDE, v. 19). From his training under Aidan and in the Irish monastery he had learned that spirit of simple modest piety, purity from worldly aims, and single-minded devotion to duty for which the clergy of the Scottish school were remarkably distinguished. His whole time was divided between prayer, study, and the visitation of his diocese to preach and baptise. His journeys were all made on foot, after the apostolic fashion (*ib.* iii. 28). Wilfrith, on his return from Gaul, did not resent the appointment of Ceadda, and quietly retired to his abbey of Ripon. Soon after Theodore had been made archbishop of Canterbury, 669, he held a general visitation of the English church, and objections were then raised against the consecration of Ceadda as having been irregular, partly, we may suppose, because Wilfrith had already been appointed to Ceadda's see, and partly because two of the consecrating bishops belonged to the British church, which did not keep Easter according to the canonical rule. When Theodore told Ceadda that he had not been properly consecrated, he meekly replied that if the archbishop thought so, he was quite willing to resign an office of which he had never deemed himself worthy, and which he had consented to undertake only for obedience sake. Theodore, touched by his humility, said that he was not bound to relinquish the episcopal office. Ceadda, however, retired to his monastery at Lastingham, and Wilfrith entered upon the administration of the see of York (*ib.* iv. 2); but the holy man was not long permitted to enjoy his monastic retreat. On the death of Jaruman, bishop of the Mercians, in 669, Wulfhere, the king, requested Theodore to provide a successor. Theodore refused to consecrate a new bishop, but asked Oswy, king of Northumbria, to let Ceadda be transplanted to this South Humbrin diocese (*ib.* iv. 3). Oswy consented, and Theodore either reconsecrated Ceadda, or by some additional rites made good the supposed defects or irregularities in the original act of consecration ('Ipse ordinationem ejus denuo catholica ratione consummavit,' *ib.* iv. 2). The language of Wilfrith's biographer Eddius, c. 15, is stronger: 'Per omnes gradus ecclesiasticos ad sedem prædictam plene eum ordinaverunt.' He also implies that it was Wilfrith who recommended Ceadda for Mercia, and with other bishops reconsecrated him. But his partiality for Wilfrith probably makes him less trustworthy on this point than Bede.

Ceadda fixed the Mercian see, which had hitherto been unsettled, at Lichfield. Here he found or built a church, dedicated to St.

Mary, eastward of the spot occupied by the present cathedral, and a short distance from the church he built a dwelling for himself and seven or eight brethren, where they spent in prayer and study the little leisure which could be spared from the 'ministry of the word.' King Wulfhere also granted fifty hides of land to the bishopric for establishing a monastery in a place called 'the grove,' in the province of Lindsey, supposed to be Barrow in Lincolnshire, where traces of Chad's monastic rule still existed when Bede wrote (*ib.* iv. 3). The bishop entered upon his episcopal and missionary labours with the same apostolic simplicity and zeal which had distinguished him in his former diocese. He still journeyed everywhere on foot, and out of 'zealous love of pious toil' resisted the bidding of Archbishop Theodore, who ordered him to ride when he had a longer circuit than usual to make. The primate, however, insisted on having his way, and on one occasion with his own hand helped Ceadda to mount; because, as Bede says (iv. 3), he had 'assuredly discovered him to be a holy man.' Bede relates several beautiful instances of this 'holy man's' habits of simple piety as described to him by one who had been brought up and trained in Ceadda's monastery at Lastingham. If he heard a loud blast of wind, he would pause in his reading, or whatever he was doing, and pray God to be merciful to mankind; and if the gale waxed louder, he would close his book and fall upon his face in prayer. If it rose to a tempest with thunder and lightning, he would go into the church and pray there, or recite psalms until fair weather returned (*ib.*)

After having ruled his church for two years and a half, Ceadda fell a victim to a pestilence which was fatal to many of his clergy before it attacked the bishop. Seven days before he died he had an intimation of his coming end. A faithful disciple and friend named Owin, who had once been steward in the royal household in Northumbria, but had forsaken all to become a lay brother at Lastingham, was working in the fields hard by the bishop's house, when he heard the sweetest sound as of songs of joy coming down from heaven to earth. It gradually reached and encircled the chamber where Ceadda was sitting alone, the other inmates of the dwelling having gone to the church, and after about half an hour it floated heavenwards again. While Owin was wondering what this might mean, Ceadda opened the window of his oratory and summoned Owin and the rest of the brethren. He told them that 'the lovely guest who had already visited so many of their brethren had deigned to come to him



also and summon him from the world.' 'Go back,' he said, 'to the church and bid the brethren by their prayers commend my departure to God.' After they had departed, Owin ventured to ask him the meaning of the strain of joy which he had heard, and Ceadda told him that it was the song of angels, and that in seven days they would return and take him with them. He speedily sickened, and died seven days after, 2 March 672. He was buried near St. Mary's Church, but the body was afterwards transferred to the church of St. Peter. His shrine was a wooden structure in Bede's time (*ib.*), roofed like a little house with a hole in the side, through which devotees inserted their hands and took a few particles of his dust, which, when mixed with water and so drunk, were supposed to have a marvellous virtue for the cure of divers diseases in man and beast. The memory of Ceadda was revered in Ireland, where he had spent a part of his youth. Eggerht, his companion there, had remained in Ireland, and some years after Ceadda's death he told an abbot from Lincolnshire (perhaps from Barrow) who visited him, that a man then living in Ireland had seen on the day that Ceadda died the soul of his brother Cedd descend from heaven and return thither, bearing the soul of the holy Ceadda with him (*ib.* iv. 3). The number and beauty of these legends help us to measure the real sanctity of Ceadda's life, which excited so much love and respect. As Bede says (iii. 28): 'The things which he had learned from Holy Scripture ought to be done; these he diligently strove to do.' Ceadda became one of the most popular of English saints under the name of St. Chad. His day was kept on 2 March, and still has a place in the black-letter calendar. A richly decorated copy of the gospels, which is said to have belonged to him, is preserved in the cathedral library at Lichfield.

[There is a short life of Ceadda in the *Acta Sanctorum*, and another in Capgrave's *Nova Legenda*, pp. 58, 59, but these and all subsequent biographies are really only compilations from Bede. Eddius, the friend and biographer of Wilfrith, was contemporary with Bede, but his narrative is not nearly so trustworthy.]

W. R. W. S.

#### CEADWALLA. [See CEDWALLA.]

CEALLACHAN (*d.* 954), king of Cashel, called in poetry *C. coir*, or the just, and *C. cruaidh*, or the hard, is the hero of several old popular tales of Munster. He was king of Cashel from 935 till his death in 954. He first appears in history as plundering Clonmacnoise in 935, and in 937 ravaged Meath

in alliance with the Danes of Waterford. In 939 he ravaged Ossory and the Decies, but later in the same year was defeated by their tribes. Muirheartach, king of Ailech, invaded the south early in 941, and carried off Ceallachan as a hostage to Donegal, where he kept him for nine months, and then sent him to Donnchadh, king of Ireland, who set him free. In 942 Ceallachan defeated Cenneide, father of Brian Boroimhe, in the battle of Maghduin, and ever after ruled in comparative quiet till his death from natural causes in 954. Ceallachan was chief of the great tribe called the Eoghanacht, and is the ancestor of many families once powerful in the south of Ireland. The O'Ceallachans or O'Callaghans of the south take their name from the great-grandson of his son Donnchadh, and the last chief in direct line of the chief branch of his race is believed to have been Donnchadh (or Denis) O'Callaghan of Glinn, who died in 1760, having married his cousin Mary O'Callaghan in 1745, and left one daughter of the same name. Cornelius, her kinsman, though in what degree is not known, was in 1785 created Baron Lismore in the peerage of Ireland.

[*Chronicon Scotorum* (Rolls Series), p. 201; Tracts relating to Ireland (Irish Archæolog. Soc. 1841), pp. 43, &c.; *Annala Rioghachta Éireann*, vol. ii.; genealogical manuscripts of the late B. C. Fisher.] N. M.

CEARBHALL, lord of Ossory (*d.* 888), son of Dungal, was one of the most famous chiefs of the Gall Gaedhel, as the Irish chroniclers call those native tribes who lived in alliance with the Danes. He is called by the Danish writers Kiarvalr, and first appears in history as slaughtering the Danes of Dublin in 845. Six years later he slew the king of South Leinster, and in this war had Danes for his allies. Several of his clan intermarried with the foreigners, and the alliance continued. In 856 they together plundered part of the present Tipperary, and in 857 marched into Meath. Here, however, they made peace with the king of Ireland in the presence of the archbishop of Armagh and the abbot of Clonard. In 858 Cearbhall fought and defeated the Danes of Waterford, and in 859 he joined the king of Ireland in Meath and fought against an invading army of northern Irish. In 861 he defeated the Danes at Feartagh in Kilkenny, and in 862 he plundered Leinster. In 868 the Danes attacked his earthen dun, but were driven off with heavy loss, and Cearbhall was sufficiently secure afterwards to go a foray into Waterford. The next year he crossed the Shannon, and drove off the cattle of both Connaught and



Munster, and two years later made a second raid into Connaught. Ossory, his home, being nearly in the centre of Ireland, afforded a good base for operations in any direction, and in 872 he again ravaged the part of Waterford now called Decies. In 875 he was chosen king of Dublin by his Danish kinsmen, and in 876 he gained a victory over the Munstermen near Clonmel. After all these battles he died peaceably in 888. His most constant allies were the Danes of Dublin, but he was ready to join almost any tribe against any other where there was hope of spoil, and was an Irish copy of a Scandinavian rover.

[Annala Rioghachta Eireann, vol. i.; O'Donovan's Tribes and Territories of Ancient Ossory, 1851; Cogadh Gaedhil re Gallaibh, Rolls Series.]  
N. M.

**CEAWLIN** (*d.* 593), king of the West-Saxons, first appears in 556 as taking part with his father Cynric in the battle of 'Beranbyrig,' probably Barbury hill, to the north-west of Marlborough (GUEST). He succeeded Cynric in 560. The battle of Barbury gave the West-Saxons the command of the downs stretching towards the north-east. Ceawlin led his host against Silchester (Calleva Atrebatum), 'where the roads from Winchester and Old Sarum united on their way to London' (GREEN). The remains of the city bear witness to the formidable character of the invaders' task, for it is still girt with its Roman wall of 2,670 yards circuit, and its foss of 100 feet width (*Archæological Journal*, xxx. 12). No written record remains of Ceawlin's success. From Silchester Ceawlin doubtless advanced, overrunning the country to the south of the great Berkshire forest, and keeping to the south of the Thames until, in 568, he encountered the forces of Æthelberht, king of Kent, at Wibbandun or Wimbledon. In this first battle fought by the invaders between themselves, Ceawlin and his brother Cutha routed the Jutes, and drove Æthelberht back into Kent (*A.-S. Chron.*; GREEN). In the expedition of his brother Cuthwulf, who in 571 carried the West-Saxon arms as far as Bedford, Ceawlin had no share. Six years later he led his host from Winchester, and marched to Deorham. There he met, defeated, and slew three British kings, and as a consequence of the battle won Gloucester, Bath, and Cirencester, over which one may suppose they ruled. The victory forms an important era in the history of the conquest of Britain. Independently of the wealth and importance of the cities themselves that were thus gained, they were at the head of a wide-spreading district. From the borders of the

vast forests of Wyre and Arden on the north; to the mines of Mendip and the river Axe on the south, the whole country, save the wedge of forest land that ran up to the site of Malmesbury, fell into the hands of the invader. The wide extent of Ceawlin's dominions led Bæda to reckon him among the kings who held a special pre-eminence in Britain, and who were described by the chronicle-writer, when he copied Bæda's list, as Bretwaldas. In 583 Ceawlin made a fresh advance along the upper course of the Severn. Dr. Guest has shown that the inroad commemorated in Llywarch Hen's elegy on Kyndylan refers to this war. Tren or Uriconium, the town at the foot of the Wrekin, was destroyed; Pengwyrn, the forerunner of Shrewsbury, was burnt; and the like fate fell on Bassa's churches, probably 'some group of churches like Glendalough,' of which the memory is still preserved in Baschurch, near Shrewsbury. Here, however, Ceawlin's further progress was stopped, for the Britons under Brochmael, prince of Powys, met him at Fethanleag, or Faddiley, at the entrance of Vale Royal, defeated his army, and slew his brother Cutha. 'Wrathful,' the chronicle says, 'he thence returned to his own.' In 591 his people rose against him, and set up Ceol, or Ceolric, the son of his brother Cutha. William of Malmesbury says that this revolt was caused by the general hatred with which he was regarded (*Gesta Regum*, i. 17). It has been suggested with considerable probability that the revolt was made by the Hwiccas, the people 'settled in the newly conquered country along the lower Severn,' and that for a time it left Ceawlin the older West-Saxon territory. In 592, however, Ceolric attacked him there also. A league was made, so Malmesbury asserts, between the revolted Saxons and the Britons. The armies met at Woddesbeorg, or Wanborough, 'the key of Ceawlin's shrunken realm,' where the downs rise above the vale of the White Horse (GREEN). The battle was fierce; Ceawlin was defeated and driven out of his kingdom. Henry of Huntingdon brings the part taken by the Welsh prominently forward, and describes the battle of Wanborough as one between Britons and Saxons. In 593 Ceawlin and his brother Cwichelm were slain. Ceawlin's son was Cuthwine; his house was restored in 685 in the person of Cædwalla [q. v.]

[Anglo-Saxon Chron.; Bæda's Hist. Eccl. ii. c. 5 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); William of Malmesbury, i. c. 17 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Henry of Huntingdon, Mon. Brit. Hist. p. 714; Guest's Origines Celticæ, ii. 195, 245-314; Green's Making of England, 128, 201-8.]  
W. H.

**Cecil, Sir Edward, Viscount Wimbledon** (1572-1638), naval and military commander, was the third son of Sir Thomas Cecil, second lord Burghley and first earl of Exeter [q. v.], grandson of Sir William Cecil, first lord Burghley [q. v.], and nephew of Sir Robert Cecyl, first earl of Salisbury, whose deviation from the paternal spelling of the name he systematically adopted. He was born on 29 Feb. 1571-2, and entered the military service in the Low Countries about 1596; in 1599 he was appointed captain of a company of English foot-soldiers, and in May 1600 was appointed to a troop of cavalry, which he commanded at the battle of Newport, under Sir Francis Vere. In 1601 he commanded a body of one thousand men raised in London for the relief of Ostend, then besieged by the Spaniards, and on his return in September was knighted by Queen Elizabeth. In the spring of 1602 he was colonel of a regiment of English horse under Prince Maurice, and served in the expedition into Brabant and at the siege of Grave. He continued actively serving during the years immediately following, and achieved a high reputation for valour and conduct. In 1610 he commanded the English contingent of four thousand men under Prince Christian of Anhalt, at the siege of Juliers, 7-17 July to 12-22 Aug. He was M.P. for Aldeburgh 1601, for Stamford 1609, for Chichester 1620, and for Dover 1624.

At court his credit stood at least as high at it did in the camp. In March 1612 he was sent, as the prince's proxy, to stand sponsor to the child of Count Ernest of Nassau; in April 1613 he had a commission to receive and pay all moneys for the journey of Lady Elizabeth and her husband, and in November he was ordered to request his lady to attend the electress at Heidelberg. In Jan. 1617-8 he sued in vain for the comptrollership, and in Feb. for the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster. In 1620 he was nominated by Buckingham to command the English troops in Germany, but was superseded by Sir Horace Vere on the demand of Count Dohna, the agent of the king of Bohemia in England. A violent quarrel ensued between Cecil and Dohna, in the course of which Cecil assured his opponent that it was only his character as an ambassador which protected him from a demand for personal satisfaction. He has been credited with a speech in the House of Commons (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 5 Feb. 1620-1) on the importance of granting an immediate supply to the Palatinate; a good, honest speech, which was published under Cecil's name (1621, 4to); but Professor Gardiner has been reluctantly forced to the conclusion that it is a forgery (*Hist. of England*,

iv. 29 n.) On 4 June, however, when Sir James Perrot called on the house to declare that if the negotiations then on foot failed, 'they would be ready to adventure their lives and estates for the maintenance of the cause of God and of his majesty's royal issue,' Cecil, in seconding the motion, said: 'This declaration comes from heaven. It will do more for us than if we had ten thousand soldiers on the march.'

During all these years Cecil was markedly supported by the Duke of Buckingham; and in 1625, when the expedition against the coast of Spain was determined on, Buckingham, though nominating himself to the supreme command, as generalissimo, appointed Cecil as his deputy, with the title of lord marshal and general of the sea and land forces; 'the greatest command,' it was said, 'that any subject hath had these hundred years' (*Court and Times of Charles I*, i. 53). Buckingham offered indeed to procure him an appointment from the king; but Cecil, 'not to lessen the duke's honour, took it from himself' (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 16 March 1629-30). Notwithstanding these high-sounding titles the preparations were wretched in the extreme. The men were raw levies, and the officers, for the most part, no better; the fleet was mainly composed of merchant ships, hastily pressed into the service, and commanded by men ignorant of war and discontented at the part they were compelled to undertake. Even the general had never yet held any independent command, and was totally ignorant of naval affairs. Nevertheless Buckingham anticipated an easy success. The king came down to Plymouth to review the troops and the fleet, and it was officially announced that Cecil was to be raised to the peerage as Viscount Wimbledon.

After many delays the fleet finally got to sea on 8 Oct., with vague instructions to undertake some operation against the coast of Spain. On 20 Oct., after rounding Cape St. Vincent, a council of war was at last held, in order to determine on what point the attack should be made. It was decided to land at St. Mary's (Puerto de Santa Maria), in Cadiz Bay, and from it to march to San Lucar, a distance of twelve miles. Orders were therefore given out to anchor at St. Mary's. But as the fleet arrived at its station a number of ships were seen in the outer harbour of Cadiz. No orders had provided for this contingency. Essex, who was leading in the Swiftsure, stood towards them, interchanged a few random shot, and, with his topsails brailled up, waited in hopes of being ordered to attack; but receiving no instructions, and the ships of his squadron showing

no signs of supporting him, he fell back to his station and anchored off St. Mary's.

Meantime the Spaniards cut their cables and fled up the inner harbour. Had the Swiftsure been supported, the enemy must have been destroyed. Cecil attempted afterwards to throw the blame on the captains of the squadron, and especially on the merchant skippers. He alleged that he went in among them and called on them to follow the Swiftsure, but that they tacitly refused to obey and let go their anchors. This statement is, however, at variance with that of Essex, and almost all the other superior officers of the army. It was suspected from the flight of the ships that Cadiz was without defence, as indeed it was, and it was proposed to attack it at once. Essex, Sir John Burgh, and Lord Cromwell urged this measure with vehemence; but Cecil was incapable of any resolution, and determined rather to attack the fort of Puntales, which commanded the entrance of the harbour. But even this attack was made in a very half-hearted way. Orders were sent to twenty of the merchant ships to support five Dutch ships and to cannonade the fort. The orders were never delivered; and though the officer sent with them was Sir Thomas Love, the captain of the Royal Anne, carrying Cecil's flag, Cecil was apparently left in ignorance till the next morning. Essex with his squadron and some other ships were then ordered in, but no care was taken in stationing them, and the cannonade was weak and desultory. It was not till towards evening that the fort capitulated to a body of troops landed in its rear under the command of Sir John Burgh.

On the following morning, 24 Oct., the soldiers were landed at Puntales. The general's hope was vaguely to reduce the town by blockade; but on an alarm of an approaching enemy he turned to meet them. He had given orders that on landing every man was to carry provisions in his knapsack; but no care had been taken to see that the orders were obeyed, no instructions had been issued as to where the provisions were to come from, and the pursers of the ships had refused to supply them without proper warrant; and thus, though some few companies may have had their day's provisions with them, by far the greater part of the force, consisting of raw soldiers and ignorant officers, was absolutely destitute.

As the English advanced, the Spaniards fell back along the narrow causeway which connected Cadiz with the village of San Fernando and the bridge beyond. The English followed nearly as far as the village, a distance of six or seven miles. And here it was appar-

ently that the superior officers first discovered that the men had no provisions. Cecil was informed of it, and answered angrily that this was no time to be thinking of provisions with the enemy in their front. But the men were utterly exhausted: many of them, who had been landed with Sir John Burgh the day before, had been upwards of twenty-four hours without anything to eat, and the march under the noonday sun had completely knocked them up. Some wine was found in the village, and Cecil ordered a measure to be served out all round. But no examination was made, and it was not found out that the place was the great store for the use of the West India fleet until the soldiers were all mad drunk. Then, indeed, an attempt was made to stave the casks, but amid riot and confusion indescribable. Fortunately the enemy remained ignorant of the condition of the army, and the next morning the men, still without food, were for the most part sufficiently sober to stagger back to Puntales.

The Spanish ships had meantime warped into a creek at the head of the harbour, and sunk a merchantman at the entrance. They as well as the town seemed now unassailable; the troops were therefore re-embarked, and on the 29th the fleet took its departure. Two days later the Spanish treasure-ships, keeping well to the southward, got safely into Cadiz, while Cecil with the English fleet was watching for them broad off Cape St. Vincent. And he continued to watch till 16 Nov., when, his ships being foul and leaky, the rigging and sails rotten, and the provisions putrid, he gave the order to return to England. But before it could be carried into effect want had produced sickness, which assumed the proportions of a pestilence. Many of the ships, thus left without men sufficient to work them, were either lost or exposed to the greatest danger. The Anne Royal, having buried 130 men, with 160 sick, and leaking like a sieve, got into Kinsale on 11 Dec. Having partly refitted, sent the sick on shore, and received the crews of some of the ships which had been cast away, she put to sea on 28 Jan. 1625-6. A gale of wind drove her to the westward, and she got with some difficulty into Berehaven, where she lay till 19 Feb., and did not arrive in the Downs till the 28th.

The failure of this costly expedition gave rise to much popular indignation, the weight of which fell, not undeservedly, on Buckingham. But no censure of Buckingham can absolve Cecil from the blame which must attach to the gross incapacity which he displayed under circumstances of no peculiar difficulty. To his incompetence the Spaniards owed it that every ship in the harbour

was not taken or burnt, that Cadiz was not sacked, and that the treasure-ships were not captured. The superior officers of the expedition, especially the Earl of Essex, did not hesitate to prefer a formal charge of misconduct against the general. It appears to have been cursorily examined by the king in council, but no evidence was taken; the favour of the Duke of Buckingham and Cecil's denial of every point were held to be sufficient to warrant a full acquittal; and thus, far from receiving every censure, his credit at court rose and continued to rise till, a few years later and after the more disastrous failure at the Isle of R , even the people began to consider him as a heroic leader of armies. His elevation to the peerage had been announced before the fleet sailed, and he had since been even officially addressed as Lord Wimbledon, though his patent as Baron Cecil of Putney was not dated till 9 Nov., while the fleet was vainly looking out for the treasure-ships off Cape St. Vincent, nor was he actually created Viscount Wimbledon till 25 July 1626. On 18 Dec. 1626 he received a commission as lieutenant of the county of Surrey. In 1627 he held a command at the siege of Groll, and at Bois-le-Duc in 1629. On 30 July 1630 he was appointed governor of Portsmouth, an office which he held till his death, 15 Nov. 1638. During this time he seems to have been recognised as the highest English authority on military affairs. He was a member of numberless committees and councils of war; even Buckingham did not disdain to receive advice from him (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 12 Oct. (?) 1627), and Sir K nelm Digby wrote (21-31 Jan. 1636-7) to the effect that 'England is happy in producing persons who do actions which after ages take for romances; witness King Arthur and Cadwallader of ancient time, and the valiant and ingenious peer, the Lord Wimbledon, whose epistle exceeds anything ever done by so victorious a general of armies, or so provident a governor of towns.'

He was three times married, the last only two years before his death (*Cal. State Papers*, Dom. 1636-7, p. 149); but leaving issue only four daughters, all by the first wife, the title became extinct (*ib.* 1638-9, p. 106). His last wife, Sophia, daughter of Sir Edward Zouch, who was described (27 Nov. 1638) as a rich young widow, lived to a ripe old age, and died in November 1691 (*Collins, Peerage* (1768), iii. 118).

[Wimbledon's own account of the Cadiz Expedition is his *Journal and Relation*, &c. (1626, sm. 4to); another account, which must be considered as to a great extent also Wimbledon's, is *The Voyage to Cadiz*, by John Glanville, edited by Rev. A. B. Grosart (Camden Society,

1883), the introduction to which contains a summary of nearly all that is known as to Wimbledon's life; The charge delivered by the Earl of Essex and nine other Colonels at the Council Table against the Viscount Wimbledon, general of the last Cal s voyage, with his answer, containing a full relation of the defeat of the same voyage is printed in Lord Lansdowne's Works (1732), ii. 249. The original manuscript is in the Brit. Mus. Harl. 37, f. 88. Copies of the *Journal of the Swiftsure* are in Harl. MS. 354, No. 34, and in S. P. Dom. Charles I, xi. 22; see also Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, vi. 1-24, where there is an excellent map of Cadiz. A *Life of Cecil, Viscount Wimbledon*, by Mr. Charles Dalton, was published in two volumes in 1885.] J. K. L.

**CECIL, JAMES**, third EARL OF SALISBURY (*d.* 1683), was the son of Charles, lord Viscount Cranbourn, and Jane, daughter and coheirress of James Maxwell, earl of Dirleton in Scotland. He was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, where one of his acquaintances was Joshua Barnes [q.v.], author of the 'Life of Edward III,' who states that for 'loyalty, generosity, and affability' he was most likely to 'advance the noble name of Cecil to the utmost period of glory.' On 21 Oct. 1669 he took his seat in the House of Peers, where he was a zealous opponent of the Duke of York's succession. In February 1676-7 he was committed with other noblemen to the Tower for supporting the proposition of the Duke of Buckingham, that 'the last prorogation of parliament was null and void in law' (EACHARD, *History of England*, 3rd ed. 928). In January 1678-9 he was sworn a privy councillor and took his seat at the board (*LUTTRELL, Diary*, i. 5). In August 1680 he was elected a knight of the Garter. He died in May 1683 (*ib.* 260). By his wife, Margaret, daughter of John Manners, earl of Rutland, who died in France 30 Aug. 1682 (*ib.* 215), he left five sons and five daughters.

[*Collins's Peerage*, 5th ed. iii. 148-9; *Luttrell's Diary*; *Eachard's History of England*.]

T. F. H.

**CECIL, JAMES**, fourth EARL OF SALISBURY (*d.* 1693), was the eldest son of James, third earl of Salisbury [q.v.], and Margaret, daughter of John Manners, earl of Rutland. He married Frances, one of the three daughters and coheirresses of Simon Bennet of Beechampton, Buckinghamshire, when she was only thirteen years old (*LUTTRELL, Diary*, i. 209). 'Salisbury,' says Lord Macaulay, 'was foolish to a proverb. His figure was so bloated by sensual indulgence as to be almost incapable of moving; and this sluggish body was the abode of an equally sluggish mind. He was represented in popular lampoons as a man made to be duped, as a man

who had hitherto been the prey of gamesters, and who might as well be the prey of friars.' In January 1688-9 he was committed to the Tower as a popish recusant (*ib.* 493), but the prosecution was finally waived (*ib.* ii. 123). His name was forged by Robert Young to a document purporting to be that of an association who had bound themselves to take arms for King James, and to seize on the Prince of Orange dead or alive. On this account he was on 7 May 1692 committed to the Tower (*ib.* 444), but nothing being proved against him his bail was finally discharged in the court of king's bench (*ib.* 629). He died 25 Oct. 1693, leaving an only son, three years old (*ib.* 388), who succeeded him as fifth earl. He was buried at Hatfield on 29 Oct.

[Luttrell's Diary; Resesby's Memoirs; Sprat's Relation of the late Wicked Contrivance of Stephen Blackhead and Robert Young, 1692; Macaulay's History of England; Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire; Chauncy's Hertfordshire; Colins's Peerage, 5th ed. iii. 149.] T. F. H.

**CECIL, RICHARD (1748-1810)**, divine, one of the leaders of the evangelical revival, was born at his father's house of business in Chiswell Street, in the parish of St. Luke's, Old Street, London, 8 Nov. 1748, and was baptised in the parish church on the 30th of the same month. His father, Thomas Cecil, a descendant of Cecil, lord Burghley, was scarlet-dyer to the East India Company, a lucrative calling in which he had been preceded by his father and grandfather, who established their dye-works on their freehold property in Chiswell Street. His mother's maiden name was Tabitha Grosvenor. She was the only child of a London merchant, a pious dissenter. Richard was the youngest child of his parents, and was born after his mother was fifty years old. He was allowed to relinquish business for literature and the fine arts. He wrote poetry and cultivated music, becoming a proficient on the violin, but his chief passion was for painting, which he pursued insatiably, attending all the picture sales in London and practising at home. He made a clandestine visit to the continent to see the pictures of the best masters, and would have gone to Rome if his funds had proved sufficient. He acquired great influence among his youthful associates, and gloried in being an apostle of infidelity and a leader in every kind of profligacy. Like Augustine he was brought back to faith and purity by the prayers and holy example of his mother. On his conversion he resolved to devote himself to the work of the christian ministry. To this his father made no serious

objection, only insisting that he should not leave the church of England. If he connected himself with 'dissenters or sectaries,' his father would 'do nothing for him living or dying.' Cecil commenced residence at Queen's College, Oxford, 19 May 1773, and took his B.A. degree, we are told, 'with great credit' in the Lent term of 1777. His ordination, both to the diaconate and priesthood, preceded his B.A. degree, the former taking place in the chapel of Buckden Palace at the hands of Bishop Green 22 Sept. 1776, and the latter 23 Feb. 1777. His title was given him by the Rev. John Pugh, the incumbent of Rauceby and Cranwell, near Sleaford, Lincolnshire, at that time one of the most influential members of the evangelical party in the church, and one of the originators of the Church Missionary Society; his stipend was 40*l.* From Lincolnshire he was speedily removed to Leicester-shire, then also comprised within the diocese of Lincoln, to take temporary charge of the parishes of Thornton-cum-Bagworth and Markfield, then vacant through the incumbent's decease. Early in 1777, through the interest of powerful evangelical friends, he was offered the two small livings of All Saints and St. Thomas of Canterbury at Cliffe in the town of Lewes in Sussex, to the former of which he was instituted 27 Feb. of that year, the combined income of the two rectories being only about 80*l.* per annum. Here he took up his residence and fulfilled the duties of his ministry with great zeal and earnestness until the dampness of his rectory produced a severe rheumatic affection in his head, when he returned to London, making his home at Islington. Cecil held his two Lewes livings for twenty years, and certainly did not reside upon them or perform the duty personally for more than half that period. He resigned St. Thomas's early in 1797 to the curate who had done his work, and All Saints at the end of 1798. His fame as an earnest evangelical preacher had preceded him in the metropolis, and he was speedily engaged to undertake various lectureships, one at St. Margaret's, Lothbury, at 6 a.m., an evening lecture at Orange Street Chapel, which subsequently became a nonconformist place of worship, and others. He shared the charge of Long Acre Chapel with the Rev. Henry Foster, another of the fathers of the evangelical movement, a friend of Newton and Scott, and in 1787 he undertook the evening lecture at Christ Church, Spital-fields, which he held alternately with Mr. Foster, the lectureship being only tenable for three years consecutively, till 1801. The sphere of duty with which Cecil's name is most prominently connected is St. John's

Chapel, Bedford Row, in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, now pulled down, which continued to the middle of the present century a stronghold of the evangelical doctrines first introduced by him there. To this chapel he was appointed in March 1780 by Sir Eardley Wilmot, acting for the trustees of Rugby School, the patrons thereof, on the recommendation of Archbishop Cornwallis. He was secured from any personal risk by a bond given by Mrs. Wilberforce, the aunt of William Wilberforce, which, the speculation proving successful, she was never called upon to fulfil. Cecil continued minister of St. John's Chapel till his death. Two years after his resignation of his Lewes livings he was presented by Mr. Samuel Thornton on behalf of the trustees, in whom the presentation had been vested by his father, Mr. John Thornton of Clapham, with the united benefice of Chobham and Bisleigh in Surrey. Here he spent three months in the summer of each year, to the great moral and religious benefit of the people, until his health, which was enfeebled by incessant ministerial labours, after one or two serious illnesses and a paralytic seizure, entirely broke down in February 1808. Visits to Bath, Clifton, Tunbridge Wells, and other places afforded him temporary relief, but no permanent benefit resulted, and he died at Belle Vue, Hampstead, after a fit of apoplexy, 15 Aug. 1810, in the sixty-third year of his age. Cecil was married to a woman whom her admirable memoir of her husband proves to have been in every way worthy of him, and left behind him a large family of sons and daughters. Of the remarkable body of evangelical preachers who were his contemporaries in London Cecil may safely be pronounced the intellectual chief. He preached from notes, and wrote but little for the press, and his few printed sermons, though characterised by great originality of thought and vigour of style, can give no adequate idea of his pre-eminence as a preacher. He was 'capable,' we are told, 'of rivetting the attention of a congregation by the originality of his conceptions, the plain, straightforward force of his language, the firm grasp of his subject, and by a happy power of illustration which gave freshness and novelty to the most familiar subjects' (JERRAM, *Memoir*, p. 267). 'Nature,' writes Canon Overton, 'had endowed him with an elegant mind, and he had improved his natural gifts by steady application. . . . There is a stately dignity both in his character and in his style of writing which is very impressive' (*The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 207). His 'Original Thoughts on Holy Scripture,' a posthumous publication of notes of his extempore

sermons taken down by some of his hearers, fully deserve the title given to them. The truest estimate of the originality of Cecil's mind is gained from his 'Remains,' which might more properly be called his 'Table Talk,' being a collection of reminiscences of his conversation made by his friend and the editor of his writings, the Rev. Josiah Pratt. Of these Canon Overton justly remarks they 'show traces of a scholarly habit of mind, a sense of humour, a grasp of leading principles, a liberality of thought, and capacity of appreciating good wherever it might be found, which render them, short though they are, a valuable contribution to evangelical literature' (*ib.*). The same may be said of his contributions to the discussions of the 'Eclectic Society,' which met in the vestry room of St. John's Chapel, the notes of which were published in 1856 by Archdeacon Pratt, under the title of 'Eclectic Notes.' In his breadth of view and freedom from prejudice he shows himself in advance of his age. His ministry, we are told, was everywhere popular, and in the best sense successful. Both at St. John's and at Chobham he had to encounter a large amount of prejudice. He lived down this opposition, and in both spheres of duty he speedily gathered large and deeply attached congregations. His person and bearing were dignified, and his sermons were delivered with a conscious authority which silenced opposition. His decision of character and self-mastery is shown by his cutting the strings of his violin when at Oxford, and never replacing them, lest it should divert him from his studies, and by his resolve never again to visit an exhibition of paintings on discovering that his attention had been unduly diverted from a sick person he was visiting by a picture hanging in the room. The works of Cecil were collected and published after his death by the Rev. Josiah Pratt, and have gone through several editions. They include 'Memoirs of the Hon. and Rev. W. B. Cadogan,' 'Memoir of John Bacon, the Sculptor,' and of the 'Rev. John Newton,' a collection of 'Miscellanies,' comprising 'A Friendly Visit to a House of Mourning,' one of the best known of Cecil's works, 'Short Hints to a Soldier,' 'A Word on the Peace,' written in 1801, and other minor pieces. These are followed by the only sermons, six in number, prepared by the author for publication, thirty-three sermons taken in shorthand, and, by far the most remarkable of the whole collection, the 'Remains' already mentioned. To these may be added the 'Original Thoughts on Holy Scripture,' published in 1848, also from shorthand notes, under the editorship of his daughter.

[Memoir of Rev. Richard Cecil, by his widow; A View of the Character of the Rev. R. Cecil, by the Rev. Josiah Pratt; Memoir of the Rev. Charles Jerram.] E. V.

**CECIL, ROBERT**, first **EARL OF SALISBURY** and first **VISCOUNT CRANBORNE** (1563?-1612), statesman, was son of William Cecil, lord Burghley [q. v.], by Mildred, daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke. The place of his birth has never been fixed with certainty. He declared that he was born in Westminster. The year, too, is doubtful. When Thomas Cecil, his elder brother, was in France in January 1563, it was deemed advisable that he should return sooner than had been intended, because his father's 'younger son' had recently died. It is to be inferred that Thomas Cecil at this time had no brother, and hence the birth of Robert, the future Lord Salisbury, must be set down at the earliest some time in 1563. Being of a weakly constitution and a delicate physique, he was educated at home under private tutors. It is probable that Dr. Richard Neile, eventually archbishop of York, was one of them; it is certain he was one of Lord Burghley's chaplains and received his preferments through the aid afforded him by father and son. When it is said, as it often has been said, that Robert, earl of Essex, was his 'early playmate,' it is forgotten that Essex was his junior by at least four years, and was actually a member of Lord Burghley's household only for a few weeks. It is said that Cecil entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1581, though if it were so he must have gone up to the university four or five years older than was usual at this time. In 1584 he was sent to France, and probably remained abroad for great part of two years. He was M.P. for Westminster in 1584 and in 1586. In 1588 he was in Lord Derby's train on the occasion of the sending an embassy to negotiate conditions of peace with Spain; and we may assume that his familiarity with continental languages qualified him to act as emissary to announce to Parma the arrival of the commissioners. In the parliament that was summoned to meet a few weeks after the destruction of the Spanish armada, but which did not actually meet till February 1589, Cecil sat as knight of the shire for the county of Hertford, and this year he served as high sheriff for that county. It seems, too, to have been the year of his marriage. Robert, earl of Essex, was at this time high in favour with the queen, and, intoxicated by the kind treatment he had received, his vanity led him to regard himself as a power in the state. He actually hoped to supplant his former guardian, Lord Burghley, and to become the director of the counsels of the nation. Davison,

whom Elizabeth had made the victim of her statecraft and ruined for his part in the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, was a friend and protégé of Essex, and the earl was bent on restoring him to his old place of secretary. Though Elizabeth would not so far gratify the favourite, she kept the post vacant from year to year, Cecil in the meantime doing all the real work that was required. In 1591 (20 May) he received the honour of knighthood on the occasion of the queen's being received at a strange entertainment given by Lord Burghley at Theobalds. In August of the same year he was sworn of the privy council, but it was not until 1596, during the Earl of Essex's absence on the Cadiz expedition, that he was at last appointed secretary of state. In 1598 Philip II, wearied by his long succession of humiliating reverses in his protracted conflict with England, made overtures of peace to Henry IV. If Spain and France should unite in any friendly alliance, it might be a serious matter for the queen and her people. To prevent such an alliance Cecil was sent over, with his brother-in-law, Lord Brooke, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Walter Raleigh, and some others, on an extraordinary embassy to France, and arrived at Paris on 3 March. Two despatches of Cecil's, giving an account of this embassy, have been preserved. He was back again in England on 29 April. Lord Burghley, who was now in his seventy-eighth year, was beginning to show signs of failing health, and he died on 4 Aug.

After his father's death Cecil's position was one of peculiar isolation. He had nothing like a cabinet to support him, or to share with him the burdens and responsibilities of his official duties. In political sagacity there was none to compare with him, none to look to as a coadjutor who might be trusted, and no friend to whom he could unbosom himself with safety. His gifted mother had died nine years before. Sisters he had none surviving; only one of them had left any offspring. His brother Thomas, lord Burghley [q. v.], can never have been much to him. He had been a widower since 1591. His only son (William, the second earl of Salisbury) was a child of seven, his only daughter a year older. His aunt, Lady Bacon, in one of her letters of this date, expresses her belief that he would be 'better with a good wife;' but he never married again. His cousins, Francis and Anthony Bacon [q. v.], had taken their side against him, and looked upon Essex as their patron rather than their cautious and inscrutable kinsman. Always in sore need of money and always greedy for any advancement, they thought there was more to be got out of the dashing young earl, who gave himself all the

airs of a bountiful sovereign, and perhaps they shared in their patron's contempt for Cecil's cool head and provoking self-command. It is small wonder if this man of thirty-five, watching the queen growing old and knowing himself to be unloved, should at times have been oppressed by a sense of loneliness, and should have written in a cynical tone to Sir John Harrington: 'Good knight, rest content, and give heed to one that hath sorrowed in the bright lustre of a court, and gone heavily even on the best-seeming fair ground. I know it bringeth little comfort on earth, and he is, I reckon, no wise man that looketh this way to heaven.'

After the dissolution of the parliament in February 1598 no new parliament was summoned till October 1601. Meanwhile Essex was removed out of Cecil's path by being sent to Ireland. In September 1599 Essex suddenly presented himself before the queen without having previously obtained any leave of absence from his province. Such an offence could not be passed over. On 5 June 1600 the earl was brought before eighteen commissioners, numbering among them the chief officers of the state, whose business it was to report upon his misconduct. Cecil was among the commissioners, of course, and it was through his discreet intercession and the courtesy and forbearance which he displayed that the earl was allowed his liberty, though still forbidden the royal presence. In the February following Essex engaged upon his mad outbreak, and on 19 Feb. 1601 he was put upon his trial. In the course of that trial a highly dramatic incident occurred. 'Essex accused Sir Robert Cecil of having said that the infant of Spain was the right heir to the crown of England. The secretary . . . stepped forth on this being said, and desiring to speak insisted that Essex should produce his authority, who only replied that Southampton had heard it as well as himself. Cecil then conjured the latter by his duty to God, by his christianity and their ancient friendship, to name the councillor to whom he was reported to have made this speech. Being told it was Mr. Comptroller, the secretary fell on his knees, desired that Sir William Knollys might be sent for, and sent a message to the queen, vowing to God that if she would not allow Sir William to come he would die rather than ever serve her again.' The baseless charge was entirely discredited, but it was a critical moment in Cecil's life. It was only after Essex had suffered for his awkward attempt at an insurrection that Cecil allowed himself to enter into communication with James I, precisely as his father had done with Elizabeth, and with characteristic caution he

began to prepare the way for the king of Scots to succeed to the throne, as Burghley had done for the queen. So well, however, was this secret of state kept that it was not till a century ago that the existence of any such correspondence had been suspected, and not till Mr. Bruce published them for the Camden Society that the real contents of those letters were made known to the world.

In the following October Queen Elizabeth's last parliament assembled, and Cecil represented Hertfordshire, as he had done in the three previous parliaments. In the debates that ensued he spoke with remarkable dignity and force. His business was to obtain the supplies for prosecuting the war with Spain, which now threatened to be carried on in Ireland, and to make the best of the grievances, especially those which had to do with monopolies, of which the popular party in the house were disposed to complain loudly. He managed to obtain the necessary subsidies, and the parliament was dissolved in less than two months after it had assembled. During the remainder of the queen's reign his work necessitated his keeping many secretaries; even his private letters it was difficult for him to attend to, 'not being able,' as he writes, 'to undergo the continual multiplicity of the despatches of state and the due correspondences which I owe.' The accession of James I found him prepared at all points. Elizabeth died 24 March 1603, at 2 A.M. At eleven, in the presence of some of the chief nobility and others, Cecil read the proclamation declaring that James was king of England. He was continued as secretary by James I, and on 13 May made Baron Cecil of Essendine, Rutland, on 20 Aug. 1604 Viscount Cranborne, on 4 May 1605 Earl of Salisbury, and on 20 May 1606 a knight of the Garter. He was lord-lieutenant of Hertfordshire from 1605 till death. A large portion of his father's landed property had descended to him by the deed of settlement made when Burghley had married Lady Mildred, Burleigh House and the bulk of the Lincolnshire estates which had come through his grandmother being entailed upon his elder brother, now Earl of Exeter. He had also succeeded his father as master of the court of wards, and in October 1603 was appointed lord high steward to the queen, Anne of Denmark. His resources must have been very large. From this time till his death it is hardly too much to say that the whole administration of the country was in his hands. The extravagance of the king and the greediness of the courtiers knew no bounds. The Englishmen denounced the Scotchmen as rapacious plunderers; but it appears that there was very little to choose between them, and



that the English actually absorbed the larger share of the spoils. Every one seemed to be bent upon enriching himself as speedily as possible. Only Salisbury continued steadily at his duties. He worked while others were playing each his own game. The policy of Salisbury during James's reign and his statesmanship are hardly within the province of such a biography as this; they may be studied in the pages of Mr. Gardiner's history. Salisbury's last preferment was bestowed upon him when by the death of Thomas, earl of Dorset, he succeeded that nobleman as lord treasurer on 6 May 1608. From that time till his death the finances of the country came more than ever under his direction. The king's debts, notwithstanding the reckless profusion that characterised him, were greatly reduced by Salisbury's dexterous management, and the ordinary revenue of the country nearly doubled itself in the first ten years of the king's reign. With regard to his receiving money from Spain it was part of that vile system which his father had established, and into which he was perhaps forced, of employing every means that came to hand for obtaining information of the doings of the catholics. That he gave any information or that he ever betrayed the trust committed to him there is not a tittle of evidence to show.

It is said that he was an abler speaker than his father, brighter and quicker. Certainly the impression made by his speeches in parliament appears to have been very great. Yet he was a man of far less wide culture than the first Lord Burghley, and though chancellor of the university of Cambridge from Feb. 1600-1, and a liberal benefactor to Oxford, in the shape of a valuable collection of books bestowed upon the university library in 1605, he appears to have had but faint sympathy with learning or learned men, and had none of the instincts or tastes of the student.

He was in person much below the middle height, probably not exceeding five feet two or three, with some slight curvature of the spine, the effect of which, as Mr. Brewer says, was 'exaggerated by the dress and fashion of the times.' He was sensitive upon this subject, as all are who labour under any deformity. It is said that his cousin, Sir Francis Bacon, aimed one of his most famous essays against this misfortune, and some of the most cruel and scurrilous lampoons which were circulated to his annoyance by the hangers-on of the Earl of Essex in 1600 did not forget to draw attention to his 'wry neck, crooked back, and splay foot.' Queen Elizabeth did not scruple to call him her 'little elf,' and James I called him his 'pigmy,' and even

addressed him in writing as his 'little beagle.' He made no sign of pain, but he felt the sting of it. Perhaps there is no European statesman who has occupied so prominent and so commanding a position in history during the last three centuries with whose public life and political administration we are so familiar in all its details, and of whose private life we know so little, as Lord Salisbury. It is only when he is death-stricken and when a few days of life remain to him that we find the curtain raised which covers his private character through life.

It has already been pointed out that we are ignorant of the exact place or time of his birth. The same may be said of his marriage, of the birth of his children, of his wife's death, indeed of anything concerned with his boyhood and early manhood. We know nothing of his tutors or schoolmasters. There is no record of his matriculation at Cambridge nor any evidence of his having taken a degree there, except such as is afforded by the fact that he incorporated at Oxford in 1606. Though there are many indications of his having possessed a kindly and affectionate nature, he seems never to have had a friendship. Life was to him a game which he was playing for high stakes, and men and women were only pieces upon the board, set there to be swept off by one side or the other or allowed to stand so long only as the risk of letting them remain there was not too great. The immense tension at which he lived rendered it impossible to cultivate any taste for art or literature, yet he certainly had an innate appreciation of grandeur and symmetry in architecture, and he inherited from his father what amounted to a passion for building and planting. In 1607, James I, having taken a fancy for Lord Salisbury's beautiful house at Theobalds in Hertfordshire, offered to exchange Hatfield for it. The earl could hardly refuse. He had no sooner got possession of the new domain than he began to plan and construct the glorious mansion which remains a splendid monument of his good taste and magnificence. Mr. Brewer says he was his own architect. This is true only so far as the general conception was his own; the draughtsman of the plans and details, the real architect was Robert Lymminge, who afterwards designed and built the hardly less beautiful mansion of Blickling in Norfolk. Hatfield was never the residence of the first Earl of Salisbury; it was not completed till after his death.

Lord Salisbury married Elizabeth, daughter of William Brooke, fifth baron Cobham, and sister of the two wretched men, Henry, lord Cobham, and George Brooke, who were im-

licated with Markham, Watson, and Sir Walter Raleigh in the 'Bye plot.' By this lady he had two children: Frances, a daughter, who on 25 June 1610 married Henry Clifford, only son of the fourth earl of Cumberland, and William, his successor as second earl of Salisbury, who, on 1 Dec. 1608, married Lady Catherine Howard, youngest daughter of Thomas, earl Suffolk, and sister of the infamous Countess of Essex. The earl seems never to have had the satisfaction of seeing any male issue from either of these alliances. Of Lady Clifford's children only one daughter attained a marriageable age; his successor's eldest son was not born till 1616. Of that successor Clarendon has left perhaps his most caustic 'character.' Lord Salisbury's constitution had begun to show signs of breaking up for a year or two before his death. As early as the spring of 1611 he was reported to be dying. In the summer Sir Theodore Mayerne regarded his case as hopeless, but he continued through the winter transacting business, and in January there was some amendment.

In April 1612 he set out for Bath, where the waters, it was said, were likely to restore him. On 8 May he wrote his last letter to his son, whom he had expressly ordered not to come to him; but the young man would not heed the injunction, and on the 19th was at his father's side. Feeling that all hope of a cure was gone, and anxious to reach home before the end should come, he left Bath on the 21st. The journey told upon his exhausted frame, and he only succeeded in reaching Marlborough, where he was received into the parsonage house, and there breathed his last on 24 May 1612. He died owing nearly 38,000*l.*, at that time an enormous sum, which it required the sale of an extensive territory to clear off.

Two curious stories which have reached us regarding Lord Salisbury deserve to be noticed. The first is to be found in Lodge's 'Illustrations of English History' (iii. 146), and has been more than once quoted or referred to as showing that Cecil was a 'man of gallantry.' It appears that he had given a picture of himself to Elizabeth, lady Derby, apparently as a wedding present; that the picture 'was on a dainty tablet, and the queen espying it . . . snatched it away, . . . fastened it to her shoe, and walked long with it there.' Hereupon Cecil got one of the court poets to write some verses upon the incident, and some one else to set them to music. Writers who are prone to draw hasty inferences from scraps of information, and readers who are always ready to accept the worst rather than the simplest interpretation of a stray anecdote, require to be warned that

Elizabeth, lady Derby, was Cecil's niece, his own sister's child! The other story is told by Dr. Donne in one of his letters, but nothing like an allusion to the circumstances is to be met with in any contemporary writer. The internal evidence which Donne's letter affords fixes the date to about 1 Aug. 1609. According to this letter, in consequence of a violent quarrel between Salisbury and Lord Hertford, Salisbury sent the other 'a direct challenge by his servant, Mr. Knightley. . . . All circumstances were so clearly handled between them, that St. James was agreed for the place, and they were both come from their several lodgings and upon the way to have met, when they were interrupted by such as from the king were sent to have care of it.' Fifty years before this time Salisbury's elder brother, the future Earl of Exeter, had been ordered to leave Paris to remove him from the contaminating influence of this same Lord Hertford, then a young man of dissolute life and expensive habits. He was now considerably over seventy. Salisbury himself was thirty years his junior, and had been made lord treasurer the year before. Donne, in telling the story, regards it as so improbable that his correspondent would hardly be brought to believe it; but that it can have been a mere invention, or that an event so extraordinary should have been hushed up and never found its way into the news-letters of the time, seems equally inexplicable. Possibly when the Hatfield MSS. which are concerned with this period shall have been calendared, some light may be thrown upon the curious episode.

[The main sources for the biography of Lord Salisbury are to be found in the documents summarised in the Calendars of State Papers (Domestic) covering the period between 1581 and 1618. Next in importance come Winwood's Memorials of State (3 vols. fol. 1725) and the Court and Times of James I, printed in 1848 from the manuscripts which Dr. Birch left behind him. Bishop Goodman's Court and Times of James I was published by Professor Brewer in 2 vols. 8vo, 1839. It contains some valuable letters printed nowhere else. The bishop's 'character' of Salisbury must be taken for what it is worth. The best sketch of Lord Salisbury is to be found in Brewer's English Studies; the writer had the great advantage of having the Hatfield papers for years under his supervision. Nichols's Progresses of Elizabeth and James I are full of curious information, but the index to these seven quarto volumes is altogether insufficient. The minute account by Mr. John Bowles, afterwards bishop of Rochester, of Salisbury's last sickness and death is to be found in Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, i. 205. For all that concerns Cecil's relations with Mr. Anthony Bacon, Birch's *Memoirs*

of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth is invaluable. For all that concerns his dealings with Sir Francis Bacon, Spedding's *Life and Letters of Bacon* is exhaustive, as is Edwards's *Life of Sir Walter Raleigh* for all which concerns his connection with that unfortunate genius. These three last-named works are, each in its own way, essential to the student of this period. Captain Devereux's *Lives of the Devereux, Earls of Essex* (2 vols. 8vo, 1853), is a careful and industrious piece of advocacy. The following works will be found to support statements made in the text:—Collins's *Peerage*, ii. 486 et seq.; Lodge's *Illustrations of British History* (4to, 1791), iii. 87, 124, 146, &c.; Collins's *Sydney Papers* (fol. 1746), ii. 324 et seq.; Froude's *History of England*, vol. xii.; S. R. Gardiner's *History of England, 1603–1642*, vols. i. and ii.; D'Ewes's *Journals of the Parliaments of Queen Elizabeth* (fol. 1693); *Correspondence of King James VI with Sir Robert Cecil*, ed. John Bruce (Camden Society), 1861; Donne's *Letters*, 4to, 1654, p. 213. There are a few scraps concerning him in Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* and in the *Fasti*. The flimsy gossip which forms the staple of such writers as Naunton, Weldon, Osborne, and the catholics, who for the most part got their stories at second or third hand, are scarcely worth notice. Though Salisbury was chancellor of the university of Cambridge, his name appears but once or twice in Cooper's *Annals*. The *Calendar of the Hatfield MSS.* (Historical MSS. Commission) sheds light upon various incidents of his private life.]

A. J.

**Cecil, Thomas**, first **EARL OF EXETER**, second **LORD BURGHLEY** (1542–1623), eldest son of William Cecil, lord Burghley, by Mary Cheke [see **Cecil, William**], was born on 5 May 1542. He seems to have been brought up under tutors at his father's house, and never to have received a university education; he gave no signs of more than average ability, and it was probably because his father knew him to be deficient in capacity that he felt compelled to keep him in the background during his own lifetime. In June 1561 he was sent with Sir Thomas Windebank to travel on the continent, but he had hardly got to Paris before he began to exhibit a taste for dissipation, and he seems to have indulged that taste with much freedom. His father was greatly distressed by the reports he received, and in one of his letters expresses a fear that his son 'will return home like a spending sot, meet only to keep a tennis court.'

Windebank, when he had been in Paris for more than a year, wrote home in despair, saying there was no doing anything with the young man, whose idle and dissolute habits had quite got beyond his control, and recommended his being recalled. To this, however, his father did not agree, and we hear that in August 1562 'they left Paris

'secretly,' and slipped away to Antwerp and thence made their way to Spire, Heidelberg, and Frankfort. Young Cecil's conduct showed no improvement, and though his father wished him to visit Italy and Switzerland he had no desire himself to prolong his stay abroad, and returned in the spring of 1563. In 1563 he was M.P. for Stamford, and again in 1571 and 1572. In 1564 he married Dorothy, second daughter and coheir of John, lord Latimer, negotiations for the marriage having, it appears, been begun two years before. During the next five years we hear little of him, but during the rebellion of the northern earls in 1569 he showed a commendable activity, and did not forget to claim his reward. In 1570 the Earl of Sussex, under whom he had served, recommended him to the queen as deserving some recognition, and he wrote a letter of thanks, which has been preserved. If it be a fair specimen of his style of composition, he must indeed have been a man of but small 'parts.' Next year, on the occasion of the French ambassador visiting Cambridge, accompanied by Lord Burghley as chancellor of the university, and other notables, Cecil was admitted M.A. by a special grace of the senate. At a magnificent tournament held at Westminster during this year he took a prominent part, and received a prize at the hands of the queen for his prowess at the barriers. He had always had a desire for a military life, which his father would never allow him to gratify; but in 1573 he volunteered for the Scotch war without asking leave, and was present at the storming of Edinburgh on 28 May. In July 1575 he received the honour of knighthood on the occasion of the queen's visit to Kenilworth. When Leicester went in command of the English contingent to the Low Countries, Cecil accompanied him and distinguished himself by his valour in the campaign. In November 1585 he was made governor of the Brille, one of the cautionary towns. There was little cordiality between him and Leicester, for whom he entertained a scarcely disguised contempt; on the other hand, he was one of those who showed a loyal admiration for Sir John Norris.

In August 1587 we find him among the mourners at the funeral ceremonies of Mary Queen of Scots, which were celebrated at Peterborough. In 1588 he was among the volunteers who served on the fleet equipped to resist the Spanish Armada. In 1584 and 1586 he was M.P. for Lincolnshire, and in 1592 for Northamptonshire. At his father's funeral in 1598 the queen gave order that he, as chief mourner, should 'mourn as an earl.'

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It was not until the summer of 1599 that he received his first preferment. He was made president of the council of the north. The instructions addressed to him by the queen give a most curious account of the condition of Yorkshire at this time, and of the widespread discontent that prevailed. Lord Burghley is charged to resort to strong measures to reduce the recusant gentry to obedience, and to hunt down the papists and the priests. He showed no reluctance to obey his orders, and before he had been in office two months he writes to his brother, Sir Robert Cecil, boasting, 'Since my coming I have filled a little study with copes and mass-books.' In October 1600 he had leave of absence, and being in London during the so-called rebellion of Robert, earl of Essex, in the following February, he took a leading part in suppressing the foolish riot and in proclaiming Essex a traitor with due formalities. In recognition of his service he was made a knight of the Garter, and installed at Windsor 20 May 1601. On the accession of James I (1603) he was sworn of the privy council, and on 4 May 1605 he was created Earl of Exeter. In April 1609 his wife, Lady Dorothy, died, and about the same time Sir Thomas Smith, master of requests to James I, being carried off by a fever, Lord Exeter consoled himself for his own loss by marrying Sir Thomas Smith's widow, though she was thirty-eight years his junior; she was daughter of William, fourth lord Chandos.

He appeared but little at court after this—indeed, he was nearly seventy at the time of his second marriage. He had suffered a great deal from the gout for many years before, and he spent most of his time at Wimbledon House in comparative retirement, though his name occurs now and then upon commissions, upon all of which he certainly did not serve. The last years of his life were embittered by the scandalous lawsuits in which he found himself entangled through the quarrels that arose between his grandson and heir, Lord Roos, and the violent and wicked woman to whom that son was married. The story of the hateful business may be read in Mr. Samuel Rawson Gardiner's 'History of England,' 1603-1642, vol. iii. Lord Exeter died 7 Feb. 1622-3, in his eightieth year, and was buried in Westminster Abbey three days after, in the chapel of St. John the Baptist, where a splendid monument to his memory still exists.

It is clear that the first Lord Exeter was a person of very ordinary abilities, and that if he had been born of other parentage we should have heard nothing of him. By his

first wife, Lady Dorothy, he had a family of five sons and eight daughters. His eldest son, William, who succeeded to the earldom, was the father of the despicable Lord Roos who died before him, in 1618, and as he had no other son the earldom passed to Sir Richard Cecil, the first earl's second son, from whom the present Marquis of Exeter is lineally descended. The third son, Sir Edward Cecil, was created Viscount Wimbledon 25 July 1626, but dying in 1638 without male heirs the title became extinct [see CECIL, SIR EDWARD, VISCOUNT WIMBLEDON]. Of his daughters, Elizabeth married, first, Sir William Hatton, and secondly Sir Edward Coke. The violent quarrel between this lady and her second husband was a *cause célèbre* before the law courts in 1617. Lord Exeter imitated his illustrious father in founding a hospital for twelve poor men and two women at Liddington in Rutlandshire, and was a liberal benefactor to Clare College, Cambridge. By his second wife he had a daughter, who died in infancy. His widow survived him more than forty years. She died in 1663 and was buried in Winchester Cathedral.

[Many of the authorities for the life of Thomas Cecil are given under CECIL, WILLIAM, LORD BURGHLEY. To them must be added: Calendars, Domestic, covering all the period of his life, passim; Birch's Court and Times of James I; Nichols's Progresses of Eliz. and Jas. I; Strype's Annals, ii. i. 36, and elsewhere through his works; Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, ii. 278; Gardiner's Hist. of James I, vol. iii. chap. iii.; Spedding's Bacon's Life and Letters, vi. et seq.; Collins's Peerage, 'Marquis of Exeter,' ii.; Life and Times of Sir Edward Cecil, lord Wimbledon, by C. Dalton, 2 vols. 8vo, 1885; Froude's Hist. of England, vol. ix.; Motley's United Netherlands, i. and ii.; Col. Chester's Westminster Abbey Registers, p. 21, n. 5. There is a curious document quoted in the fourth report of the Hist. MSS. Commissioners, p. 125, which appears to throw some doubt upon the marriage of Thomas Cecil to Dorothy Nevill. The fact of that marriage is so certain that it is not worth while to discuss the matter here.] A. J.

CECIL, THOMAS (*n.* 1630), engraver, has the credit, rare in artists of his period, of being an Englishman. Beyond this there is not much to be said. John Evelyn speaks highly of him, and he seems to have been well thought of by his contemporaries. He was working in London 1627-35. The portrait of Henry VIII prefixed to some copies of the first edition of Lord Herbert of Cheshire's 'History of Henry' is by Cecil. His best works are portraits, often from his own drawings, 'executed entirely with the graver.'

His 'Queen Elizabeth on Horseback' is the most important of these. 'His works are neat in finish, but stiff and wanting in taste; his drawing of the figure weak and incorrect, the extremities bad.'

[Vertue's Cat. of Engravers. 1794; Walpole's Anecdotes of Painters, iii. 875, ed. 1849; Redgrave's Dict. of Artists.]

**Cecil, William, Lord Burghley** (1520-1598), minister of state, the only son of Richard Cecil of Burleigh in the parish of Stamford Baron St. Martin, Northamptonshire, by Jane, daughter and heiress of William Heckington of Bourn, Lincolnshire, was born at his grandfather's house in Bourn on 13 Sept. 1520. Though immense pains were taken to construct a long pedigree of the family by no less a person than Camden the antiquary, and though Cecil himself spared no effort to prove his descent from an ancient stock of notable personages, it has hitherto proved impossible, and probably will always remain so, to trace the origin of the family further back than the great statesman's grandfather, David Cecil. This gentleman was early taken into favour by Henry VII, under whom he held some office of trust, the nature of which does not appear. As early as 1507 he had founded a chantry in St. George's Church, Stamford, and was apparently then 'yeoman of the chamber' to the king. On the accession of Henry VIII he rose in favour, became high sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1529 and 1530, and died in 1541, being then in the enjoyment of various offices and emoluments which had been bestowed upon him by his sovereign. The same astuteness in making the most of his opportunities and advancing his fortunes was observable in his son Richard. He, too, was a courtier. In his youth he was a royal page; in 1520 he was present at the Field of the Cloth of Gold; he rose to be groom of the robes and constable of Warwick Castle. He was high sheriff of Rutland in 1539, and was one of those who received no inconsiderable share of the plunder of the monasteries, and when he died (19 May 1552) he left an ample estate behind him in the counties of Rutland, Northampton, and elsewhere. William received his early training at the grammar schools of Stamford and Grantham. In May 1535 he entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, being then in his fifteenth year. He had already given unmistakable signs of his great abilities, was doubtless a precocious youth, and had acquired a certain mastery over the Greek language, which at that time was an accomplishment few young people could boast of. It is even said that he 'read the Greek lecture' in the college

before he was nineteen, but this is probably a perversion of facts or a mere fable. St. John's was at this time the most famous place of education in England, and numbered among its fellows several enthusiastic scholars who were soon to win substantial recognition as men of learning. Foremost among them were the courtly Roger Ascham [q. v.]—five years older than Cecil—and the unfortunate John Cheke, whom men esteemed the profoundest Grecian of his time. Cheke was admitted to a fellowship at St. John's in March 1529. His father, who occupied the position of university beadle, died a few months after this, and left but a scanty provision for his widow and their young family. Mrs. Cheke was driven to support her children as best she could, and she kept a small wine shop in the parish of St. Mary's. Her son's reputation increased from year to year, and when Cecil came up to St. John's he threw himself with eagerness and enthusiasm into the studies of the place and became a devoted friend and pupil of the great Greek professor. The intimacy between the two young men took Cecil to Mrs. Cheke's house more frequently than was prudent, and when scarcely out of his teens he lost his heart to Cheke's sister Mary, with a fortune of 40*l.*, which was all her father could leave her, and no further expectations in the world. It seems that news came to Cecil's father that his only son had become fascinated by the wineseller's daughter, and the news was not pleasant to him just at the time when he was actually high sheriff for Rutlandshire, and a great future might be in store for the heir of his estates. Young Cecil was at once removed from Cambridge, without taking a degree, though he had resided already six years at the university, and he was entered as a student at Gray's Inn on 6 May 1541. If the motive of his abrupt departure from Cambridge was to prevent a *mésalliance*, the plan failed. Two months after he came up to London Cecil married Mary Cheke, probably secretly, for the place of the marriage has not been discovered. Indeed, it looks as if the union was concealed for a considerable time, for Thomas, the future earl of Exeter [q. v.], the only fruit of the marriage, was born at Cambridge on 5 May 1542, and therefore presumably in the house of his grandmother. The marriage was so distasteful to Cecil's father that he is said to have altered his will, or, at any rate, had intended to do so; but the young wife did not live long to enjoy her married happiness or to seriously interfere with her husband's advancement. She died on 22 Feb. 1544. This is the one romantic episode of the great statesman's life. It

should be added, to his honour, that he kept up the friendliest intercourse with his wife's family, and when his mother-in-law died in 1548, she bequeathed all her 'wine potts,' with her 'second feather bed,' to her eldest daughter, but her 'new bed, with the bolsters and hangings,' she bequeathed to her grandson, 'Thomas Sysell,' to be kept by her executors in trust 'untill the said Thomas shall come to school to Cambridge.'

As Cecil had been a diligent student at the university, so he continued to apply himself to the study of law at Gray's Inn. His father's position at court soon brought him under the notice of the king, but there is no indication that at this period he looked for advancement to royal favour only; the presumption, rather, is that his ambition pointed to a brilliant career at the bar. In 1547 he became *custos brevium* in the court of common pleas, a valuable office, the reversion to which he had secured by grant some years before.

He did not long remain a widower. As his first wife was the sister of the greatest English scholar of his time, so his second was the daughter of a man hardly less eminent for his profound learning. This was Mildred, eldest daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke of Gidea Hall, Essex, to whom he was married on 21 Dec. 1545. Sir Anthony was preceptor, or governor, to Edward VI. Cheke was the king's tutor, to which office he was appointed in July 1544. Roger Ascham pronounced Lady Mildred and Lady Jane Grey the two most learned women in England; but Sir Anthony's second daughter, Ann, became eventually even more celebrated than her sister, and, by her marriage with Sir Nicholas Bacon, was the mother of the illustrious Sir Francis. With the accession of Edward VI a new direction was given to Cecil's ambition. The lord protector Somerset took him by the hand and made him his master of requests. When the war with Scotland broke out, Cecil accompanied his patron to the north, and was present at the battle of Pinkie, where he narrowly escaped being slain (11 Sept. 1547). He had scarcely returned to England when he was chosen to sit for Stamford in the parliament that met on 8 Nov. 1547. In the following September he became the protector's secretary, and when Somerset fell his secretary was committed to the Tower. There he remained for two months, and was liberated on 25 Jan. 1550, only after giving a bond for a thousand marks to appear before the council when he should be called. By this time, however, it had become evident that his extraordinary ability could not be dispensed

with by the party in power, and the eyes of all the chief personages in the state were turned upon him. On 5 Sept. 1550 he was appointed one of the secretaries of state, and sworn of the privy council, and from this time till his death he continued to occupy a position in the affairs of the nation such as no other man in Europe below the rank of a sovereign attained to, his transcendent genius and wonderful capacity for public business making him for forty-eight years an absolutely necessary minister to the three children of Henry VIII, whom he served so effectively, and, it must be added, so loyally. His earliest preferments indicate that he had already won some reputation as a lawyer. In January 1551 he was one of a commission with Archbishop Cranmer, Bishops Ridley and Goodrich, and others, for trying certain Anabaptists (*Feadera*, xv. 250). Shortly after this he appears as recorder of Boston, and in April 1552 he was appointed chancellor of the order of the Garter.

In October 1551 he received the honour of knighthood, together with his brother-in-law, Sir John Cheke. In May 1552 his father died, leaving him large estates in Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, and Northamptonshire. He was now a rich man, and began to live in a manner befitting his ample means. His ambition began to widen its horizon, but it never betrayed him into treasonable intrigues or tempted him to forget that the highest honours he could hope for were to be won only by faithful service to the crown. When the insane scheme of the Duke of Northumberland for altering the succession and setting Lady Jane Grey upon the throne was forced upon the judges and nobility in June 1553, Cecil added his signature to the document under protest, declaring that he signed it as a witness only (Froude, v. 509). He had already expressed himself very strongly against the measure, and actually resigned his post as secretary of state when it was persisted in (TYTLER). When Queen Mary succeeded to the throne by the death of her brother on 6 July, Cecil was out of office, and the queen did not reinstate him; she was already under the influence of very different advisers. During the first year of Mary's reign he seems to have lived in retirement, if that might be called retirement when he was attracting attention by the great expense of his establishment and the large sums he was spending upon his houses at Wimbledon and Burleigh (*Salisbury MSS.; Calendar*, p. 127). He was watching for his opportunity and biding his time.

Meanwhile, on 23 July 1554, Mary became

the wife of Philip of Spain, and the immediate effect of the marriage was that steps were speedily taken to 'reconcile' England to the church of Rome. It is at this period that Cecil appears first as a diplomatist. On 6 Nov. he set out with Lord Paget and Sir Edward Hastings on a mission to bring Cardinal Pole to England as legate of the pope (TYTLER; and see FROUDE, vi. 266, *n. f.*). On the 23rd of the month the three envoys returned, the cardinal with them. In the following January the persecution began, and on 4 Feb. 1555 Rogers, the first of the Marian martyrs, was burned at Smithfield. In May an attempt was made to conclude a peace between Henry II and the emperor, and once more Cecil was despatched with the cardinal to arrange the terms. The negotiations came to nothing, and he was back again by the end of June. The parliament met on 21 Oct., and Cecil was chosen one of the knights of the shire for Lincoln. A measure had been brought in for confiscating the estates of the protestant refugees. Cecil protested against the iniquity of the proposition, and it appears that it was owing to his protest that the measure was thrown out. In the parliament which met in January 1558 Cecil had no seat. He probably held himself aloof advisedly, and there is reason to believe that he regarded with something like horror the detestable cruelties of the persecution which disgraced Queen Mary's reign. Watching the current of events, he seems to have warily put himself into communication with the Princess Elizabeth; certainly he had won her confidence, and when Mary died on 17 Nov. 1558 he was the first to receive an unqualified expression of esteem from the new queen. Elizabeth at once appointed him chief secretary of state. She was at Hatfield when the news of her sister's death reached her. She had already instructed Cecil how to act, and on the same day that Mary died he drafted the form of proclamation which it was advisable to issue, and assumed the direction of the government. On the 20th Elizabeth gave her first audience in the hall at Hatfield. Cecil took the oaths as secretary, and to him the queen addressed those words which have been so frequently quoted that it is hardly necessary to repeat them here. When she said, 'This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the state,' she gave proof of her sagacity, and showed that she knew the character of the man who, through evil report and good report, was true to his royal mistress, and faithful in his stewardship to the end. A new parliament assembled in

January 1559, and Cecil once more took his seat as knight of the shire for Lincoln. He had already issued certain inquiries as to the condition of parties in the country. There were difficulties of all sorts to contend with wherever he turned his eyes. In December a committee of divines met at the house of Sir Thomas Smith, who had been vice-chancellor when Cecil was at Cambridge in 1543, to revise the prayer-book. Suggestions were invited and sent in for the reformation of the ecclesiastical laws. At the same time Philip of Spain made his outrageous proposal of marriage, which itself was a menace in case of refusal. There was a serious want of money. The pope, the English catholic party, France and Scotland, all were factors in the great problems of state with which the new minister had to deal. Elizabeth was crowned on 15 Jan. Parliament met on the 25th. Sir Nicholas Bacon, Cecil's brother-in-law, was keeper of the great seal. On 9 Feb. a bill for restoring the royal supremacy was introduced into the lower house and referred to a committee, of which Sir Anthony Cooke, Cecil's father-in-law, was chairman. In April the bill was passed. Meanwhile a peace had been concluded with France; Scotland was making eager overtures for an alliance with England; the English catholics were dispirited; the commons voted a sufficient subsidy; the outlook everywhere grew clearer. In February Cecil had been elected chancellor of the university of Cambridge; in June he was at the head of the commission for a visitation of the two universities. Just at this time Lord Robert Dudley appears upon the scene as the rising favourite. For a time it seemed as if he had stepped between the queen and the secretary, and there were rumours that Cecil's influence had received a check. Nevertheless, perhaps at no period of his life was the amount of work which he got through more astonishing than during those very months which passed while Lord Robert Dudley was supposed to be supplanting him. Just in proportion as the queen threw the cares of business aside and chose to amuse herself with her early playmate, were the affairs of the nation left to Cecil to manage according to his judgment; and if Elizabeth withdrew herself for a brief period from the routine of business, the secretary had more anxiety and responsibility thrown upon him. His health suffered under the severe strain of all this constant labour of mind and body, and he seems to have been in danger of breaking down. In June of this year he was once more employed on a diplomatic mission to Scotland, in conjunction with Sir William Cordell and Dr.

Wotton, and the treaty of Edinburgh was signed on 6 July. The queen was angry at the concessions that had been made, and when Cecil returned to court he found that Dudley had gained ground and he himself had lost it. In September Amy Robsart came by her death. Dudley was in extreme perplexity, and applied to Cecil for counsel. His reply has perished. Soon the rumours spread that the queen was going to marry her early playmate, but gradually the reports lost credit. Cecil's star again rose. On 10 Jan. 1561 Cecil was appointed master of the court of wards. It was his first really lucrative office, and a very important one; but it was an office whereby a great deal of vexatious tyranny had been exercised upon the gentry for a long time. The court of wards was talked of with the same abhorrence and dread as the court of chancery was among ourselves thirty years ago. With characteristic energy Cecil applied himself to reform the abuses which were matters of common scandal, and at the same time he contrived to make the department a source of increased revenue to the crown. Nor was this all. The country was suffering severely from all the religious and social disturbances of the last fifteen years. The condition of the people needed to be looked into, for there was disorder everywhere. In July 1561 Cecil organised what we should now call a commission of inquiry into the discontent that prevailed. At this time he appears to have been considerably embarrassed, inasmuch that he was compelled to sell his office of *custos brevium*, to lessen his establishment, and borrow money of Sir Thomas Gresham for his immediate necessities. The truth seems to be that his buildings at Burleigh, which had been going on for years, were carried on upon a scale which no ordinary income could support, and to this must be added the great demands which about this time were made upon him by his son Thomas, who occasioned him great anxiety and distress by his dissolute way of living while on his travels abroad.

In the parliament of 1563, where he sat for Northamptonshire, Cecil was chosen speaker, but declined the honour. The duties were hardly to be discharged along with those for which he was already responsible. One of the most important measures of the session was that which was intended to carry out the domestic policy which had been in Cecil's mind while he was formulating the inquiries circulated during the previous year. On 6 July 1564 Queen Elizabeth stood sponsor to Cecil's daughter Elizabeth, who became eventually the wife of William Wentworth,

eldest son of Lord Wentworth of Nettlested. In August she paid her famous visit to Cambridge. Cecil had cause for uneasiness as to the reception the queen might receive. Party feeling ran very high in the university, and there had been unseemly disorders in some of the colleges, as well as a good deal of strong language and insubordination outside the college walls. Cecil, as chancellor of the university, felt that his own credit was at stake, and he took the precaution to go down to Cambridge before the queen started on her progress, to smooth the way for her reception. By his adroitness he brought it about that the Cambridge visit was one of the most successful entertainments of her long reign. The university, in recognition of Cecil's merits, created him M.A., and the townsmen presented him with some wonderful confectionery! In 1566 he was with the queen during her visit to Oxford, and there too he was created M.A.

The next three years were full of events which could not but have their effect upon the line of policy that Cecil found himself henceforth compelled to follow. The long and fierce struggle between the protestant and catholic party in Scotland ended at last in Mary Stuart's crossing the border and becoming a prisoner upon English soil in May 1568. New complications arose, and the great question of how to deal with the catholic party in England soon forced itself into prominence. In March 1569 Cecil drew up a most able paper upon the political situation (HAYNES, p. 579), in which he shows clearly that he knew what was coming, and that he was no less completely master of the intrigues that were going on in Europe than he was of all that was passing at home. The great northern rebellion came upon him as no surprise; the attempt to crush him in the council (FROUDE, ix. 441; *Salisbury MSS.* 1319, 1328) caused him no disturbance. The northern outbreak had collapsed before Christmas. The ferocity with which the deluded victims were treated must be laid to the queen's account, not to that of any of her ministers. One thing had made itself clear to Cecil—the northern rebellion had been a religious war, and the catholics in England were a far more powerful and far more dangerous party than queen and minister had hitherto allowed themselves to believe.

In February 1570 the bull of Pope Pius V excommunicating Elizabeth was published, and on 15 May a copy of it was nailed to the door of the bishop of London's palace. It was not only an insolent and wanton defiance,



it was practically a declaration of war. Cecil understood the significance of the act, and knew better than any one else that from henceforth there could be no peace with Rome. In the council he stood almost alone, but Elizabeth, as always on any great emergency, gave him her steadfast support. As Mr. Froude has well said, 'she was a woman and a man: she was herself and Cecil.' Against the secret intrigues that were everywhere now at work, and the secret emissaries of the English refugees supplied with money from their sympathisers at home and from Spain and Rome abroad, Cecil felt himself compelled to resort to baser weapons. His life began to be threatened; assassins were bribed to slay him and the queen; the murder of both or either, it was taught, would be something more glorious than mere justifiable homicide. Against the new doctrine and its desperate disciples, growing ever more reckless and furious as their failures multiplied, it seemed to Cecil that extraordinary precautions were needed, and for the next twenty years he kept a small army of spies and informers in his pay, who were the detective police, that he used without scruple to get information when it was needed to keep watch upon the sayings and doings of suspected characters at home and abroad. They were a vile band, and employment of such instruments could not but bring some measure of dishonour upon their employer. Such men almost necessitated that cruelty and treachery should be wrought under their hands, and the use of torture and other barbarities in the treatment and slaughter of the Roman missionaries and their supporters are the shame and indelible reproach which attach themselves to Cecil's conduct of affairs, and which not all the difficulties of his position, or the unexampled provocations he endured, can altogether excuse. In the grim conflict that ensued, however, he carried out his purpose and gained his end. Before the defeat of the Armada, all chance of a restoration of the papal supremacy in England had gone for ever.

Hitherto, though the most powerful man in the kingdom, and far the ablest and most laborious secretary of the queen, Cecil had received no great reward. He had lived bountifully and spent lavishly, but he was still a plain knight. On 25 Feb. 1571 he was created Baron of Burghley. 'If you list to write truly,' he says, addressing one of his correspondents, 'the poorest lord in England' (WRIGHT, i. 391). Next year he was installed a knight of the Garter, and in July 1572, on the death of the Marquis of Winchester, he became lord high treasurer of England.

These were the last honours he received from the queen. To follow his career from this point to its close would be to write the history of England; for by him, more than by any other single man during the last thirty years of his life, was the history of England shaped. He outlived all those who had at one time been his rivals, and almost all who had started with him in the race for power and fame. Ascham and Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith, whom he had loved as familiar friends at Cambridge; Sir Nicholas Bacon, who sat with him for long in the council, not always agreeing with his opinions; Leicester and Walsingham and Sir Christopher Hatton, and many another whose name has become a household word, all passed away before him. It seemed as if he could do without any or all of them; but it is very safe to assert that without him the reign of Elizabeth would not have been as glorious as it was, nor could the nation have emerged from all the long series of difficulties and perils through which it passed under his vigilant and vigorous guidance, so prosperous and strong and self-reliant, if there had been no Cecil in the council of his sovereign, and if his genius had exercised less paramount control. Only once in his career did Elizabeth display towards him any serious marks of her displeasure. After the execution of Mary Stuart she dismissed him from her presence, and spent her fury upon him in words of outrageous insult. He had carried out her secret wishes, but it suited her to have it believed that he had misinterpreted her instructions.

As he outlived almost all his old friends, so did he survive all his children except his two sons, Thomas, his firstborn [see *Cecil*, *Thomas, Earl of Exeter*], and Robert, his successor in more than one of his offices of state and the inheritor of no small portion of his genius [see *Cecil*, *Robert, Earl of Salisbury*]. Of five other children by Lady Mildred, three sons died early. His daughter Elizabeth married, as has been said, William Wentworth, eldest son of Lord Wentworth of Nettlesd; the marriage took place in 1582; the husband died about a year after, and his widow did not long survive. There was no issue of the marriage. His other daughter, Ann, married Edward de Vere, seventeenth earl of Oxford, by whom she had three daughters, but no son. It was a very unhappy alliance; the earl treated his wife very badly, and she died in June 1588. Her mother, Lady Mildred, followed her daughter to the grave in less than a year; she died on 4 April 1589. Cecil mourned her loss with pathetic sorrow. His mother, who had been to him

through life an object of tender solicitude, had already passed away in March 1587. In his old age Cecil must at times have felt his loneliness. He had almost completed his seventy-sixth year when death came upon him at his house in the Strand on 4 Aug. 1598. His body was removed for burial to Stamford Baron, his obsequies being performed on the same day with much magnificence at Westminster Abbey.

Illustrious as a statesman, his private life displays a character peculiarly attractive. He was a man of strong affection—gentle and tender to children, of whom he was very fond—an indulgent father, even when his son Thomas tried him sorely by his early dissipation and went so far as to remind his father that he could not be cut off from the entailed estates, which were settled upon him. He watched the education of his children with constant interest, and made liberal provision for his daughters when they married. His loyal fidelity to his early friends and kindred showed itself whenever a legitimate opportunity occurred for assisting them [see especially under BROWNE, ROBERT], and his grateful love for his old college and for Cambridge he never tired of expressing in word and deed. The hospital for twelve old men at Stamford still remains in testimony of his kindly charity, and in his will he left many legacies to the poor and the unfortunate. In the midst of all his wonderful official labours he contrived to keep up an interest in literature; he was a lover of books and of learned men, and a student to the last. His health was frequently impaired by overwork and mental strain. In 1580 he suffered much from his teeth, which had begun to decay. He was always an early riser, and writing to a correspondent who wished to speak with him at the court, he warns him that his only chance of securing an interview was by being in attendance before nine in the morning. The sums he spent on his buildings and gardens at his various houses were enormous. In defending himself against the attacks of his slanderers in 1585 he thinks it necessary to excuse and explain this lavish outlay. Burleigh, the glorious palace which still remains as a noble monument of his magnificence, he says he had built upon the old foundations, but such as he left it—he left it while it was his mother's property, and he never presumed to treat it as his own during her lifetime. It was not till after her death that the queen was entertained within its walls. It was at Theobalds and Wimbledon and Cecil House that Elizabeth was received with such extraordinary splendour. Twelve times, it is said, the queen was his

guest, and the cost of her visits entailed on each occasion an outlay which sounds to us almost incredible. His gardens were celebrated over Europe, and we hear of his experiments at acclimatising foreign trees, which he imported at a great cost. For mere pictorial art he seems to have cared but little, though his agents were instructed to procure specimens of sculpture for him from Venice and probably elsewhere. He had a great taste for music; there is no indication of his being fond of animals. His hospitality was unbounded, and he kept great state in his establishments. He had a high idea of what was expected from the prime minister of the queen of England. All this splendour and profuseness could not be kept up through life and any large accumulation of wealth be left behind him. In truth Cecil did not die as rich a man as might have been expected, and there is good reason for believing that if his father had not left him an ample patrimony he would have died as poor a man as many another of Elizabeth's ablest and most faithful servants. Cooper, in the 'Athenæ Cantabrigienses,' has given a list of sixty of his works. They are for the most part state papers, apologies, and ephemera, never printed and never intended to be published to the world. He had made large collections in heraldry and genealogy, with which studies he was much interested. He expressed himself with facility and precision in Latin, French, and Italian, and he returned the letters which his son Thomas wrote to him from Paris with corrections of the mistakes in French which the young man had made. The mass of manuscripts which he left behind him is prodigious. In the single year 1596, when he was in his seventy-fifth year and his constitution was breaking up, no less than 1,290 documents, now at Hatfield, and every one of which passed under his eye and were dealt with by his hand or the hand of his secretaries, remain to prove his amazing industry, his methodical habits, and his astonishing capacity for work. It must be borne in mind, too, that the Record Office and other archives probably contain at least as large a collection of his letters and other writings as his own muniments supply. A very valuable 'Calendar of the Hatfield MSS.' is now in process of being drawn up; only the first volume has as yet appeared; but a rough list of his papers has been printed in the 4th and 5th 'Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.'

Cecil was of middle height and spare figure. In youth he was upright, lithe, and active, with a brown beard which became very white in his old age, brilliant eyes, and a nose some-

what large for his face. His portraits are numerous, and have all probably been engraved (BROMLEY, *Cat. Engr. Portraits*, 28); none of them are of any conspicuous merit. The authorities for his biography must be sought in every work which has any bearing upon the history of England during the latter half of the sixteenth century. The sources referred to below will be found to support the account of his life and administration given in the foregoing pages.

[The earliest and, in some respects, the most valuable life of Lord Burghley is that first printed by Peck in the *Desiderata Curiosa*. The author's name is not known. The Lives by Arthur Collins, Charlton, and Melvil (4to, 1738) are useful as far as they go; but a really satisfactory biography is still a desideratum; the materials are scattered very widely. In citing the following authorities special references are given only in cases where in the text a statement or opinion put forward for the first time, or otherwise noteworthy, may need verification: Collins's *Peerage* (1812), ii. 582; Cal. Dom. 1509, No. 295, Cal. 1513, No. 4597, Cal. 1534, No. 451, Cal. 1535, No. 149 (61); *Calendars Dom. temp. Eliz.* passim; *Calendar of the Hatfield MSS.* (1883-1907); Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* under 'William Cecil' and 'John Cheke'; Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, ii. 137; Baker's *St. John's College*, and Roger Ascham's *Scholemaster*, both by Prof. Mayor; Tytler's *England under Ed. VI and Mary* (1839); Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*, pt. ii. bk. ii.; Wright's *Queen Elizabeth* and her Times, 1838; Birch's *Memoirs of Queen Elizabeth* from 1581, 4to, 1754; Strype's *Annals, and Life of Whitgift*; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. 250; Haynes's *Burghley Papers*, 1740, fol., cover the period between 1541 and 1570; Murdin's *Burghley Papers*, 1759, fol., cover from 1578 to 1596; Collins's *Sydney Papers*, fol. 1746, vol. i.; Forbes's *Public Transactions of Queen Elizabeth*, 2 vols. fol. 1741; Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*; Jessopp's *One Generation of a Norfolk House*, chap. iv.; Morris's *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*; Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.*, and Fasti, ed. Bliss; Kempe's *Losely MSS.*; Froude's *Hist. of England*, passim; Camden's *Annals of Queen Elizabeth*; Nicolas's *Life of Sir Christopher Hatton*. There are some valuable scraps of information in Burgon's *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham* (2 vols. 1839). Martin Hume's *The Great Lord Burghley* (1898) brings together much information from the State Papers at the Public Record Office.] A. J.

CECILIA or CECILY (1469-1507), the third daughter of Edward IV, was born towards the end of 1469. At the age of five she was betrothed by proxy to James, the eldest son of James III of Scotland, and arrangements were soon made by which her dowry of twenty thousand marks should be paid by yearly instalments (RYMER, xi. 827, 842, &c.), the re-

payment of which was afterwards secured on the sureties of the provost and burghers of Edinburgh (*ib.* xii. 161). When, however, James III, being at variance with his brother Alexander, duke of Albany, who was then staying at the English court, made an incursion into England, Edward transferred his daughter's engagement to his guest (June 1482), intending to make him king of Scotland (HALL, 21 Ed. IV; RYMER, xii. 156-7). After various delays all these Scotch proposals fell through. On the usurpation of Richard III, Cecilia, with her mother and sister, took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster (POLYDORE VERGIL, p. 175), and before long Edward IV's children were declared illegitimate by act of parliament (COMINES, bk. v. c. 20, bk. vi. c. 8). In March 1484 Richard succeeded in inducing his sister-in-law to deliver her two daughters into his hands (ELLIS, *Letters*; HARDYNG, p. 536), and seems to have meditated marrying one or other of them himself. A rumour next sprang up that he had already married Cecilia to a man of a far inferior rank, and these reports had some effect upon the movements of the Earl of Richmond, who had sworn to wed the elder or the younger sister (HARDYNG, p. 540; MORE, *Rich. III.*, p. 93). On the accession of Henry VII she was received into favour, and carried her nephew, Prince Arthur, to the font on the day of his baptism (*Fifteenth-century Chronicles*, p. 104). Somewhere about 1487 Cecilia, 'not so fortunate as fayre,' married John, viscount Wells, who died in 1498 (GREEN, quoting LELAND, *Coll.* iv. 253). In 1494 she appears as a legatee in the will of her grandmother and namesake, Cecilia, duchess of York (*Wills from Doctors' Commons*, 2). Somewhat later (1501) she was train-bearer at the wedding of her nephew Arthur and Catherine of Arragon (GREEN), and a few months after her sister's death seems to have been married a second time (1503-4) to one Thomas Kymbe, or Kyne, who, according to Mrs. Green, was a gentleman of the Isle of Wight (HARDYNG, p. 472; GREEN). By him she had two children, a son and a daughter, but this marriage seems never to have been recognised by her royal kinsfolk, and in the writ *diem clausit extremum* issued on her death, she is styled, 'late wife of John, late viscount Wells' (GREEN). She died 24 Aug. 1507, and her descendants can be traced in the heralds' visitations for a hundred years later. She was buried at Quarr Abbey in the Isle of Wight, where her monument was destroyed at the dissolution of the monasteries under Henry VIII. Her features are still preserved in the stained-glass windows

of Little Malvern Church and the Martyrdom at Canterbury Cathedral.

[Mrs. Green's *Lives of the English Princesses*, iii, 404-36; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xi, xii.; Hardyng's Chronicle, ed. Ellis; Hall's Chronicle, ed. Ellis; More's *Richard III*, ed. Lumby, p. 93; Polydore Vergil's *History*, ed. Ellis (Camd. Soc.); Nicholls and Bruce's *Wills from Doctors' Commons* (Camd. Soc.); Three Fifteenth-century Chronicles, ed. James Gairdner (Camd. Soc.); Comines, ed. Chantelauze, Paris, 1881, pp. 410, 462, 470; Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd ser. i, 149.] T. A. A.

**CEDD** or **CEDDA**, **SAINT** (*d.* 664), bishop of the East Saxons, was an Angle of Northumbria. He was apparently the eldest of four brothers, all of whom became monks and priests under the influence of the great missionary movement which, early in the seventh century, radiated from Iona throughout the North. The names of his brothers were Cynibill, Caelin, and Ceadda, the last of whom, often called St. Chad, became famous as the first bishop of Lichfield [see **CEADDA**]. The close similarity both of the names and the careers of Cedd and Ceadda sometimes makes caution necessary to distinguish them (see Fuller's quaint remarks on this point, *Ch. Hist.*, 1845, i, 213. They are hopelessly confused in Henry of Huntingdon and Brompton). Both were brought up at Lindisfarne; under Bishop Aidan; and if not, like Ceadda, once an inmate of an Irish monastery, Cedd's reputation for learning and sanctity was equally great in Ireland and in Britain. In 653 Peada, ealdorman of the Middle Angles under his father Penda, requested his overlord and father-in-law, Oswiu, king of the Northumbrians, to send him four priests to assist in the conversion of his subjects to christianity. Of these Cedd was one. Their mission was very successful. Every class of the Middle Angles gladly listened to their preaching, and pressed forward to receive baptism. Penda himself, whose long life of antagonism to christianity was now drawing to a close, permitted them to preach in his own dominions to any who chose to hear them. But in 653 (*FLOR. WIG. M. H. B.* 530 *d*) Oswiu recalled Cedd from the land of the Middle Angles and sent him with another monk to Essex to aid Sigeberht, king of the East Saxons (himself a recent convert), in the work of converting his subjects. Again the saint's endeavours proved signally successful. His preaching tours attracted round him so large a band of followers that on his return to report progress to his master, Finan, he was consecrated bishop of the East Saxons. Two other Scottish bishops assisted Finan in the consecration (654). Essex soon became thoroughly christianised.

Cedd showed great activity in building churches and ordaining priests and deacons to assist him. He founded two monasteries, one at a half-forgotten place, Ithancester (Ythancæstir), on the river Penta, which Camden has identified with the Roman station Othona, situated on the Blackwater not far from Maldon, and the other at West Tilbury on the Thames. Here his rude East-Saxon converts strove to imitate to the best of their ability the austerities of a Columban monastery. The iron discipline established by Cedd is well illustrated by the rebuke which he hurled at Sigeberht himself for feasting at the house of a thegn who had contracted a union in violation of the christian law of marriage. In vain the king cast himself at the bishop's feet imploring pardon. 'Because thou hast not refrained from visiting that lost and accursed man, thou wilt have death in thy own house,' was the only answer. The murder of Sigeberht by his own kinsfolk (660) was universally regarded as the fulfilment of Cedd's prophecy. Swidhelm, the next king, was baptised by Cedd before he was permitted to ascend the throne, or even cross the East-Saxon frontier.

Cedd found time for frequent visits to his Northumbrian home. His own preaching and the influence of his brother Caelin, who was chaplain to Æthelwald, son of Oswald, the under-king of Deira, brought him into close relations with that monarch. Æthelwald requested Cedd to receive from him a site for the construction of a monastery where Æthelwald himself might worship during his life and be buried after his death. Cedd chose for his church a remote place among the wild and desolate moors of north-eastern Yorkshire. There the saint hallowed the spot by long fastings and prayers. The monastery was to follow the rule of Lindisfarne, Cedd's own old home. Its name, *Læstingæu*, is in its modern form Lavingham, a little village a few miles north-west of Pickering (see RAINE, *Fæsti Eboracenses*, i, 47, for an account of Lavingham at the present day).

Up to this period all Cedd's actions were based on the customs of the church from which he had received baptism and ordination. But at the council of Whitby, which he attended in 664, he played the part of a watchful mediator between the Scottish and Roman parties. When the declaration of Oswiu and the retirement of Colman secured the predominance of the Roman champions, Cedd's recognition of the catholic Easter proclaimed his conversion to the winning side. Immediately after he seems to have visited Lavingham, where the work of organising his

monastery was still proceeding under reeves of his own selection. But the 'yellow plague' which was then devastating Northumbria (BEDE, iii. 27) penetrated even to his secluded moorland retreat, and Cedd himself was one of the first victims. He died on 26 Oct. (FLOR. WIG. *M. H. B.* 532 *d*). His body, at first buried in the churchyard, was afterwards removed to a more magnificent tomb on the right of the high altar of the stone church that took the place of the original wooden building. Ceadda succeeded his brother at Lastingham. Thirty monks of Cedd's earlier foundation at Ithanchester hurried to Lastingham that they might either live or die in the neighbourhood of their 'father's' sainted body, and were all, except one boy, cut off by the plague. Next year (665) terror of the plague drove the East Saxons back again to their old gods (BEDE, *H. E.* iii. 30).

A successful missionary and a zealous monk, Cedd was perhaps more at home in his evangelistic wanderings and monastic seclusion than in the work of governing and organising the East-Saxon church. It is remarkable that the copious narrative of his life never speaks of him as bishop of London. Either the great city was Mercian, or at least independent of Essex, or the disciple of Aidan preferred to dwell in seclusion with his monks in the wilds of eastern Essex to fixing his bishop's see in the bustling city. Later writers have put him second to Mellitus in the long catalogue of London bishops (e.g. FLOR. WIG. *M. H. B.* p. 617 *b*; WILL. MALM. *Gesta Pontificum*, bk. ii.), but Bede only knew him as bishop of the East Saxons.

Cedd soon became celebrated among the saints of the old English church. He was the pattern of life and doctrine for his more famous brother. Years afterwards, when Ceadda also ended his saintly career, an Anglian anchorite in an Irish monastery saw in a vision the soul of Cedd descending from heaven in the midst of the angel host to conduct his brother's soul back with him to the celestial kingdom.

[All we know of Cedd comes from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, bk. iii. cc. 21, 22, 23, 25, bk. iv. 3. Bede got his information from the monks of Lastingham (Preface to *H. E.*) Florence of Worcester is sometimes useful in interpreting Bede. William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum*, bk. ii., and Capgrave's *Legenda Sanctorum Angliæ*, fol. 56, give nothing in addition. The Bollandist account, *Acta Sanctorum*, Januarii, tom. i. p. 373, comes from Bede. It gives Cedd's day as 7 Jan. on the authority of the *Martyrologium Anglicanum*. Of more recent writings, the article in

the *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Dr. Bright's* chapters of *Early English Church History* are the fullest.] T. F. T.

CEDMON, SAINT. [See CÆDMON.]

CELECLERECH, CILIAN, SAINT (7th cent.) [See CILIAN.]

CELESIA, DOROTHEA (1738-1790), poet and dramatist, daughter of David Mallet, the poet, by his first wife Susanna, was baptised at Chiswick on 11 Oct. 1738 (Memoir of Mallet prefixed to his *Ballads and Songs*, by F. DINSDALE). As a child she was remarkable for brightness. Thomson, in a letter to Mallet, dated 9 Aug. 1745, speaks of his having met 'two servants of yours, along with charming little Dolly.' In early life she was married to Signor Pietro Paolo Celesia, a Genoese patrician, who while residing here as ambassador from 1755 to 1759 had been honoured by admission to the Royal Society and Society of Antiquaries. Mrs. Celesia accompanied her husband on his return to Italy in 1759, and thenceforward resided at Genoa, except for one brief interval in 1784, when Celesia was gazetted minister plenipotentiary to the court of Spain (WOODWARD and CATES, *Encyclop. of Chronology*, p. 299). During the summer of 1768 she wrote an adaptation of Voltaire's 'Tancrède' and offered it to Garrick, who had been her father's friend and her guest while travelling in Italy (*Private Correspondence of Garrick*, 1831-2, i. 354, 379, 399, 415). After undergoing some modifications at the hands of Garrick the piece, under the title of 'Almida,' was brought out at Drury Lane on 12 Jan. 1771, with a well-written prologue by W. Whitehead, Garrick himself contributing the epilogue. Thanks to Mrs. Barry's inimitable performance as the heroine, aided by some excellent scenery, the play kept the boards for about ten nights, a success far beyond its merits, for while the numbers are uncouth, the plot where it deviates from the original is improbable (BAKER, *Biographia Dramatica*, 1812, i. 97, ii. 20). It was printed the same year with the title 'Almida, a Tragedy, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by a Lady,' 8vo, London, 1771. The year following there appeared 'Indolence, a poem, by the author of Almida,' 4to, London, 1772, which is commonplace. Mrs. Celesia died at Genoa in September 1790 (*Scots Mag.* liii. 203). Her husband, who filled several important offices in the legislature of his native city, survived until 12 Jan. 1806.

[Genest's *History of the Stage*, v. 295-7.] G. G.

CELESTE, Madame, whose proper name was CELESTE-ELLIOTT (1814?–1882), actress, was born, according to statements presumably supplied by herself, on 6 Aug. 1814. The true date of her birth, which took place in Paris, may safely be accepted as three or four years earlier. Her parentage was humble and obscure. At an early age she displayed histrionic capacity, which led to her acceptance at the Conservatoire, where during her probation she played with Talma in 'Le Vieux Célibataire' of Collin d'Harleville the character of Armand, and with Madame Pasta in 'Medea.' She distinguished herself as a dancer, and it was in this capacity that her first engagement, which was for America, took place. At the Bowery Theatre, New York, she made, October 1837, her first professional appearance. In March of the following year she danced two pas seuls at the Chestnut Street Theatre, Philadelphia. The first speaking character assigned her was Myrtillo in the 'Broken Sword,' a drama which failed to win public approval. During her residence in the United States she married a young man named Elliott, by whom, before his death, she had a daughter. In 1830 she quitted New Orleans for England, and landed at Liverpool, where she played Fenella, a mute part, in 'Masaniello.' Her ignorance of English at this period was all but complete, and the representations she gave in various country towns were confined to ballet or pantomime. At Easter 1831, at the Queen's Theatre, Tottenham Street, London, so named after Queen Adelaide, then under the management of George Macfarren, the father of the musical composer, she appeared as an Arab boy in the 'French Spy,' a piece written especially to show her talent. In August 1832 she made a favourable impression in a piece called the 'Poetry of Motion' at the Surrey. After a tour through Italy, Germany, and Spain, she was engaged by Bunn for Dublin, and afterwards by Murray for Edinburgh. Bunn, at that time manager of both Covent Garden and Drury Lane, then brought her to London, and she appeared in March 1833 with Duvernay in the 'Maid of Cashmere,' and on 23 Oct. of the same year as Fenella in 'Masaniello.' The following November she led at Covent Garden the famous *danse des folies* in 'Gustavus the Third.' She also appeared at Drury Lane in 'Prince Le Boo' and the 'Revolt of the Harem.' A second visit to America, extending over three years, 1834–7, was so successful, that the actress returned with a fortune that has been estimated at 40,000*l.* On 7 Oct. 1837 she reappeared at Drury Lane, still in a non-speaking part, in Planché's drama the 'Child of the

Wreck,' written expressly for her, and in 1841 she played in Bayle Bernard's 'Marie Du-cange,' also written for her. Christmas 1843 saw her associated with Benjamin Webster in the management of the Theatre Royal, Liverpool. The following year she undertook the management of the Adelphi, at which house her first speaking character was in Bayle Bernard's drama 'St. Mary's Eve.' On 27 Jan. 1845 she was seen for the first time in what became her most famous character, Miami in the 'Green Bushes.' Elmuire in 'Tartuffe' and Harlequin à la Watteau followed, and the Gipsy Queen in the 'Flowers of the Forest,' and other performances in the 'Willow Copse,' the 'Cabin Boy,' &c., established her in public favour. In November 1859 Madame Celeste began her management of the Lyceum with 'Paris and Pleasure,' an adaptation of 'Les Enfers de Paris.' With the loss of her youth her attractions diminished, and the disadvantage of a singularly foreign pronunciation became more evident. In October 1874, at the Adelphi, in her favourite character of Miami, which she played for twelve nights, Madame Celeste took her farewell of the stage, to which no inducement could persuade her to return. She died of cancer at half-past five a.m. on Sunday, 12 Feb. 1882, at her residence, 18 Rue de Chapeyron, Paris. In grace of movement and in picturesqueness Madame Celeste was surpassed by few actresses of her day. She had, moreover, histrionic gifts, including command of pathos.

[Tallis's Dramatic Magazine; Era newspaper for 25 Feb. 1882.] J. K.

CELLACH, BISHOP and SAINT (6th century), of Killala in the county of Mayo, was the eldest son of Eogan Bél, fourth christian king of Connaught. His story, told at considerable length in the 'Leabar Brecc,' is interwoven with the political circumstances of Connaught. Eogan reigned over the territory of northern Hy Fiachrach, which comprised the modern baronies of Carra, Eris, and Tirawley in the county of Mayo, and Tireragh in the county of Sligo. There was also a small territory called Hy Fiachrach Aidhne, in the south of the county of Galway, over which Guaire, who was descended from the same ancestor, then reigned. The tribes of the northern and southern Hy Neill had made a descent on the territory of northern Hy Fiachrach, and collected an immense spoil. Eogan attacked and defeated them in the battle of Sligo, but was mortally wounded. In view of his death a question arose as to the succession. He had two sons: Cellach, then a clerical student at Clonmacnois, and

Muredach, who was only a boy. Consulted by his followers, he advised them to send to Clonmacnois and request St. Ciaran to allow Cellach to leave the monastery and accept the kingdom. St. Ciaran gave them a peremptory refusal. They then communicated with Cellach himself. Overcome by their entreaties he left next morning without seeing or taking leave of St. Ciaran. Incensed at this breach of discipline the saint cursed him and foretold he should die a violent death, adding, 'I leave to my Lord every one who abandons his reading,' i.e. his clerical studies. Cellach's position and the saint's authority over him here implied may perhaps be explained by a singular law which prevailed in Ireland. In the ancient compilation known as the 'Senchus Mor,' among the rights of the church as against the people, besides tithes and first-fruits, were 'firstlings,' which are explained to mean not only animals, but 'every first birth of every human couple, and every male child which opens the womb of his mother being a lawful spouse.' Cellach having thus become king of Hy Fiachrach soon wearied of his new dignity, and could not banish from his memory the curse of St. Ciaran. His followers advised him to return to Clonmacnois. He did so with fear and trembling, and engaging the chiefs of the congregation to intercede for him he went with them into the presence of St. Ciaran. The saint granted his request for mercy, but told him he was powerless to recall the curse. After taking precautions for the safety of his young brother, Cellach gave himself up to study, and the fame of his piety spread through Ireland. Subsequently he received priest's orders, and in due time the clergy of his own territory chose him as their bishop. He was then consecrated, and Cell Alaidh (Killala) appointed to him for his bishop's chair.

Guaire, the king of lower Hy Fiachrach, hoped to succeed to the northern territory also, for which there was at this time no heir of suitable age. One day when Cellach was making an episcopal circuit or visitation with a party of his clergy on horseback, he encountered Guaire with his followers on his way to the palace of Durlus, situated 'on the smooth moorland of the river Moy,' between Doonfeeny and Ardnarea. It was represented to the king that the bishop had passed him in a hostile manner. He sent after him, requesting him to return. It was just noon on Saturday, and Cellach replied it was now vesper time, and he could not violate the Lord's day, which in Irish usage began on Saturday evening (REEVES). This reply being maliciously reported to the king, he sent a fierce message, ordering him to 'leave his

land at once or he would burn the church in which he was and all his people with it.' Cellach, however, did not move until Monday, when he hastened to the neighbourhood of Lough Con; thence he went next day to a lake called Clauenloch, in which he found an unoccupied island named Oilen Etgair, where he determined to take up his abode as a hermit. He directed his clergy to return to their respective churches, retaining as companions only four students, who were his cousins and foster brothers. Here he received frequent visits from his youthful brother, whom he was training for the throne. This being reported to Guaire, a plot was laid to murder Cellach. He was to be invited to a great feast and poisoned. He declined the invitation, but, as previously arranged, his followers were then asked, entertained in royal fashion at Durlus, and plied with drink. His murder was then proposed to them, and the immense bribe was offered to them of all Tirawley, the *fesc lamha*, or patrimonial inheritance of Cellach. They undertook to commit the crime. Returning to the island they found him with his psalter before him saying his psalms. Wounding him, they dragged him to the boat, and taking him to the mainland carried him into the recesses of the forest somewhere between Lough Con and Loch Cuillen. Here he entreated that his life might be spared till the morning. To this they reluctantly assented, imprisoning him in a hollow oak tree with a narrow door. In the morning, dragging him from his prison, they killed him with clubs, and leaving his body unburied hastened away to claim their reward. The place was afterwards known as *Ard-na-fenneadha*, 'the height of the mangling' [of his body]. His brother carried the mangled body successively to the churches of Turloch and Liscallain, but in both it was refused burial; at length, however, they reached *Escrecha*, where it was interred with due honours. Muredach, obliged to flee the country, after some years returned to Tirawley, and obtaining admission in disguise to the residence of the four murderers, arrested them when intoxicated, carried them in chains to a place near Durlus, where he executed the four, cutting off their limbs while they were living. Considerable chronological difficulties present themselves when this narrative is closely examined. For instance, Guaire, according to the 'Four Masters,' lived to A.D. 662, or, more correctly, 667. On the other hand, the latest date assigned to Eogan Bél's death is 547, when Cellach began his short reign. Guaire was then old enough to be king, and if the dates are correct must have lived at least 115 years

longer. However this may be explained, the facts on which the narrative is based appear to be authentic, and to this the local names bear witness. *Ard-na-riagh*, 'the hill of the executions,' has given its name to the village of Ardnaarea. And the cromlech of *Ard-na-maol*, 'the hill of the Maols,' erected to commemorate their execution, is still to be seen on the west side of the Moy, opposite Ardnaarea. It is the only cromlech in Ireland historically identified. The chant of Muredach on the discovery of his brother's body and the death-song of Cellach are full of pathos. St. Cellach's day is 1 May. In the 'Martyrology of Tamlacht' he appears as St. Cellan.

[Lebar Brecc (pp. 272 b-277 a); Bollandist Acta SS. 1 May, p. 104; O'Donovan's Genealogies, Tribes, and Customs of Hy Fiachrach; the Senchus Mor (Rolls ed.), iii. lvii; Annals of Four Masters; Reeves's Adamnan, p. 346.] T. O.

CELLACH, SAINT (1079-1129). [See CELSUS.]

CELLIER, ELIZABETH (*d.* 1680), 'the Popish midwife,' was a member of the Dormer family. She married Peter Cellier, a Frenchman, and became a noted midwife in London. Originally she was a protestant, but she adopted the catholic religion, and at the time of the popish plot fabricated by Titus Oates she visited the prisoners in Newgate, and relieved them through the charity of Lady Powis and other persons of rank. There she found the notorious Dangerfield, whose release she procured upon condition, as he afterwards alleged, that he would enter into an engagement to take off the king, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and some others who were obnoxious to the catholics. Moreover he pretended that he was to be employed in concocting a sham plot, and he stated that the document on which it was to have been founded lay concealed in a meal tub in Mrs. Cellier's house. There the paper was discovered, and from this circumstance the whole transaction is known in history by the name of the Meal Tub plot. On 11 June 1680 Mrs. Cellier was tried for high treason and acquitted, she having satisfied the court that her accuser was too infamous in law to be admitted as a credible witness. She published a vindication of herself, entitled 'Malice defeated; or a brief Relation of the Accusation and Deliverance of Elizabeth Cellier. Together with an abstract of her arraignment and tryal, written by herself.' This occasioned the publication of numerous pamphlets, one of which was entitled 'The Scarlet Beast stripped naked, being the mystery of the Meal-tub the second time unravelled.'

Some passages in Mrs. Cellier's tract respecting the treatment of the prisoners in Newgate exposed her to a second trial (3 Sept. 1680) for libel. She was found guilty, and condemned to pay a fine to the king of 1,000*l.* and to stand thrice in the pillory. According to Roger North the real object of the second prosecution was to disable her from becoming a witness in favour of the lords in the Tower. Lysons says that she lies buried in the chancel of Great Missenden Church, Buckinghamshire.

She was the author of: 1. 'A Scheme for the Foundation of a Royal Hospital, and raising a revenue of 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.* a year by and for the Maintenance of a Corporation of Skilful Midwives, and such Foundlings or exposed Children as shall be admitted therein: as it was proposed and addressed to his Majesty King James II in June 1687,' printed in the 'Harleian Miscellany' and in the 'Somers Tracts,' 2. 'To Dr. ——. An Answer to his Queries concerning the Colledge of Midwives,' London, 4to. Written 'from my House in Arundel-street, near St. Clement's Church, in the Strand, Jan. 16, 1687-8.'

[Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Dodd's Church Hist. iii. 326; Harleian Miscellany (Park), iv. 142; Howell's State Trials, vii. 1043 seq.; Lingard's Hist. of England (1849), viii. 461-5; Lipscombe's Hist. and Antiq. of Buckinghamshire, ii. 386; Luttrell's Hist. Relation of State Affairs, i. 24, 25, 29, 31, 34, 47, 54, 55, 57, 90, 345; Lysons's Magna Britannia, i. pt. iii. 695; North's Examen, 260-4; Somers Tracts, ii. 243; Watt's Bibl. Brit.] T. C.

CELLING, WILLIAM, or perhaps more properly WILLIAM TILLY OF SELLING (*d.* 1494), derived his name, according to Leland, from the village of Celling, or Selling, some two miles distant from Faversham in Kent; Hasted, however, assigns him to a family settled at Selling near Hythe (*Hist. of Kent*, iii. 25). He appears to have been a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury; thence he proceeded to Oxford, where he became a member of the newly founded college of All Souls. In the Oxford Register (February 1457-8) William Celling, a Benedictine, figures as B.D.) Tanner states that he was a fellow of All Souls at the beginning of Edward IV's reign, but without assigning any authority for the assertion. He must have left Oxford before the close of 1472, in which year a William Celling was elected abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, but seems to have resigned immediately. But whether this William Celling be the subject of this article or not it is certain that the latter was elected prior of Christ Church, Canterbury, on 10 Sept.



1472. It was in all probability later than this that he made his first journey to Italy; if, indeed, Leland is right in his statement that it was on this journey that Celling became acquainted with Politian, who was born in 1454, and can hardly have established a reputation at Bologna (where Celling met him) before the age of eighteen. While abroad Celling used every effort to collect Latin and, more especially, Greek manuscripts, and when he returned to England brought these treasures with him. Among other works a copy of Cicero's 'Republic,' of St. Cyril's and St. Basil's 'Commentaries on the Prophets,' and the works of Synesius are specially mentioned. For the reception of his manuscripts he restored the library over the prior's chapel. Unfortunately many of his books were destroyed some quarter of a century later in the fire caused by the carelessness of Henry VIII's 'visitors.' At home Celling was a careful steward of his convent's wealth. He cleared the priory of all the debts under which it had laboured; he built a stone tower, afterwards known as the prior's study, roofed it with lead, and glazed the windows. He also beautified the cloisters, began to rebuild the 'Bell Harry steeple,' and placed a new ceiling over the before-mentioned prior's library (HASTED, iv. 555, &c.; WHARTON). It would appear to be after his return from Italy that Celling charged himself with the education of Linacre, who is said to have been his pupil at Canterbury, and who certainly accompanied his old master on his second journey to Italy (1486), whither the prior of Christ Church was sent on an embassy to Rome (LELAND, and epitaph of Celling, quoted in HASTED, iv. 555, &c.; WHARTON, i. 145-6). Passing through Bologna, Celling left his young friend there to enjoy the society of Politian. This embassy must have taken place between 1485 and 1490. In 1490 and 1491 we find Celling's name constantly associated with that of the bishop of Exeter in the negotiations between England, France, and Brittany (RYMER, xii. 431, &c.) Some three years later he appears to have died on the day of St. Thomas's passion (29 Dec.) 1494, after having ruled his monastery for nearly twenty-two years and a half (HASTED, iv. 555). He was buried in the martyrdom of St. Thomas, in a richly blazoned tomb, on which was inscribed a long epitaph narrating his embassies to France and Rome. A book from Celling's library is still preserved at the Bodleian in Oxford (LAUD, F 120). The same library has also a letter written to him from Rome, and dated January 1488 (*Ash. MS.* 1729). Celling was esteemed a great scholar in Greek as well as in Latin, and besides being an

ardent collector of manuscripts he was a great patron of promising students.

[Leland's Catalogue, 482; Bale, *De Script. Brit.* (ed. 1559), ii. 68; Pits's *Relat. de Script. Brit.* 851-2; Tanner's *Bibl. Hib.-Brit.*; Johnson's *Life of Linacre* (1835); Linacre's *Galen de Temperamentis*, ed. Payne (1881), Introduction, pp. 6-8 and note 1; Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. iv. &c.; Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii.; Campbell's *Mat. for Hist. of Hen. VII* (Rolls Ser.); Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, i.; Boase's *Registrum Univ. Oxon.*]

T. A. A.

CELSUS or CELLACH, SAINT (1079-1129), archbishop of Armagh, and the greatest of St. Patrick's successors till the election of St. Malachy, was the son of Ædth, and grandson of Mælisca, who had held the same office from 1064 to 1091. Hence he belonged to that powerful local family of which St. Bernard says that, though sometimes lacking in clerks, it had never for fifteen generations, or two hundred years, failed to find one of its members ready to accept the bishopric at its disposal (*Vita Malachie*, ch. x.) This statement, though perhaps somewhat exaggerated, is partly corroborated by the Irish annals, where, to confine ourselves to the eleventh century, we find Celsus's grandfather, great-uncle, and great-grandfather all preceding him in the see of Armagh (*Annals of Four Masters*, sub annis 1105, 1084, 1020). On the death of his great-uncle, Domhnall, Celsus was elected his successor, at the illegal age of twenty-four or twenty-five, although, from the words used in recounting the event, it is by no means impossible that he had not yet been ordained priest (*A. F. M.* and *Ann. Ult.* sub anno 1105; with which cf. the case of Gregory ap. EADMER, *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Ser.), p. 298). The predecessors of Celsus seem, for the most part, to have been married men, and to have discharged their ecclesiastical functions by the aid of suffragans; but, despite the attempt that has been made to prove that Celsus too was married, it is more likely that, in the passage on which this theory is based (*Vit. Mal.* c. 10), the words 'uxor Celsi' are to be interpreted of the church of Ireland (LANIGAN, iv. 33). Celsus, however, seems to have retained the custom of appointing, or at least continuing, the services of suffragan bishops (*Ann. Ult.* p. 371; *A. F. M.* sub anno 1122). The new prelate entered on his office with vigour (23 Sept. 1105). In 1106 he made a visitation of Ulster and Munster, receiving his full tribute of cows, sheep, and silver from every cantred (*A. F. M.*) Munster was revisited in 1108 and 1120, Connaught in 1108 (*Annals of Loch Cé*, i. 77) and in 1116, and Meath in 1110 (*A. F. M.* and *Ann. Ult.* p. 374). Of

the treasure collected upon each visitation Celsus may well have made a noble use, as, for example, in the case of the great 'damh-liag,' or church, at Armagh, which he fitted with a shingle roof (January 1125) after it had remained without a coping for 130 years (*Annals of Loch Cé*, i. 119); or when he gave the precious silver chalice to the church of Clonmacnoise (*Chr. Scot.* p. 329). Besides his ecclesiastical duties Celsus was constantly being called upon to mediate between the rival kings and tribes of Ireland. So in 1107 and 1109 we find him making a year's peace between Donald Mac Lochlainn, king of Elagh, and Muirchertach O'Brian, king of Munster—the northern and southern claimants for the supremelordship of the whole island (*Ann. Ult.* pp. 372, 373; *A. F. M.*). Again, when Donald came to ravage Down in 1113, and the two armies lay confronting each other for a whole month at Clonkeen, it was Celsus, with his 'Bachall-Isa,' or staff of office, who reconciled the rival hosts (*Loch Cé*, i. 103). Many years later (1128), just before his death, he made a year's peace between the men of Connaught and Munster (*Ann. Ult.* p. 394), and two years previously (1126) he had been absent from Armagh for thirteen months on a similar errand, 'pacifying the men of Erin and imposing good rules and customs on all, both laity and clergy' (*Loch Cé*, i. 121).

As head of the church of Ireland, Celsus convoked the great synod of Fiadh-mac-Enghusa (1111), sometimes called that of Usneach (*Ann. Buell.* p. 21, &c.) At this synod, Murtogh O'Brian and the chiefs of Leth-Mogha (S. Ireland), fifty bishops, three hundred priests, and three thousand students are said to have been present (*A. F. M.*, with which, however, cf. the less symmetrical numbers given in the *Chr. Scot.* sub anno 1107). Of this council we read that it made better ordinances and rules for the conduct of all, both laity and clergy (*Loch Cé*, i. 1, and *Ann. Inisf.* p. 98). According to Dr. Lanigan it was probably about this time that Celsus confirmed Cashel in the primacy of S. Ireland (*Eccles. Hist.* iv. 30, with which cf. *Vit. Mal.* c. 15). The same authority tells us that Celsus was present at the council of Rathbreasil (1117), over which Gilbert, the papal legate, presided, when the boundaries of the Irish dioceses were fixed (LANIGAN, pp. 33-45).

On the death of Samuel O'Haingly, bishop of Dublin, who had been consecrated by Anselm, we read that Celsus was chosen his successor by the election of both Danes and Irish (*Ann. Ult.* p. 1121). This appointment was, however, challenged by another section of the townsmen, who sent over their own no-

minee—one Grein or Gregory—to be consecrated by Archbishop Ralph at Canterbury (EADMER, *Historia Novorum*, pp. 297-8). But the influence and generosity of Celsus seem to have restrained his rival (though apparently supported by the good wishes of the kings of England and of Ireland) from venturing to assert his rights actively (*ib.*; USSHER, *Syllogæ*, pp. 100, 101). There seems to be no authority for Dr. Lanigan's statement (p. 48) that Celsus 'acquiesced in Gregory's appointment.' This dispute appears in great measure to have been one between the nominee of the Danish burghesses of Dublin, who would naturally prefer to have a Teutonic metropolitan—especially at so convenient a distance as Canterbury—and those who supported the rights of the Celtic archbishop of Armagh. Celsus's success led to the temporary severance of the close connection that, since the first years of Lanfranc's episcopacy, had existed between the sees of Dublin and Canterbury (*Epistolæ Lanfranci*, ap. MIGNE, cl. 532-7; FREEMAN, *Norm. Cong.* iv. 526-530); Gregory seems, however, to have recovered his bishopric on Celsus's death (*A. F. M.* pp. 1157, 1162). If the king of Ireland, alluded to above, be Turlough O'Connor, who had become master of Dublin in 1118 (*Loch Cé*, i. 111), it is curious that Celsus should have succeeded in maintaining himself in his new office. It was a little previous to this Dublin contest (1118) that Celsus was submerged in the river Dubhall (Blackwater in Armagh), and had to swim ashore, 'propterea viribus,' with the loss of his treasure of cloths and silver (*Loch Cé*, i. 109). In 1128 he was subject to a most unprovoked attack, of which all the old Irish annals speak in terms of the greatest horror—as of an insult offered to Christ himself—a deed that, until it was avenged, would bring down the wrath of God on the whole land. The O'Ruarcas and the O'Brians had set upon Celsus and his retinue in a church, plundering him of his goods and slaying his retinue, and among them a young clerk who had taken shelter beneath the altar. Next year Celsus died, in his fiftieth year, at Ardpatrick in Munster (1 April 1129). Two days later his body was conveyed to Lismore, where it was buried on the following Tuesday (4 April).

Celsus seems to have determined to break through the hereditary succession to the see of Armagh, and, with this end in view, drew up a kind of will (*testamentum* or *constitutio Celsi*), in which he recommended St. Malachy as his successor. From his deathbed he sent his pastoral staff to this saint, whose career he had watched over from its earliest manhood, and whom he had himself ordained

deacon (*Vit. Mal. c. 2*), priest (*c. 1119*), and bishop (*c. 1123*) (*Vit. Mal. cc. 3, 8, 10*). In fact, so great was his confidence in the discretion of St. Malachy that he appointed the young priest his vicar almost immediately after ordaining him ('*etiam vices suas commisit ei*'), and a few years later recommended him for the see of Connareth (Conor). Despite the dying wish of Celsus it was five years before St. Malachy made good his claim to the archbishopric of Armagh, having to contest the see with Celsus's cousin and brother (*A. F. M. sub annis 1134, 1129*). In the '*Irish Annals*' this saint appears as Cellach, in St. Bernard as Celsus, but in Eadmer under the more perverted form of Coelestinus. Tanner, quoting from Bale, gives a list of the works of Celsus, including a '*Testamentum ad Ecclesias*,' several letters to St. Malachy, certain *constitutiones*, and a '*Summa Theologiæ*,' which in Bale's time was said to be still preserved at Vienna. St. Celsus appears in the '*Roman Calendars*' on 6 April, by a clerical error of VI for IV, the day of his burial.

[*Annals of the Four Masters (A. F. M.)*, transl. O'Donovan (1856), vol. i.; *Annals of Inisfallen and Annals of Boyle (Ann. Buell.)*, *Annals of Ulster (Ann. Ult.)*, ap. C. O'Connor's *Scriptores Rerum Hibernicarum*, vols. ii. and iv. The *Annals of Inisfallen* are seventeen years in arrear of the true dates. Eadmer's *Historia Novorum*, ed. Rule (Rolls Ser.); *Annals of Loch Cé*, ed. Hennessey (Rolls Ser.); *Chronicon Scotorum*, ed. Hennessey (Rolls Ser.) The dates of this work are for the period in question four years in arrear. St. Bernard's *Vita Malachie* ap. Migne's *Patrologiæ Cursus*, clxxi. 1074-1118; Lanfranci *Epistolæ* ap. Migne, cl.; Colgan's *Trias Thaumaturga*, pp. 299-303; Lanigan's *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland (1829)*, vols. iii. and iv.; Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 391; Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* (6 April), pp. 619-20; Bale's *Catalogue (1559)*, i. 288; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* p. 162; Ussher's *Syllogæ (1632)*; Baring-Gould's *Lives of the Saints (1873)*, 6 April, pp. 106-10.]

T. A. A.

**CENTLIVRE, SUSANNAH** (1667?-1723), actress and dramatist, is said to have been the daughter of a Mr. Freeman of Holbeach, Lincolnshire, a man of some position, who suffered on account of his political and religious opinions after the Restoration. After the confiscation of his estate he went with his wife, the daughter of a Mr. Marham or Markham, a 'gentleman of good estate at Lynn Regis in Norfolk,' who was also obnoxious to the authorities, to Ireland, where Susannah is by some supposed to have been born. At this early point her biographies commence to be at issue. The account gene-

rally accepted is that of Giles Jacob, which states that her father died when she was three years of age, and her mother when she was twelve. Whincop, or the author, whoever he was, of the list of dramatic poets appended to '*Scanderbeg*,' who wrote while she was still living, asserts that her father survived her mother, and married a second wife, by whom the future dramatist was so ill-treated that she ran away from home, with little money or other provision, to seek her fortune in London. Biographers have recorded various supposed exploits—one of which consisted in dressing as a boy and living in Cambridge under the protection of Anthony Hammond, then an undergraduate of St. John's, and subsequently commissioner of the navy, the 'silver-tongued Hammond' of Bolingbroke. They also mention a marriage (?), which lasted one year, with a nephew of Sir Stephen Fox. They have neglected a biographical record supplied after her death in Boyer's '*Political State*,' xxvi. 670, a portion of which runs as follows: 'From a mean parentage and education, after several gay adventures (over which we shall draw a veil), she had, at last, so well improv'd her natural genius by reading and good conversation, as to attempt to write for the stage, in which she had as good success as any of her sex before her. Her first dramatic performance was a tragi-comedy called "*The Perjur'd Husband*," but the plays which gained her most reputation were two comedies, "*The Gamester*" and "*The Busy Body*." She writ also several copies of verses on divers subjects and occasions, and a great many ingenious letters, entitled "*Letters of Wit, Politics, and Morality*," which I collected and published about twenty-one years ago.' In presence of this statement, which commands respect, the origin assigned her in the '*Biographia Dramatica*,' and accepted in later compilations, seems more than doubtful. The same writer states that 'her father's name, if I mistake not, was Rawkins.' A connection lasting a year and a half, and rightly or wrongly styled a marriage, subsequently existed between her and an officer named Carroll, who died in a duel. Her early plays, when not anonymous, are signed 'S. Carroll.' '*The Busy Body*,' printed in 1709, is the first that bears the name of Centlivre, the previous play, '*The Platonic Lady*,' 1707, being unsigned. Her first appearance as an actress was made, according to Whincop or his collaborator, at Bath in her own comedy, '*Love at a Venture*,' which was produced in that city after being refused at Drury Lane. She then joined a strolling company, and played in different country towns. While acting at Windsor,

about 1706, according to the same authority, the part of Alexander the Great in the tragedy of that name, or, more probably, in the 'Rival Queens, or the Death of Alexander the Great' of Lee, she captivated Mr. Joseph Centlivre, principal cook to Queen Anne and George I, whom she married, and with whom she lived till her death. This took place on 1 Dec. 1723 in Buckingham Court, Spring Gardens, where, according to the rate-books of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, her husband resided between 1712 and 1724. Pope, in 'An Account of the Condition of E. Curll,' calls her 'the cook's wife in Buckingham Court.' She is usually stated to be buried close at hand, in the parish church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields; but Mr. Peter Cunningham discovered in the burial register of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, the entry: '4 Dec. 1723, Susanna, wife of Joseph Centlivre, from St. Martin-in-the-Fields' (*Gent. Mag.* 1850, pt. ii. p. 368). No record of her acting in London is preserved, and it is supposed that her histrionic efforts were confined to the country. In spite, accordingly, of the romantic stories associated with her name, her life, like that of most of her contemporaries, is practically the history of her works and her literary friendships. She enjoyed a certain amount of intimacy with Rowe, Farquhar, Steele, and other dramatists, some of whom wrote prologues for her plays, and with Budgell, Dr. Sewall, Nicholas Amhurst, &c., with all of whom she corresponded. Of her plays, nineteen in number, fifteen were acted, generally with success. The list is as follows: 1. 'The Perjur'd Husband, or the Adventures of Venice,' tragedy, 4to, 1700, acted the same year at Drury Lane. 2. 'Love at a Venture,' comedy, 4to, 1706, refused at Drury Lane, and acted by the Duke of Grafton's servants at the New Theatre, Bath. It is taken from 'Le Galant Double' of Thomas Corneille. Cibber, by whom the play was refused, is accused of incorporating it into his 'Double Gallant.' 3. 'The Beau's Duel, or a Soldier for the Ladies,' comedy, 4to, 1702, acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields 21 Oct. 1702, taken in part from Jasper Mayne's 'City Match.' 4. 'The Stolen Heiress, or the Salamanca Doctor outplotted,' comedy, 4to, no date (1703), acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields 31 Dec. 1702, and taken from 'The Heir' by Thomas May. 5. 'Love's Contrivance, or Le Médecin malgré lui,' comedy, 4to, 1703, acted at Drury Lane on 4 June 1703, and taken from the comedy of Molière of the same name, and from 'Le Mariage forcé,' this play is signed R. M. in the dedication to the Earl of Dorset. 6. 'The Gamester,' comedy, 4to, 1705 and 1708, acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields, not for the first time,

22 Feb. 1705. In the 'Biographia Dramatica' the play is said to be borrowed from 'Le Dissipateur.' This is impossible. 'Le Dissipateur' of Destouches, acted in 1753, was in part taken from Mrs. Centlivre, whose 'Gamester' is an adaptation of 'Le Joueur' of Regnard, played 1696. 7. 'The Basset Table,' comedy, 4to, 1706, acted at Drury Lane 20 Nov. 1705. 8. 'The Platonick Lady,' comedy, 4to, 1707, acted at the Haymarket 25 Nov. 1706. 9. 'The Busy Body,' comedy, 4to, 1709, acted at Drury Lane 12 May 1709. This play, one of the most successful of its author, first introducing the character of Marplot, was so coldly regarded by the actors, that Wilks is said to have thrown down his part of Sir George Airy, and to have been with difficulty induced to resume it. A portion of the plot is taken from 'The Devil is an Ass' of Ben Jonson. 10. 'The Man's bewitched, or the Devil to do about her,' comedy, 4to, no date (1710), acted at the Haymarket 12 Dec. 1709. This clever farce is said, without much justification, to be indebted to 'Le Deuil' of Hauteroche, which name is in the 'Biographia Dramatica' erroneously supposed to be a pseudonym of Thomas Corneille. 11. 'A Bickerstaff's Burial, or Work for the Upholders,' farce, 4to, no date, acted at Drury Lane 27 March 1710, afterwards revived at Drury Lane 5 May 1715 as the 'Custom of the Country.' This play is said to be founded on one of Sinbad's voyages in the 'Arabian Nights.' The publication of 'Les Mille et une Nuits' by Galland, 1704-1717, had very recently commenced, and this source seems doubtful. A curious coincidence, hitherto unnoticed, is that 'Le Naufrage ou la Pompe funèbre de Crispin' of Lafont, produced in Paris on Saturday, 14 June 1710, is all but identical with the work of Mrs. Centlivre, who, however, is at least earlier in date. Parfaic frères, the historians of the French stage, suggest an origin for the plot earlier than the 'Arabian Nights.' 12. 'Marplot, or the Second Part of the Busy Body,' comedy, 4to, 1711, Drury Lane 30 Dec. 1710, afterwards altered by Henry Woodward and called 'Marplot in Lisbon.' 13. 'The Perplex'd Lovers,' comedy, 4to, 1712, Drury Lane 19 Jan. 1712, from the Spanish. 14. 'The Wonder! A Woman keeps a Secret,' comedy, 12mo, 1714, acted at Drury Lane 27 April 1714, and owing something to 'The Wrangling Lovers' of Ravenscroft. 15. 'A Gotham Election,' farce, 12mo, 1715, never acted, a dramatic satire on the Tories, dedicated to Secretary Craggs, who sent the author by Mrs. Bracegirdle twenty guineas. A second edition of this, 12mo, 1737, is called the 'Humours of Elections.'

16. 'A Wife well managed,' farce, 12mo, 1715, supposed to have been acted at Drury Lane in 1715, taken from the 'Husband his own Cuckold' of John Dryden, jun. 17. 'The Cruel Gift, or the Royal Resentment,' tragedy, 12mo, 1717, drawn from the first novel of the fourth day of the 'Decameron,' acted at Drury Lane 17 Dec. 1716. 18. 'A Bold Stroke for a Wife,' comedy, 8vo, 1718, acted at Drury Lane 3 Feb. 1718; in this piece she was assisted by a Mr. Mottley. 19. 'The Artifice,' comedy, 8vo, 1721, acted at Drury Lane 2 Oct. 1722. These works were collected in three volumes, 12mo, 1761, and reprinted in 1872.

The comedies of Mrs. Centlivre are often ingenious and sprightly, and the comic scenes are generally brisk. Mrs. Centlivre troubled herself little about invention, 'A Bold Stroke for a Wife' being the only work for which she is at the pains to claim absolute originality. So far as regards the stage, she may boast a superiority over almost all her countrywomen, since two of her comedies remain in the list of acting plays. More than one other work is capable, with some alterations, of being acted. A keen politician, she displays in some of her dramatic writings a strong whig bias, which was in part responsible for their success. Steele in the 'Tatler' (No. 19) speaks of 'The Busy Body,' and says that 'the plot and incidents are laid with that subtlety of spirit which is peculiar to females of wit.' Some of her most successful works were translated into French, German, and other languages. The volume of letters to which allusion is made in Boyer's 'Political State' (see above) has not been discovered. A supposition that it might be a work, 'Letters and Essays on several subjects, Philosophical, Moral, Historical, Critical, Amorous,' &c., 1694, mentioned by Lowndes (*Bibl. Man.* p. 1348), must remain conjecture, as the work is not in the British Museum. She left at her death many valuable ornaments presented to her by royalty or the aristocratic patrons to whom she dedicated her dramas.

[Life of Mrs. Centlivre prefixed to her works, 3 vols. 1761; List of English Dramatic Poets affixed to Whincop's Scanderbeg; Boyer's Political State of Great Britain, 1711-40, vol. xxvi.; Genest's Account of the English Stage; British Essayist, vol. i. (ed. Chalmers); Peter Cunningham's Handbook to London; Pope's Dunciad; Notes to Poetical Register (Giles Jacob), 1723.]  
J. K.

**CENTWINE** or **KENTEN** (*d.* 685), king of the West Saxons, was the son of Cynegis and the brother of Cenwalh [q. v.]. Accepting the statement of Bæda (*Ecc.*

*Hist.* iv. 12) that after Cenwalh's death the under-kings of the West Saxons divided the kingdom between them for about ten years, we must hold that Centwine had considerably less power than his brother had enjoyed. The 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,' however, says nothing of any such division. Neither in it nor in the list of West-Saxon kings given by Florence of Worcester is there any hint of an interruption of the head kingship. After the death of Cenwalh comes the one year's rule of his widow Sexburh; then Æsewine, a member of another branch of the house of Cutha, reigns, until on his death he is 'succeeded by Centwine in 676. The reign of Centwine is marked by a renewal of the West-Saxon victories over the Welsh, which seem to have ceased for a while after Centwalh in 658 had advanced the frontier to the Parret, for in 682 'Centwine drove the Britons to the sea' (*A.-S. Chron.*), or, in other words, subdued the coast west of the Parret, and made his people masters of the Quantock range. Such vigorous action implies considerable strength, and seems to make it certain that if Bæda is right in asserting that the head kingship of the West Saxons was for a time in abeyance, Centwine must by this time have revived it, and that the under-kings must have obeyed him. The assertion of the disturbed state of Wessex seems incidentally corroborated by the omission of the name of any West-Saxon king in the record of the council of Hatfield held in 680; it is, however, possible that the circumstances that led to the war of 682 may have given the headship of the kingdom to Centwine. By thus shortening the interval of divided kingship, the apparently contradictory accounts given by Bæda and the Chronicle are in a measure reconciled. Centwine married a sister of Eormenburh, the wife of Ecgrith of Northumbria, and the enemy of Wilfrith. Accordingly, when Wilfrith, having been forced to leave Mercia, fled for refuge to Wessex and was received by the king, the queen after a little while persuaded her husband to drive him out of the land (EDBURS). Dr. Freeman holds that Centwine is the Kenten described by Faricius as the father of Aldhelm [see reference below]. Against this opinion must be set a poem addressed by Aldhelm to Bugge (Eadburh), the daughter of Kenten (Centwine). In this poem 'Kenten' is spoken of as a mighty king, very religious, who after winning three great battles retired from his throne to become a monk; the writer, however, does not hint at any relationship between the king and himself. Faricius, indeed, says that Aldhelm's father, Kenten, was the brother of King Ine. Wil-

liam of Malmesbury points out that this is impossible, mentions it as one of the unfounded assertions of Faricius, and says that in King Alfred's Handbook it is clearly stated that Kenten (or Centwine) was not the brother, but a near kinsman of Ine. It certainly seems impossible to refuse to believe that the Kenten of Aldhelm's poem was other than King Centwine, and equally impossible to suppose that Aldhelm could have been writing about his own father. Centwine's retirement from the throne may have been only a very short time before his death, which took place in 685. He is said to have been buried at Winchester. He was succeeded by Ceadwalla [q. v.], in whose person the house of Ceawlin [q. v.] regained the kingship. Centwine is claimed as one of the benefactors of Glastonbury.

[Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester; Henry of Huntingdon, p. 718, Mon. Hist. Brit.; William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, i. c. 29, 36 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); *Gesta Pontiff*. 332, 352, 354, 360 (Rolls Ser.); Eddius's *Vita Wilfridi*, c. 40, ap. *Historians of York* (Rolls Ser.); Aldhelmi Opera, 114 (ed. Giles); Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Eccl. Docs.* iii. 141-4; Freeman's *King Ine*, Somerset Archaeological Society's Journal, xviii. ii. 39-43, xx. ii. 24.]

W. H.

**CENWALH, KENWEALH, or COINWALCH** (*d.* 672), king of the West Saxons, succeeded his father Cynegils [q. v.] in 643. Although his father had been baptised, Cenwalh still remained a pagan, influenced probably by his wife, the sister of the Mercian king Penda. Soon after his accession he put away his wife and took another. To avenge his sister Penda made war upon him, and drove him from his kingdom. Cenwalh fled to Anna, the king of the East Angles, and tarried with him for three years. From Anna Cenwalh heard and received the truths of christianity. He was baptised by Felix, the bishop of the East Angles (FLOR. WIG. i. 20). In 648 he was restored to his kingdom by the help of his nephew Outhred, the son of Cwichelm [q. v.], and gave him in return three thousand hides of land about *Æscesdun* (Ashdown in Berkshire), or, as William of Malmesbury says, a third part of his kingdom (*A.-S. Chron.* an. 648; *HEN. HUNT.* 716; *WILL. MALM.* i. c. 29). After his restoration he received a visit from the Frankish Agilberht, who had gone over into Ireland, and had dwelt there for some time in order to study the Scriptures. Agilberht pleased the king by his energy in preaching to his people, for the accession of Cenwalh appears to have been followed by a general relapse into paganism. Cenwalh, immediately on his

return to his land, built St. Peter's at Winchester, and on the death of Birinus persuaded Agilberht to become his bishop, and established his see in his new church. In 652 the chronicle-writers say 'Cenwealh fought at Bradford by the Avon.' William of Malmesbury must refer to this campaign when he speaks of a rising of the Welsh, and of a victory gained by the West Saxons at a place called Wirtgernesburg. The battle of Bradford gave the West Saxons the long strip of forestland extending to Malmesbury that was left unconquered by Ceawlin [q. v.]. On the site of Cenwalh's victory still stands the little church built by St. Aldhelm [q. v.], who has been supposed, though on insufficient grounds, to have been his nephew [see *CENRWINE*]. In 658 Cenwalh again fought with the Welsh. He defeated them at 'Pens,' and drove them as far as the Parret, making that river the western boundary of West-Saxon conquest instead of Ceawlin's frontier, the Axe. The renewed energy of the West Saxons seems to have excited the jealousy of Wulfhere, king of the Mercians, who may well have feared lest they should attempt to recover the lost territory of the Hwiccas (GREEN). In 661 he defeated Cenwalh, and ravaged his land as far as Ashdown. After a while Cenwalh, who knew no other tongue besides his own, grew weary of the foreign speech of his bishop Agilberht. Accordingly, about 660, without consulting him, he quietly invited a certain Wini who had been consecrated in Gaul, and who spoke his tongue, to come to him. He divided his kingdom into two bishoprics, and gave Wini the see of Winchester. Deeply offended at this treatment, Agilberht left Wessex and returned to Gaul, where he was made bishop of Paris. After a while, however, Cenwalh expelled Wini, and the West Saxons remained for some time without a bishop. The constant attacks of his enemies led the king to think that by keeping his kingdom without a bishop he was depriving it of divine protection, so he sent messengers to Gaul to pray Agilberht to return. Agilberht answered that he could not leave his bishopric, and sent over his nephew Leutherius (Hlodhere), who was a priest, instead of coming himself. Cenwalh and his people received Leutherius with honour, and he was ordained bishop in 670. Cenwalh died in 672. On his death Bæda says that the underlings rid themselves of the supremacy of their overlord, and divided the kingdom between them for about ten years [see *CENRWINE*]. The chronicle-writer and Henry of Huntingdon, however, say that his queen, Sexburh, reigned for a year after him. Cen-

walh is said by William of Malmesbury to have been a benefactor to Glastonbury, but the charter which claims to be his is spurious.

[Bæda, iii, 7, iv. 12 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Anglo-Saxon Chron. an. 643-672 (Rolls Ser.); Florence of Worcester, i. 20 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, i. 30 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Henry of Huntingdon, 716, M. H. B.; *Gesta Pontificum*, 158 (Rolls Ser.); *Codex Dipl.* i. 10; *Guest's Origines Celtice*, ii. 245; Freeman in *Somerset Archæol. Soc.'s Proc.* xix. ii. 67; Green's *Making of England*, 295, 328, 339.]

W. H.

**CENWULF** or **KENULF** (d. 1006), bishop of Winchester, on the appointment of Aldulf [q. v.] to the see of York, was chosen, in 992, to succeed him as abbot of St. Peter's, at Medehamstede (Peterborough). He surrounded his abbey with a wall, changed its name to Burch (Borough), and added to its wealth. On the promotion of Ælfheah [q. v.] to the archbishopric of Canterbury, Cenwulf is said to have procured his election to the see of Winchester in 1005 by simoniacal means. Ælfheah when at Rome, whither he had gone to receive the pall, is said to have announced the day of his successor's death, which took place in 1006. By Hugh 'Candidus,' the historian of Peterborough, Cenwulf is described as remarkably learned and eloquent, and is said to have carefully corrected the books belonging to the monastery. Probably on the strength of this statement Pits reckoned him an author. The works of Kynewulf [q. v.] have at times been assigned to him in error. Abbot Ælfric, the 'grammarian' [q. v.], dedicated his 'Life of St. Æthelwold' to Bishop Cenwulf. This dedication fixes the date of the work as 1005-6, the period of Cenwulf's episcopate.

[Anglo-Saxon Chron. i. 221, 240, 255, 257 (Rolls Ser.); Florence of Worcester, i. 149, 158 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontific.* 170, 317 (Rolls Ser.); Osborn de Vita S. Elphegi, *Anglia Sacra*, ii. 130; Hugo Candidus, *Cœnobii Burgensis Historia*, 31, ed. Sparke; Vita S. Æthelwoldi ap. Chron. de Abingdon. ii. 255 (Rolls Ser.); Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 347; Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.* 175.]

W. H.

**CEOLFRID** or **CEOLFRITH**, SAINT (642-716), abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, the son of noble and pious parents, became, at the age of eighteen, a monk in the monastery of Gilling in Yorkshire, which, until lately, had been under the rule of his brother Cynfrith. When Ceolfrith entered the house, the office of abbot was held by Tunberht, the kinsman and successor of Cynfrith. Tunberht took a warm interest in

training his young relation, who applied himself earnestly to study and to monastic discipline. After a while a pestilence, probably the plague of 664, having carried off many of the monks of Gilling, Tunberht and his brethren were invited by Bishop Wilfrith to settle in the monastery of Ripon. Ceolfrith accompanied his kinsman to Ripon, and there, at the age of twenty-seven, was ordained priest by Wilfrith. Anxious to learn fully the duties of the priesthood and of the monastic life, he made a journey to Kent, for the coming of Archbishop Theodore and Hadrian in 669 had made Canterbury the seat of learning and ecclesiastical order. He visited East Anglia in order to observe the special method of monastic discipline followed by Abbot Botulf at Ikanhoe in Lincolnshire, and when he had learnt all he could he made haste to return to Ripon. There, in spite of his learning, he cheerfully occupied himself in humble duties, and became the baker of the house, employing the intervals in his labour in learning and practising the ritual that, as a priest, it was his duty to observe. When in 672 Benedict Biscop was forming a new congregation for the abbey he was about to build at Wearmouth, he invited Ceolfrith to help him. The invitation was accepted, and in 674 the abbey of St. Peter's was begun. Ceolfrith held the office of prior in the new house, and ruled it in Benedict's absence. After a while he grew weary of the cares of office, and, meeting with considerable annoyance from certain noble members of the house who disliked the strict monasticism he enforced, he left Wearmouth and returned to Ripon. His thorough knowledge of regular discipline and of the service of the altar made his services highly important, and Benedict went after him and persuaded him to return. In 678 he accompanied Benedict to Rome, returning with John, the arch-chanter, who was persuaded to come over to England to teach the clergy there the Roman service.

When, in 682, King Egfrith gave Benedict a second large grant of land, he determined to build a second monastery at Jarrow. He committed the work to Ceolfrith, and made him abbot of the new congregation, which at first consisted of seventeen monks. Ceolfrith carried out the work with energy, and made a second journey to Rome to procure what the new foundation needed. In the third year after he began the work he set about building the church of his monastery, and finished it the year after. A stone still preserved at Jarrow commemorates the dedication of this church to St. Paul. The inscription on it is:



✠ Dedicator Basilicæ | Sci Pauli viii Kl Mai |  
 anno xv Egfridi Reg. | . . . Ceolfridi Abb.  
 ejusdem q. | q. Eccles. Deo Auctore | Conditoris  
 Anno iii.

The two monasteries, St. Peter's at Wearmouth, and St. Paul's at Jarrow, were sister houses, and the new convent remained in the strictest connection with Benedict's earlier foundation. The number of brethren at Jarrow appears to have slightly increased after the congregation was first formed by Benedict, and twenty-two settled in Ceolfrith's new house, of whom ten were already tonsured, and the remainder were applicants for the tonsure. During the progress of the building the abbot took no small pains to instruct his brethren how to read and sing the service, in order that they might chant the psalms and say the responses and antiphons as the custom was at St. Peter's at Wearmouth. His monks studied diligently, and good progress was made. The monastery, however, was visited by the plague, which carried off all the monks who were thus able to take part in the service save the abbot himself and one lad whom he had brought up and taught, and who was not as yet in priest's orders. When the history from which this incident comes was written, the lad, grown then to manhood, and in the priesthood, was still a brother of the house, equally famous for what he wrote and what he spoke of his past life, and it is not too fanciful to believe that he was Bæda [q. v.], who tells us that Ceolfrith brought him up, and that it was by his direction that he was ordained priest (*Ecol. Hist.* v. 24). The abbot and the lad for one week left out the wonted antiphons, but the service seemed too mournful, and with such help as the others could give they kept the service up as it had been before the plague, though not without great labour, until the abbot had gathered fresh monks, or taught those he already had to take their part. On the death of Eosterwini, whom Benedict had admitted to a share in the abbacy of Wearmouth, that he might take his place in his absence, the monks of St. Peter's consulted Ceolfrith as to whom they should choose in his place, for, as it happened, Benedict was at Rome at the time. By Ceolfrith's advice they made Sigfrith abbot, and Benedict, on his return, approved the choice. Soon after this both Benedict and Sigfrith fell sick. Benedict therefore sent for Ceolfrith, and committed both the monasteries to his charge. Accordingly he was constituted abbot of both houses, 13 May 688. Sigfrith died on 22 Aug. and Benedict on 12 Jan. following.

Ceolfrith ruled the two monasteries with diligence. While strictly enforcing the full Benedictine rule he nevertheless won the love of his monks. He took pains with the services, and caused them to be held constantly. Nor was he neglectful of the welfare of his monasteries in other ways. He obtained a letter of privileges from Pope Sergius, which he had laid before a synod and publicly confirmed by King Aldfrith and the bishops who were present. He enriched his churches with many precious things from Rome. Among other matters of good government he especially encouraged the practice of transcription, and, having already one copy of the Scriptures of the old version, which he had brought from Rome, caused three copies of the new version to be written out; one of these he placed in each of his monasteries and kept the other to present to the Roman see. A certain splendid cosmography, which Benedict had bought at Rome, he sold to King Aldfrith for no less than eight hides of land, with which he endowed St. Paul's monastery. When Adamnan [q. v.] visited Northumbria, Ceolfrith entertained him and succeeded in convincing him that the Celtic church was in error. The result of this visit was the conversion of the northern Irish to the Roman Easter in 704 (*Ecol. Documents*). At the request of Naiton (Nechtan Mac Derili), king of the Picts, he wrote him a letter in 710 on the disputed questions about Easter and the tonsure. When this letter was translated to Naiton and his councillors, the king decreed that the Roman customs should thenceforth be followed by his people. Ceolfrith also, at the king's request, sent him architects to show him how to build the church he was contemplating in the Roman style. In 716 Ceolfrith, feeling that age had lessened his powers, determined to end his days at Rome. He took a solemn and affecting farewell of his monks, who were now about six hundred in number in the two monasteries, and set out on 4 June, taking with him the copy of the Scriptures he had had prepared to present to the pope. While waiting for his ship to sail, he heard of the election of his successor, Hwætberht, and confirmed it. He set sail on 4 July and landed in Gaul 12 Aug. He was honourably received by the ruler of the district, who gave him a commendatory letter to Liutprand, king of the Lombards. He arrived at Langres on 25 Sept., and died there on the same day at the age of seventy-four. On the morrow his body was buried with great honour in the church of the Twin Martyrs. He had been accompanied on his journey by eighty men from all parts, who revered him as a father;



these, together with a large number of the people of Langres, followed him to the grave. Of the monks whom he took with him some returned to carry the tidings of his death to their monasteries; some went on to Rome, bearing the gifts he had prepared for the pope; and others, unwilling to leave their master's grave, stayed at Langres. Ceolfrith's letter to Naiton is preserved in Bæda's 'Ecclesiastical History' (v. 21). Six elegiac lines of dedication, written in the copy of the Scriptures he intended, are also extant (BÆDÆ *Op. Hist. Min.* 332).

[These two lives of St. Ceolfrith, one evidently the work of a contemporary monk of Wearmouth, formed the basis of the Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow written by Bæda. The Wearmouth book, *Historia Abbatum Gyrrensium*, was first printed by J. Stevenson in his Bædæ Opera Historica Minora, for the Eng. Hist. Soc., from the Harleian MS. 3020; the same volume also contains Bæda's Vita S. Ceolfridi. Bæda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, iv. 18, v. 21, 24; Symeon, de Dunelmensi Ecclesia, Twysden, 8, 92, 94, 95; William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, i. 50, 54, 58; Surtees's Durham, ii. 67; Haddan and Stubbs's Councils and Eccl. Documents, iii. 285-296.] W. H.

**CEOLNOTH** (d. 870), archbishop of Canterbury, is said by Gervase to have been dean of that church; this statement, however, probably arises from a confusion between Ceolnoth and Æthelnoth (consecrated 1020), who certainly held that office (*Eccl. Docs.* iii. 611 n.). He was elected 29 June and consecrated 27 Aug. 833 (GERVASE). This date, however, depends on that of the death of Feolgeld, and on his being accepted as an archbishop. Feolgeld appears to have died 29 Aug. 832, and his consecration is mentioned by the Canterbury version of the chronicle followed by William of Malmesbury and others; on the other hand, the dates of the chronicles do not agree with this chronology, and 27 Aug. did not fall on a Sunday in 833, but did so fall in 831. 'The point is very obscure, and it is not probable that it can ever be completely cleared up' (*Eccl. Docs.*). It is said, on the highly doubtful authority of a Latin insertion in the Canterbury chronicle (anno 995), that in the first year of Ceolnoth's archbishopric there was a great sickness among the monks of Christ Church, so that five only were left, and that, finding it difficult to supply their places with other monks, he admitted secular clerks into the monastery. This story, which forms part of the account of the supposed expulsion of the seculars by Archbishop Ælfric [q. v.], cannot be accepted as of much weight, though it illustrates the constant

presence of secular clerks in religious houses before the struggle between the two orders in the tenth century. On the overthrow of the kingdom of Kent it is probable that little good feeling existed between the see of Canterbury and Ecgerht, the West-Saxon conqueror, and it has been suggested that Ceolnoth was a West Saxon, and that his accession was due to Ecgerht's desire to gain the support of the metropolitan see (ROBERTSON, *Hist. Essays*, 196, 200). If this was so, the king's policy was successful, for at the council of Kingston in 838 Ceolnoth made a strict and perpetual alliance between his church and the West-Saxon kings, Ecgerht and Æthelwulf, receiving in return certain lands at Malling, which had been granted to Canterbury by Baldred, king of Kent, on the eve of his final defeat. This alliance was confirmed in 839, the first year of Æthelwulf, at a council held at 'Astran.' In 844 a long-pending dispute, arising out of the will of Oswulf, ealdorman of East Kent, and first heard in 810, was decided by Ceolnoth in favour of the church at an assembly held at Canterbury in the presence of the king. In 851 the Danes took Canterbury, and in 864 a Danish army wintered in Thanet; the invaders made peace with the Kentish men, who promised them money, but during the progress of the negotiations they plundered the country. The measures taken for defence and the payment here noticed have been connected with the large number of Ceolnoth's coins that have been found; it is possible that he may have had to turn some part of the treasure of his church into money. He died and was buried in his church at Canterbury in 870 (ASSER, GERVASE), for the statement of the Worcester chronicler that he died at Rome is evidently incorrect.

[Haddan and Stubbs's Councils and Eccl. Docs. iii. 610-36; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Asser, Mon. Hist. Brit. 476; Gervase, Twysden, col. 1643; Hook's Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury, i. 282-96.] W. H.

**CEOLRED** (d. 716), king of the Mercians, was the son of Æthelred by his wife Osthryth of Northumbria. On Æthelred's retirement to a monastery in 704 he was succeeded by his nephew, Coenred, and Ceolred did not come to the throne until 709. He then sent two abbots to Wilfrith to beg him to come to him, promising to order his life in accordance with the bishop's instructions. Wilfrith accepted the invitation, but died soon after his coming into Mercia, and, as it seems, without meeting the king. The revival of the West-Saxon power under

Ceadwalla and Ine had caused the loss of the Mercian territory beyond the Thames, together probably with Essex and London. Ceolred made a vigorous attempt to win back the supremacy of the south, and in 715 led his army into Wessex. He was met by Ine at Wodnesbeorg, probably Wanborough, where a battle was fought so fiercely that none could tell which side suffered the greater loss (HEN. HUNT. 724); it is evident, however, that the invasion failed. Ceolred was jealous of his cousin Æthelbald, and persecuted him so that he was forced to flee from the kingdom. The good intentions Ceolred had when he sent for Wilfrith seem by this time to have disappeared, for he greatly oppressed the church and did much evil to monasteries and nunneries. In 716, as he was feasting with his nobles, he was suddenly seized with madness, and so died, his end, according to St. Boniface, being the work of the evil spirit that possessed him. His widow, Werburh, is said to have lived until 782. Ceolred was buried at Lichfield. On his death Æthelbald was chosen king.

[Bæda's *Historia Eccles.* v. 19 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 704, 715, 716; Eddius's *Vita Wilfridi*, cap. 63, ap. *Historians of York*, p. 96 (Rolls Series); Florence of Worcester (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Henry of Huntingdon, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*; Haddan and Stubbs's *Councils and Eccles. Docs.* iii. 281, 355, and 356, with letter of St. Boniface from Jaffé, No. 59, given in a shortened form by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i. 80 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); *Vita S. Guthlaci*, *Maillillon Acta SS.* sæc. iii. 1, 271; *Kemble's Codex Dipl.* i. 72; *Green's Making of England*, 392.] W. H.

**CEOLRIC** or **CEOL** (*d.* 597), king of the West Saxons, was the son of Cutha, the brother of Ceawlin. After his victory over his uncle Ceawlin [q. v.] at Wodnesbeorg in 592 he reigned for five years. At his death in 597 he left a son, Cynegils [q. v.] He was succeeded by his brother, Ceolwulf, who reigned until 611, when, at his death, Cynegils succeeded to the throne.

[Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Florence of Worcester, i. 9, 256, 271 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); William of Malmesbury, i. c. 17, 18.] W. H.

**CEOLWULF** (*d.* 764), king of the Northumbrians, was the son of Cutha (*A.-S. Chron.* an. 731; SYMEON, *De Dunelm. Eccl.*), and the brother of Coenred, king of the Northumbrians. On the death of Coenred in 718, Osric succeeded to the throne. Before he died he appointed Ceolwulf as his successor, who accordingly began his reign on 9 May 729. His chief claim to remembrance is that Bæda dedicated his '*Historia Ecclesiastica*'

to him ('gloriosissimo regi Ceoluulpho') in a prelatory letter in which he says that he has sent him his book that he may read and test it and have it transcribed, and speaks of the king's delight in the study of the Scriptures, in history, and especially in the records of famous Englishmen. Bæda ends his history with an account of the flourishing state of the kingdom of Northumbria in 731, noticing the large number of men of all ranks who at that time retired from the world to adopt a monastic life. It seems, however, as though a strong party in Northumbria disliked the increase of the ecclesiastical power, and was impatient of the rule of the studious king, for the next year an insurrection broke out, and Ceolwulf was seized and tonsured. He was restored to the throne the same year, the tonsure thus forced upon him being held therefore to be no impediment to the resumption of the kingly office. As Bishop Acca [q. v.] was banished at this time, it has been suggested that the troubles in Northumbria may have been connected with some change in the arrangement of the northern dioceses. Ceolwulf made his cousin Ecgerht bishop of York in 734, and Bæda, writing to Ecgerht, reminds him that he would find the king a ready helper in the ecclesiastical reforms he was urging on him, and especially in the increase of the episcopate. Ceolwulf resigned the throne in 737, and became a monk of Lindisfarne. He richly endowed the monastery with treasures and lands. From the time of his entrance into the house the monks were allowed to drink wine or beer instead of water or milk. He died in 764 (SYMEON, 760, *A.-S. Chron.*), and was buried at Lindisfarne. His body was afterwards translated to Norham, where miracles are said to have been wrought at his tomb; his head was preserved among the relics deposited in the church of St. Cuthbert at Durham. Ceolwulf has a place in the calendar, his day being 15 Jan.

[Bæda's *Hist. Eccl.* prolog. v. 23, *Epistola ad Ecgerbertum* ap. *Op. Hist. Minora*, p. 214 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Anglo-Saxon Chron.; Symeon de Dunelm. *Ecclesia*, col. 7, 9, de Sto Cuthberto, col. 70, de *Gestis Regum*, col. 100, 106, Twysden; William of Malmesbury, i. 64; Raine's *History of North Durham*, p. 68; Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Ebor.* 94.] W. H.

**CERDIC** (*d.* 534), king of the West Saxons, bore the title of ealdorman when in 495 he and his son, Cynric, came over to Britain, and landed probably at the mouth of the Itchin, at a spot afterwards called Cerdics-ora. The invaders were attacked on the day they landed. According to Henry of Huntingdon, whose history of these events,

late as it is, has a special value as embodying tradition, Cerdic's men formed themselves into a solid mass hard by their ships, and succeeded in beating off the attack of the Britons; neither side, however, could claim a victory. Æthelweard also speaks of a hardly fought battle. The next recorded event in Cerdic's life is a victory gained by him and his son in 508, in which a British king, with the name or title of Natanleod, and five thousand of his men were slain. As the chronicle states that after this battle 'the land was named Natanlea as far as Cerdices-ford' (Charford), it seems as though this victory established Cerdic's power to the east and south of that point. A further immigration 'in three ships' in 514 has been held to have been the first attempt 'at definite conquest' made by the people afterwards called West Saxons, the earlier descents in 495 and under different leaders in 501 being put down as mere plundering expeditions (GREEN, *Making of England*, 87). This is pure conjecture, and is contrary to the account given by Henry of Huntingdon, who represents Cerdic as making continuous though slow progress in conquest. Besides, the tradition that three ships were used by the later and five by the earlier invaders is almost fatal to the theory that the expedition of Cerdic in 495 was 'little more than a plunder raid,' and that the tribe came over in 514. There is no reason to doubt that the slow progress of the invasion in its early stage was due to the fact that Cerdic's forces were not sufficiently strong to advance inland until reinforced by expeditions such as the one which now landed in Britain. If the account in the chronicle of the coming of two Jutish leaders, Stuf and Wihtgar, described as Cerdic's nephews, is trustworthy, their co-operation must have considerably strengthened his position. In 519 he defeated the Britons at Charford. This victory secured the valley of the lower Avon, and at the same time opened a new field for invasion. As in other cases where a people won an important victory, this success led to the establishment of kingship. Cerdic and his son exchanged the title of ealdorman for that of king, and their people, from the geographical position of their settlements, were called West Saxons. On attempting to follow up his victory in 520 by an advance through the valley of the Frome (GREEN), Cerdic was utterly defeated at Mount Badon, or Badbury, in Dorsetshire (GUEST). While Gildas does not mention the name of the British leader, the victory is ascribed to Arthur by the writer of Nennius and the compilers of the 'Annales Cambriæ.' It is evident that Gildas looked on this battle,

which was fought in the year of his own birth, as a crisis in the struggle. Foreign wars, he says, now ceased. Cerdic was forced to leave the land west of the Avon in peace. In 530 he and his son conquered the island now called Wight, and slew men at the fortress where Carisbrook now stands. They handed their conquest over to their allies and kinsmen, Stuf and Wihtgar, so at least the chronicle says; and while the story of Wihtgar can scarcely be accepted without an effort, the island was certainly colonised by Jutes (BÆDA, II. E. i. 15). In 534 Cerdic died.

[Anglo-Saxon Chron.; Bæda's *Historia Eccl.* i. 15 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); *Annales Cambriæ*, an. 516; Nennius, 49 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Gildas, 34 (Eng. Hist. Soc.); Æthelweard, 503, Mon. Hist. Brit.; Henry of Huntingdon, 45 (Rolls Ser.); Guest's *Origines Celtiæ*, ii. 180-93; Green's *Making of England*, 87, 90.] W. H.

CERNACH, SAINT. [See CARANTACUS.]

CERVETTO, GIACOBBE (1682?-1783), violoncellist, was born in Italy of Jewish parents about 1682. His real name was Bassevi, but he had adopted the name of Cervetto before his arrival in England in 1738 or 1739. He played first at a concert in Hickford's Rooms, Brewer Street, Golden Square, where Festing led, but he was soon engaged for the Drury Lane orchestra, of which he was a conspicuous member until his death. Cervetto, with Caporale and Pasquali, was one of the first to popularise the violoncello in England. His tone is described as having been coarse, and his execution not remarkable; but Burney states that he was a good musician and a good man. At Drury Lane, where his large nose and a huge diamond he used to wear on the forefinger of his bow-hand made him very conspicuous, he was very popular with the audience, and it is said that the gallery cry, 'Play up, nose,' owes its origin to his appearance. Cervetto published a few trios, duets, and sonatas, mostly for the violoncello. He was a constant frequenter of the Orange coffee-house, and in the early part of his London career he lodged 'at Mr. Marie's, tobacconist, in Compton Street, Soho,' but afterwards lived at 7 Charles Street, Covent Garden. He died, aged over one hundred, at Friburg's snuff-shop in the Haymarket, on 14 Jan. 1783. By his will he directed that his body should be buried according to the rites of the church of England. In the course of his long life Cervetto had amassed a large fortune, which is variously estimated at from twenty to fifty thousand pounds. There is a fine mezzotint of him by

V. M. Picot, after Zoffany, published 16 April 1771, and a smaller portrait in H. de Janvry's 'Miniatures of Celebrated Musicians.'

[Grove's Dict. of Music, i. 331; Rees's Encyclopædia; British Museum Music Catalogue; European Mag. January 1783; Gent. Mag. September 1817; Thespian Dictionary; Pohl, Mozart und Haydn in London, 54, &c.; Musical Quarterly Mag. vi. 354; Cervetto's Will, Probate Registry, communicated by Mr. J. Challoner Smith.] W. B. S.

**CERVETTO, JAMES** (1749?–1837), the natural son of Giacobbe Basevi or Cervetto [q. v.], was born in London about 1749. He learnt the violoncello from his father, whom he soon excelled as a performer, his tone in particular being remarkably pure in quality. His first appearance took place at the little theatre in the Haymarket on 23 April 1760, when the advertisement stated that his age was eleven. The other performers at this concert were Miss Burney, aged eleven, Miss Schmaehling (afterwards celebrated as Mme. Mara), whose age was stated to be nine, though she was really eleven, and Barron, aged thirteen. After 1763 he travelled abroad, playing in most of the capitals of Europe; but he was in London in 1765, when he played at a concert given by Parry, the harpist. In 1771 he became a member of the queen's private band, and in 1780 he joined Lord Abingdon's private orchestra. On the institution of the Professional Concerts in 1783 Cervetto was engaged as soloist; at the first concert he played a violoncello concerto by Haydn. During the earlier part of his career Cervetto was in friendly rivalry with Crosdill [q. v.]; but on his father's death he inherited a large fortune and retired from the active exercise of his profession. The younger Cervetto was a member of the Royal Society of Musicians for seventy-two years. He wrote a few unimportant pieces of music, mostly for the violoncello. He died on Sunday, 5 Feb. 1837.

[Authorities as under **GIACOBBE CERVETTO**; Musical World, 10 Feb. 1837; Dictionary of Musicians, 1827; Annual Register, 1837, p. 175; Mendel's Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon.] W. B. S.

**GESTRETON, ADAM DE** (d. 1269), was one of the justices itinerant in the reign of Henry III. He is said to have been the king's chaplain, and on 28 Nov. 1265 he received a grant for life of the mastership of the *domus conversorum*, an establishment for converted Jews, which Henry III had founded about 1231 in New Street, London, now called Chancery Lane. In 52 Hen. III (1267–8) he sat as judge in nine different counties, sometimes alone and sometimes in

conjunction with Richard de Hemington. He died in the following year, and was succeeded as master of the *domus conversorum* by Thomas de la Leye.

[Newcourt's Repertorium, i. 338; Excerpta e Rot. Fin. ii. 465, 466, 468–73, 475–78; Foss's Judges of England, ii. 294.] H. B.

**CHABHAM** or **CHOBHAM, THOMAS DE** (fl. 1230), theologian, is mentioned as sub-dean of Salisbury in 1214 and 1230 (Le Neve, *Fasti*, ii. 619, ed. Hardy; comp. Leland, *Comm. de Script. Brit.* cclxxvi. 299; Tanner, *Bibl. Brit.* p. 172). He was the author of a 'Summa de poenitentia et officiis ecclesiasticis,' which is still extant in manuscript. Other works enumerated by Bale (*Script. Brit. Cat.* iv. 98, p. 379) are 'Speculum ecclesiae,' 'Tractatus de baptismo,' and 'De peccatis in genere,' besides 'Commentarii' and 'Sermones.' Chabham has been generally identified by biographers with Thomas de Cobham [q. v.], who was bishop of Worcester in the fourteenth century. But it is clear from the manuscripts (Coxe, *Catal. of Oxford MSS.*, University, cxix. 35 b, Oriel, xvii. 6 a, and Queen's, cclxxii. 84 b) that the writer of the treatise 'De poenitentia' was known only as sub-dean of Salisbury, and two of the manuscripts cited date from before the end of the thirteenth century. In these the spelling of the author's name varies between 'Chabeham,' 'Chobham,' and 'Chebeham;' that of the sub-dean is given by Tanner as 'Chabaam,' and by Le Neve as 'Chabaum.' The bishop's name, on the other hand, seems to have been invariably spelled with a simple C; he is described by contemporary writers as canon of St. Paul's or of York, both which preferments he held, but not as sub-dean of Salisbury. The repetition of the name therefore among the officers of Salisbury Cathedral, found in Le Neve (l. c.) under the later date, plainly in order to suit Bishop Cobham, must be an error.

[Authorities cited above.]

R. L. P.

**CHABOT, CHARLES** (1815–1882), expert in handwriting, belonged to a Huguenot family, and was born at Battersea in 1815. He was originally a lithographer, but gradually acquired a large private practice as an expert in handwriting, while his unswerving integrity, no less than his skill, made him in much request in the law courts. He gave evidence in the Roupell and Tichborne trials, and in some other important cases his testimony practically governed the decisions. In 1871 Chabot examined professionally the handwriting of the letters of Junius and compared it with the handwriting of those

persons to whom the letters had at various times been attributed. His detailed reports, which confirmed the identification of Sir Philip Francis with Junius, were published, with a preface and collateral evidence by the Hon. Edward Twistleton, in 1871. Chabot died on 15 Oct. 1882.

[Times, 17 Oct. 1882; Law Journal, xvii. 566.]

T. F. H.

**CHACEPORC** or **CHACEPORT**, **PETER** (d. 1254), treasurer, a Poitevin favourite of Henry III, and nephew of a certain Hugh de Vynon, a valued servant of the king, was one of the royal clerks, and as such took part in the confirmation of the truce with France in 1243. From 1245 onwards he held the office of keeper of the king's wardrobe. He was rector of Ivinghoe, and in 1250 was made archdeacon of Wells. In that year also the king sent him to Winchester to try to persuade the monks to elect Aymer de Valence [q. v.] as bishop. His name occurs in 1252 in a scheme of composition between the king and Earl Simon of Leicester, and he was sent the same year to ask Queen Blanche to grant Henry leave to pass through France on his proposed visit to Gascony, a request the queen answered by a flat refusal. In 1253 he received, with Henry of Lexington, the temporary charge of the great seal, was made treasurer, and was named one of the executors of the king's will. During the vacancy of the see of Lincoln in 1254 the king gave him the treasurer's office of that church. Later in the year he was with Henry when, on his return from Gascony, he visited Louis IX at Paris. On his homeward journey the king stayed awhile at Boulogne, and there Chaceporc died, on 24 Dec. Henry, who greatly valued him, buried him with honour in St. Mary's Church. By his will, made two days before his death, he left six hundred marks to found a house of regular canons to be chosen from Merton. The king carried out the wishes of his favourite servant by the foundation of Ravenston Priory in Buckinghamshire.

[Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, v. 179, 335, 484, 691 (Rolls Ser.); *Annales de Dunstaplia* ap. Ann. Monast. iii. 194 (Rolls Ser.); Royal Letters of Henry III, ii. 335 (Rolls Ser.); Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 417, 488, 502, ed. 1704; Madox's *History of the Exchequer*, i. 609, ii. 116, 318; *Liber Niger de Scaccario*, ii. 534, ed. Hearne, 1771; Le Neve's *Pasti* (Hardy); Foss's *Judges of England*, ii. 295.]

W. H.

**CHAD** or **CEADDA**, **SAINT**. [See **CEADDA** (d. 672).]

**CHADERTON**, **LAURENCE** (1536?-1640), master of Emmanuel College, Cam-

bridge, was the son of Thomas Chaderton of the Lees, Oldham. According to his biographers, he gave inconsistent accounts of his age. According to one, he was born in 1536; according to the other, two years later. His father was a gentleman of good means, and seems to have taken little pains to press Laurence forward in his education. The boy was further disgusted with study by the severity of a stupid schoolmaster; but after a youth devoted mainly to field sports, he came under the influence of an able and learned tutor, Laurence Vaux, the author of a catholic catechism, and afterwards warden of the Manchester College. The elder Chaderton was a strict catholic, as of course was Vaux, and Laurence was therefore trained in the old faith; but when young Chaderton entered Christ's College in 1564-5 he found the reformation question agitating the minds of all around him. The puritan party was especially strong at Christ's, and Chaderton, after much conflict of mind, determined to adopt the reformed doctrines. This change of opinion cost him the support of his father, who, after vainly attempting to induce him by the offer of an allowance of 30*l.* to quit Cambridge and study at one of the Inns of Court, addressed the following letter to him: 'Son Laurence, if you will renounce the new sect which you have joined, you may expect all the happiness which the care of an indulgent father can secure you; otherwise, I enclose a shilling to buy a wallet. Go and beg.' Chaderton, however, persevered in his Cambridge career, obtained a scholarship, eked out his scanty means by teaching, in 1567 obtained his degree, and shortly afterwards a fellowship at Christ's. He served his college in various capacities as dean, tutor, and lecturer, and enjoyed considerable reputation as a Latin, Greek, and Hebrew scholar, and made himself acquainted also with French, Spanish, and Italian. He was successful as a tutor, but it was as a preacher that he exercised the widest influence. For nearly fifty years he was afternoon lecturer at the church of St. Clement's in Cambridge, and had large congregations both from town and university, where preaching had been before his time much neglected. When he found it necessary, very late in life, to resign his lectureship, he received an address from forty clergy begging him to reconsider his decision, and alleging that they owed their conversion to his preaching. Instances of his influence as a preacher are recorded in various parts of the country, especially in his native county of Lancashire. In 1572 Chaderton's father died, without, it seems, carrying out his threat of disinheritance completely; and in

1576 he vacated his fellowship at Christ's by marriage with Cecilia, daughter of Nicholas Culverwell, Queen Elizabeth's merchant for wines. The Culverwell family were strong puritans; two of Mrs. Chaderton's sisters were married to well-known members of the same party, Dr. Whitaker and Thomas Gouge, and her brothers Samuel and Ezekiel Culverwell were famous puritan preachers. Chaderton continued to reside and preach at Cambridge, and to take part in university matters. He took the degree of B.D. in 1578, and in 1581 was engaged in a controversy with Peter Baro [q. v.], who had published some theses concerning 'justifying faith,' which Chaderton denounced in a sermon. Baro cited Chaderton before the vice-chancellor, who heard the controversy, which was conducted with less than the usual acrimony. In 1584 Sir Walter Mildmay, who had, like Chaderton, been at Christ's, and had since acquired great wealth in a long course of public employments, determined to devote a portion of his riches to the foundation of a college at Cambridge especially designed to train up 'godly ministers.' Sir Walter, who was chancellor of the exchequer and a privy councillor, was well known to have sympathies on the side of the puritan party. For the mastership he selected Chaderton, whose character he respected, and with whom he was personally acquainted. When Chaderton hesitated (having been offered better preferment), he said, 'If you won't be master, I won't be founder.' Chaderton accepted the office, and fully justified Sir Walter's choice. Though a noted puritan, he was also a churchman, and never joined in the cry against 'prelacy,' though he refused to accept a bishopric himself. He was prebendary of Lincoln from 1598 till death. He ruled the new college with great credit and success for thirty-eight years, speedily attracting to it fresh benefactions, and many students, especially from families in sympathy with the Calvinistic puritans. During his mastership he was employed on the Cambridge committee for drawing up the authorised version of the Bible of 1607-11; and, earlier, was with three others chosen to represent the 'Millenary Plaintiffs' at the Hampton Court conference, where he was somewhat rudely assailed by his old fellow-collegian and friend, Richard Bancroft [q. v.], then bishop of London, who denounced him and his fellow-commissioners to the king as 'Cartwright's schollers, schismatics, breakers of your laws; you may know them by their Turkie grogram.' Chaderton was moderate, and pleaded rather for concessions to weak consciences than for radical changes. This moderation characterised him

throughout, although his chosen friends were the leaders of the extreme party, such as Cartwright, Perkins, and Whitaker. In October 1622 he resigned his mastership, apparently under some pressure from the fellows, who wished to have Dr. Preston, a fellow of Queens', as his successor. Preston was chaplain to Prince Charles, and intimate with Buckingham; and the fellows thought that his influence at court might secure to them the abolition of one of their statutes, which they especially disliked, and which Chaderton supported, compelling them to reside and to vacate their fellowships at the standing of D.D. The old man was persuaded that by his resignation Preston's election could be secured, and the danger of an Arminian being put in his place by royal mandate be avoided. He accordingly resigned on 26 Oct. 1622, and Preston was elected. He survived his resignation eighteen years, living in the town near the college, and in spite of his great age continuing his devotion to his old studies, and especially to botany. His wife died in 1631, but his only daughter, who married the son of Archdeacon Johnson, founder of Oakham and Uppingham schools, remained with him until his death. He preserved in a remarkable degree his bodily and mental faculties to the last. His biographer, Dillingham, says that near the end of his life he saw him reading a Greek Testament of very small type without glasses; and that, though he watched for it, he never detected him repeating himself in his conversation. Prince Charles and Frederic the Elector Palatine visited him in 1613, and insisted on his taking his doctor's degree, from which he had always shrunk. In 1615 James I visited and conversed with him, and two of his old pupils who had risen high in political life took especial pains to show him honour—Finch, the lord-keeper, and Rich, the ill-fated Earl of Holland. He died on 13 Nov. 1640, aged 102 or 103 years, and was buried in the Emmanuel College chapel; his body was removed to the new chapel built after the Restoration by Sir Christopher Wren.

He published a small tract printed anonymously, and reprinted with others by Ant. Thys of Leyden, '*de justificatione coram Deo et fidei perseverantia, non intercisa,*' and one sermon, printed London, 1580, of which copies are in the libraries of Sion College and Emmanuel College. Baines, in his '*History of Lancashire,*' mentions other works, apparently in manuscript, as does Dillingham, viz. the theses against Baro; two treatises, '*De Cœna Domini,*' and '*De Oratione Dominica;*' and some lectures on logic and on Cicero.

[Dillingham's *Vita Chadertoni*, 1700, translated by E. S. Shuckburgh, 1884; *Life in Clark's Martyrology*, part ii. p. 145. See also Ball's *Life of Preston* in same book, pp. 93-4; *Genl. Mag.* 1854, pp. 460, 588; Baines's *History of Lancashire*, pp. 455-6; Barlow's *Summe of the Conference before the King's Majesty*, pp. 2, 27, 105; *Strype's Annals*; Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*.] E. S. S.

**CHADERTON, CHADDERTON, or CHATTERTON, WILLIAM, D.D.** (1540?-1608), successively bishop of Chester and Lincoln, was born about 1540 at Nuthurst, a hamlet of Moston in the ancient parish of Manchester. He was the younger son of Edmund Chadderton, by his wife, Margaret Cliffe of Cheshire. The Chaddertons were an ancient family, descended from Geoffrey de Trafford, the younger son of Richard de Trafford, who about 1200 received from his father the manor of Chadderton. Chadderton was educated at the Manchester grammar school, and afterwards successively at Magdalene and Pembroke Colleges, Cambridge. He matriculated as a pensioner of Pembroke in November 1553. He took his degree of B.A. in 1558, and in the same year was chosen fellow of Christ's College. He became M.A. in 1561, B.D. in 1566, and D.D. in 1568. On the visit of Queen Elizabeth to Cambridge in 1564 he was appointed, with Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) [q. v.] and others, to take part in the philosophy act kept before her majesty in Great St. Mary's on 7 Aug. to her great satisfaction. Chadderton's speech is printed by Nichols (*Progresses of Elizabeth*, iii. 68, ed. 1805). Perhaps it was on this occasion that he ingratiated himself with Cecil as well as with the Earl of Leicester, whose chaplain he afterwards became. He was chosen to succeed Whitgift as Lady Margaret professor of divinity in 1567. The next year, on the death of John Stokes, the influence of Sir William Cecil and the court procured his election as president of Queens' College, 7 May 1568. He returned thanks to his patron in a servile Latin letter. Stokes had also been archdeacon of York, and on the 31st of the same month, by the same influence, the new president was appointed his successor. Soon after his election to the presidentship, being minded to marry, he applied for leave to his other powerful patron Dudley, earl of Leicester. The earl's reply is printed by Peck (*Desiderata Curiosa*, bk. iii. No. 3), who finds much to divert him in Leicester's gravity in 'writing like a saint.' The earl's permission having been granted, Chadderton married Katherine, daughter of John Revell of London, by whom he had an only daughter, Joan. Chadderton took a leading part at this time in university affairs.

The town was out of favour with the Duke of Norfolk, then high steward of the town, on account of some municipal squabbles, and Chadderton was despatched to Cecil, then the chancellor, by the vice-chancellor and heads, 7 Aug. 1569, to influence the duke against the town. Chadderton succeeded Whitgift as regius professor of divinity at the close of 1569. His place as Lady Margaret professor was filled by Thomas Cartwright, who at once began to attack the existing form of church government. We find Chadderton speedily calling upon Cecil (11 June 1570) to use his authority as chancellor to repress this 'pernicious teaching, not tolerable for a christian commonwealth' (*State Papers*, Dom. Eliz., lxxi. 11). In the bitter controversies between the puritans and the moderate Anglicans Chadderton actively sided with the latter, and was charged by Dering with being 'an enemy of God's gospel' with 'small constancy either in his life or his religion' (*STRYPE, Parker*, App. No. 78). He was one of Whitgift's assessors when Cartwright was brought to trial before him, and fully concurred in his removal from his professorship, 11 Dec. 1570. Chadderton delivered the Lady Margaret lectures in Cartwright's place, and when, in the following September, Cartwright was deprived of his fellowship, he was one of the heads who wrote to Cecil entreating him to support Whitgift in this exercise of authority (*STRYPE, Whitgift*, bk. i. ch. 5. N.B.—*Strype's date, 1572, is erroneous*). In 1572 Chadderton made an unsuccessful application to Cecil for the deanery of Winchester, which would deliver him from the slavery of public lectures (*Baker MS.* iv. 190; *SEARLE, Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 308). On 16 Feb. 1574 he received the prebendal stall of Fenton in York Minster, to which on 5 Nov. 1576 was added a prebend of Westminster. He resigned the archdeaconry of York in 1575. A letter printed by Peck (*Desid. Cur.* bk. iii. No. 7; *STRYPE, Annals*, vol. ii. bk. ii. ch. 13), addressed to Chadderton by some leading person about the court, shows that he had given offence by political sermons. A disagreeable story is preserved by *Strype (Parker, bk. iv. ch. 40)* about a sermon preached by Chadderton at Paul's Cross, reflecting on Dr. Cox, then bishop of Ely, and even on Parker himself, for remissness in enforcing conformity, with the view, it was said, of getting Cox's bishopric. It is more pleasant to learn that during his residence at Cambridge he joined with Dr. Lancelot Andrewes, Dr. Knewstubs, and others in weekly conferences on holy scripture. Sir John Harington (*State of the Church of England*) describes Chadderton, whom he remembered well at Cambridge,



as 'a learned and grave doctor, able to lay aside his gravity, even in the pulpit; well beloved by scholars for not affecting any sour or austere fashion, either in teaching or governing.' His mastership, however, was far from being a quiet one. Chadderton's chief opponents among his fellows were W. Middleton, whom he removed from his fellowship in 1575 for sowing discord among the fellows, and Edmund Rockrey, a popular puritan preacher, who refused to attend the holy communion or conform to the ceremonies, for which he was expelled the university, but was afterwards restored to his fellowship by Burghley's interposition (SEARLE, *u.s.* pp. 324-45).

In 1579 Chadderton was appointed, through Leicester's influence, to the bishopric of Chester. He was consecrated in the church of St. Gregory by St. Paul's 8 Nov. by Archbishop Sandys. He had already resigned the presidentship of Queens' in the preceding June, and he gave up the regius professorship of divinity the following year, and was appointed to the wardenship of Manchester 5 June 1580, which he held *in commendam* with the bishopric of Chester. He also held at the same time the rectory of Bangor. He repaid his patron, Leicester, for his elevation by granting him the nomination to the archdeaconry of Chester at the next vacancy. He was at once appointed one of the ecclesiastical commissioners for the discovery and conviction of popish recusants. He took up his residence in Manchester as better suited for the execution of his commission, and remained there until 'the too frequent jarrings between his servants and the inhabitants of the town' caused him to remove to Chester (*Lansd. MS.* 983, f. 129).

While resident at Manchester the children of many of the leading families of the diocese were placed under his charge, with the view of guarding them from the seductions of papists. The diocese of Chester included the whole of Lancashire and the north-western portion of Yorkshire, a district still strongly wedded to the old faith, and containing more than a quarter of all the English recusants. We have a very extensive collection of letters written by Lord Burghley, Sir F. Walsingham, Sir Christopher Hatton, and other leading statesmen, during his tenure of the bishopric of Chester, 1581-5, in Peck's '*Desiderata Curiosa*,' vol. i. bks. iii. iv., chiefly concerning the mode of dealing with the popish recusants, who were to be proceeded roundly with by fine and imprisonment, commending him for the care and pains he had manifested to purge his diocese of the 'dangerous infection of popery,' by which it was fondly hoped that taint would 'in a short time be wholly driven away.' For his dili-

gent attention to this work he was excused attendance in parliament in 1580. The bishop was not allowed to relax his vigilance for a single moment without a reminder from the privy council or from the primate Sandys (STRYPE, *Annals*, iii. bk. i. c. 15, Parker Society; SANDYS, *Sermons*, pp. 435-42). 'Propheysings or Exercises' having grown up without any authority, Chadderton issued instructions to regulate them, which are given by Strype (*Annals*, iii. App. Nos. 38, 39). These exercises were distasteful to the queen, who ordered their suppression. This order was communicated to Chadderton by his metropolitan, Archbishop Sandys, 2 May 1581, with a direct censure for 'yielding too much to general fastings, and all-the-day preaching and praying, which the wisest and best could not like, nor could her majesty permit it' (PECK, bk. iii. No. 29, p. 102). In 1584, when the puritans were once more in favour at court, we find Chadderton censured by the privy council for the scantiness of the religious exercises in his diocese, which he was recommended to use more frequently (*ib.* bk. iv. No. 41, p. 149). It appears from the registers of the diocese that he was strict in enforcing the use of the cap and the surplice, and suspended some of his clergy for refusing to conform (COOPER, *Annals*, ii. 482). He is described as 'a learned man and liberal, given to hospitality, and a more frequent preacher and baptiser than other bishops of his time' (HOLLINGWORTH, *Mancuniensis*, p. 89).

On 5 April 1595 Chadderton was elected bishop of Lincoln, on the translation of Bishop Wickham to Winchester. The election was confirmed on 24 May, and he was enthroned by proxy on 6 June and in person on 23 July. His Lincoln episcopate was uneventful. On Easter day 1603, when James I was making his progress from Scotland to London on his accession, Chadderton preached before the king and court at Burleigh. He continued in his new diocese his endeavours to reduce popish recusants to conformity, and apparently with better success. The registers for 1606-7 contain frequent entries of lay recusants, who had been indicted for not attending their parish church, appearing before him in his episcopal chapel at Buckden and taking the oath of conformity. He complained on his accession that the revenues of the see were in such an impoverished state through the leases granted by his predecessor that he was hard put to it to restore one of his episcopal houses, maintain his household, and keep hospitality. More than 1,000*l.* was due for dilapidations, of which he could get nothing (*Cal. of State Papers*, 19 June 1595),



He never resided at Buckden, but made his home at Southoe, about a mile away, where he had purchased an estate, on which, when Sir John Harington wrote, he was 'living in good state,' allowing the episcopal palace to fall into decay. He died suddenly at Southoe on 11 April 1608, and was buried the next day in the chancel of the parish church. No monument was ever erected to his memory, and the engraved slab placed over his grave has been removed. He had only one child, Joan, born on 20 Feb. 1574, while he was still president of Queens', who married Sir Richard Brooke, in the county of Chester, from whom she was soon separated. Her only daughter, Elizabeth, born in 1595, married to Torel Joceline in 1616, was the author of 'The Mother's Legacy to her Unborn Child,' first published in 1624, and died in childhood on 12 Oct. 1622. Chadderton's portrait has been engraved by Woolnoth, from an original portrait, for Hibbert and Ware's 'Manchester.' The only printed works he left are: 1. A copy of twenty-two Latin elegiac verses prefixed to Barnaby Googe's translation of the first six books of the 'Zodiake of Life,' by Marcellus Palingenius, 1561. 2. 'Oratio in Disputatione Philosophice coram Regia Majestate, 7 Aug. 1564,' printed in Nichols's 'Progr. Eliz.' iii. 68. 3. 'The Direction of the Ecclesiastical Exercise in the Diocese of Chester,' in Strype's 'Ann.' vol. ii. bk. i. App. Nos. 38, 39. 4. 'Interpretation of the Statutes of King's College,' 5 April 1604, in Heywood and Wright's 'Laws of King's and Eton Colleges,' pp. 276-83. 5. 'Letter of thanks to Cecil on his appointment to the Presidency of Queens' College,' in Searle's 'Hist. of Queens' Coll.' p. 305.

[Le Neve's *Fasti*; Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. i. bks. iii. iv.; Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* ii. 482-4; *Annals of Camb.* ii. 196, 239, 251, 262, 309, 313, 367; Hibbert and Ware's *Manchester*, i. 101; *Wardens of Manchester* (Chetham Soc.); Nichols's *Progr. Eliz.* i. 186, ii. 298, 434, 453; *Progr. James I.* i. 96, 594; Strype's *Annals*; *Lives of Parker, Grindal, Whitgift* (indexes); Searle's *Hist. of Queens' College* (Camb. Antiq. Soc.); Mullinger's *University of Cambridge*, ii. 190, 214, 226.] E. V.

**CHADS, SIR HENRY DUCIE** (1788?-1868), admiral, son of Captain Henry Chads, also of the navy, who died in 1799, was in 1800 entered at the Royal Naval College at Portsmouth, from which in September 1803 he joined the Excellent with Captain Sotherton. In that ship he served for the next three years in the Mediterranean, and on 5 Nov. 1806 was promoted to be lieutenant of the Illustrious off Cadiz. In 1808 he was appointed to the Iphigenia frigate, with

Captain Henry Lambert, and in 1810 took part in the operations leading up to the capture of Mauritius. On 13 Aug. Chads commanded the Iphigenia's boats in the attack on the Isle de la Passe, and on the death of Lieutenant Norman succeeded to the command of the whole party. In reporting the affair, however, Captain Pym erroneously described the command as falling to Lieutenant Watling, who was two years junior to Chads; a mistake which caused the admiralty to withhold the promotion which would otherwise have been conferred on the commanding officer (JAMES, *Naval Hist.* 1860, v. 148).

The capture of the Isle de la Passe ended unfortunately. In an attack on Grand Port three of the ships got ashore and were taken or destroyed; while on 27 Aug. the Iphigenia was beset in the narrow passage by a squadron of fourfold force, and on the 28th was compelled to surrender, the officers and ship's company becoming prisoners of war (*ib.* v. 167). When Mauritius was captured, 3 Dec. 1810, the prisoners were set free, and Chads was again appointed to the Iphigenia, which was recovered at the same time. The ship was at once sent home, and was paid off in May 1811. In the following December Chads was appointed to the Semiramis, in which he continued till August of the next year, when Captain Lambert commissioned the Java, and at his request Chads was appointed her first-lieutenant. The Java was a fine 38-gun (18-pounder) frigate, taken from the French only the year before, and now under orders to carry out to Bombay the new governor, General Hislop, and a large quantity of naval stores. Her crew was exceptionally bad; an unusually large proportion of the men had never been at sea before, and a very great many were drafted on board from the prisons. She carried also a hundred or more supernumeraries, and when she sailed from Spithead on 12 Nov. 1812 she had on board upwards of four hundred men all told. Owing to the crowding, bad weather, and the rawness of the ship's company, drill was almost entirely neglected, and the guns had been rarely or never exercised, when, on 29 Dec. 1812, on the coast of Brazil, in latitude 13° S., she met the United States frigate Constitution. The Constitution was a more powerful ship, with a numerous and well-trained crew. Under the circumstances the Java's defence was highly creditable. The action lasted for more than two hours. Although, about the middle of the time, Captain Lambert fell mortally wounded, and though the heavy, well-aimed broadsides of the Constitution

racked the Java through and through, while the Java's return was wild and produced little effect, her men stuck manfully to their guns to the last. It was only when the ship lay an unmanageable hulk, and the Constitution took up a raking position athwart her bows, that Chads gave the order to haul down the colours.

English writers have endeavoured to show that the loss of the Java is to be attributed to the size of the Constitution, the power of her armament, and the number of her crew; but notwithstanding these disadvantages the true cause was that the Constitution's men were trained to the use of their arms and the Java's men were not. The Constitution lost in killed and wounded thirty-four, while the Java lost a hundred and fifty; the Constitution was scarcely damaged in hull or rigging, while the Java was entirely dismasted and sinking.

On his return home, Chads, with the officers and men of the Java, was, on 23 April 1813, tried by court-martial for the loss of the ship, when he was honourably acquitted and specially complimented by the president. On 28 May he was promoted to be commander, and appointed to the Columbia sloop, which he commanded in the West Indies till the final peace, and paid off on 24 Nov. 1815. He was then unemployed till November 1823, when he commissioned the *Arachne* of 18 guns for the East Indies, and in her was present during the operations in the Irawaddy. On 25 July 1825 he was advanced to post rank and appointed to the *Alligator* frigate, which he commanded till the end of the Burmese war, when he signed the treaty as senior naval officer, after which he returned to England and paid off his ship on 3 Jan. 1827. He was nominated a C.B. a few days before, 26 Dec. 1826. He afterwards, from 1834 to 1837, commanded the *Andromache* of 28 guns on the East India station, and from 1841 to 1845 the *Cambrian* of 36 guns, also in the East Indies. On his return he was appointed, 28 Aug. 1845, to the command of the *Excellent*, the school of naval gunnery, at Portsmouth. In this command he remained for upwards of eight years, and won for himself a distinct reputation for the improvements which he introduced into the detail of gunnery exercise and gunnery instruction. He was frequently employed on committees and in the conduct of experiments; and, though repeatedly offered other employment, he always begged to be allowed rather to stay in the *Excellent*. In 1848 he was selected to report on the *Blenheim*, the first screw line-of-battle ship, and at the same time to command a small

squadron on the coast of Ireland during Smith O'Brien's 'cabbage-garden' rebellion.

In September 1850 he was sent to witness a naval demonstration at Cherbourg, after which he made a confidential report on the strategical importance of Cherbourg, which he thought overrated, and on the French system of manning their ships, recommending the introduction into our own navy of continuous service. He also pointed out the danger of Portsmouth, then without any defence, and urged the construction of heavy forts.

On 12 Jan. 1854 he attained the rank of rear-admiral, and served during that year as fourth in command in the *Baltic*, with his flag in the *Edinburgh*. He was present at the reduction of Bomarsund, and was made K.C.B. on 5 July 1855. He was commander-in-chief at Cork from 1856 to 1858, after which he did not serve afloat, though in 1859 he was chairman of a committee on coast defence. He became vice-admiral on 24 Nov. 1858, admiral on 3 Dec. 1863, and was made G.C.B. on 28 March 1865. The latter years of his life were passed at Southsea, where he was known as a county magistrate and a warm supporter of the local charities, especially of the Seamen and Marines' Orphan School. He died in April 1868.

He married, on 26 Nov. 1815, Elizabeth, daughter of Mr. John Pook of Fareham, by whom he had a family of two daughters and two sons, the eldest of whom is the present Admiral Henry Chads.

[O'Byrne's *Nav. Biog. Dict.*; Marshall's *Royal Nav. Biog.* ix. (vol. iii. pt. i.) 237; Memoirs of Admiral Sir Henry Ducie Chads, by an Old Follower (Montagu Burrows), 1869, with a good portrait; James's *Naval History*, 1860, v. 409-423, is the account of the capture of the Java, told with all the bitterness and one-sidedness which disfigures that author's account of the transactions of the American war; Roosevelt's *Naval War of 1812*, p. 119, is a much fairer and more candid account of the same event, though naturally with an American colouring.]

J. K. L.

CHADWICK, JAMES, D.D. (1813-1882), catholic prelate, was descended from an ancient Lancashire family. His father, John Chadwick, who belonged to the family of the Chadwicks of Brough Hall, near Chorley, emigrated to Ireland at the beginning of the present century and settled at Drogheda, where the future bishop was born on 24 April 1813. He was educated at St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, near Durham, and at different times he filled the chairs of humanities, mental philosophy, and pastoral

theology in that institution. He also laboured as a missionary priest in the diocese of Hexham and Newcastle for more than seven years, but being subsequently recalled to Ushaw he remained there till 1866, when he was appointed bishop of Hexham and Newcastle, in succession to Dr. William Hogarth. He died at Newcastle on 14 May 1882. He edited *Father Celestine Leuthner's 'Cœlum Christianum,'* London, 1871, 8vo, and published 'Instructions on the Prayer of Recollection,' London, 1878, 8vo, methodically arranged from the 28th and 29th chapters of St. Teresa's 'Way of Perfection.'

[Tablet, 20 May 1882, pp. 791-3; Times, 15 May 1882, p. 8; Men of the Time (1879), 213, (1884) 1136; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Catholic Directory (1886), 140.]

T. C.

**CHAFY, WILLIAM (1779-1843)**, master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, was the eldest son of the Rev. William Chafy, M.A., minor canon of Canterbury Cathedral, by Mary, the only daughter of John Chafie (as he wrote the name) of Sherborne, Dorsetshire. He was born 7 Feb. 1779 at Canterbury, and was sent in 1788 to the King's School in that city. He entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, on 1 Jan. 1796, migrating to Sidney Sussex College on 18 Oct. of the same year. He graduated B.A. 1800, M.A. 1803, B.D. 1810, D.D. (by royal mandate) 15 Nov. 1813. He was elected fellow of Sidney Sussex on 4 June 1801, and in that year was also ordained and became curate of Gillingham in Kent. On 17 Oct. 1813 he was elected master of Sidney Sussex, and held that office until his death. During his mastership the college was refaced at his expense; many of his books were also presented by him to the college library. In 1813, and again in 1829, he was vice-chancellor of the university. He was also chaplain in ordinary to George III, George IV, William IV, and Queen Victoria. He died at Cambridge 16 May 1843, and was buried in the chapel of his college. Dr. Chafy married, 4 Dec. 1813, Mary, youngest daughter of John Westwood of Chatteris in the Isle of Ely, by whom he had one child, a son, William Westwood.

[Private information from his grandson, the Rev. W. K. W. Chafy-Chafy, M.A., of Rous Lench Court, Worcestershire; Gent. Mag. vol. xx. (new series), 1843, May 16; Annual Reg. lxxxv. 1843, 262; Graduati Cantabrig.; Sidebotham's Memorials of the King's School, Canterbury (1865), pp. 94, 95.]

W. W.

**CHAGNEAU, WILLIAM (1709-1781)**, novelist, was born in Ireland on 24 Jan.

VOL. III.

1709, son of John Chaigneau, of Huguenot extraction (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, v. 507-8). He lived at Dublin, being, as Tate Wilkinson describes him, 'principal agent to most of the regiments on the Irish establishment' (WILKINSON, *Memoirs*, i. 162); and having served in the army in Flanders he was familiarly called 'Colonel.' About 1740 he married, probably for the second time, and had an only child, a daughter, to whom he was strongly attached; she died in 1749. In 1752 he published anonymously an Irish novel, 'The History of Jack Connor,' for which 'he would not have any gratuity from his bookseller' (CARTER, *Letters*, ii. 86, and note, and 88). In 1757 Chaigneau lent a house to Tate Wilkinson during an engagement at Sheridan's theatre in Dublin; he also showed many other kindnesses to the actor, and in 1765 adapted a farce from the French, 'Harlequin Soldier,' which was performed at Edinburgh, on 22 March, at Wilkinson's benefit. In 1774 Chaigneau went to Montauban, France, but returning to Dublin in June 1775, he died there 1 Oct. 1781, aged 72.

[*Notes and Queries*, 3rd series, v. 11, 507-8; Gent. Mag. vol. lxxvi. pt. ii. p. 611; Monthly Review, 1752, vi. 447-9; Wilkinson's *Memoirs* of his own Life, i. 13, 14, 155-70, 189-91, 198-9; iv. 6, 251-2, 262-3; Mrs. Carter's *Letters*, ii. 86, and note, and 88.]

J. H.

**CHALK, SIR JAMES JELL (1803-1878)**, secretary to the ecclesiastical commission, second son of James Chalk of Queenborough in Kent, who married Mary, daughter of Edward Shove of the same place, was born there in 1803. He was educated at Wye College, Kent, and after passing several years of his early life in employments of a temporary character he entered, 4 Oct. 1836, into the service of the ecclesiastical commission, and in that position he spent the working years of life that were left to him. He was for some time the assistant secretary, but on the enforced resignation in 1849 of Mr. Charles Knight Murray, the secretary, Chalk succeeded to his place. In November 1839 he was called to the bar at the Middle Temple. On 4 Oct. 1871, having completed thirty-five years of service, he withdrew into private life, having a short time previously received the honour of knighthood. He died at 80 Warwick Square, Pimlico, 23 Sept. 1878. He was never married, but his old age was cheered by the company of his niece. His name is entered in the British Museum Catalogue, owing to the circumstance that many of the letters from the ecclesiastical commissioners to the corporation of London, which are printed in a volume entitled 'Bun-

X X

hill Fields Burial Ground; Proceedings in reference to its Preservation, 1867; bear his signature. For many years after the foundation of the commission its actions did not meet with the approval of the public, but for some time before Chalk's retirement the increased resources at its command and the improvement which ensued in the pecuniary condition of the clergy led to a change in opinion. His cautious and impassive demeanour was affected neither by censure nor by praise.

[Times, 27 Sept. 1878, p. 6; Dod's Peerage, 1872; personal information.] W. P. C.

**CHALKHILL, JOHN** (*A.* 1600), poet, was the author of a work which was published under the title of 'Thealma and Clearchus. A Pastoral History in smooth and easie Verse. Written long since by John Chalkhill, Esq., an Acquaintant and Friend of Edmund Spencer,' London, 1683, 8vo. The poem, which possesses considerable merit, was edited by Izaak Walton, whose preface is dated 7 May 1678, though the work was not published till five years later, when the editor was ninety years old. Walton, who had known the writer, says of him: 'And I have also this truth to say of the author, that he was in his time a man generally known and as well belov'd; for he was humble and obliging in his behaviour, a gentleman, a scholar, very innocent and prudent: and indeed his whole life was useful, quiet, and virtuous.' In the 'Compleat Angler,' published thirty years before, there occur two songs—'O, the sweet contentment' and 'O, the gallant fisher's life'—signed 'Io Chalkhill.' So meagre were the facts known of the author of 'Thealma and Clearchus' until a comparatively recent period that the Rev. Samuel W. Singer, in the introduction to a reprint of the poem issued from the Chiswick Press in 1820, advanced the theory, afterwards adopted by a writer in the 'Retrospective Review,' that Walton was its author as well as its editor, and that Chalkhill was altogether 'a fictitious personage.' But Mr. F. Somner Merryweather, in two letters in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for 1860, has shown from the Middlesex county records that towards the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign Ivon or Ion Chalkhill, Gent., was one of the coroners for that county, and that he subscribed his name 'Ion' and sometimes 'Io Chalkhill,' just as it is subscribed to the songs in Walton's 'Angler.' It is conjectured, therefore, that the coroner may have been identical with the poet. Moreover it is worthy of note that Walton married Ann Ken, a sister of Bishop Ken and daughter of

Thomas Ken, an attorney, by his first wife. This Thomas Ken married a second wife, Martha Chalkhill, the second daughter of John Chalkhill of Kingsbury in Middlesex, and of Martha his wife, daughter of Thomas Brown, great-aunt to John Brown, who was clerk of the parliament.

Chalkhill has been conjecturally credited with the authorship of another poem, 'Alcilia, Philopartheus Louing Follie,' but that he did not write that work is conclusively shown by Dr. A. B. Grosart in the introduction to his reprint of that work (Manchester, 1879) from the unique copy of the original edition (1595) preserved in the town library at Hamburg.

[Addit. MS. 24493, f. 108; Beloe's Anecdotes, i. 69–74; Bibl. Anglo-Poetica, 54; Campbell's Specimens of the British Poets (1819), i. 171; Cooper's Muses' Library, 315; Corser's Collect. Anglo-Poetica, i. 16, 17, iii. 260; Gent. Mag. xciii. (ii) 418, 493, new series i. 283, ceviii. 278, 388; Grosart's Introd. to Alcilia; A Layman's Life of Bishop Ken, 4; Lowndes's Bibl. Man. (Bohn), 403; Pedigree of Ken family in Markland's Life of Bishop Ken; Nicolas's Life of Izaak Walton, pp. iv, xvi, xcvi; Notes and Queries, 4th series, iv. 93; Retrospective Review, iv. 230–249; Ritson's Bibl. Poetica, 155; Todd's Life of Spenser; Walton's Compleat Angler, ed. Nicolas, i. 126, ii. 259, 422, ed. 1851, p. 124.] T. C.

**CHALKLEY, THOMAS** (1675–1741), quaker, the son of George Chalkley, a quaker tradesman in Southwark, was sent to a day school when nine years old. Chalkley was fond of gambling till, when he was ten years old, he was convinced of its sinfulness, and burnt a pack of cards which he had saved money to buy. When about twenty he was pressed and carried on board a ship of war. On his saying that he would not fight, the captain ordered him to be put ashore. At this time he was apprenticed to his father. When he was out of his time he spent some months in visiting most of the quaker meetings in the south of England, and then worked as a journeyman with his father. In 1697 he paid a ministerial visit to Edinburgh, where he preached in the open air, as the Friends had been locked out of their meeting-house. The provost returned the keys on the ground that they would do less harm indoors than out. Chalkley sailed from Gravesend at the end of 1697, and landed at Virginia in January 1698. He seems to have visited nearly every place of any size in the puritan colonies, and on his return to England married Martha Betterton in 1699. He then returned to America, and in 1700 bought some land in Philadelphia. The following year he made a preaching excursion to Bar-

badoes. According to Allen (*American Dict. of Biog.*), in 1705 Chalkley attempted to convert an Indian tribe, but his diary gives no record of this. In 1707 he had a narrow escape of being shipwrecked on the coast of Ireland, and during this year and the next he visited Scotland and England, and afterwards Holland and Germany, not leaving for America till 1710, having attended upwards of a thousand meetings and travelled more than fourteen thousand miles. On his arrival in Philadelphia he was accused of having gained wealth by his preaching, whereas he affirms that he had had to borrow money to pay his passage home. Soon after his return his wife died, and in 1714 he married a widow named Martha Brown. He made various preaching expeditions between 1712 and 1718. In 1724 he was much reduced in circumstances by unexpected losses, and about the same time he had a dangerous illness, and afterwards had an accident which injured his eyesight. In 1725 he lost about 2,000*l.*, but was not reduced to poverty. During the next two years he was chiefly engaged in business and in farming, but he found time for preaching excursions and for voyages to Barbadoes. He was shot at, in 1735, for advocating kindness to slaves in Barbadoes, but refused to prosecute his assailant. After this time he confined his exertions to North America and the West Indies, and chiefly resided at Frankfort, near Philadelphia. In the autumn of 1741 he went to Tortola, one of the Virgin Islands, where he was seized with fever and died after a few days' illness, only one of his twelve children, a girl, surviving him. Chalkley was probably the most influential quaker minister in America during the eighteenth century. His position seems to have been nearly analogous to that of a modern missionary bishop. The narrow escapes he had are very numerous, and in nearly every instance he insinuates that he was saved by a miracle. His 'Journal,' from its quaint simplicity, is still intensely interesting; its popularity among the Friends is shown by its having been reprinted at least a dozen times in England, the last being in 1842. His chief works were: 1. 'A Loving Invitation to Young and Old in Holland and elsewhere,' 1709. 2. 'Youth persuaded to Obedience, Gratitude, and Honour to God and their Parents,' 1730. 3. 'Free Thoughts communicated to Free Thinkers,' 1735. His works were published in 1749 under the title of 'A Collection of the Works of Thomas Chalkley,' and republished in 1751 and 1790.

[Allen's Dictionary of American Biography; Smith's Catalogue of Friends' Books; Chalkley's

Journal, &c., 1766; Bowden's History of the Friends in America.] A. C. B.

**CHALLICE, JOHN** (1815-1863), physician, was born at Horsham, Sussex, in 1815. He became a physician in London, and besides attaining some eminence in his profession was an active liberal politician, and an intimate friend of Sir W. Molesworth, Admiral Sir Charles Napier, and other representatives of Southwark. He was one of the first medical officers of health for Bermondsey, in which capacity he published various reports in 1856 and subsequent years. He also wrote 'Should the Cholera come, what ought to be done?' (1848); a cheap tract 'How to avoid the Cholera,' of which many thousands were sold; 'Medical Advice to Mothers' (1851); 'Letter to Lord Palmerston on Sanitary Reform' (1854); and 'How do People hasten Death?' (1851). He was M.D. and F.R.C.P. Edin. He died suddenly, 11 May 1863.

His wife, **ANNIE EMMA CHALLICE**, whose maiden name was Armstrong, was born in London in 1821, and died there in 1875. She was remarkable for wit and graceful manners, and was the author of: 1. 'The Village School Fête,' 1847. 2. 'The Laurel and the Palm,' 1852. 3. 'The Sister of Charity,' 1857. 4. 'The Wife's Temptation,' 1859. 5. 'The Secret History of the Court of France under Louis XV,' 1861 (anonymous). 6. 'Heroes, Philosophers, and Courtiers of the time of Louis XVI,' 1863. 7. 'French Authors at Home,' 1864. 8. 'Memories of French Palaces,' 1871. 9. 'Illustrious Women of France,' 1873. She also edited 'Recollections of Society in France and England,' by Lady Clementina Davies, in 1878.

[Information from Mr. W. B. Challice.]

**CHALLINOR, MRS. HANNAH** (*n.* 1670), writer of works on cookery. [See WOOLLEY.]

**CHALLIS, JAMES** (1803-1882), astronomer, fourth son of John Challis, was born at Baintree, Essex, 12 Dec. 1803. From Mill Hill School he, in October 1821, entered Trinity College, Cambridge, as a sizar. Elected a scholar in 1824, he graduated in the following year as senior wrangler and first Smith's prizeman, and became fellow in 1826. Ordained in 1830 he held the college living of Papworth Everard until 1852, vacating, however, his fellowship by his marriage in 1831 with the second daughter of Samuel Chandler of Tyingham, Buckinghamshire, and widow of Daniel Copsey of Baintree. On Airy's appointment as astronomer royal,

he was elected, 2 Feb. 1836, his successor as Plumian professor of astronomy and experimental philosophy in the university, and became at the same time director of the Cambridge observatory, where he resided, and exercised a genial hospitality during twenty-five years. He resigned the latter post in 1861, but retained the Plumian professorship, and continued to live at Cambridge. He was re-elected to his fellowship in 1870. There, after some years of impaired health, he died, 3 Dec. 1882, at the age of nearly seventy-nine, and was buried with his wife at the Mill Road cemetery. A son and daughter survive him.

Courteous in manner, kindly in disposition, simple and unassuming in character, Challis was nevertheless thrown into a position of intellectual antagonism to many of his most distinguished contemporaries by the peculiarity of his scientific views. A striking proof of the amiability of his disposition is afforded by the fact that he never lost consideration for an opponent, or allowed disagreement to degenerate into hostility. For some slight acerbity in the mode of carrying on a controversy with Mr. Adams in 1854 on points connected with the lunar theory (*Phil. Mag.* viii. 98), he, fifteen years later, publicly expressed regret, while acknowledging the justice of the criticism he had then repudiated (Introduction to *Principles*, p. xxiv).

His aim was a lofty one. It was nothing less than the co-ordination of all the known facts of science under one general theory of physical action. Certain hydrodynamical theorems, which he believed himself to have demonstrated, admitted, in his firm conviction, of application to the observed laws of light, heat, gravity, molecular attraction, and electricity. The conclusion pointed to was that the physical forces are mutually related, because all are modes of pressure of the same ethereal medium. The work in which these views were most fully embodied, and for the sake of concentrating all his faculties on which he resigned, at some pecuniary inconvenience, his position at the observatory, was published in 1869, with the title, 'Notes on the Principles of Pure and Applied Calculation; and Applications of Mathematical Principles to Theories of the Physical Forces.' It cannot be said, however, to have reached its aim. A generalisation akin to, though of far wider scope than Newton's, rendering all physical phenomena mathematically deducible from a few simple laws, if attainable, has yet to be attained.

Challis's name must always be mentioned in connection with the discovery of Neptune.

To him, in September 1845, Adams communicated his first results, which he conceived the idea of testing on a favourable opportunity, by a search with the Northumberland equatoreal for the unknown body. Regular observatory work, however, was pressing; and it was not until Leverrier's strikingly concordant indications became known in England that Challis wrote, 18 July 1846, in answer to a suggestion from Airy, 'I have determined on sweeping for the hypothetical planet.' The plan adopted was a highly laborious one. Its preliminary was the construction of a map of all stars down to the eleventh magnitude contained in a zodiacal belt  $30^\circ$  long by  $10^\circ$  broad. The work was begun on 29 July and continued diligently until 29 Sept., when the places of 3,150 stars had been recorded. Challis was arrested in his preparations to map them by the news of the planet's discovery at Berlin on 23 Sept. It was then found that, after only four days' observing, its varying positions among the stars had been twice unconsciously noted, 4 and 12 August. 'I lost the opportunity,' Challis wrote, 'of announcing the discovery, by deferring the discussion of the observations, being much occupied with reductions of comet observations, and little suspecting that the indications of theory were accurate enough to give a chance of discovery in so short a time' (*Monthly Notices*, xliii. 171). The elaborateness of his proceedings, in fact, while securing, postponed success, and left the prize to be grasped by a competitor, whose possession of Bremiker's map of that part of the heavens (Hora xxi.) rendered the planet's detection a matter of simple inspection and comparison. Three papers detailing the history of the discovery, by Airy, Challis, and Adams respectively, were read before the Royal Astronomical Society on 13 Nov. 1846, and printed in the sixteenth volume of their 'Memoirs.' Challis further drew up, at the request of the syndicate of the Cambridge observatory, a report on the subject, dated 12 Dec. 1846 (*ib.* xliii. 165); and a second, on his subsequent observations of Neptune, dated 22 March 1847 (*Astr. Nach.* xxv. 309).

The early sets of lectures delivered by Challis as Plumian professor (of which a syllabus appeared in 1838) were devoted to hydrodynamics, optics, and pneumatics, special attention being directed to the mathematical theories of light and sound. In 1843 he published a syllabus of a course on practical astronomy, which he continued to deliver until within a few years of his death, and issued from the University Press in 1879 with the title 'Lectures on Practical Astronomy and Astronomical Instruments.'

This work was designed for general utility, but applied more particularly to the instruments existing at Cambridge. It is pervaded by the effort towards accuracy which distinguished Challis as a practical astronomer.

The chief scope of his twenty-five years' labours at the Cambridge observatory lay in determinations of the places of sun, moon, and planets, with the immediate object of increasing tabular accuracy, and the more remote one of testing the absolute and undisturbed prevalence of the Newtonian law. He followed the methods of his predecessor, but devised valuable improvements. The collimating eye-piece, amended from Bohnenberger's design at his request by William Simms, was introduced by him in 1850, and quickly adopted at Greenwich and elsewhere (*Lectures*, p. 69). He invented in 1849 the 'Transit-Reducer,' distinguished with a bronze medal at the exhibition of 1851 (*ib.* p. 387; *Monthly Notices*, x. 182). Also, in 1848, the 'Meteoroscope,' a kind of altitude-and-azimuth instrument in the form of a theodolite, designed for ascertaining the varying dimensions and positions of the zodiacal light, for measuring auroral arches, and determining rapidly the points of appearance and disappearance of shooting-stars (*Report Brit. Assoc.* 1848, pt. ii. p. 13).

Challis published, 1832-64, twelve volumes (ix-xx.) of 'Astronomical Observations made at the Observatory of Cambridge,' each with an elaborate introduction, the first two containing descriptions of instruments and methods. He first in this country noticed the division of Biela's comet on 15 Jan. 1846, re-observed both nuclei in 1852, and attentively studied the physical appearances presented by Donati's comet from 27 Sept. to 16 Oct. 1858 (*Monthly Notices*, xix. 16). He was admitted a member of the Royal Astronomical Society on 8 April 1836, of the Royal Society on 9 June 1848, and was appointed one of a committee of three to superintend the publication of the British Association Star-Catalogue after Baily's death in 1844. Besides the works already mentioned he wrote: 1. 'Creation in Plan and in Progress, being an Essay on the First Chapter of Genesis,' Cambridge, 1861, originally designed as an answer to Goodwin's 'Mosaic Cosmogony' in 'Essays and Reviews.' 2. 'A Translation of the Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Romans, with an Introduction and Critical Notes,' Cambridge, 1871. 3. 'An Essay on the Mathematical Principles of Physics, with reference to the Study of Physical Science by Candidates for Mathematical Honours in the University of Cambridge,' Cambridge, 1873.

4. 'Remarks on the Cambridge Mathematical Studies, and their relation to Modern Physical Science,' Cambridge, 1875. 5. 'The Relation of the Scriptural Account of the Deluge to Physical Science,' London, 1876. 6. 'An Essay on the Scriptural Doctrine of Immortality,' London, 1880. 7. 'The Counting and Interpretation of the Apocalyptic Number of the Beast,' London, 1881. He drew up an elaborate 'Report on the Present State of the Analytical Theory of Hydrostatics and Hydrodynamics' for the British Association in 1833 (*Report*, p. 131), and one 'On the Theory of Capillary Attraction' in the following year (*ib.* 1834, p. 253). His contributions to scientific publications on various points connected with mathematics, physics, and astronomy numbered 225. He had thoughts of collecting into a volume a long and unbroken series of papers of a somewhat remarkable character, prepared by him as examiner for the Smith's prizes, 1836-78, but desisted, and they remain scattered through the university calendars for those years.

[*Monthly Notices R. A. Soc.* xliii. 160; *Royal Soc.'s Cat. Sc. Papers*, vols. i. and vii.; *Nature*, xxvii. 132; *Engineer*, liv. 474; Challis's various works.] A. M. C.

CHALLONER, RICHARD, D.D. (1691-1781), catholic prelate, son of Richard Challoner, a wine cooper at Lewes in Sussex, and his wife, Grace Willard, was born on 29 Sept. 1691, and baptised by a minister of the dissenting sect to which his father belonged. Soon afterwards the father died, leaving his young widow with her infant child totally unprovided for. Fortunately she found a refuge for herself and her son first in the family of Sir John Gage of Fittle in Sussex—a family distinguished by its fidelity to the ancient form of religion—and afterwards in that of Mr. R. Holman, who resided for some time at Longwood, near Winchester, and subsequently at his own seat of Warkworth in Northamptonshire. In both these families Challoner was instructed in the tenets of the catholic church, of which his mother was at that time a member. It appears, however, that he remained a protestant until he was about thirteen years of age. At Warkworth he had the celebrated controversial writer John Goter for his tutor. In 1704 he was sent to the English college at Douay, and he took the college oath in 1708. The annals of that seminary relate that 'in all his exercises, whether private or public, he showed an excellent genius, quick parts, and solid judgment.' So diligently did he apply himself to his studies that although twelve years was the time usually allotted, he went

through all the schools in eight years. He taught poetry in 1712, was also professor of rhetoric, and was chosen professor of philosophy on 6 Oct. 1713. The latter office he held for seven years. He was ordained deacon on 9 March 1715-16, and priest on 28 March 1716, by Ernestus, bishop of Tournay. In April 1719 he was made bachelor and licentiate in theology, and on 13 July 1720 he became vice-president of Douay College in the room of Dr. Dicconson, who in that year joined the English mission. He took the degree of D.D. at Douay on 27 May 1727. The office of vice-president he held for ten years, together with the professorship of divinity, and he was likewise prefect of studies and confessor.

After having been twenty-six years at Douay he left the college on 18 Aug. 1730 and joined the London mission. He was most zealous in preaching, particularly to the poorer classes, and he helped to make numerous conversions. With his pen also he was indefatigable, and he did not hesitate to enter into a controversy with Dr. Conyers Middleton, who had published 'A Letter from Rome, showing an exact conformity between Popery and Paganism, or the religion of the present Romans derived from their Heathen Ancestors.' In a spirited introduction to the 'Catholic Christian instructed' (1737), Challoner, while paying a tribute of admiration to Middleton's elegant style and knowledge of pagan literature, sought to show that he was by no means so well acquainted with christian and Jewish antiquities, and that his mode of calumniating the catholic church must inevitably prove fatal to his own communion. Middleton invoked the aid of the penal laws and endeavoured to prosecute his antagonist as a person disaffected to the sovereign because he had observed that the established church had 'introduced dead lions and unicorns into the sanctuary instead of the cross of Christ.' Challoner was exposed to so much danger that, yielding to the advice of friends, he withdrew from the kingdom for a few months, till time and cool reflection had mitigated Middleton's rancour against him. He availed himself of the opportunity to visit Douay. About this time the English College was deprived by death of its president, Dr. Robert Witham (29 May 1738), and as the members of the community wished that Challoner might be their superior, they sent a petition to Rome. These efforts were defeated by Dr. Benjamin Petre, vicar-apostolic of the London district, who was growing old, and who petitioned the holy see to appoint Challoner to be his coadjutor. A controversy arose concerning the question whether Chal-

loner should be promoted to the coadjutorship or sent to Douay, and was terminated by Dr. Petre's threat to resign the London district altogether if his request were refused. The pope gave his approval of Bishop Petre's application on 21 Aug. 1738. The briefs were accordingly issued—one of them, appointing him to the see of Debra *in partibus*, bearing date 12 Sept., and the other for the coadjutorship bearing date 14 Sept. 1739. A memorandum in the propaganda says that these briefs were not carried out ('non ebbero effetto'); but in November Lorenzo Mayes, proctor of the English vicars, supplicated propaganda for a dispensation to enable Challoner to be consecrated. It was stated that the father of the bishop-elect 'lived and died in the Anglican heresy, and Richard Challoner himself, until he was about thirteen years old, had been brought up in that sect,' and therefore a *dispensa* was required to avoid scandal. Accordingly fresh briefs were issued on 24 Nov. 1740, and Dr. Petre consecrated Challoner as bishop of Debra, and communicated to him the powers of coadjutorship in the private chapel at Hammersmith on 29 Jan. 1740-1.

On the death of Dr. Petre, in December 1758, Challoner succeeded to the apostolic vicariate of the London district. At the beginning of 1759 he became extremely ill, and his life was in danger. He therefore obtained from the holy see a coadjutor in the person of the Hon. James Talbot. Challoner was most zealous in the administration of his diocese; he established several new schools, and he was the founder of the Charitable Society. At first he was accustomed to preach every Sunday evening to this society, composed of the poor and middle classes, which assembled in a miserable and ruinous apartment near Clare Market. Thence they removed to another room, almost as wretched, among the stables in Whetstone Park, Gate Street, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and lastly, after the bishop had preached for a few weeks in the Sardinian Chapel, until he was silenced by the ambassador at the instance of the ministry, the society removed to a place, rather more commodious, in Turnstile, Holborn. Occasionally the bishop held meetings of his clergy from necessity at some obscure inn or public-house, where every one present had his pipe and sat with a pot of beer before him to obviate all suspicion of the real character of the guests and the purpose of their assembly.

In 1764-5 efforts were made to let loose the whole force of the penal laws against the catholics. The Hon. James Talbot, whom Challoner had chosen as his coadjutor, was



tried at the Old Bailey on the charge of being a priest. However, as the government and Lord-chief-justice Mansfield set their faces against the prosecutions, which were instituted by a common informer named Payne, a carpenter by trade, Bishop Talbot was acquitted, as were all the priests who were then tried except one, the Rev. John Baptist Molony, who openly confessed that he was a priest, and who was condemned to imprisonment for life. Challoner himself was prosecuted by Payne, and narrowly escaped a trial at the Old Bailey. The bishop, four priests, and a schoolmaster were indicted on the same day for fulfilling their respective functions, and gave bail for their appearance. But Payne, to save himself expense, had forged some copies of subpoenas, and four of these spurious documents were in the possession of the accused persons. Payne, fearing the consequences of a prosecution for forgery, agreed with the bishop's attorney, in consideration of his forbearing to prosecute him for the subpoenas, to withdraw the indictments against the bishop and the five persons indicted at the same time. One result of the persecution at this period was that the house in which Challoner resided in Lamb's Conduit Street was purchased over his head, and he had to take refuge in another house in Gloucester Street, Queen Square. During the Gordon riots of 1780 the leaders of the mob intended to chair him in mockery, but he was withdrawn in time, and secreted at a friend's house in the neighbourhood of Highgate. He did not live long after his return to London. He was seized with paralysis as he sat at table, and expired two days later in his house in Queen Square on 12 Jan. 1781. His remains were interred in the family vault of Mr. Brian Barret, at Milton, near Abingdon, Berkshire, and the rector of that parish, the Rev. James George Warner, entered this singular record of the event in the register: 'Anno Domini 1781, January 22, buried the Reverend Dr. Richard Challoner, a Popish priest, and titular bishop of London and Salisbury, a very pious and good man, of great learning and extensive abilities.'

Challoner inaugurated a new era in English catholic literature, and many of his publications are to this day regarded by his co-religionists as standard works of doctrine or devotion. A list of his writings, excluding a few translations and minor treatises, is subjoined:—1. 'Think well on't; or, Reflexions on the great Truths of Eternity.' 2. 'The Imitation of Jesus Christ,' translated from the Latin, 1706. This is the date given in the British Museum catalogue, though

Barnard states that Challoner's version first appeared in 1744 (*Life of Challoner*, p. 92). 3. 'A Profession of the Catholic Faith, extracted out of the Council of Trent by Pope Pius IV. With the chief grounds of the controverted articles. By way of question and answer' (anon.), 1732; 4th edit. (Lond.?) 1734, 12mo; reprinted under the title of 'The Grounds of the Catholick Doctrine.' 4. 'A short History of the first beginning and progress of the Protestant Religion; gathered out of the best Protestant writers' (anon.), 1733, Lond. 1735, 1742, 1753, 12mo, and, with an Italian translation, Arezzo, 1767, 8vo; Siena, 1790, 12mo. 5. 'A Roman Catholick's Reasons why he cannot conform to the Protestant Religion,' 1734. 6. 'The Touchstone of the new Religion; or, Sixty Assertions of Protestants try'd by their own Rule of Scripture alone' (anon.), 1734, Lond. 1748, 12mo; Dublin, 1816, 16mo. 7. 'The unerring authority of the Catholick Church in matters of Faith: maintain'd against the exceptions of a late author [Mr. J. R., a minister of the kirk], in his answer to a letter on the subject of Infallibility. To which are prefix'd eight preliminaries by way of introduction to the true Church of Christ' (Lond.?), 1735, 8vo. 8. 'The young Gentleman instructed in the Grounds of the Christian Religion,' 1735. 9. 'A Specimen of the Spirit of the Dissenting Teachers,' 1736, in reply to a series of anti-catholic discourses which had been delivered by dissenting ministers in Salters' Hall. 10. 'The Catholick Christian instructed in the Sacraments, Sacrifice, Ceremonies, and Observances of the Church, by way of question and answer,' 1737; often reprinted. 11. A new and fine edition, prepared in conjunction with Francis Blyth, D.D., a discaled Carmelite, of the Rheims translation of the New Testament, 1738, with annotations and proofs of the doctrines of the catholic church taken from the writings of the fathers. 12. 'The Garden of the Soul; or, a Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instruction for Christians who, living in the world, aspire to devotion,' printed in or before 1740. This work, which has passed through almost numberless editions, continues to be the most popular prayer-book in use among English-speaking catholics. 13. 'Memoirs of Missionary Priests, as well secular as regular, and of other catholics of both sexes that have suffered death in England, on religious accounts, from the year of our Lord 1577 to 1684,' 2 vols. (Lond.), 1741-2, 8vo; 2 vols. Manchester, 1803, 8vo; 2 vols. Lond. 1842, 8vo. An edition entitled 'Modern British Martyrology' appeared at London in 1836, 8vo, and

another called 'Martyrs to the Catholic Faith' was published in 2 vols. at Edinburgh, 1878, 4to. This is a valuable historical and biographical work, which may be regarded as an answer on the catholic side to Foxe's 'Acts and Monuments.' 14. 'The Grounds of the Old Religion; or, some general arguments in favour of the Catholick, Apostolick, Roman Communion, collected from both ancient and modern controvertists, by a Convert,' Augusta (Lond. ?), 1742, 12mo; 5th edit. Lond. 1798, with a memoir of the author by Dr. Milner prefixed; Dublin, 1808. 12mo. 15. 'A Letter to a Friend concerning the Infallibility of the Church of Christ, in answer to a late pamphlet, entitled "An humble Address to the Jesuits, by a dissatisfied Roman Catholic" (Mr. J. R., a minister of the kirk)' (anon.), Lond. 1743, 12mo. 16. 'Britannia Sancta; or, the Lives of the most celebrated British, English, Scottish, and Irish Saints who have flourished in these Islands, from the earliest times of Christianity down to the change of religion in the sixteenth century; faithfully collected from their ancient Acts and other records of British history' (anon.), 2 vols. Lond. 1745, 4to. 17. 'The Rheims New Testament and the Douay Bible, with annotations,' 5 vols. Lond. 1749-50, 12mo. Challoner undertook to revise and correct the language and orthography of the old version of Gregory Martin, to adopt the improvements of the Clementine edition of the Vulgate, and to add such notes as he judged necessary to clear up modern controversies. The New Testament was printed in 1749, having been diligently revised by the most able divines with whom he was acquainted, viz. Dr. William Green, afterwards president of Douay College, and Dr. Walton, afterwards vicar-apostolic of the northern district. The four volumes of the Old Testament were all published in 1750. In that year he also issued a second edition of the New Testament, revised. This differs from the former one of 1749 in about 124 passages of the text, but none of them are of material consequence. Two years afterwards he published a third edition, again revised, with most extensive alterations (COTTON, *Rhemes and Douay*, p. 49). This modernised version of the Douay bible is substantially that which has since been used by all English-speaking catholics. Cardinal Wiseman was of opinion that although Challoner did well to alter many too decided Latinisms, which the old translators retained, he weakened the language considerably by destroying inversion, where it was congenial at once to the genius of our language and the construction of the original, and by the insertion of

particles where they were by no means necessary. 18. 'Remarks on Two Letters against Popery,' 1751. 19. 'Instructions and Meditations on the Jubilee,' 1751. 20. 'Considerations upon Christian Truths and Christian Duties, digested into Meditations for every Day in the Year,' 1753, often reprinted. 21. 'The Wonders of God in the Wilderness; or, the Lives of the most celebrated Saints of the Oriental Desarts; faithfully collected out of the genuine works of the holy fathers, and other ancient ecclesiastical writers' (anon.), Lond. 1755, 8vo. 22. 'The Life of St. Theresa,' 1757. 23. 'A Manual of Prayers and other Christian Devotions, revised and corrected with large additions,' 1758. 24. 'A Caveat against the Methodists,' 1760. 25. 'The City of God, of the New Testament,' 1760. 26. 'Memorial of Ancient British Piety,' 1761. 27. 'The Morality of the Bible,' 1762. 28. 'The Devotion of Catholicks to the Blessed Virgin, truly stated,' 1764. 29. 'The Rules of a Holy Life,' 1766. 30. 'Short Daily Exercises of the Devout Christian,' 1767. 31. 'Pious Reflexions on Patient Suffering,' 1767. 32. 'Abstract of the History of the Old and New Testament,' 1767. 33. 'The Scripture Doctrine of the Church.' 34. 'Abridgment of Christian Doctrine; or, first Catechism.'

[Life, by Barnard, 1784, with portrait; Life, by Rev. John Milner, F.S.A., with portrait, prefixed to Challoner's Grounds of the Old Religion, 1798; Funeral Discourse on the Death of Bishop Challoner (by Dr. Milner), Lond. 1781; Addit. MSS. 28232 ff. 91, 99, 28234 f. 264, 28235 f. 154; Brady's Episcopal Succession, iii. 164-76; Catholic Magazine and Review (Birmingham, 1832), i. 641, 715; Gent. Mag. li. 47; Scots Mag. xliii. 54; Husenbeth's Life of Milner, pp. 8-9, 12-13, 70; Dublin Review, new series, vii. 237; Month and Catholic Review, January 1880; Cardinal Wiseman's Essays on various Subjects (1853), i. 425; Cotton's Rhemes and Doway, with Offor's manuscript notes; Notes and Queries (4th series), vii. 613, viii. 14; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, 1987; Flanagan's Hist. of the Church in England, ii. 184, 193, 364 et seq., 370, 375, 383; Cat. of Printed Books in Brit. Mus.; Butler's Hist. Memoirs of English Catholics (1822), iv. 432; Bromley's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, p. 354; Gillow's Bibl. Diet. i. 447; Historical MSS. Commission, 2nd Rep. 201; Catholic Miscellany, vi. 255.] T. C.

**CHALMERS, ALEXANDER** (1759-1834), biographer and miscellaneous writer, was born at Aberdeen on 29 March 1759, being the youngest son of James Chalmers, a learned printer, by his wife Susanna, daughter of the Rev. James Trail, minister at Montrose; and grandson of the Rev. James Chal-

mers, professor of divinity at Marischal College. Having received a classical and medical education he left his native city about 1777, and never returned to it. He had obtained the situation of surgeon in the West Indies, and had arrived at Portsmouth to join his ship, when he suddenly altered his mind and proceeded to London, where he soon became connected with the periodical press, and was appointed editor of the 'Public Ledger' and 'London Packet.' At this period he acquired considerable fame as a political writer. He contributed largely to the 'St. James's Chronicle' and the 'Morning Chronicle,' and at one time was editor of the 'Morning Herald.'

Chalmers was early connected in business with George Robinson, publisher, of Paternoster Row, whom he assisted in examining manuscripts offered for publication. He was also a contributor to the 'Critical Review' and the 'Analytical Review.' At this period he lived almost wholly with Robinson. During the largest portion of his life he resided near the Bank of England, and having, after his settlement in the metropolis, become a sincere member of the church of England, he was not only a constant attendant at divine service on Sunday, but for thirty years was scarcely ever absent from the Tuesday morning lecture of the Rev. W. Wilkinson at the church of St. Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange. He made frequent visits to the libraries of the British Museum and of both universities. In 1805 he was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries; he was also a master of arts, probably of the university of Aberdeen. In 1783 Chalmers married Elizabeth, widow of John Gillett; she died in June 1816. He died at his residence in Throgmorton Street on 10 Dec. 1834, and was buried on the 19th in the same vault with his wife in the church of St. Bartholomew by the Royal Exchange.

No man ever edited so many works as Chalmers for the booksellers of London. Among them were: 1. 'A Continuation of the History of England,' 2 vols. 1793, 2nd edit. 1798, 3rd edit. 1803, 4th edit. 1821. 2. 'Glossary to Shakespeare,' 1797. 3. 'Sketch of the Isle of Wight,' 1798. 4. An edition of the Rev. James Barclay's 'Complete and Universal English Dictionary.' 5. An edition of 'The British Essayists, with prefaces, historical and biographical, and a general index,' 45 vols.; this series begins with the 'Tatler' and ends with the 'Observer.' The papers were collated with the original editions, and the prefaces give accounts of the works, and of the lives of such of the writers as are less generally known. 6. Lives of Burns and Dr. Beattie prefixed to their respective works, 1805. 7. An edition of Fielding's Works,

10 vols. 1806. 8. An edition of Warton's 'Essays,' 1806. 9. 'The Tatler, Spectator, and Guardian,' 14 vols. 1806. 10. An edition of Gibbon's 'History,' with a life of the author, 12 vols. 1807. 11. Prefaces to the greater part of the collection known as 'Walker's Classics,' 45 vols. 1808, and following years. 12. An edition of Bolingbroke's Works, 8 vols. 1809. 13. An edition of 'Shakespeare,' with an abridgment of the notes of Steevens and a life of Shakespeare, 9 vols. 1809. 14. Many of the lives in the 'British Gallery of Contemporary Portraits,' 2 vols. 1809-16. These memoirs, though short, are authentic and valuable. 15. An enlarged edition of Johnson's 'Collection of the English Poets,' with some additional lives, 21 vols. 1810. 16. 'A History of the Colleges, Halls, and Public Buildings attached to the University of Oxford, including the Lives of the Founders,' 1810. 17. 'The Projector,' 3 vols. 1811, a periodical containing essays originally published in the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' 18. An edition of the autobiographies of Dr. Pocock, Dr. Twells, Bishop Pearce, Bishop Newton, and Burdy's life of the Rev. Philip Skelton, 2 vols. 1816. 19. 'County Biography,' 4 Nos., 1819. 20. The ninth edition of Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' 1822. 21. A new edition of 'Shakespeare,' 1823. 22. Another edition of Dr. Johnson's Works, 1823.

Chalmers, who was a great friend of John Nichols, contributed many obituary notices, especially of printers and publishers, to the 'Gentleman's Magazine.' But the work on which his fame as a biographer chiefly rests is his enlarged edition of the 'New and General Biographical Dictionary,' which was first published in eleven volumes in 1761. Other editions of this useful compilation appeared in 1784 and in 1798-1810. The latter, in fifteen volumes, was edited as to the first five by William Tooke, and as to the last ten by Archdeacon Nares and William Beloe. Then followed Chalmers's edition, which is entitled 'The General Biographical Dictionary: containing an historical and critical account of the lives and writings of the most eminent persons in every nation, particularly the British and Irish, from the earliest accounts to the present time.' The first four volumes of this work, in 8vo, were published monthly, commencing in May 1812, and then a volume appeared every alternate month to the thirty-second and last volume in March 1817, a period of four years and ten months of incessant labour and of many personal privations. The preceding edition of the 'Dictionary' was augmented by 3,934 additional lives, and of the remaining number 2,176 were rewritten;

while the whole were revised and corrected. The total number of articles exceeds nine thousand. For many years Chalmers was employed by the booksellers in revising and enlarging the 'Dictionary;' but at the time of his death only about one-third of the work, as far as the end of the letter 'D,' was ready for the press. A competent authority, Mr. Chancellor Christie, remarks that 'Chalmers's own articles, though not without the merit which characterises a laborious compiler, are too long and tedious for the general reader, and show neither sufficient research nor sufficient accuracy to satisfy the student.' John Nichols, his intimate acquaintance, states that Chalmers was 'a warm and affectionate friend and a delightful companion, being very convivial, and his conversation replete both with wit and information.' His portrait has been engraved.

[Gent. Mag. new ser. iii. 207; Nichols's Illustr. of Lit.; Nichols's Lit. Anecd.; Quarterly Review, clvii. 203; Poynder's Literary Extracts, i. 98; Evans's Cat. of Engraved Portraits, Nos. 13874, 13875; J. R. Smith's Cat. of Engraved Portraits (1883), Nos. 1322, 1323; Biog. Dict. of Living Authors (1816), 59.] T. C.

**CHALMERS or CHAMBERS, DAVID** (1630?-1592). [See CHAMBERS.]

**CHALMERS, SIR GEORGE** (d. 1791), portrait painter, was born in Edinburgh. The fortunes of his family had been forfeited owing to a connection with the exiled Stuarts, so that he inherited the bare title. He studied painting under Ramsey, and afterwards travelled, staying some time in Rome. On his return he settled first at Hull. Between 1775 and 1790 we find him exhibiting at the Royal Academy twenty-four portraits in all. One or two of his paintings have been engraved in mezzotint. He died in London, 1791.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists.]

**CHALMERS, GEORGE** (1742-1825), Scottish antiquary and historian, was almost the last of the extinct race of authors who were antiquarians rather than historians, collectors and publishers rather than minute critics of historical antiquities. They existed in all countries, but Scotland produced several notable examples. The life of Chalmers is comprised in a record of the works which he compiled with indefatigable industry, and issued without a break during the last fifty years of his long life. His fame rests on one of them, the 'Caledonia,' which he called his standing work. The rest have been superseded by better editions, or become antiquated through his want of originality

or mistaken views. Even the 'Caledonia' has not stood the test of time. It is below the standard of Camden's 'Britannia' or the works of Dugdale, the English antiquarian treatises which can most fairly be compared with it. Still, to have composed what is, though never completed, the fullest account of the antiquities of a nation which has specially cultivated that department of history is a merit not to be despised, and subsequent writers have borrowed from Chalmers without acknowledging their obligations. Born at Fochabers in Moray, a descendant of the family of Pittensear, Chalmers was educated at the parish school of Fochabers and King's College, Aberdeen. He afterwards studied law in Edinburgh. When twenty-one he accompanied his uncle to Maryland, and practised as a lawyer at Baltimore. Returning to Great Britain at the outbreak of the civil war, he settled in London in 1775, and devoted himself to literature. His first publications were political, and chiefly connected with the colonies. An answer from the electors of Bristol to Burke's letter on the affairs of America, published in 1777, appears to have been the latest, and it was soon followed by 'Political Annals of the present United Colonies,' 1780; an 'Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the Colonies,' vol. i. 1782; 'Estimate of the comparative Strength of Great Britain during the present and four preceding Reigns,' 1782; 'Three Tracts on Ireland,' 1785. In 1786 he was appointed chief clerk of the committee of privy council for trade and foreign plantations, and in 1790 he issued a 'Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers.' He next turned to biography, and published lives of De Foe, Thomas Paine (under the pseudonym of Oldys), and Thomas Ruddiman, the Scottish grammarian and printer, one of his best known works, containing much interesting matter conveyed in a style copied from Dr. Johnson. He was one of the literati deceived by Ireland's Shakespeare forgeries, and published several tracts on that controversy. In the beginning of this century he was attracted to the poetry and history of his native country, which had been too much neglected, and he printed editions of the poems of Allan Ramsay and Sir David Lyndsay, with lives of these poets. In 1807 he issued the first volume of his 'Caledonia,' designed to embrace the whole antiquities and history of Scotland in six volumes, but only three were published, the second in 1820, and the third in 1824. Scarcely a year passed without some new work, but none of them have now any but a bibliographical interest except his 'Life of Mary Queen of Scots,' with sub-

diary memoirs, not of much value, but useful till better memoirs appear, of the lives of the regent Moray, Francis II, Darnley, Bothwell, and Maitland of Lethington. Besides his published works, Chalmers left large manuscript collections for the completion of the 'Caledonia,' a 'History of Scottish Poetry,' and a 'History of Printing in Scotland,' most of which are now in the Advocates' Library or the library of the university of Edinburgh (*LAING Bequest*). He died on 31 May 1825. A list of his works is appended; several of them were issued anonymously or pseudonymously.

1. 'Answer from the Electors of Bristol to the letters of Edmund Burke, Esq., on Affairs of America.' 2. 'Political Annals of the present United Colonies from the Settlement to the Peace of 1768. Compiled chiefly from Records. Ending at the Revolution, 1688,' London, 1780, 4to. 3. 'The Propriety of allowing a qualified Export of Wool discussed historically,' London, 1782, 8vo. 4. 'An Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the Colonies,' vol. i. only printed, which was cancelled, London, 1782, 8vo, 500 pp. ending with the reign of George I. 5. 'An Estimate of the Comparative Strength of Great Britain during the present and four preceding Reigns,' London, 1782, 4to. 6. 'Opinions on interesting subjects of Public Laws and Commercial Policy arising from American Independence,' London, 1784, 8vo. 7. 'Three Tracts on the Irish Arrangements,' London, 1785, 8vo. 8. 'Historical Tracts by Sir John Davies, with a Life of the Author,' 1786, 8vo. 9. 'Life of Daniel De Foe,' London, 1786, 1790, 8vo. 10. 'A Collection of Treaties between Great Britain and other Powers,' London, 1790, 2 vols. 8vo. 11. 'Life of Thomas Paine. By Francis Oldys, A.M., of the University of Pennsylvania,' London, 1793, 8vo. 12. 'Prefatory Introduction to Dr. Johnson's "Debates in Parliament,"' London, 1794, 8vo. 13. 'Life of Thomas Ruddiman, M.A. To which are subjoined new Anecdotes of Buchanan,' London, 1794, 8vo. 14. 'Vindication of the Privilege of the People in respect of the Constitutional Right of Free Discussion,' London, 1796, 8vo (anon.) 15. 'Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers which were exhibited in Norfolk Street, London,' 1796, 8vo. 16. 'A Supplemental Apology,' London, 1799, 8vo. 17. 'Appendix to the "Supplemental Apology,"' being the Documents for the opinion that Hugh Boyd wrote Junius's Letters,' 1800, 8vo. 18. 'The Poems of Allan Ramsay, with a Life of the Author,' London, 1800, 2 vols. 8vo. 19. 'Observations on the State of England in 1696, by Gregory King,

with a Life of the Author,' 1804, 8vo. 20. 'Life of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King-at-arms under James V,' London, 1806, 3 vols. 8vo. 21. 'Caledonia; or an Account, Historical and Topographical, of North Britain . . . Chorographical and Philological,' vol. i. London, 1807, vol. ii. 1810, vol. iii. 1824, all 4to. 22. 'A Chronological Account of Commerce and Coinage in Great Britain from the Restoration till 1810,' 1810, 8vo. 23. 'Considerations on Commerce,' 1811, 8vo. 24. 'An Historical View of the Domestic Economy of Great Britain and Ireland.' New edition of 'The Comparative Estimate' corrected and enlarged,' Edin. 1812, 8vo. 25. 'Opinions of Eminent Lawyers on various Points of English Jurisprudence,' 1814, 2 vols. 8vo. 26. A tract, privately printed, in answer to Malone's account of Shakespeare's 'Tempest,' London, 1815, 8vo. 27. 'Comparative Views of the State of Great Britain and Ireland before and since the War,' London, 1817, 8vo. 28. 'The Author of "Junius" ascertained,' 1817. 29. Churchyard's 'Chips concerning Scotland,' with a life of the author, London, 1817, 8vo. 30. 'Life of Mary Queen of Scots, drawn from the State Papers, with six subsidiary Memoirs,' London, 1818, 2 vols. 4to; reprinted in 3 vols. 8vo. 31. 'The Poetical Remains of some of the Scottish Kings now first collected,' London, 1824, 8vo. 32. 'Robene and Makyne and the Testament of Cresseid,' by Robert Henryson, edited and presented by Mr. Chalmers as his contribution to the Bannatyne Club, Edin. 1824, 4to. 33. 'A Detection of the Love Letters lately attributed in Hugh Campbell's work to Mary Queen of Scots,' London, 1825, 8vo.

[Chalmers's own works; Anderson's Scottish Nation; David Laing's bibliography in Lowndes's Manual.]  
Æ. M.

**CHALMERS, GEORGE PAUL** (1836-1878), painter, was born at Montrose in 1836, and educated at the burgh school of that town. Notwithstanding a juvenile precocity in drawing, he was apprenticed to an apothecary, and afterwards became clerk to a ship-chandler. Finally he determined to be a painter, and abandoned these base pursuits. He studied at Edinburgh in the Trustees' School, and maintained himself the while by painting portraits. His first exhibited picture was 'A Boy's Head' in chalk. A portrait head of J. Pettie, R.A., was exhibited in 1863, and a subject piece, 'The Favourite Air,' in the following year. In 1867 he was elected associate of the Scottish Academy, and in 1871 a full member.

To the Royal Academy of London he sent six works between 1863 and 1876. He painted

portraits, subject pictures, and landscapes—the last especially in his later years. ‘These were remarkable for their richness of colour.’ In general he was a careful and even fastidious painter, taking high rank with his brother Scots. On 15 Feb. 1878 he attended the Scotch Academy dinner. Returning thence (and ‘from a subsequent engagement with some brother artists’) evil befell him. Apparently he was attacked and robbed. At least he was found by the police in an area ‘with his pockets rifled.’ He never recovered from this accident, and died on the 20th of the same month. Appreciative notices of Chalmers appeared in the ‘Art Journal’ and in the ‘Academy’ at the time of his death. Shortly before that event the ‘Portfolio’ published an etching by Paul Rajon after one of his pictures.

[Redgrave’s Dict. of Artists; Graves’s Dict. of Artists; Art Journal, xvii. 124; Academy, 23 Feb. 1878.] E. R.

**CHALMERS, JAMES** (1782–1853), post-office reformer, was born in Arbroath on 2 Feb. 1782, and at an early age became a bookseller in Castle Street, Dundee, and was for some time the printer and publisher of the ‘Dundee Chronicle.’ He took a prominent part in public matters, first as dean and afterwards as convener of the nine incorporated trades. At a subsequent period he was returned to the town council, and held the office of treasurer for several years. In local charities and in every philanthropic movement he was ever ready to lend a helping hand. In 1825 he applied himself to the acceleration of the mails, and mainly through his efforts the time for a letter to travel between London and Dundee was lessened by a day each way.

Having turned his mind to the subject of post-office reform, Chalmers suggested a uniform rate of postage, and drew out a sample of an adhesive stamp, had it set up in type, and a few copies printed and gummed; these he exhibited to several merchants in Dundee in August 1834.

He laid this plan before Mr. Robert Wallace, M.P. for Greenock and chairman of the fifth committee on post-office reform, in December 1837, and he also corresponded on the subject with Joseph Hume, M.P., Patrick Chalmers, M.P., and with Rowland Hill himself, in 1839 and 1840. His letters to the latter gentleman show that Chalmers laid claim to the invention of the adhesive label, but he finally admitted that his claim to priority of publication was not tenable. On 1 Jan. 1846, at a public meeting of the citizens of Dundee, he was presented with

a silver claret jug, a salver, and a purse of fifty sovereigns for his successful efforts in reducing the time required for the transit of the mails and for his plans of a uniform postage rate and an adhesive stamp. He was an excellent man of business, and in all his commercial transactions was well known for his integrity and upright character. He died at Comley Bank, Dundee, on 26 Aug. 1853, aged 71, and was buried in the old burying-ground on 1 Sept. He married Miss Dickson of Montrose. After the death of Sir Rowland Hill, in 1879, Mr. Patrick Chalmers, son of James Chalmers, inserted advertisements and letters in newspapers and published several pamphlets in which he stated that his father anticipated Rowland Hill in suggesting the use of adhesive stamps, but had been fraudulently deprived of the credit of the invention. Mr. Pearson Hill replied, and satisfactorily showed that his father (Sir Rowland Hill) had contemplated the possible use of the adhesive stamp before Chalmers’ plan was made known. Chalmers was the first inventor, but it does not appear how the plan was suggested to Rowland Hill. Mr. Patrick Chalmers has published several pamphlets endeavouring to prove the importance of his father’s suggestions, especially ‘The Adhesive Stamp: important additional evidence in behalf of James Chalmers, in papers bequeathed to the South Kensington Museum Library by Sir Henry Cole,’ 1885.

[James Chalmers, the Inventor of the Adhesive Stamp, by Patrick Chalmers, 1884; The Citizen, 16 April 1881; Athenæum, 30 April 1881, p. 578, May 14, p. 654, May 21, p. 690; Philatelic Record, iii. 194–201, iv. 27, 68, 167, 169–72, 184–6.]

**CHALMERS, SIR JOHN** (1756–1818), major-general, born in 1756, was a younger son of Patrick Chalmers of Balnacraig, and went to India as an ensign in the Madras infantry in 1775. He was promoted lieutenant in 1780, and first gained his reputation by his heroic defence of Coimbatore in 1791. In that year Lord Cornwallis, finding it impossible to advance at once upon Seringapatam, the capital of Tippoo Sultan, ordered Major Cuppage to abandon all the fortresses held by the English in the Mysore country, except Palgaut and Coimbatore, which commanded the passes of the Ghauts, and even to abandon Coimbatore if it could not possibly be held. Major Cuppage therefore directed Chalmers, who held Coimbatore with only 120 topasses, to abandon it and to join him at Palgaut; but the young officer, finding that two three-pounders and one four-pounder were fit for use, begged Cuppage to send him five hundred shot, and to give him leave to defend the fortress. He was

joined by a young Frenchman named Migot de la Combe, with two hundred Travancoreans, of whom half deserted, and prepared to stand a siege. On 13 June 1791 Coimbatore was surrounded by one of Tippoo's generals with two thousand regular infantry, many thousands of irregulars, and eight guns, and was violently bombarded for nearly two months. On 11 Aug. a violent assault was made upon the place; but, owing to the mines Chalmers had made under the breach, it was repelled with loss, and the Mysorean army retreated. The gallant defence attracted the attention of Cornwallis, who sent Lieutenant Nash of the Madras infantry with a company of sepoy to the assistance of Chalmers, bringing up the garrison to seven hundred men. Tippoo now determined on a yet more vigorous attack upon the place, and 6 Oct. Kummur-ud-deen, Tippoo's most famous general, again laid siege to it with eight thousand men and fourteen guns. Again Chalmers made a protracted defence; but at last, when both Nash and himself were wounded, he capitulated on 3 Nov., on condition that he should be allowed to march with his men to Palgaut. The capitulation was violated by Tippoo, and Chalmers and Nash were taken prisoners to Seringapatam in the following year. Tippoo, however, treated the two English officers well, and when Lord Cornwallis appeared before Seringapatam and demanded their release before he would enter into negotiations, they were sent safe into his camp on 8 Feb. 1792. Lord Cornwallis had not approved of defending Coimbatore, but he was one of the first to acknowledge the gallantry of Chalmers, and specially recommended him to the court of directors for a pecuniary reward (*Cornwallis's Correspondence*, ii. 108). This was Chalmers's great feat of arms; he was promoted captain on 3 Oct. 1792, major on 27 July 1796, lieutenant-colonel in the company's service on 31 July 1799, colonel on 8 April 1808, major-general on 1 Jan. 1812, and was made a K.C.B. when that order was first thrown open to the company's officers in April 1815. He commanded the subsidiary force at Travancore from 1803 to 1809, and the northern division of the Madras presidency from 1812 to 1817. He left India, after forty-two years' continuous service in the Madras presidency, on 21 Jan. 1818, and died on board the Marquis of Wellington on his way home to England on 31 March 1818.

[Dodwell and Miles's *Alphabetical Catalogue of the Officers of the Indian Army*; *East India Military Calendar*, ii. 333, 334; Wilks's *Historical Sketches of Southern India for the defence of Coimbatore*.]

H. M. S.

**CHALMERS, PATRICK** (1802-1854), Scottish antiquary, was born at Auldbar Castle, near Brechin, on 31 Oct. 1802. He was the son of Patrick Chalmers, by Frances, daughter of John Inglis, East India director and was the representative of an ancient family, Chalmers of Balnacraig, which had held lands in Aberdeenshire in the middle of the fourteenth century. He was educated in Germany and at Oxford, but left the university without taking a degree. He entered the army and rose to the rank of captain, serving for some years with the 3rd dragoon guards, chiefly in Ireland. On the death of his father in 1826 he sold out and went to live at his seat at Auldbar. In 1835 he was chosen to represent in parliament the united burghs of Montrose, Arbroath, Brechin, Forfar, and Bervie, being re-elected in 1837 and also in 1841. He was actively engaged on several parliamentary committees, particularly the committee on the penny postage; but a disease of the spinal column compelled him to retire from parliament in 1842. Chalmers was always greatly interested in Scottish antiquities, and ready to spend money in producing antiquarian publications. In 1848 he published, at his own cost, and presented to the Bannatyne Club, a work on the 'Ancient Sculptured Monuments of the County of Angus, including those at Maigla in Perthshire, and one at Fordoun in the Mearns' (Edinburgh, folio). This book had been written by Chalmers chiefly during illness; another edition of it in quarto form was subsequently published 'with the addition of a number of monuments of the neighbouring counties of the Mearns and Aberdeenshire, the expenses being borne by some Aberdeenshire gentlemen and by Chalmers himself, under whose direction the work was published. Until the appearance of Chalmers's work, 'few examples of the sculptured standing stones (in Scotland) had been engraved of a size sufficient to give either accuracy of representation or the necessary details.' 'The Cartulary of the Abbey of Arbroath' (*Liber S. Thorne de Aberbrothæ*, 1848, &c. 4to) was another antiquarian work with which Chalmers was connected. He was too ill to write the first volume, which was chiefly the work of Mr. Cosmo Innes, but he contributed the preface and prepared the whole of the second volume. He also contemplated another work on the cartulary of the church of Brechin, and was engaged in editing it from the original manuscript in the possession of Lord Panmure. Chalmers was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries (London) in January 1850, and made two communications to the 'Archæologia:'

'On the Use of Masons' Marks in Scotland' (xxxiv. 33), and 'An Account of the Seal of the Chapter of the Holy Trinity at Brechin' (xxxv. 487). He was also a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, to the 'Transactions' of which he made various contributions. He joined the British Archaeological Association in 1849, and wrote for its 'Journal' (vi. 323-9) a paper on the 'Resignation of the Kingdom of Man to the Pope, A.D. 1219.'

In the spring of 1854 Chalmers left Scotland for a tour on the continent, but an attack of small-pox, from which he suffered on his arrival in Italy, was followed by a renewal of his spinal complaint, and he died at Rome on 23 June 1854. His body was taken home to Scotland and buried in the ancient church at Auldbar, the rebuilding of which he had just completed. Besides occupying himself in antiquarian research, Chalmers 'spent time and money in improving the dwellings and gardens of the labourers on his estate,' and wrote various 'pamphlets on the improvement of statute labour, roads, and other county matters.' He married the daughter of Herbert Foley of Rudgway, Pembrokeshire, widow of Thomas Taylor Vernon.

[Journal of the British Archaeological Association, xi. (1855) 164-70; Archaeological Journal, index to vols. i-xxv.; Proceedings of the Soc. of Antiq. iii. (1853-6), 182; Annual Register, vol. xcvi. (1854), 23 June.] W. W.

**CHALMERS, THOMAS, D.D.** (1780-1847), theologian, preacher, and philanthropist, was born at Anstruther in Fife 17 March 1780. His father, John Chalmers, whose family had been connected with Fife for several generations, was a general merchant, possessed of good abilities and high character. Thomas was the sixth of fourteen children, and the family being so large, and both parents busy, the instruction of their children was committed chiefly to other hands. At the parish school he was 'one of the idlest, strongest, merriest, and most generous-hearted boys.' At the university of St. Andrews, during his first two sessions, he had the same character. His excess of vitality displayed itself in frolic and adventure. When he entered the mathematical classes, however, his intellect awoke and the vigour of his nature found a new outlet. Pure geometry had a strong attraction for him and exercised a great influence in moulding his mind. From his childhood he had for some reason desired to be a minister of the gospel, and this wish he carried out, though his worthy father could not but deplore his want of adequate seriousness. Ma-

thematics and other branches of science had such a hold of his mind that he did not enter into the study of divinity *con amore*. Even after he was settled as minister of Kilmeny in Fife (May 1803) he continued to give courses of lectures on chemistry at St. Andrews, and before he was twenty-five he had been a candidate for the chair of natural philosophy at St. Andrews, and for that of mathematics at Edinburgh. In his parish the question of pauperism, and of social economy generally, engaged his attention from the first. His pulpit work at Kilmeny was also remarkable from the beginning. His ability as a preacher, original, independent, profoundly convinced of all he said, and striving with immense enthusiasm to inspire his audience with his views, soon carried his fame far and wide. His own mind had already been the scene of great religious conflicts. For some time, when a student, he had been attracted by materialism, but having emerged from that view of things, the French 'system of nature' had cast its spell on him, and he had long hovered on the confines of atheism. His misery under that state of mind, and the 'sort of mental elysium' in which he spent the first year of his emancipation from it, were ever afterwards vivid remembrances. But in his thirtieth year he underwent a more profound religious change. Partly through his being employed to write the article 'Christianity' for the 'Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' then coming out under the editorship of Mr. (afterwards Sir David) Brewster; partly from his reading Wilberforce's 'View of Practical Religion;' and partly from the effects of a severe illness and family trials, he accepted with great earnestness the evangelical view of the gospel, and from this time (1810), being now in his thirty-first year, he became a pronounced, though still independent, evangelical preacher. The tone of his pulpit ministrations was elevated greatly, and his fame was such that in November 1814 he was nominated by the town council of Glasgow minister of the Tron parish there, removing to it in 1815.

Before leaving Kilmeny, besides a controversial pamphlet, he had published a book entitled 'An Inquiry into the Extent and Stability of National Resources,' of which the object was to show that even if Napoleon succeeded in his endeavour to shut all European ports against British merchandise, the effect would not be, as many mercantile men dreaded, to ruin British trade, but only to cut off certain superfluities, and turn to other and perhaps better purposes the fund out of which these luxuries had been supplied. His article on 'Christianity' appeared in the



'Encyclopædia' in 1813, and was soon published in a separate form. A pamphlet on the 'Influence of Bible Societies on the Temporal Necessities of the Poor,' and some reviews and other articles in the 'Christian Instructor' and the 'Eclectic Review,' were among the published results of his literary activity at Kilmeny.

The rapid rise of the commercial city of Glasgow had fostered a large amount of what Chalmers used to call 'home heathenism.' To rescue the lower classes from pauperism and degradation was the ruling effort in Chalmers's mind. To this, rather than to the ordinary work of the pulpit, his main energies were directed; yet the power of his natural eloquence soon caused him to be acknowledged *facile princeps* among the pulpit orators of his day.

He preached in London with as great effect as in Glasgow. In London in 1817 Wilberforce wrote in his 'Diary': 'All the world wild about Chalmers. Off early with Canning, Huskisson, and Lord Binning. . . . Vast crowds. . . . I was surprised to see how greatly Canning was affected; at times he was quite melted into tears.' John Gibson Lockhart, in his well-known 'Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk,' after a very elaborate description of Chalmers's appearance and manner, both of which were rugged and uncouth, proceeds: 'At first there is nothing to make one suspect what riches are in store. . . . There is an appearance of constraint about him that affects and distresses you. . . . But then with what tenfold richness does this dim preliminary curtain make the glories of his eloquence to shine forth, when the heated spirit at length flings from it its chill confining fetters, and bursts out elate and rejoicing in the full splendour of its disimprisoned wings. . . . I have heard many men deliver sermons far better arranged in point of argument, and have heard very many deliver sermons far more uniform in elegance, both of conception and style; but most unquestionably I have never heard, either in England or Scotland, or in any other country, a preacher whose eloquence is capable of producing an effect so strong and irresistible as his.'

Chalmers delivered on weekdays during his Glasgow ministry two eminently characteristic sets of discourses. One of these was his 'Astronomical Discourses,' in which he sought to bring science into harmony with christianity by showing that the comparative insignificance of this globe in the universe of God gave an incomparable moral glory and significance to the incarnation and atonement of the Son. The 'Commercial Discourses' were designed to imbue the life of

commercial men with the spirit of the gospel. In both these directions Chalmers set aside the current traditions of the evangelical pulpit, enlarging both its scope and its methods. His independence exposed him to the suspicions of some of the more narrow-minded of his brethren, who thought no man safe if he did not keep to the old-established methods. By his boldness Chalmers adjusted the pulpit to the exigencies of the age.

His extraordinary success in the pulpit did not for a moment divert Chalmers from his aim of elevating the whole body of people that inhabited his parish. The parochial system had fascinated him in Kilmeny. His Glasgow parish was more than ten times as populous as Kilmeny, and certainly ten times as difficult to work. But this was to be met by subdivision and increase of agents. When he was translated in 1820 to the new parish of St. John's he found his opportunity. St. John's was the largest and likewise the poorest parish in the city. Chalmers succeeded in getting from the town council leave to administer the fund raised by church-door collections for the poor, and, in consideration of this, undertook the whole management of the pauperism of the parish. Dividing the parish into districts and sub-districts, he placed laymen of christian character, office-bearers of his own church, over each, established day schools and Sunday schools wherever they were needed, and strove to raise the people to a sense of their moral dignity, especially in the light of the gospel. He was highly successful in all respects, but especially in his pauper scheme. Instead of 1,400*l.*, which the pauperism of the parish had formerly cost, the outlay at the end of the three years and nine months during which he presided over the experiment was reduced to 280*l.* This result was accompanied not by a diminution but an increase of comfort and morality. Drunkenness decreased, and parents took an increased interest in the welfare of their children. Chalmers was intensely attached to the old Scotch method of dealing with pauperism, not by assessment but voluntary contribution, believing that to give the poor a legal right to parochial relief was sure to destroy the spirit of independence, and to impair the readiness of children to help their parents in old age. Afterwards, when, at the instigation of the benevolent Dr. W. P. Alison of Edinburgh, a compulsory method of supporting the poor was contemplated, Chalmers, who had already expounded and enforced his own system in the 'Edinburgh Review' and in separate writings, vehemently opposed the new proposal. His opposition proved ineffectual,

and in 1845 the new system was introduced [see ALISON, WILLIAM PULTENEY]. During his residence in Glasgow, besides his astronomical and commercial discourses and a volume of miscellaneous sermons, Chalmers published an elaborate work on the civic and christian economy of our large towns. In 1816 he received the degree of D.D. by the unanimous vote of the senate of the university of Glasgow.

During two years of his ministry in St. John's he had for his assistant Edward Irving, the bosom friend of Thomas Carlyle. Irving had deemed himself a failure in the Scottish pulpit, and, despairing of success, was on the eve of setting out in a most chivalrous spirit as a missionary to Persia, when Chalmers, after hearing him preach, offered to take him as assistant. The two were very happy together. Through Irving, Chalmers came into contact with Carlyle. They were very unlike, but they appreciated each other. Speaking of their first meeting, Carlyle says: 'The great man was truly loveable, truly loved; and nothing personally could be more modest—intent on his good industries, not on himself or his fame.' Nearly thirty years elapsed before they met again, a very few weeks before Chalmers's death. 'He was a man,' says Carlyle in the 'Reminiscences,' 'of much natural dignity, ingenuity, honesty, and kind affection, as well as sound intellect and imagination. A very eminent vivacity lay in him. . . . He had a burst of genuine fun too, I have heard. . . .' But 'he was a man essentially of little culture, of narrow sphere all his life. . . . A man capable of much soaking indolence, lazy brooding and do-nothingism, as the first stage of his life well indicated; a man thought to be timid almost to the verge of cowardice, yet capable of impetuous activity and blazing audacity, as his latter years showed.'

The work in Glasgow was so multifarious and exhausting that, having triumphantly proved by the experiment of St. John's the success of his ideas on the parochial system, he was glad to escape from the crowded city by accepting an appointment in 1823 to the chair of moral philosophy in the university of St. Andrews. He held this chair for five years. In the special department of ethics, the position which charmed him most, and which he was at most pains to establish, was the authority of conscience. He cordially acknowledged the merits of Butler's 'Sermons on Human Nature.' Chalmers, however, advanced on Butler by showing how the conclusions of ethics harmonised with the teaching of Scripture. Natural ethics showed man to be a sinner. Revealed

theology took him up where ethics left him, and discovered to him a mode of reconciliation. On the fact of human guilt as shown by conscience Chalmers laid much more stress than had been done by most writers on ethics. To a large extent his view commended itself to the religious teachers of Scotland, and influenced their line of preaching. At St. Andrews he did as much as the circumstances allowed to exemplify his principles of parochial activity, and initiated many students into his methods. He encouraged the rising spirit of missions to the heathen, and it was one of his pupils, Alexander Duff, who, on a mission to India being resolved on by the general assembly, became the first India missionary of the church of Scotland.

In 1828 Chalmers was removed to the chair of theology in the university of Edinburgh. He held this office till 1843, when, leaving the established church, he became principal and professor of divinity in the New College (of the Free church), Edinburgh. In the theological chair he was more distinguished for the impulse which he gave to his students than for original contributions to theological science. On the border-land between philosophy and theology, embracing ethics and natural theology, he was thoroughly at home. In theology, while strongly Calvinistic, he differed from many of that school by taking his departure from the needs of man rather than from the purpose of God. His 'Institutes of Theology' present in mature form the views he propounded from the theological chair. Accepting the Scriptures as the record of a divine revelation, he held that true theology was simply the result of Bacon's inductive method applied to the book of Revelation, as true science was the result of the same method applied to the book of nature. On this basis his whole theology was reared.

On 19 June 1830 Chalmers became chaplain in ordinary of the Scottish Chapel Royal, a post which he held till his death. In 1832 Chalmers was invited by the trustees of the Duke of Bridgewater, on the recommendation of the Bishop of London (Blomfield), to write one of the eight treatises on natural theology provided for in that nobleman's will. The subject allotted to him was 'The Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man.' The volume was published in 1833, and after a successful sale (notwithstanding an unfavourable critique in the 'Quarterly Review') was recast as a portion of a larger work on 'Natural Theology.'

It was a few years after his settlement in Edinburgh that Chalmers found himself

engaged in a movement which in after years was to bear fruit little dreamt of—a movement for giving to the members of congregations an efficient voice in the election of their ministers. The ancient constitution of the Scottish church provided for this, but by the act of Queen Anne restoring patronage (1712) the right was practically superseded. In 1832 Chalmers had been called to the chair of the general assembly, and being thus brought more into contact with ecclesiastical matters, he moved in the assembly of 1833 in favour of an enactment, which, though rejected then, was carried next year on the motion of Lord Moncreiff, and is known as the veto law. It was entirely in accord with his views of the moral dignity of the people, and the importance of quickening their interest in the work of the church, that they should have an effective voice in the choice of their pastors. The veto law did not withdraw from the patrons the right of nomination; it only gave to the male heads of families a right of veto. The measure worked remarkably well during the few years when it had a fair trial. But it was this law that gave occasion to the litigation which ended in the disruption of the church ten years afterwards. The veto was then declared to be *ultra vires*. Chalmers is believed to have wished that this question should be legally settled before the act was passed; but Lord Moncreiff and other eminent lawyers thought that its legality could not be questioned—an opinion afterwards ascertained to have been unfounded.

Fresh honours continued to flow in. In 1834 he was elected a fellow, and in 1835 a vice-president, of the Royal Society of Edinburgh. In 1834 he was also elected a corresponding member of the Institute of France, and in 1835 the university of Oxford made him a D.C.L.

During his years of calm academic work Chalmers had never been unmindful of the condition of the country, and especially of its large towns, nor ceased to desire the erection of new churches and parishes where increased population demanded it. In 1821 he had proposed a scheme for the erection of twenty new churches in Glasgow, but the proposal was scouted as visionary. In 1834 the proposal was renewed by an eminent citizen of Glasgow—Mr. W. Collins, publisher—and Chalmers threw himself most heartily into it. Its success led to a larger scheme—the erection of two hundred new churches and parishes throughout Scotland. Though greatly eclipsed by subsequent achievements, this was regarded at the time as an enterprise of extraordinary boldness, but it succeeded

through the exertions and influence of Chalmers, who went over the country advocating it. Chalmers was most desirous to obtain help for this scheme from the government, but intense opposition was raised to this endeavour by the advocates of the 'voluntary' system, and the desired aid was not obtained. The 'voluntary controversy,' directed against all civil establishments of religion, became very lively, and Chalmers came out as the champion of established churches. A course of lectures delivered by him in London in 1838 in their defence was a triumphant success. 'Dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, baronets, bishops, and members of parliament were to be seen in every direction.' 'London seemed stirred to its very depths. . . . Probably his London lectures afforded the most remarkable illustrations of his extraordinary power, and must be ranked among the most signal illustrations of oratory in any age.' It has often been represented as inconsistent in Chalmers to argue so powerfully for establishments in 1838, and five years after head the largest withdrawal from an establishment ever known. But from the beginning he had always maintained that it was essential for a christian church to possess the right of self-government, undisturbed by the intrusion of any secular power, and that the people should not be subjected to the ministrations of clergymen to whom they had a decided antipathy. It was because he believed that these conditions belonged to the Scotch church that his advocacy of its establishment was so strong in 1838; and because he believed that it was deprived of these conditions by what followed, he felt constrained in 1843 to abandon it. It must be said of Chalmers that he was accustomed, in maintaining the two principles of self-government or spiritual independence and non-intrusion, to dwell much less than some of his brethren on the direct 'divine right' or scriptural obligation of these principles, and much more on their being indispensable to the efficiency of the church. Deprived of these attributes he thought that an established church was not worth the maintaining, and that it was better to quit the establishment and seek them elsewhere.

Scarcely had the London lectures been delivered (April 1838) when the controversy in the church, commonly called 'the non-intrusion controversy,' assumed a new form. A few weeks, indeed, before their delivery (8 March) the court of session had delivered a judgment in the 'Auchterarder case,' in which the veto law was declared illegal, and the church courts were virtually called on to disregard it, as a *res non*. The general as-

sembly, however, determined that an appeal against this decision should be carried to the House of Lords, so that it was not yet final. But it became final in May 1839. In the assembly of 1839 Chalmers, who had not been a member for six years, spoke emphatically against the claims to control the spiritual jurisdiction of the church put forth by the civil courts, and thereafter he took a most active part in negotiations designed to terminate the collision through a legislative enactment recognising, in some shape, the rights of the people. All the efforts thus made to heal the breach, though continued for some years, proved in vain. The church having subjected to discipline certain ministers of the presbytery of Strathbogie who had disregarded her orders by obeying the court of session, and Chalmers being among those who for this reason were held rebels against the law of the land, parties became so keen that all efforts at conciliation were encompassed with very great difficulties. Meanwhile the civil courts gave fresh decisions, impugning more and more the principles held to be indispensable by Chalmers and others, denying among other things the right of the church to form *quoad sacra* parishes, or to make the ministers of new churches members of church courts, thus aiming a heavy blow at the church extension enterprise of Chalmers, which had added two hundred ministers and *quoad sacra* parishes to the establishment. The result is well known. Neither parliament nor government would admit the claims of the church. On 18 May 1843 a formal separation from the established church took place on the part of those who were opposed to the pretensions of the civil court. Four hundred and seventy ministers resigned their livings and joined the Free church. Chalmers was elected first moderator of the free protesting church of Scotland. The disruption was 'a sore, bitter, crushing disappointment—the blasting of all his fondest hopes.' The step on his part was prompted by the conviction that under the fetters of the civil courts the church could never grapple effectually with the great work of reclaiming and elevating the whole population of the country, and his consolation lay in the hope that the disestablished church would now address herself to the task, that thus the home heathen would yet be reclaimed, and the desert and solitary place be made to rejoice and blossom as the rose.

But it was necessary to find means of support for the disestablished church. To this question Chalmers bent his mind a year before the catastrophe occurred. The result was his devising the well-known sustentation fund, with which the history of the

Free church has been identified. It was founded on a very simple arithmetical principle. On the basis of a contribution from each member of a penny a week, Chalmers showed that a stipend of 150*l.* a year might be provided for five hundred ministers. Great incredulity followed his announcement of his plan, but its foundations were on solid rock, and ultimately it found favour. Though not without weak points, it was adopted by the church; it has been substantially carried out ever since, and though the number of ministers is now double what Chalmers contemplated, the amount paid to each exceeds considerably what he proposed.

This matter being disposed of, Chalmers now returned to the great scheme which he had cherished so warmly since his entry into Glasgow. The home-heathen problem was still unsolved. In the great cities especially there were yet many thousands attending no church, many of them in a condition of fearful degradation. In his eyes there was just one way of dealing effectually with this problem—the territorial, aggressive system. After the recent ecclesiastical changes, he could not hope to carry out any undertaking directed to this object on a scale corresponding to the extent of the evil. But he might, by an *experimentum crucis*, show the possibility of success under his scheme. He selected the West Port, one of the worst districts of Edinburgh, for a territorial experiment. Marking off a district with a population of about two thousand souls, he divided it into sub-districts, as in Glasgow, and obtained the aid of a body of zealous christian friends as visitors, each to labour in a sub-district of a few families. Engaging an old malt-barn, he procured the assistance of a zealous and able student to labour among the people and conduct sabbath services in the barn. A day school was opened for the children of the district, and, contrary to the remonstrances of many friends, a fee was exacted for their education. The sabbath school was added to the day school. By-and-by a plain church and school were built. Begun in 1845 this enterprise had become a great success before his death in 1847. Its subsequent history has been most encouraging. What Chalmers desired was that similar churches should be built in every suitable locality, till the whole destitution of Scotland should be overtaken. It was an unspeakable joy to him, after the loud sounds of long and bitter controversy, to return to this practical outcome of all his ecclesiastical ideas, and show the bearing of all on the good of the country and the elevation of its lowest class, and thus on the solution of the most difficult of all the

problems with which economists, statesmen, or churches have to deal.

Chalmers died suddenly on the night between Sunday and Monday, 30-31 May 1847. He retired to rest in apparent health and was found dead in bed next morning. The passage from life to death seemed to have been made without the shadow of a struggle. The impression produced on the community, and on the general assembly, which was then holding its sittings, was most profound. The funeral on 4 June was attended by an immense multitude of spectators—half the population of Edinburgh, it was estimated; while journals and pulpits without number, and many public bodies at home and abroad, expressed their admiration of his life and character, and their profound sense of his services to his country and to humanity.

Looking at the influence of Chalmers on the religious thought and life of Scotland generally, we may say that he let in daylight and fresh air on the evangelical enclosures of the church. He hardly ever opened his lips without uttering something fresh and racy. The evangelical message assumed a new importance at his hands. It came from him sustained by intellect, embellished by imagination, and enforced by eloquence, while new relations, hitherto overlooked, were brought into view—to the science, the culture, the thinking of the age. As Chalmers advanced in life a rare sagacity became conspicuous; with broad, statesmanlike view he was seen to have apprehended the evils of modern society, to have detected the remedy, and girded himself, in all his strength, to apply it. While thus broadening out and acquiring fresh influence, he was at the same time growing in humility and devoutness. The culture of personal piety was a growing object of his solicitude. His journals and his 'Horæ Sabbaticæ' bear ample testimony to this. The result was not merely the revival of evangelical life in Scotland, but the communication to it of qualities unknown before. It became more genial and catholic, more refined, more intellectual, and more practical. It never was allowed to lose itself in speculation, or to terminate in doctrinal elaborations. It could never forget the *terminus ad quem* (a favourite phrase of Chalmers's)—first the regeneration and elevation of the individual, and then the regeneration and elevation of society at large.

The writings of Chalmers fall into two classes—those published during his life and his posthumous works. Of the first, his principal works, in twenty-five volumes, were: 1. 'Natural Theology,' 2 vols. 2. 'Evidences of Christianity,' 2 vols. 3. 'Moral and Mental

Philosophy,' 4. 'Commercial Discourses,' 5. 'Astronomical Discourses,' 6. 'Congregational Sermons,' 3 vols. 7. 'Sermons on Public Occasions,' 8. 'Tracts and Essays,' 9. 'Christian and Economic Polity,' 3 vols. 10. 'Church Establishments,' 11. 'Church Extension,' 12. 'Political Economy,' 2 vols. 13. 'Pauperism,' 14. 'Lectures on Epistle to the Romans,' 4 vols. The posthumous works (1847-9), edited by Dr. Hanna, are in nine volumes, viz.: 1. 'Daily Scripture Readings,' 3 vols. 2. 'Sabbath Scripture Readings,' 2 vols. 3. 'Posthumous Sermons,' 4. 'Institutes of Theology,' 2 vols. 5. 'Prelections on Butler's "Analogy," &c. To these many separate pamphlets, sermons, &c., are to be added.

[Memoirs by his son-in-law, W. Hanna, LL.D., 4 vols. 1849-52; Selection from Correspondence, 1 vol.; Biographical Notice from Transactions of Royal Society of Edin., by Dean Ramsay; North British Review, May 1852 and November 1856 (articles ascribed to Isaac Taylor); Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk (John Gibson Lockhart); Carlyle's Reminiscences, vol. i.; McCosh's Scottish Philosophy; The Chalmers' Lectures, 1st series, by Rev. Sir Henry W. Moncreiff, bart., D.D.; Records of General Assembly of the Free Church, 1849; Witness newspaper, 1 and 9 June 1849; Dodds's Thomas Chalmers, a Biographical Study; Walker's Thomas Chalmers; Fraser's Men worth Remembering; Chalmers's Proceedings at the Centennial Celebration of the Birth of Dr. Chalmers, 1880.]

W. G. B.

CHALMERS, W. A. (Æ. 1798), water-colour painter, chiefly of architectural subjects, worked in London towards the end of the last century. From 1790 to 1794 he exhibited nine pictures at the Royal Academy. In the former year he appeared with a 'View in the Collegiate Church, Westminster,' and 'Mrs. Jordan as Sir Harry Wildair,' in 1791 two interiors of Westminster Abbey; in 1792 'The Interment of the late President (Sir Joshua Reynolds) at St. Paul's,' in 1793 'The Interior of Henry VII's Chapel with the Ceremony of the Installation,' and in the next year the 'West Front of the Abbey, Bath.' After an interval of four years he exhibited in 1798 'Mr. Kemble as the "Stranger,"' and the 'Tomb of Henry VII.' He seems to have died young.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists.]

CHALMERS, SIR WILLIAM (1787-1860), lieutenant-general, eldest son of William Chalmers of Gleniericht, near Blairgowrie, Perthshire, was born at Gleniericht in 1787. He entered the army on 9 July 1803 as ensign in the 52nd foot, becoming lieutenant on 23 Oct. of the same year.

With the first battalion of his regiment, of which he was at one time adjutant, young Chalmers served in Sicily in 1806-7, and when an order was issued directing that eleven British regiments then stationed in that island should be augmented each by a company of Sicilians enlisted for seven years' general service under the British crown, it fell to him, as senior subaltern, to raise the regimental quota of men for that purpose. He became captain in the second battalion in 1807. He served with his regiment in Portugal and Spain in 1808-9; in the Walcheren expedition, including the bombardment of Flushing; and subsequently as a regimental officer and as brigade-major of various infantry brigades in the Peninsular campaigns from 1810 to 1814, in the course of which he was present in seventeen engagements, including the battles of Barossa, Salamanca, and Vittoria, and the various actions in the Pyrenees and on the Nivelle, and at the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, and San Sebastian; had altogether six horses shot under him; and on one occasion—the attack on the entrenchments of Sarre in 1813—was himself very severely wounded. He received a brevet majority for service in the field in 1813, and a brevet lieutenant-colonelcy for Waterloo. At the latter period he was serving as aide-de-camp to his uncle, Major-general Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, afterwards Sir Kenneth Douglas, bart., of Glenbervie, who was commanding at Antwerp, which was in a very critical state, but got leave to join his regiment before the battle, where he commanded the right wing of the 52nd, and had three horses killed under him. He was also present at the capture of Paris, and with the army of occupation in France until 1817, when he retired from active military life. He married in 1826 the daughter of Thomas Price. He became brevet colonel in 1837, was made K.C.H., and C.B. the year following. He became a major-general in 1846, a knight-bachelor in 1848, colonel of 20th foot Feb.-Oct. 1853 and of the 78th highlanders in 1853, and became lieutenant-general in 1854. He had the Peninsular medal with eight clasps, and the Waterloo medal. Chalmers, who was left a widower in 1851, died at his seat, Glenelicht, on 2 June 1860. His age appears to have been given incorrectly in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' and other obituary notices.

[Army Lists; Moorsom's Hist. Rec. 52nd Light Infantry; Leeke's Lord Seaton's Regt. at Waterloo, vol. i.; Dod's Knightage; Gent. Mag. 3rd series (ix.) p. 104.] H. M. C.

CHALON, ALFRED EDWARD (1780-1860), portrait and subject painter, younger

brother of John James Chalon [q.v.], was born at Geneva on 15 Feb. 1780. He was intended, like his brother, for a commercial life; but he took early to art, and entered the Academy schools in 1797. In 1808 he became a member of the Society of Associated Artists in Water Colours. In the same year he founded, with his brother John and six others, the 'Evening Sketching Society,' the meetings of which were continued for forty years, and of which a full account will be found in the 'Recollections of T. Ewins,' and in the 'Recollections and Letters of C. R. Leslie.' He exhibited his first picture at the Royal Academy in 1810. In 1812 he was elected associate of that body, and became a full member in 1816. 'He then and for many years afterwards was the most fashionable portrait painter in water colours. His full-length portraits in this manner, usually about fifteen inches high, were full of character, painted with a dashing grace, and never commonplace; the draperies and accessories drawn with great spirit and elegance.' In his younger days he painted some good miniatures on ivory. Chalon was the first to paint Queen Victoria after her accession to the throne, and received the appointment of painter in water colours to the queen. As a portrait painter in this medium he had an extraordinary and almost unparalleled vogue; but he survived his fame. In 1855, the year following his brother's death, he exhibited, at the rooms of the Society of Arts in the Adelphi, a collection of his own and of John Chalon's works, but it does not seem to have attracted much attention. Leslie, his friend and warm admirer, writes: 'It was to me a proof, if I had wanted one, of the non-appreciation of colour at the present time that the exhibition of J. and A. Chalon's pictures failed to attract notice.' If water colours were the medium best suited to his genius, Chalon nevertheless painted a vast number of works in oils, having exhibited altogether upwards of three hundred oil paintings at the Royal Academy and elsewhere in the course of his life. Among his best-known subject pictures may be mentioned 'Hunt the Slipper,' 1831; 'John Knox reproving the Ladies of Queen Mary's Court,' 1837; 'Serena,' 1847; 'Sophia Western,' 1857. He was clever in imitating the styles of other painters, and particularly of Watteau, whose pictures he greatly admired.

Chalon had made a large collection of his own and his brother's drawings and paintings. In 1859 he offered them to the inhabitants of Hampstead, together with some endowments for the maintenance of the collection; but the scheme fell through. He then offered

them to the nation, with a similarly unsatisfactory result. Late in life he retired with his brother to an old house on Campden Hill, Kensington, and there died, 3 Oct. 1860. His numerous friends bore unanimous testimony to the delightful social qualities of the man, and were ungrudging in their recognition of his genius.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Painters; Ottley's Supplement to Bryan's Dict. of Painters; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Athenæum, June to December 1860, pp. 487, 756, 792; Art Journal, 1860, p. 337, 1862, p. 9, an article upon A. E. Chalon by James Dafforne; Autobiographical Recollections of C. R. Leslie, ed. Tom Taylor, 2 vols. passim; Recollections of T. Ewins, 2 vols. 1853, passim.] E. R.

**CHALON, JOHN JAMES** (1778-1854), landscape and genre painter, born 27 March 1778, was of a French family which had resided at Geneva since the revocation of the edict of Nantes. In 1789 the family came to England, and Chalon's father was appointed professor of French language and literature at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. The son was intended for business; but his artistic proclivities were strongly marked, and in 1796 he became a student at the Royal Academy. In 1800 he exhibited his first picture, 'Banditti at their Repast,' shortly followed by 'A Landscape' and 'Fortune Telling.' Chalon's early practice was in oils, but in 1806 he began to exhibit at the gallery of the Water-colour Society, and in 1808 became a member of that body. He was among the seceders from the society in 1813. In 1816 he exhibited an important work at the Royal Academy, 'Napoleon on board the Bellerophon,' which he presented to Greenwich Hospital. This was followed by a fine painting, 'A View of Hastings,' which is now in the South Kensington Museum. In 1827 he was elected associate of the Royal Academy, and became a full member in 1841. Among his later works may be mentioned 'Gil Blas in the Robbers' Cave,' 1843, and the 'Arrival of the Steam-packet at Folkestone,' 1844. In 1847 he was stricken with paralysis, and died after a long illness on 14 Nov. 1854. He is said by Redgrave to have painted but few pictures, and to have supported himself by teaching. He exhibited, however, as many as 135 pictures in oils at the Royal Academy and at the British Institute, and had made his mark, moreover, as a water-colour painter. In 1820 he published a book of 'Sketches of Parisian Manners,' which was much admired by Stothard. He was a friend of C. R. Leslie, R.A., who greatly respected his genius, and wrote of him that few painters had so great a range,

or attained to so equal an excellence, in so many departments of art. He painted landscapes, figure and animal subjects, and marine pictures with equal facility and success. He belonged, with his brother Alfred Edward [q.v.], to an evening sketching club, which included Leslie and Clarkson Stansfield among its members.

[Redgrave's Dict. of Artists; Graves's Dict. of Artists; Art Journal, 1855, p. 24, article by Leslie, signed 'C. R. L.,' Athenæum, 18 Nov. 1854.] E. R.

**CHALONER, JAMES** (1603-1660), regicide and antiquary, was fourth son of Sir Thomas Chaloner the younger [q.v.], of Guisborough, Yorkshire, and Steeple Claydon in Buckinghamshire. In 1616 he entered Brasenose College, Oxford, and after leaving the university became a member of one of the inns of court. He married Ursula, daughter of Sir William Fairfax of Steeton, and his connection with this family, joined with the grievances of his own, led him to adopt the side of the parliament during the civil wars. In 1648 he was elected member of parliament for Aldborough, to fill a vacancy created by death (*Commons' Journals*, 12 Sept. 1645). In 1647 he was appointed secretary to the committee for the reformation of the university of Oxford. In the following year he was named one of the king's judges, and was present at the first three sittings of the court, but from that time abstained, and was not there when sentence was pronounced against the king (NALSON, *Journal of the High Court of Justice*). A more congenial appointment was offered him in 1652, when his wife's cousin, Lord Fairfax, to whom the Isle of Man had been granted by the parliament, named him one of the three commissioners to settle his affairs in that island (17 Aug. 1652). In the dedication to Lord Fairfax of his 'Short Treatise of the Isle of Man,' Chaloner says: 'We gave your lordship an account in writing, as well as by word of mouth, of our proceedings there, as in relation to your revenues and the government of the country, so also what our actions were in pursuance of your pious intentions for the promotion of religion and learning.' He goes on to say that he himself 'having made a more than ordinary inquisition into the state of the island,' now offers it to his patron. The preface is dated 1 Dec. 1653, but the book itself was not published till three years later. In 1653 Chaloner was appointed governor of the island. When Monk marched against Lambert, Chaloner attempted to secure the Isle of Man for the parliamentary party, but was himself seized by the partisans of the army and imprisoned in Peel

Castle (Petition of his son Edmond Chaloner, *Historical MSS. Commission*, 7th Rep. 147). 'During his imprisonment,' says the petition, 'being of a tender and weak constitution, he took his death sickness, whereof he shortly after died before the Act of Indemnity passed.' He left antiquarian manuscripts, which passed into the possession of John Vincent. Nothing is known of them after Vincent's death in 1671.

[A Short Treatise of the Isle of Man, digested into Six Chapters, London, 1656, published as an 'Appendix to King's Vale Royal of England. It was reprinted by the Manx Society in 1874, edited by the Rev. J. G. Cumming. Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, iii. 502-4; Sketch prefixed to Mr. Cumming's edition of the Treatise. The Fairfax correspondence contains two letters to Ursula Fairfax, and two to Ferdinando, Lord Fairfax. A petition dated 12 Aug. 1657 states his losses by the war, and the oppression of the king (Calendar of Domestic State Papers), and the fact of his imprisonment in 1659 is confirmed by the Journals of the House of Commons, 27 Dec. 1659.] C. H. F.

**CHALONER, RICHARD** (d. 1643), a chief actor in Edmund Waller's plot of 1643, is described in contemporary accounts as 'an eminent citizen' and linendraper of London. He lived in Cornhill, near the Royal Exchange, and had a partner named Norton. Together with Nathaniel Tomkins, secretary to the queen's council, and Waller's brother-in-law, he organised, early in 1643, a society which was intended to bring together all citizens desirous of effecting a peace between the parliament and Charles I. The king approved the plan; and on news of it reaching Pym (30 May 1643), Chaloner, Tomkins, Waller, and a few others implicated in it were placed under arrest. The Earl of Essex was directed by the House of Commons to appoint a council of war to try the prisoners, and on Friday, 30 June, the trial of Tomkins and Chaloner began at the Guildhall, before the Earl of Manchester. Both were found guilty on Monday (2 July), and the sentence of death was carried out on the following Wednesday (4 July). Chaloner was hanged in front of his own house. On the scaffold he timidly acknowledged the justice of his sentence, at the same time insisting on the pacific aims of his conspiracy. Hugh Peters attended him, and his father offered him a royal pardon, which he declined to touch. He and his friend Tomkins alone suffered capital punishment.

[See art. **EDMUND WALLER** (1605-1687), *infra*; Rushworth's Collections, iii. 2, 322-7; Clarendon's Hist. bk. vii. 71; Ranke's Hist. of England (English transl.), ii. 376; British Museum Coll.

of Newspapers for 1643, vol. ii.; Chaloner's Speech on the Scaffold, 1643; A True Discoverie of the Great Plot, 1643.] S. L.

**CHALONER, SIR THOMAS**, the elder (1521-1565), diplomatist and author, eldest son of Roger Chaloner, citizen and mercer of London, a member of an old Welsh family, was born in London, probably in the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-East, in 1521. It is conjectured that he studied for a time at St. John's College, Cambridge, and was also for a time at Oxford. In 1540 he accompanied Sir Thomas Knyvet's embassy to the court of Charles V, was well received by the emperor, went with him to Algiers, and very nearly lost his life on the coast of Barbary in 1541 (HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations*, 1810, ii. 210). On his return to England Chaloner became clerk of the privy council. He was M.P. for Wigan 1545, for Lancashire 1547, and for Knaresborough 1555. Somerset took him into favour, and in 1547 Chaloner accompanied him to Scotland, fought at the battle of Pinckie, and was knighted on the battle-field. He was engaged in procuring evidence against Somerset's brother and rival, Lord Seymour, in 1548-9; was one of the witnesses against Bonner (1549) and Gardiner (1551); was granted the lands belonging to Guisborough priory, Yorkshire (31 Oct. 1550); and on 10 May 1551 was one of the commissioners nominated to negotiate with the envoys of the queen of Scots regarding debateable land on the border of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, proceedings which led to the treaty of Norham (10 June). He fulfilled similar functions on 8 March 1551-2, negotiating another treaty with Scotland 24 Sept. 1552, and received from Edward VI a grant of lands at St. Bees in Cumberland in 1553. At the end of Edward's reign he went with Dr. Wotton and Sir William Pickering on an embassy to France, but was immediately recalled on Mary's accession. Although a protestant, Chaloner was not excluded from public employment under Queen Mary. He was sent to Scotland in February 1555-6; had a grant of the manor of Steeple Claydon, Buckinghamshire, 13 Aug. 1557, and on 12 Jan. 1557-8 was directed to provide transport for the English troops proceeding to Dunkirk. Further lands at Guisborough were also assigned him on 16 July 1558. On the accession of Elizabeth, Chaloner was ordered to proceed to the emperor Ferdinand at Courtray, in order to detach him from the French alliance (safe-conduct, 26 Nov. 1558), and, after performing this service, visited Philip II, then at Brussels, in order to arrange for a peaceful treaty between the Spanish



king and England. He resided in the Low Countries till February 1559-60, and in October 1561 was sent as ambassador to Spain. The custom-house officials treated him with scant respect, demanding to search all his baggage on landing. He protested against the indignity, but received little sympathy either at Madrid or London. Although personally popular in Spain, he was unable to effect any very important settlement of the questions in dispute between that country and England, and was recalled in 1564. His brother Francis wrote on 7 Aug. 1565 that Chaloner was suffering from a violent fever, and intended to leave all his property to a bastard son. He died at a great house which he had built himself in Clerkenwell on 14 Oct. 1565, and was buried on 20 Oct. in St. Paul's Cathedral. At his funeral Sir William Cecil, lord Burghley, a lifelong friend, who wrote Latin verses to his memory, was chief mourner. He married, first, Joanna (*d.* 11 Jan. 1556-7), widow of Sir Thomas Legh; and secondly, Ethelreda, daughter of Edward Frodsham of Elton, Cheshire, who survived him, remarried to Edward Brocket of Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire, and died 25 Dec. 1605. By his second wife he had an only son, Thomas [q. v.] His executors were Sir William Cecil, his second wife, and his son. Elizabeth added to his estates the manor of East Haddon, Northamptonshire, with the rectory of Cold Ashby in the same county (1561). In July 1565 he petitioned for a grant of Irish mines, but this request does not appear to have been granted.

Chaloner was the friend of Cheke, Haddon, and other learned scholars of his time. He was a poet in Latin and English, and received high commendation from Meres, Puttenham, and Henry Peacham. His printed works are as follows: 1. 'A Bok of the Office of Servantes,' 1543, translated from Gilb. Cognatus, and dedicated to Sir Henry Knyvet. 2. 'An Homilie of Saint John Chrysostome . . . newly made out of Greke into latin by master Cheke, and englished by Tho. Chaloner,' London, 1544. 3. 'The praise of Folie . . . by Erasmus, englished by Sir Thomas Chaloner, knight,' London, 1549. 4. 'De Rep. Anglorum instauranda decem libri,' with a Latin panegyric on Henry VIII (issued separately in 1600), and epigrams and epitaphs in Latin on other noted persons. Among the latter is an admirable elegy on Lady Jane Grey. To this work Burghley and other friends prefixed Latin verses in the author's praise. It was first published in 1579 by William Malim, master of St. Paul's School. The whole is in Latin verse, and was written in Spain between 25 Dec. 1562 and

21 July 1564. A woodcut of the author is prefixed.

To the first edition of the 'Mirror of Magistrates' Chaloner contributed an account of Mowbray's quarrel with Richard II, and in Park's 'Antiquæ Nugæ' (ii. 372) is a translation by him of Ovid's 'Epistolæ Heroidum' (*Epist.* 17).

Among the Hardwicke manuscripts at Wimpole Hall is an unprinted 'Journal in Spain,' 1562, attributed to Chaloner.

Chaloner's portrait was painted by Holbein and has been engraved by Hollar. Another portrait, with some half-legible Latin verses on it, belonging to Mrs. M. G. Edgar, was exhibited in the Exhibition of National Portraits at South Kensington in 1866 (*Notes and Queries*, 3rd ser. x. 28).

[Cooper's *Athenæ Cantab.* i. 235-7; *Biog. Brit.* (Kippis); Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. passim; *Cal. State Papers* (Dom.), 1547-80; Haslewood's *Mirror for Magistrates*; *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; *Mathyn's Diary* (Camd. Soc.), pp. 123, 404; *Granger's Biog. Hist.*; *Tanner's Bibl. Brit.*; *Notes and Queries*, 4th ser. i. 31; *Froude's History*; *Peacham's Compleat Gentleman* (1562), p. 73.]  
S. L.

CHALONER, SIR THOMAS, the younger (1561-1615), naturalist, only son of Sir Thomas Chaloner the elder [q. v.], and Ethelreda Frodsham, was born in 1561. His father died in 1565. His mother marrying Edward Brocket (son of Sir John Brocket, *knt.*, of Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire), he owed his education chiefly to his father's friend, William Cecil, lord Burghley, at St. Paul's School and at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he was esteemed for his poetical abilities, but took no degree. In 1579 he wrote the dedication to Lord Burghley of his father's poetical works. He began his travels in 1580, and became, especially in Italy, intimate with the learned men of the time. He returned home three years after to become a favourite at court, and married Elizabeth, daughter of his father's friend, William Fleetwood, recorder of London. In 1584 he published 'A Short Discourse of the most rare Vertue of Nitre,' London, 4to, b.l., a practical work in advance of the age. He was M.P. for St. Mawes in 1586 and for Lostwithiel in 1604. In 1588 he taught, at Christ Church, Oxford, Robert Dudley, son of the Earl of Leicester, and was knighted while serving with the English army in France in 1591. In 1596-7 he was again abroad, and his letters, chiefly from Florence, to the Earl of Essex and Anthony Bacon [q. v.] are in the Lambeth Library. He was exceedingly fond of natural history and philosophical in-

quity, and showed unusual method and reasoning in his experiments. While at Puteoli he visited the pope's alum works, and noticed the similarity of the surrounding vegetation to that of some parts of Guisborough on his own Yorkshire estate, and on his return, about 1600, made the discovery of alum-stone at Belman Bank, Guisborough, and opened there the first alum mines in England. Workmen from Rochelle were brought over to the work. The Yorkshire tradition is that they came over hidden in casks, and that the pope fulminated an anathema against Chaloner and them, copies of which are given in Grose's *'Antiquities'* and Young's *'Whitby'*, but the text is verbatim the curse of Ernulphus in *'Tristram Shandy'*. In James I's time Chaloner's works became very profitable, the king having prohibited the importation of foreign alum. Under Charles I the crown claimed them as royal mines, and they were granted to Sir Peter Pindar for 12,500*l.* a year to the king and 2,240*l.* to the Earl of Mulgrave and another, and after paying eight hundred workmen still produced an immense profit. In 1592 Chaloner was made justice of the peace for Buckinghamshire. Towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, at the instance of Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury [q. v.], Chaloner went into Scotland, where he became so great a favourite with King James that even Sir Francis Bacon sought his recommendation. He attended James on his journey to take possession of the English throne, and on the arrival at York headed the deputation to the mayor. Queen Anne gave him the management of her private estate, and the king appointed him governor of the king's eldest son Henry in 1603. He had to form the household into what the king called 'a courtly college,' and no gentleman could take the prince out without his consent. For his services as the head official of the 420 servants of the prince his 'wages and diet' were 66*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* a year. In 1605 he attended the prince to Oxford—Magdalen College being chosen out of respect to him—and there, along with forty-two noblemen, gentlemen, and esquires, he was made a master of arts. In 1605 he was entrusted with the repairs of Kenilworth Castle, the planting of gardens, restoration of fish-ponds, game preserves, &c. In 1607 he and a Dane and two Dutchmen showed 'rare fireworks' on the occasion of a Twelfth-night masque at court. In 1610, when the young prince was created Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, and Chaloner was made his chamberlain, the scheme of M. Villeforest to extract silver from lead was entrusted by the prince to him and Sir William Godolphin for trial.

In 1608 he recommended the making of water-pipes of earthenware, of which he asserted eight thousand could be made in a day, safer and stronger than metal ones. On Pette's trial for insufficiency as a shipwright, the king chose Chaloner to make the experiments on the powers and capacities of ships. The royal New-year's gifts to him were of high value. In 1605 his portion was 30 oz. of gilt plate, and at the christening of one of his children he received '168 oz. of gilt plate of all kinds.' The public records mention a few grants to him: in 1604, 100*l.* a year in lands of the duchy of Lancaster and 36*l.* a year in fee-farm of exchequer lands; and subsequently part of the manor of Clothall, Hertfordshire. John Owen addressed one of his 'Epigrams' to him; and Isaac Wake, in his *'Rex Platonicus'*, Oxford, 1607, has a poem on him.

By his first wife, who died in 1603, he had eleven children: William, created a baronet on 20 July 1620, who died unmarried at Scanderon (the title became extinct in 1681); Edward, Thomas [q. v.], James, the regicide [q. v.], and three other sons and four daughters. By his second wife, who died in 1615, Judith, daughter of William Blunt of London, he had four sons and three daughters. He was a great benefactor to the grammar school of St. Bees, giving it in 1608 a good building site, with timber, stone, and forty tons of sea coal, with an acre and a half of adjoining land. There are two Chaloner scholarships still existing.

Chaloner left estates at Guisborough, Yorkshire, and Steeple Claydon, Buckinghamshire, and died on 17 Nov. 1615. In the chancel of Chiswick Church, Middlesex, is a monument of alabaster having his effigies and his lady's, with an inscribed plate. This monument makes his birth in 1561, and not 1559 as in Wood and Tanner.

[Stowe's *Annals*, p. 895; Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* i. 398, ii. 376, iii. 258; Wood's *Fasti*, p. 173; Biog. Brit. (Kippis), iii. 419; Childrey's *Brit. Baconica*, p. 162; Bacon's *Works*, iv. 557; Camden's *Brit.* p. 766; Fuller's *Worthies* (Yorkshire), p. 186; Rymer's *Fœdera*, xvi. 545; Pat. 1 Jac. I, p. 23, m. 10; Winwood's *Memorials*, ii. 87; Sidney Papers, ii. 307; Dr. Birch's *Prince Henry*, pp. 32, 97, 203; Dr. Birch's *Queen Elizabeth*, ii. 150, 182, 228, 236, 269, 304; Grose's *Antiquities*, vol. iv.; Doran's *Princes of Wales*, pp. 356, 377, 379; Ord's *Cleveland*, pp. 221, 223, 291; Cal. State Papers, Dom. Ser. 1603-10; Nichols's *Progresses*, i. 79, 553, 599, 602, ii. 252, 373; Kennet's *Collections*, Harl. MS. 983; Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, ii. 39; Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman*, c. 10, p. 93; Clutterbuck's *Hist. and Antiq. of Hertfordshire*, ii. 361.]

J. W.-G.

**CHALONER, THOMAS** (1595-1661), regicide, third son of Sir Thomas Chaloner the younger [q. v.], was born at Steeple Claydon, Buckinghamshire, in 1595. He matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, when sixteen, but took no degree, and left early to be educated by his father. He returned from foreign travel a 'perfect gentleman,' but with ideas opposed to monarchy, and feelings embittered by the seizure of his father's Yorkshire alum mines [see **CHALONER, SIR THOMAS**, the younger]. Settling on the paternal estate at Guisborough, he was elected Burgess for Richmond, Yorkshire, in 1645, and being a fluent speaker he became one of the strongest opponents of the royal government. The same year he was a witness against Archbishop Laud at his trial. In the civil war, after the money question had been settled with the Scots in 1646, he made his famous speech on the reading of the Scottish papers respecting the disposal of the king's person. Chaloner opposed all the Scottish encroachments on what he called the 'English rights,' and published on the subject 'An Answer to the Scotch Papers delivered in the House of Commons,' London, 1646, 4to; 'An Answer to severall objections . . . against Mr. T. Chaloner's Speech,' London, 1646, 4to; 'The Justification of a safe and well-grounded Answer to the Scottish Papers,' London, 1646, 4to; and 'XII Resolves concerning the disposell of the person of the King,' London, 1646, 4to. Books and pamphlets against his views were numerous in 1646-7. In 1647 he and Colonel Temple were made commissioners of parliament to transact affairs in the province of Munster for several months. In 1648 he was one of King Charles's judges, attended sixteen of the meetings, and although he was absent on the last day, when sentence was given, he signed the death-warrant. In 1651 he was made councillor of state and master of the mint. In 1653, at the violent dissolution of the Long parliament, Cromwell called Chaloner a drunkard. On the death of Oliver,

and the proclamation of Richard Cromwell (1658), Chaloner, being elected to the parliament of 1658-9 for Scarborough, became a zealous 'rumper,' and when this parliament was turned out in 1659, he was committed to prison by Fleetwood. About Christmas he was released by the reinstated Rump parliament, and in January following he was again made councillor of state. Wood speaks of him: 'This Thomas Chaloner, who was as far from being a puritan or a presbyterian as the east is from the west, for he was a boon companion, was of Henry Marten's gang, was of the natural religion, and loved to enjoy the comfortable importances of this life without any regard of laying up for a wet day, which at last he wanted.' During the Long parliament the rights of the original proprietors of the alum mines were restored; but other mines having been discovered those of Guisborough fell into comparative disuse. In 1659 he published 'A Speech containing a Plea for Monarchy,' London, 4to, which shows that he was beginning to 'chop round' with the times, but too late. His 'Speech' was, moreover, full of qualifications. On the Restoration, Chaloner surrendered himself in obedience to the royal proclamation, but he was excepted as to both life and estate from the Act of Oblivion. Although the Earl of Southampton objected to this breach of faith, Sir Heneage Finch, the king's solicitor-general, overruled him, and held Chaloner to be specially culpable. Chaloner immediately fled to the Low Countries, where he died, at Middelburg in Zeeland, in 1661.

The only trace of his family relations is in a letter from J. W. of York to Thomas Chaloner, M.P. Richmond, 1646, giving an account of the sudden death, from drinking too much sack, of a gentleman, 'your wife's brother, Mr. Sothabie.'

[Noble's Regicides, i. 138; Ord's Cleveland, Appendix, p. 601; Ludlow's Memorials, iii. 43; Rushworth's Collections, pt. iv. vol. ii. p. 816; Wood's Athenæ Oxon. iii. 531; and Chaloner's Works.] J. W.-G.



# INDEX

TO

## THE THIRD VOLUME.

	PAGE		PAGE
Brown, Charles ( <i>d.</i> 1753) . . . . .	1	Brown or Browne, Ulysses Maximilian von	
Brown, Charles Armitage (1786-1842) . . . . .	1	(1705-1757) . . . . .	35
Brown, Charles Philip (1798-1884) . . . . .	2	Brown, William ( <i>d.</i> 1814) . . . . .	35
Brown, David ( <i>fl.</i> 1795) . . . . .	3	Brown, William (1766-1835) . . . . .	36
Brown, David (1763-1812) . . . . .	3	Brown, William (1777-1857) . . . . .	36
Brown, George ( <i>d.</i> 1628) . . . . .	4	Brown, Sir William (1784-1864) . . . . .	37
Brown, George (1650-1730) . . . . .	4	Brown, William Laurence (1755-1850) . . . . .	37
Brown, Sir George (1790-1865) . . . . .	4	Brownbill, Thomas Robson (1822?-1864). See	
Brown, George Hilary (1786-1856) . . . . .	5	Robson.	
Brown, Gilbert ( <i>d.</i> 1612) . . . . .	5	Browne. See also Broun and Brown.	
Brown, Ignatius (1630-1679) . . . . .	5	Browne, Alexander ( <i>fl.</i> 1660) . . . . .	38
Brown, James (1709-1788) . . . . .	6	Browne, Sir Anthony ( <i>d.</i> 1548) . . . . .	38
Brown, James (1812-1881) . . . . .	7	Browne, Anthony (1510?-1567) . . . . .	39
Brown, James Baldwin, the elder (1785-1843) . . . . .	7	Browne, Anthony, first Viscount Montague	
Brown, James Baldwin, the younger (1820-1884) . . . . .	7	(1526-1592) . . . . .	40
Brown, John ( <i>d.</i> 1532) . . . . .	8	Browne, Arthur (1756?-1805) . . . . .	41
Brown, John (1610?-1679) . . . . .	8	Browne, David ( <i>fl.</i> 1638) . . . . .	41
Brown, John (1627?-1635) . . . . .	9	Browne, Edward (1644-1708) . . . . .	42
Brown, John ( <i>d.</i> 1736) . . . . .	9	Browne, Edward ( <i>d.</i> 1730) . . . . .	43
Brown, John (1715-1766) . . . . .	10	Browne, Felicia Dorothea (1798-1835). See	
Brown, John (1722-1787) . . . . .	10	Hemans.	
Brown, John (1735-1788) . . . . .	12	Browne, George ( <i>d.</i> 1556) . . . . .	43
Brown, John ( <i>d.</i> 1829) . . . . .	14	Browne, George, Count de (1698-1792) . . . . .	45
Brown, John (1754-1832) . . . . .	17	Browne, Hablot Knight (1815-1882) . . . . .	45
Brown, John (1778-1848) . . . . .	17	Browne, Henry (1804-1875) . . . . .	47
Brown, John (1784-1858) . . . . .	18	Browne, Isaac Hawkins, the elder (1705-1760) . . . . .	47
Brown, John (1797-1861) . . . . .	18	Browne, Isaac Hawkins, the younger (1745-1818) . . . . .	48
Brown, John (1810-1882) . . . . .	20	Browne or Brown, James (1616-1685) . . . . .	49
Brown, John Crawford (1805-1867) . . . . .	20	Browne, James (1793-1841) . . . . .	49
Brown, John Wright (1836-1863) . . . . .	21	Browne, John (1642-1700?) . . . . .	49
Brown, Joseph (1784-1868) . . . . .	21	Browne, John (1741-1801) . . . . .	50
Brown, Lancelot (1715-1783) . . . . .	22	Browne, Joseph ( <i>fl.</i> 1706) . . . . .	51
Brown, Levinius (1671-1764) . . . . .	22	Browne, Joseph (1700-1767) . . . . .	51
Brown, Oliver Madox (1855-1874) . . . . .	22	Browne, Lancelot ( <i>d.</i> 1605) . . . . .	51
Brown, Philip ( <i>d.</i> 1779) . . . . .	23	Browne, Lyde, the elder ( <i>d.</i> 1737) . . . . .	52
Brown, Rawdon Lubbock (1803-1883) . . . . .	24	Brown, Lyde, the younger ( <i>d.</i> 1803) . . . . .	52
Brown, Sir Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1669). See Browne.		Browne, Moses (1704-1737) . . . . .	52
Brown, Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1753) . . . . .	24	Browne, Patrick (1720?-1790) . . . . .	53
Brown, Sir Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1760) . . . . .	25	Browne, Peter ( <i>d.</i> 1735) . . . . .	53
Brown, Robert (1757-1851) . . . . .	25	Browne, Sir Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1669) . . . . .	54
Brown, Robert (1778-1858) . . . . .	25	Browne or Brown, Richard ( <i>fl.</i> 1674-1694) . . . . .	55
Brown or Browne, Samuel ( <i>fl.</i> 1700) . . . . .	27	Browne, Sir Richard (1605-1683) . . . . .	55
Brown, Sir Samuel (1776-1852) . . . . .	27	Browne, Robert (1550?-1633?) . . . . .	57
Brown, Samuel (1817-1856) . . . . .	28	Browne, Samuel (1575?-1632) . . . . .	61
Brown, Samuel (1810-1875) . . . . .	28	Browne, Samuel ( <i>d.</i> 1668) . . . . .	61
Brown, Stephen ( <i>fl.</i> 1340?) . . . . .	28	Browne, Simon (1630-1732) . . . . .	62
Brown, Thomas ( <i>fl.</i> 1170). See Thomas.		Browne, Theophilus (1768-1835) . . . . .	62
Brown or Brouns, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1445) . . . . .	29	Browne, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1585) . . . . .	63
Brown, Thomas ( <i>fl.</i> 1570) . . . . .	29	Browne or Brown, Thomas (1604?-1673) . . . . .	64
Brown, Thomas (1663-1704) . . . . .	29	Browne, Sir Thomas (1605-1682) . . . . .	64
Brown, Thomas (1778-1820) . . . . .	31	Browne, Thomas (1672-1710) . . . . .	72
Brown, Thomas Joseph (1798-1880) . . . . .	33	Browne, Thomas (1708?-1780) . . . . .	72
		Browne, William (1591-1643?) . . . . .	72

Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

*Brown, F. M. p. 296.*  
*Brown, Sir J. 301.*  
*Brown, T. E. 303.*

*Brown, G. 299.*  
*Brown, P. 299.*  
*Browne, E. H. 304.*

*Brown, H. S. 300.*  
*Brown, R. (d. 1846), 300.*  
*Browne, J. 304.*

*Brown, J. 301.*  
*Brown, R. (1842-95), 302.*  
*Browne, Sir T. G. 305.*

	PAGE		PAGE
Browne, William (1628-1678) . . . . .	75	Brunel, Sir Marc Isambard (1769-1849) . . . . .	144
Browne, Sir William (1692-1774) . . . . .	75	Bruning, Anthony (1716-1776) . . . . .	147
Browne, William (1748-1825) . . . . .	76	Bruning, George (1738-1802) . . . . .	147
Browne, William George (1768-1813) . . . . .	76	Brunne, Robert de, or Mannyng ( <i>fl.</i> 1288-1338). See Mannyng.	
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett (1806-1861) . . . . .	78	Brunning, Benjamin ( <i>fl.</i> 1664) . . . . .	147
Browning, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1584) . . . . .	82	Brunton, Alexander (1772-1854). See under Brunton, Mary.	
Brownlow, Richard (1558-1698) . . . . .	82	Brunton, Elizabeth (1799-1860). See Yates.	
Brownrigg, Ralph (1592-1659) . . . . .	83	Brunton, George (1799-1836) . . . . .	147
Brownrigg, Elizabeth ( <i>d.</i> 1767) . . . . .	84	Brunton, Miss Louisa (1785?-1860). See Craven.	
Brownrigg, Sir Robert (1759-1883) . . . . .	85	Brunton, Mary (1778-1818) . . . . .	148
Brownrigg, William (1711-1800) . . . . .	85	Brunton, William (1777-1851) . . . . .	148
Brownsward, John (1549?-1589) . . . . .	86	Brunyard, William ( <i>fl.</i> 1350) . . . . .	149
Broxholme, Noel (1689?-1748) . . . . .	87	Bruodine, Anthony ( <i>fl.</i> 1672) . . . . .	149
Bruce, Alexander, second Earl of Kincardine ( <i>d.</i> 1681) . . . . .	87	Brutton, Nicholas (1780-1843) . . . . .	149
Bruce, Archibald (1746-1816) . . . . .	89	Brwynllys, Bedo ( <i>fl.</i> 1450-1480) . . . . .	150
Bruce, David (1824-1871), David II . . . . .	89	Bryan, Augustine ( <i>d.</i> 1726) . . . . .	150
Bruce, David ( <i>fl.</i> 1660) . . . . .	94	Bryan, Sir Francis ( <i>d.</i> 1550) . . . . .	150
Bruce, Edward ( <i>d.</i> 1818) . . . . .	94	Bryan, John ( <i>d.</i> 1545) . . . . .	152
Bruce, Edward, Lord Kinloss and Baron Bruce of Kinloss (1549?-1611) . . . . .	96	Bryan, John ( <i>d.</i> 1676) . . . . .	153
Bruce, Sir Frederick William Adolphus (1814-1867) . . . . .	97	Bryan, Margaret ( <i>fl.</i> 1815) . . . . .	154
Bruce, James (1660?-1730) . . . . .	97	Bryan, Matthew ( <i>d.</i> 1699) . . . . .	154
Bruce, James (1730-1794) . . . . .	98	Bryan, Michael (1757-1821) . . . . .	155
Bruce, James (1765?-1806) . . . . .	102	Bryant, Henry (1721-1799) . . . . .	155
Bruce, James (1808-1861) . . . . .	103	Bryant, Jacob (1715-1804) . . . . .	155
Bruce, James, eighth Earl of Elgin and twelfth Earl of Kincardine (1811-1868) . . . . .	104	Bryce, Sir Alexander ( <i>d.</i> 1832) . . . . .	157
Bruce, Sir James Lewis Knight- (1791-1866) . . . . .	106	Bryce, David (1803-1876) . . . . .	158
Bruce, John (1745-1826) . . . . .	107	Bryce, James, the elder (1767-1857) . . . . .	158
Bruce, John (1802-1869) . . . . .	108	Bryce, James, the younger (1806-1877) . . . . .	159
Bruce, Sir John Hope (1684?-1766) . . . . .	109	Brydall, John ( <i>b.</i> 1635?) . . . . .	159
Bruce, Michael (1635-1693) . . . . .	109	Brydges, Edmund ( <i>d.</i> 1573). See under Brydges, Sir John, first Baron Chandos.	
Bruce, Michael (1686-1735) . . . . .	111	Brydges, George, sixth Lord Chandos ( <i>d.</i> 1655). See under Brydges, Grey, fifth Lord Chandos.	
Bruce, Michael (1746-1767) . . . . .	111	Brydges, Giles (1547-1594). See under Brydges, Sir John, first Baron Chandos.	
Bruce, Peter Henry (1692-1757) . . . . .	113	Brydges, Grey, fifth Lord Chandos (1579?-1621) . . . . .	160
Bruce, Robert de I ( <i>d.</i> 1094?) . . . . .	114	Brydges, Sir Harford Jones (1764-1847) . . . . .	161
Bruce, Robert de II (1078?-1141) . . . . .	114	Brydges, James, first Duke of Chandos (1673-1744) . . . . .	162
Bruce, Robert de III ( <i>fl.</i> 1138-1189?) . . . . .	114	Brydges, Sir John, first Baron Chandos (1490?-1556) . . . . .	163
Bruce, Robert de IV ( <i>d.</i> before 1191) . . . . .	115	Brydges, Sir Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1558). See under Brydges, Sir John, first Baron Chandos.	
Bruce, Robert de V ( <i>d.</i> 1245) . . . . .	115	Brydges, Sir Samuel Egerton (1762-1837) . . . . .	164
Bruce, Robert de VI (1210-1295), sometimes called the Competitor . . . . .	115	Brydges, Sir Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1559). See under Brydges, Sir John, first Baron Chandos.	
Bruce, Robert de VII, Earl of Carrick (1258-1304) . . . . .	116	Brydon, William (1811-1873) . . . . .	166
Bruce, Robert de VIII (1274-1329) . . . . .	117	Brydone, Patrick (1736-1813) . . . . .	166
Bruce, Robert (1554-1631) . . . . .	128	Brydson, Thomas (1806-1855) . . . . .	167
Bruce, Robert, second Earl of Elgin and first Earl of Ailesbury ( <i>d.</i> 1685) . . . . .	129	Bryer, Henry ( <i>d.</i> 1799) . . . . .	167
Bruce, Thomas, third Earl of Elgin and second Earl of Ailesbury (1655?-1741) . . . . .	130	Bryerwood, Edward (1565?-1613). See Breerewood.	
Bruce, Thomas, seventh Earl of Elgin and eleventh Earl of Kincardine (1766-1841) . . . . .	130	Brythwell or Brythwell, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1390) . . . . .	167
Bruce, Sir William ( <i>d.</i> 1710) . . . . .	131	Bryne, Albertus (1621?-1677?) . . . . .	168
Bruce, William (1702-1755) . . . . .	132	Brynnell, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1580?). See Brinknell.	
Bruce, William (1757-1841) . . . . .	133	Bryskett, Lodowick or Lewis ( <i>fl.</i> 1571-1611) . . . . .	168
Bruce, William (1790-1868) . . . . .	135	Bryson, Alexander (1802-1869) . . . . .	169
Bruckner, John (1726-1804) . . . . .	135	Bryson, James (1730?-1796) . . . . .	169
Brudenell, James Thomas, seventh Earl of Cardigan (1797-1868) . . . . .	136	Bryson, William (1730-1815) . . . . .	170
Brudenell, Robert (1461-1531) . . . . .	138	Buc, or Buck, Sir George ( <i>d.</i> 1623) . . . . .	170
Bruen, John (1560-1625) . . . . .	139	Buccleuch, third Duke of. See Scott, Henry (1746-1812).	
Bruerne, Richard (1519?-1555) . . . . .	140	Bucer, Martin (1491-1551) . . . . .	172
Brugis, Thomas ( <i>fl.</i> 1640?) . . . . .	140	Buchan, Earls of. See Comyn, Alexander, second Earl, <i>d.</i> 1289; Comyn, John, third Earl, <i>d.</i> 1813?; Stewart, Alexander, first	
Brühl, John Maurice, Count of (1736-1800) . . . . .	141		
Brummell, George Bryan (1778-1840), generally called Beau Brummell . . . . .	141		
Brunæus, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1380). See under Brome, Thomas.			
Brundish, John Jelliand ( <i>d.</i> 1786) . . . . .	142		
Brunel, Isambard Kingdom (1806-1859) . . . . .	143		

Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

*Browning, R. p. 306. Brown-Séguard, C. E. 319. Bruce, A. B. 321. Bruce, G. W. H. K. 322. Bruce, H. A., 1st Baron Aberdare, 322. Bruce, J. C. 325. Bruce, R. 326. Brunlees, Sir J. 323.*

	PAGE		PAGE
Earl of the second creation, 1343 ?-1405 ? ;		Buckle, Henry Thomas (1821-1862)	208
Stewart, John, first Earl of the third crea-		Buckler, Benjamin (1718-1780)	211
tion, 1381?-1424 ; Erskine, James, sixth Earl		Buckler, John (1770-1851)	212
of the fourth creation, <i>d.</i> 1640 ; Erskine,		Buckler, William (1814-1884)	213
David Steuart, eleventh Earl, 1742-1829.		Buckley, Cecil William (1828-1872)	213
Buchan, Alexander Peter (1764-1824)	178	Buckley, John ( <i>d.</i> 1598). See Jones, John.	
Buchan, Andrew of ( <i>d.</i> 1309 ?)	178	Buckley, Mrs. Olivia (1790-1847). See under	
Buchan or Simpson, Elspeth (1738-1791)	178	Dusseck, Sophia.	
Buchan, Peter (1790-1854)	179	Buckley, Robert or Sigebert (1517-1610)	213
Buchan, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1720)	180	Buckley, Theodore William Alois (1825-1856)	214
Buchan, William (1729-1805)	180	Buckley, William ( <i>d.</i> 1570 ?)	215
Buchanan, Andrew (1690-1759)	181	Buckley, William (1780-1856)	215
Buchanan, Sir Andrew (1807-1882)	181	Buckman, James (1816-1884)	216
Buchanan, Claudius (1766-1815)	182	Buckmaster, Thomas ( <i>f.</i> 1566)	216
Buchanan, David (1595 ?-1652 ?)	184	Buckmaster, William ( <i>d.</i> 1545)	216
Buchanan, David, the elder (1745-1812)	185	Buckshorn, Joseph ( <i>f.</i> 1870)	217
Buchanan, David, the younger (1779-1848)	185	Buckstone, John Baldwin (1802-1879)	217
Buchanan, Dugald (1716-1768)	185	Budd, George ( <i>f.</i> 1756)	218
Buchanan, Francis Hamilton (1762-1829)	186	Budd, George (1808-1882)	219
Buchanan, George (1506-1582)	186	Budd, Henry (1774-1853)	219
Buchanan, George (1790 ?-1852)	193	Budd, Richard (1746-1821)	220
Buchanan, James (1804-1870)	194	Budd, William (1811-1880)	220
Buchanan, John Lanne ( <i>f.</i> 1780-1816)	195	Budden, John (1566-1620)	221
Buchanan, Robert (1813-1866)	195	Buddle, Adam ( <i>d.</i> 1715)	222
Buchanan, Robert (1785-1873)	195	Buddle, John (1773-1843)	222
Buchanan, Robert (1802-1875)	196	Budge, Edward (1800-1865)	223
Buchanan, Robertson (1770-1816)	197	Budgell, Eustace (1686-1737)	224
Buchanan, William (1781-1863)	197	Budgett, Samuel (1794-1851)	226
Buck, Charles (1771-1815)	198	Budworth, Joseph, afterwards Palmer ( <i>d.</i>	
Buck, Sir George ( <i>d.</i> 1623). See Buc, Sir		1815). See Palmer.	
George.		Budworth, William ( <i>d.</i> 1745)	226
Buck, John William ( <i>d.</i> 1821)	198	Bugg, Francis (1640-1724 ?)	226
Buck, Samuel (1696-1779)	198	Bugga or Bugge, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 751). See Ead-	
Buck, Zachariah (1798-1879)	199	burga.	
Bucke, Charles (1781-1846)	199	Buissière or Bussière, Paul ( <i>d.</i> 1739)	228
Buckenharn, Robert ( <i>f.</i> 1530)	199	Buist, George (1805-1860)	228
Buckeridge or Buckridge, John (1562 ?-1631)	200	Buite, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 521)	229
Buckhurst, first Baron (1536-1608). See		Bulkeley or Bokeley, Arthur ( <i>d.</i> 1553)	231
Sackville, Thomas.		Bulkeley, Launcelet (1568 ?-1650)	231
Buckingham, Dukes of. See Stafford, Hum-		Bulkeley, Sir Richard (1533-1621)	231
phrey, first Duke, 1402-1460 ; Stafford,		Bulkeley, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1650)	232
Henry, second Duke, 1454 ?-1483 ; Stafford,		Bulkeley, Sir Richard (1644-1710)	233
Edward, third Duke, 1478-1521 ; Villiers,		Bulkeley, Lady or Mrs. Sophia ( <i>f.</i> 1688)	233
George, first Duke of the second creation,		Bulkeley, Charles (1719-1797)	234
1592-1628 ; Villiers, George, second Duke,		Bulkeley, Peter (1583-1659)	235
1628-1687.		Bull, Daniel ( <i>f.</i> 1657-1681)	236
Buckingham, first Marquis of (1753-1813).		Bull, George (1634-1710)	236
See Grenville, George Nugent-Temple-		Bull, Henry ( <i>d.</i> 1575 ?)	239
Buckingham, Earl of. See Thomas of Wood-		Bull, John (1563 ?-1628)	239
stock (1355-1397).		Bull, John ( <i>d.</i> 1642)	242
Buckingham and Chandos, Dukes of. See		Bull, William (1738-1814)	243
Grenville, Richard Temple Nugent Brydges		Bullaker. See also Bullokar.	
Chandos, first Duke, 1776-1839 ; Grenville,		Bullaker, Thomas, in religion John Baptist	
Richard Plantagenet Temple Nugent		(1604 ?-1642)	244
Brydges Chandos, second Duke, 1797-1861 ;		Bullein, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1563). See under Bul-	
Grenville, Richard Plantagenet Campbell		lein, William.	
Temple Nugent Brydges Chandos, third		Bullein, William ( <i>d.</i> 1576)	244
Duke, 1823-1889.		Bullen, Sir Charles (1769-1853)	246
Buckingham, James Silk (1786-1855)	202	Buller, Charles (1806-1848)	246
Buckingham, Leicester Silk (1825-1867)	203	Buller, Sir Francis (1746-1800)	248
Buckingham, Osborn (1393-1447 ?). See		Buller, Sir George (1802-1884)	249
Bokenham.		Bullingham, John ( <i>d.</i> 1598)	250
Buckinghamshire, first Duke of (1648-1721).		Bullingham, Nicholas (1512 ?-1576)	251
See Sheffield, John.		Bullingham, Richard ( <i>f.</i> 1350). See Billing-	
Buckinghamshire, Earls of. See Hobart,		ham.	
John, first Earl, 1694 ?-1756 ; Hobart, John,		Bullock, John (1805-1882)	253
second Earl, 1729-1793 ; Hobart, George,		Bullock, Christopher (1690 ?-1724)	253
third Earl, 1782-1804 ; Hobart, Robert,		Bullock, George (1521 ?-1580 ?)	254
fourth Earl, 1760-1815.		Bullock, Henry ( <i>d.</i> 1526)	254
Buckland, Francis Trevelyan (1826-1880)	204	Bullock, William (1657 ?-1740 ?)	255
Buckland, Ralph (1564-1611)	205	Bullock, William ( <i>f.</i> 1827)	256
Buckland, William (1784-1856)	206	Bullock, William Thomas (1818-1879)	256

Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

*Buchanan, Sir G.* p. 328.  
*Bucknill, Sir J. C.* 331.

*Buck, A.* 320.  
*Buiston, E.* 232.

*Buckle, Sir C. H. M.* 330.  
*Bullen, G.* 332.

	PAGE		PAGE
Bullockar, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1622).	257	Burgess, William (1755?-1813)	315
Bullockar, William ( <i>fl.</i> 1586)	257	Burgess, William Oakley (1818-1844)	315
Bulmer, Agnes (1775-1836)	258	Burgh, Benedict ( <i>fl.</i> 1472)	315
Bulmer, William (1757-1830)	258	Burgh, Hubert de ( <i>d.</i> 1243)	315
Bulstrode, Edward (1588-1659)	259	Burgh, James (1714-1775)	322
Bulstrode, Sir Richard (1610-1711)	259	Burgh, Sir John (1562-1594)	322
Bulstrode, Whitelocke (1650-1724)	260	Burgh, Richard de ( <i>d.</i> 1243)	323
Bulteel, Henry Bellenand (1800-1866)	261	Burgh, Richard de, second Earl of Ulster and fourth Earl of Connaught (1259?-1326)	324
Bulteel, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1663)	261	Burgh, Ulick de (1604-1657), fifth Earl and Marquis of Clanricarde.	325
Bulwer, Edward George Earle Lytton, Baron Lytton (1803-1873). See Lytton.		Burgh, Sir Ulysses Bagenal, second Baron Downes (1738-1863)	327
Bulwer, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1654)	262	Burgh, Walter de, called Earl of Ulster ( <i>d.</i> 1271)	328
Bulwer, Rosina Boyle, Lady Lytton (1804-1882). See Lytton.		Burgh, Walter Hussey (1742-1783)	329
Bulwer, William Henry Lytton Earle, Baron Dalling and Bulwer (1801-1872), better known as Sir Henry Bulwer	263	Burgh, William de, sixth Lord of Connaught and third Earl of Ulster (1312-1332)	331
Bunbury, Sir Henry Edward (1778-1860)	265	Burgh, William de ( <i>d.</i> 1204). See under Fitzaldhelm, William.	
Bunbury, Henry William (1750-1811)	267	Burgh, William (1741-1808)	331
Bundy, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1739)	268	Burghall, Edward ( <i>d.</i> 1665)	332
Bungay, Thomas ( <i>fl.</i> 1290)	268	Burghers, Michael (1653?-1727)	333
Bunn, Alfred (1796?-1860)	269	Burghersh, Bartholomew, Lord, the elder ( <i>d.</i> 1355)	333
Bunn, Margaret Agnes (1790-1883)	269	Burghersh, Bartholomew, Lord, the younger ( <i>d.</i> 1369)	334
Bunning, James Bunstone (1802-1863)	270	Burghersh, Henry (1292-1340)	335
Bunny, Edmund (1540-1618)	271	Burghersh, Lord. See Fane.	
Bunny, Francis (1543-1617)	272	Burgis, Edward (1673?-1747)	338
Bunsen, Frances (1791-1876)	272	Burghley, Barons. See Cecil, William, first Baron, 1520-1593; Cecil, Thomas, second Baron, 1542-1622.	
Bunting, Edward (1773-1843)	273	Burgo, Dr. See Burke, Thomas (1710?-1776).	
Bunting, Jabez (1779-1855)	273	Burgoyne, Hugh Talbot (1833-1870)	338
Bunting, William MacLardie (1805-1866)	275	Burgoyne, Sir John (1739-1785)	339
Bunyan, John (1623-1688)	275	Burgoyne, John (1722-1792)	340
Burbage, James ( <i>d.</i> 1597)	284	Burgoyne, Sir John Fox (1782-1871)	342
Burbage, Richard (1567?-1619)	285	Burgoyne, Montagu (1750-1836)	344
Burch, Edward ( <i>fl.</i> 1771)	289	Burgoyne, Sir Montague Roger ( <i>d.</i> 1817). See under Burgoyne, Sir John.	
Burchard, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 754)	289	Burgsted, Walter de ( <i>fl.</i> 1257). See Berstedes.	
Burchell, William John (1782?-1863)	290	Burgundy, Duchess of (1446-1503). See Margaret.	
Burchett, Josiah (1666?-1746)	291	Burhed or Burgræd (reigned 852-874)	344
Burchett, Richard (1815-1875)	292	Burhill or Burghill, Robert (1572-1641)	344
Burckhardt, John Lewis (1784-1817)	292	Burke, Edmund (1729-1797)	345
Burder, George (1752-1832)	294	Burke, Edmund Plunkett (1802-1835)	365
Burder, Henry Forster (1783-1864)	295	Burke, John (1787-1848)	365
Burder, Samuel (1773-1837)	296	Burke, Peter (1811-1881)	366
Burder, Thomas Harrison (1780-1843)	296	Burke, Robert O'Hara (1820-1861)	366
Burdett, Sir Francis (1770-1844)	296	Burke, Thomas (1710?-1776)	367
Burdon, William (1764-1818)	299	Burke, Thomas (1749-1815)	368
Burdy, Samuel (1760?-1820)	299	Burke, Thomas Henry (1829-1882)	368
Burel, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1590). See Burrel.		Burke, Thomas Nicholas (1830-1883)	368
Burford, first Earl of (1670-1726). See Beauclerk, Charles.		Burke, William ( <i>d.</i> 1798)	369
Burford, Robert (1791-1861)	300	Burke, William (1792-1829)	370
Burford, Thomas ( <i>fl.</i> 1740-1765)	301	Burkhead, Henry ( <i>fl.</i> 1645)	371
Burges or Burgess, Cornelius (1589?-1665)	301	Burkitt, William (1650-1703)	371
Burges, George (1786?-1864)	304	Burleigh, Barons of. See Balfour, Robert, second Baron, <i>d.</i> 1663; Balfour, John, third Baron, <i>d.</i> 1688; Balfour, Robert, fifth Baron, <i>d.</i> 1757.	
Burges, Sir James Bland, afterwards Lamb (1752-1824)	305	Burley, John ( <i>d.</i> 1333)	372
Burges, John (1745-1807)	306	Burley or Burleigh, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1648)	372
Burges, Mary Anne (1763-1813)	307	Burley, Sir Simon (1336-1388)	378
Burges, William (1824-1881)	307	Burley, Walter (1275-1345?)	374
Burgess, Anthony ( <i>fl.</i> 1652)	308	Burley, William ( <i>fl.</i> 1436)	376
Burgess, Daniel (1645-1713)	308	Burlington, Earls of. See Boyle, Richard, first Earl, 1612-1697; Boyle, Richard, third Earl, 1695-1753.	
Burgess, Daniel ( <i>d.</i> 1747). See under Burgess, Daniel (1645-1713).			
Burgess, Henry (1808-1886)	309		
Burgess, John (1563-1635)	310		
Burgess, John ( <i>d.</i> 1671)	312		
Burgess, John Cart (1798-1863)	312		
Burgess, Richard (1796-1881)	312		
Burgess, Thomas ( <i>fl.</i> 1786)	313		
Burgess, Thomas (1784?-1807)	313		
Burgess, Thomas (1756-1837)	313		
Burgess, Thomas (1791-1854)	314		
Burgess, William (1749?-1812)	314		

Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

*Burgess, J. B. p. 333.*  
*Burgon, T. 532.**Burgess, J. T. 335.*  
*Burke, Sir J. B. 533.**Burgon, J. W. 335.*  
*Burke, U. R. 332.*



# Index to Volume III.

1375

	PAGE		PAGE
Burlowe, Henry ( <i>d.</i> 1337). See Behnes.		Burroughes, or Burroughs, Jeremiah (1599-1646)	445
Burly, John ( <i>d.</i> 1338). See Burley.		Burroughs, Sir John ( <i>d.</i> 1645). See Borough.	
Burman, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1674)	376	Burroughs, Joseph (1685-1761)	447
Burn, Edward (1763-1837)	376	Burrow, Edward John (1785-1861)	447
Burn, John (1744?-1802)	377	Burrow, Sir James (1701-1782)	448
Burn, Richard (1709-1785)	377	Burrow, Reuben (1747-1792)	448
Burn, William (1789-1870)	378	Burrowes, John Freckleton (1787-1852)	449
Burnaby, Andrew (1734?-1812)	379	Burrowes, Peter (1753-1841)	450
Burnaby, Charles (?) ( <i>f.</i> 1700-1703)	379	Burrows, George Man (1771-1846)	450
Burnaby, Frederick Gustavus (1842-1885)	380	Burrows, Sir John Cordy (1813-1876)	451
Burnard, Nevill Northey (1818-1878)	382	Burscough, Robert (1651-1700)	451
Burne or Bourn, Nicol ( <i>f.</i> 1581)	383	Burt, Albin R. ( <i>d.</i> 1842)	452
Burne, Robert (1755?-1825)	383	Burt, Edward ( <i>d.</i> 1755)	452
Burnell, Arthur Coke (1840-1882)	384	Burt, William (1778-1826)	452
Burnell, Edward ( <i>f.</i> 1542)	386	Burthogge, Richard (1638?-1694?)	452
Burnell, Henry ( <i>f.</i> 1641)	386	Burton, first Baron ( <i>d.</i> 1743). See Paget, Henry.	
Burnell, Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1292)	386	Burton, Cassibalan (1609-1682)	453
Burnes, Sir Alexander (1805-1841)	389	Burton, Catharine (1668-1714)	453
Burnes, James (1801-1862)	391	Burton, Charles (1793-1866)	453
Burneston or Boraston, Simon ( <i>f.</i> 1338)	391	Burton, Charles Edward (1846-1882)	454
Burnet, Alexander (1614-1684)	392	Burton, Decimus (1800-1881)	455
Burnet, Elizabeth (1661-1709)	393	Burton, Edward (1584?-1624?). See Catcher, Edward.	
Burnet, Gilbert (1643-1715)	394	Burton, Edward (1794-1836)	456
Burnet, Gilbert (1690-1726). See under Burnet, Gilbert (1643-1715).		Burton, George (1717-1791)	456
Burnet, James M. (1788-1816)	405	Burton, Henry (1578-1648)	457
Burnet, John (1784-1868)	406	Burton, Hezekiah ( <i>d.</i> 1681)	459
Burnet, Margaret (1630?-1695?)	407	Burton, James (1788-1862). See Haliburton, James.	
Burnet, Sir Thomas (1632?-1715?)	408	Burton, James Daniel (1784-1817)	460
Burnet, Thomas (1635?-1715)	408	Burton, John (1696-1771)	460
Burnet, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1750)	410	Burton, John (1710-1771)	462
Burnet, Sir Thomas (1694-1753)	410	Burton, John Hill (1809-1881)	462
Burnet, William ( <i>d.</i> 1729). See under Burnet, Gilbert (1643-1715).		Burton, Robert (1577-1640)	464
Burnett, George (1776?-1811)	411	Burton, Robert or Richard (1632?-1725?)	466
Burnett, Gilbert Thomas (1800-1835)	412	Burton, Simon (1690?-1744)	468
Burnett, James, Lord Monboddio (1714-1799)	412	Burton, Thomas ( <i>f.</i> 1656-1659)	469
Burnett, John (1729-1784)	414	Burton, William ( <i>d.</i> 1616)	469
Burnett, John (1764?-1810)	414	Burton, William (1575-1645)	470
Burnett, Sir William (1779-1861)	414	Burton, William (1609-1657)	471
Burney, Charles (1726-1814)	415	Burton, William Evans (1802-1860)	472
Burney, Charles (1757-1817)	418	Burton, William Paton (1828-1833)	473
Burney, Frances (1752-1840). See Arblay, Madame d'.		Burt, Joseph (1818-1876)	473
Burne, James (1750-1891)	419	Bury, Arthur (1624-1713)	473
Burney, Sarah Harriet (1770?-1844)	419	Bury, Lady Charlotte Susan M. (1775-1861)	474
Burneyat, John (1681-1690)	420	Bury, Edward (1616-1700)	475
Burnham, Richard (1711-1752)	421	Bury, Edward (1794-1858)	476
Burnham, Richard (1749?-1810)	423	Bury, Mrs. Elizabeth (1644-1720)	476
Burns, Allan (1781-1813)	422	Bury, Henry de ( <i>f.</i> 1880). See Bederic.	
Burns, Islay (1817-1872)	423	Bury, John of ( <i>f.</i> 1460). See John.	
Burns, Jabez (1805-1876)	423	Bury, John ( <i>f.</i> 1557)	477
Burns, James (17th cent.)	424	Bury, John (1580-1667)	477
Burns, James (1789-1871)	424	Bury, Richard de (1281-1345)	477
Burns, James Drummond (1823-1861)	424	Bury, Samuel (1663-1730)	479
Burns, John (1774-1850)	425	Bury, Thomas (1655-1722)	480
Burns, Robert (1759-1796)	426	Bury, Thomas Talbot (1811-1877)	481
Burns, Robert (1789-1869)	438	Busby, Richard (1606-1695)	481
Burns, William Chalmers (1815-1868)	439	Busby, Thomas (1755-1838)	483
Burnside, Robert (1759-1826)	439	Bush, Paul (1490-1558)	484
Burrant, Robert ( <i>f.</i> 1553)	439	Bushe, Charles Kendal (1767-1843)	486
Burrard, Sir Harry (1755-1813)	440	Bushell, Brown ( <i>d.</i> 1651)	486
Burrel or Burel, John ( <i>f.</i> 1590)	440	Bushell, Seth (1621-1684)	487
Burrell, Lilellus (1753-1827)	441	Bushell, Thomas (1594-1674)	487
Burrell, Sophia, Lady (1750?-1802)	442	Bushnau, John Stevenson (1808?-1884)	489
Burrell, Sir William (1732-1796)	442	Bushnell, Mrs. Catherine (1825-1861). See Hayes, Catherine.	
Burrough, Christopher. See Borough.		Bushnell, John ( <i>d.</i> 1701)	490
Burrough, Edward (1634-1663)	443	Bushnell, Walter (1609-1667)	490
Burrough, Sir James (1691-1764)	444	Busk, Hans, the elder (1772-1862)	491
Burrough, Sir James (1750-1839)	445	Busk, Hans, the younger (1815-1882)	491
Burrough, Stephen (1525-1584). See Borough.			
Burrough, William (1536-1599). See Borough.			

Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

*Burn, J. S. p. 329. Burne-Jones, Sir E. C. 340. Burnett, G. 344. Burns, Sir G., 1st baronet, 344. Burrows, Sir G., 1st baronet, 345. Burton, Sir F. W. 346. Burton, Lady I. 348. Burton, Sir R. F. 349. Bury, Viscount, 331. Busher, L. 350. Busk, G. 357.*

	PAGE		PAGE
Buss, Robert William (1804-1875) . . . . .	492	Button, Sir Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1634) . . . . .	551
Bussy, Sir John ( <i>d.</i> 1399) . . . . .	492	Button or Bitton, William I ( <i>d.</i> 1264) . . . . .	552
Butchell, Martin van (1735-1812 ?) . . . . .	492	Button or Bitton, William II ( <i>d.</i> 1274) . . . . .	553
Butcher, Edmund (1757-1822) . . . . .	493	Button, Sir William ( <i>d.</i> 1655) . . . . .	553
Butcher, Richard (1588-1665 ?) . . . . .	494	Butts, John ( <i>d.</i> 1764) . . . . .	553
Butcher, Samuel (1811-1876) . . . . .	494	Butts, Robert (1684-1748) . . . . .	554
Bute, third Earl of. See Stuart, John (1713-1792) . . . . .		Butts, Sir William ( <i>d.</i> 1545) . . . . .	555
Butler, Alban (1711-1773) . . . . .	495	Buxhull, Sir Alan (1823-1881) . . . . .	556
Butler, Charles ( <i>d.</i> 1647) . . . . .	496	Buxton, Bertha H. (1844-1881) . . . . .	557
Butler, Charles (1750-1832) . . . . .	497	Buxton, Charles (1823-1871) . . . . .	557
Butler, Edmund ( <i>d.</i> 1551) . . . . .	499	Buxton, Jedidiah (1707-1772) . . . . .	558
Butler, Sir Edward Gerard (1770-1825) . . . . .	500	Buxton, Richard (1786-1865) . . . . .	558
Butler, Lady Eleanor (1745 ?-1829) . . . . .	500	Buxton, Sir Thomas Fowell (1786-1845) . . . . .	559
Butler, George (1774-1853) . . . . .	501	Byam, Edward (1585-1639). See under Byam, Henry. . . . .	
Butler, George Slade (1821-1882) . . . . .	502	Byam, Henry (1580-1669) . . . . .	561
Butler, James, second Earl of Ormonde (1831-1882) . . . . .	502	Byam, John (1583 ?-1658). See under Byam, Henry. . . . .	
Butler, James, fourth Earl of Ormonde ( <i>d.</i> 1452) . . . . .	502	Byer, Nicholas ( <i>d.</i> 1681) . . . . .	562
Butler, James, fifth Earl of Ormonde and Earl of Wiltshire (1420-1461) . . . . .	503	Byerley, Katharine (1797-1862). See Thomson. . . . .	
Butler, James ( <i>f.</i> 1631-1634) . . . . .	503	Byerley, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1826) . . . . .	562
Butler, James, twelfth Earl and first Duke of Ormonde (1610-1688) . . . . .	504	Byers or Byres, James (1733-1817) . . . . .	562
Butler, James, second Duke of Ormonde (1665-1745) . . . . .	512	Byfield, Adoniram ( <i>d.</i> 1660) . . . . .	563
Butler, James Armar (1827-1854) . . . . .	517	Byfield, John ( <i>f.</i> 1830) . . . . .	563
Butler, John, sixth Earl of Ormonde ( <i>d.</i> 1478) . . . . .	518	Byfield, Nicholas (1579-1622) . . . . .	564
Butler, John ( <i>d.</i> 1800) . . . . .	518	Byfield, Richard (1598 ?-1664) . . . . .	565
Butler, John (1717-1802) . . . . .	519	Byles, Sir John Barnard (1801-1884) . . . . .	565
Butler, Joseph (1692-1752) . . . . .	519	Bylot, Robert ( <i>f.</i> 1610-1616) . . . . .	566
Butler, Sir Pierce or Piers, eighth Earl of Ormonde and first Earl of Ossory ( <i>d.</i> 1539) . . . . .	524	Byng, Andrew (1574-1652) . . . . .	567
Butler, Pierce, third Viscount Galmoy (1652-1740) . . . . .	525	Byng, George, Viscount Torrington (1663-1738) . . . . .	567
Butler, Richard, third Viscount Mountgarret (1578-1651) . . . . .	525	Byng, John (1704-1757) . . . . .	570
Butler, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1791) . . . . .	526	Byng, Sir John, Earl of Strafford (1772-1860) . . . . .	573
Butler, Samuel (1612-1680) . . . . .	526	Byng, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1599) . . . . .	574
Butler, Samuel (1774-1839) . . . . .	528	Bynham, Simon ( <i>f.</i> 1335). See Binham. . . . .	
Butler, Simon (1757-1797) . . . . .	529	Bynneman, Henry ( <i>d.</i> 1533) . . . . .	574
Butler, Theobald ( <i>d.</i> 1205-6) . . . . .	529	Byrd, William (1540-1623) . . . . .	575
Butler, Thomas ( <i>f.</i> 1570) . . . . .	531	Byrthferth, less correctly written Bridferth ( <i>f.</i> 1000) . . . . .	578
Butler, Thomas, tenth Earl of Ormonde (1532-1614) . . . . .	531	Byrne, Anne Frances (1775-1837) . . . . .	579
Butler, Thomas, Earl of Ossory (1634-1680) . . . . .	533	Byrne, Charles (1761-1788) . . . . .	579
Butler, Thomas Hamly (1762 ?-1823) . . . . .	537	Byrne, Letitia (1779-1849) . . . . .	579
Butler, Walter, of Kilcash, eleventh Earl of Ormonde (1569-1638) . . . . .	538	Byrne, Miles (1780-1862) . . . . .	579
Butler, Walter, Count ( <i>d.</i> 1634) . . . . .	538	Byrne, Oscar (1795 ?-1867) . . . . .	580
Butler, Weeden, the elder (1742-1823) . . . . .	541	Byrne, William (1743-1805) . . . . .	580
Butler, Weeden, the younger (1778-1881) . . . . .	541	Byrnstan, Birnstan, or Beornstan ( <i>d.</i> 933) . . . . .	581
Butler or Boteler, William ( <i>d.</i> 1410 ?) . . . . .	541	Byrom, John (1692-1763) . . . . .	581
Butler, William (1585-1618) . . . . .	542	Byron, George Gordon, sixth Baron (1788-1824) . . . . .	584
Butler, William Archer (1814 ?-1848) . . . . .	543	Byron, Henry James (1834-1884) . . . . .	607
Butt, George (1741-1795) . . . . .	544	Byron, John, first Baron Byron ( <i>d.</i> 1652) . . . . .	609
Butt, Isaac (1813-1879) . . . . .	545	Byron, John (1723-1786) . . . . .	613
Butter, John (1791-1877) . . . . .	546	Byron, Sir Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1644) . . . . .	615
Butter, Nathaniel ( <i>d.</i> 1664) . . . . .	546	Byrth, Thomas (1733-1849) . . . . .	616
Butter, William (1726-1805) . . . . .	547	Bysshe, Sir Edward (1615 ?-1679) . . . . .	616
Butterfield, Robert ( <i>f.</i> 1629) . . . . .	547	Bysshe, Edward ( <i>f.</i> 1712) . . . . .	617
Butterfield, Swithun ( <i>d.</i> 1611) . . . . .	548	Bythner, Victorinus (1605 ?-1670 ?) . . . . .	617
Butterworth, Edwin (1812-1848) . . . . .	548	Cabanel, Rudolph (1762-1839) . . . . .	618
Butterworth, Henry (1786-1860) . . . . .	549	Cabbell, Benjamin Bond (1781-1874) . . . . .	618
Butterworth, James (1771-1837) . . . . .	549	Cabot, Sebastian (1474-1557) . . . . .	618
Butterworth, John (1727-1803) . . . . .	550	Caddick, Richard (1740-1819) . . . . .	623
Butterworth, Joseph (1770-1826) . . . . .	550	Cade, John ( <i>d.</i> 1450) . . . . .	622
Buttevant, Viscount (1550-1617). See Barry, David Fitzjames de. . . . .		Cade, John (1734-1806) . . . . .	628
Button, Ralph ( <i>d.</i> 1680) . . . . .	550	Cade or Caddy, Laurence ( <i>f.</i> 1583) . . . . .	626

## Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

*Bute, 3rd Marquis of, p. 1233.*  
*Butterfield, W. 360.*

*Butler, G. 358.*  
*By, J. 363.*

*Butler, W. J. 359.*  
*Byrne, J. C. 364.*

*Butt, Sir C. P. 360.*  
*Byrnes, T. J. 365.*

# Index to Volume III.

1377

	PAGE		PAGE
Cadell, Jessie (1844-1884) . . . . .	629	Calamy, Edmund (1671-1732) . . . . .	683
Cadell, Robert (1788-1849) . . . . .	630	Calamy, Edmund (1697?-1755) . . . . .	687
Cadell, Thomas, the elder (1742-1803) . . . . .	631	Calcaeus ( <i>f.</i> 84). See Calcaeus.	
Cadell, Thomas, the younger (1773-1836). See under Cadell, Thomas, the elder (1742-1803).		Calcott. See also Calcott.	
Cadell, William Archibald (1775-1855) . . . . .	631	Calcott, Wellins ( <i>f.</i> 1756-1769) . . . . .	687
Cademan, Sir Thomas (1590?-1651) . . . . .	632	Calcraft, Sir Granby Thomas (1770-1820) . . . . .	687
Cadoc, called the Wise, in Welsh Cattwg		Calcraft, John, the elder (1726-1772) . . . . .	688
Ddoeth ( <i>d.</i> 570?) . . . . .	633	Calcraft, John, the younger (1765-1831) . . . . .	689
Cadogan. See also Cadwgan.		Calcraft, William (1800-1879) . . . . .	690
Cadogan, Charles (1691-1776). See under		Caldecott, John (1800-1849) . . . . .	690
Cadogan, William, first Earl Cadogan.		Caldecott, Randolph (1846-1886) . . . . .	691
Cadogan, Henry (1780-1813) . . . . .	633	Caldecott, Thomas (1744-1833) . . . . .	692
Cadogan, William (1601-1661) . . . . .	634	Calder, James Tait (1794?-1864) . . . . .	693
Cadogan, William, first Earl Cadogan (1675-1726) . . . . .	634	Calder, John (1733-1815) . . . . .	693
Cadogan, William (1711-1797) . . . . .	639	Calder, Robert (1650?-1723) . . . . .	693
Cadroe, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 976?) . . . . .	639	Calder, Sir Robert (1745-1818) . . . . .	694
Cadvan (6th cent.) . . . . .	642	Calderbank, James (1769-1821) . . . . .	695
Cadvan ( <i>d.</i> 617? or 634?) . . . . .	642	Calderbank, Leonard (1809-1804) . . . . .	696
Cadwalador. See Cædwalla.		Calderwood, David (1575-1650) . . . . .	696
Cadwaladr ( <i>d.</i> 1172) . . . . .	642	Calderwood, Margaret (1715-1774) . . . . .	698
Cadwaladr, Casail ( <i>f.</i> 1590) . . . . .	643	Calderwood, Sir William, Lord Polton (1660?-1733) . . . . .	698
Cadwaladr Vendidgaidd, i.e. the Blessed ( <i>d.</i> 664?) . . . . .	643	Caldwall, James ( <i>b.</i> 1739) . . . . .	698
Cadwallador Roger (1568-1610) . . . . .	644	Caldwall, Richard (1505?-1584) . . . . .	698
Cadwallon. See Cædwalla.		Caldwell, Sir Alexander (1763-1839) . . . . .	699
Cadwgan ( <i>d.</i> 1112) . . . . .	644	Caldwell, Andrew, the elder (1733-1808) . . . . .	699
Cadwgan, also called Martin ( <i>d.</i> 1241) . . . . .	646	Caldwell, Sir Benjamin (1737?-1820) . . . . .	700
Cadyman, Sir Thomas (1590?-1651). See		Caldwell, Hume (1733-1762) . . . . .	700
Cademan.		Caldwell, John (1628-1679). See Fenwick.	
Cædmon (sometimes corruptly written Cædmon), Saint ( <i>f.</i> 670) . . . . .	647	Calenius, Walter ( <i>d.</i> 1151) . . . . .	701
Cædwalla ( <i>d.</i> 634) . . . . .	653	Calto or Caux, John de ( <i>d.</i> 1263) . . . . .	702
Cædwalla (659?-689) . . . . .	653	Caley, John ( <i>d.</i> 1834) . . . . .	703
Cædleon, Lewis of. See under Charlton, Lewis.		Calhill, James (1530?-1570) . . . . .	704
Cærnarvon. See Carnarvon.		Calhoun, Patrick (1727-1796) . . . . .	705
Cæsar, Sir Charles (1590-1642) . . . . .	654	Calkin, James (1786-1862) . . . . .	705
Cæsar, Henry (1562?-1636) . . . . .	655	Call, Sir John (1732-1801) . . . . .	705
Cæsar, Sir Julius (1558-1636) . . . . .	655	Callachan, King of Ireland ( <i>d.</i> 954). See	
Cæsar, Julius (1656?-1712?) . . . . .	656	Caallachan.	
Cæsar, Sir Thomas (1561-1610) . . . . .	659	Callanan, Jeremiah John (1795-1829) . . . . .	706
Caffin, Sir James Crawford (1812-1888) . . . . .	660	Callander, Earl of ( <i>d.</i> 1674). See Livingstone, James.	
Caffyn, Matthew (1628-1714) . . . . .	660	Callander, James (1745-1832). See Campbell, Sir James.	
Caill, Daniel William (1796-1864) . . . . .	662	Callander, John ( <i>d.</i> 1789) . . . . .	707
Caillaud, John ( <i>d.</i> 1810) . . . . .	662	Calcott, Sir Augustus Wall (1770-1844) . . . . .	708
Caillin ( <i>f.</i> 560) . . . . .	663	Calcott, John Wall (1766-1821) . . . . .	708
Calimin or Camin, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 653) . . . . .	664	Calcott, Maria, Lady (1785-1842) . . . . .	710
Cain, Rhys (16th cent.) . . . . .	665	Calcott, William Hutchins (1807-1882) . . . . .	710
Cainnech or Cannicus, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 598?) . . . . .	665	Callender, George William (1830-1878) . . . . .	711
Cairncross, Alexander ( <i>d.</i> 1701) . . . . .	667	Callender, James Thomson ( <i>d.</i> 1803) . . . . .	711
Cairncross, Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1544) . . . . .	667	Callis, Robert ( <i>f.</i> 1634) . . . . .	712
Cairnech, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 539?) . . . . .	667	Callow, John (1822-1878) . . . . .	712
Cairnes, David (1645-1722) . . . . .	668	Calthorpe, Sir Henry (1586-1637) . . . . .	712
Cairnes, John Elliot (1823-1875) . . . . .	668	Calthorpe, Sir Charles ( <i>d.</i> 1616) . . . . .	713
Cairns, Hugh McCalmount, first Earl Cairns (1819-1885) . . . . .	669	Calvey, Sir Hugh ( <i>d.</i> 1398) . . . . .	714
Cairns, William ( <i>d.</i> 1848) . . . . .	672	Calver, Edward ( <i>f.</i> 1649) . . . . .	715
Caistor, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1420) . . . . .	672	Calverley, Charles Stuart (1831-1884) . . . . .	716
Caithness, Earls of. See Sinclair, Sir William, first Earl, 1404?-1480; Sinclair, George, fourth Earl, <i>d.</i> 1582; Sinclair, George, fifth Earl, 1566?-1643; Sinclair, James, fourteenth Earl, 1821-1831.		Calverley, Henry ( <i>d.</i> 1660-1). See under Calverley, Walter.	
Caius or Kay, John, sometimes called the elder ( <i>f.</i> 1480) . . . . .	673	Calverley, Walter ( <i>d.</i> 1605) . . . . .	717
Caius, John (1510-1573) . . . . .	673	Calvert, Caroline Louisa Waring (1834-1872) . . . . .	717
Caius, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1572) . . . . .	677	Calvert, Charles, the elder (1754-1797). See under Calvert, Charles (1755-1852).	
Calah, John (1758-1798) . . . . .	678	Calvert, Charles (1785-1852) . . . . .	718
Calamy, Benjamin (1642-1686) . . . . .	678	Calvert, Charles Alexander (1828-1879) . . . . .	718
Calamy, Edmund, the elder (1600-1666) . . . . .	679	Calvert, Edward (1799-1833) . . . . .	719
Calamy, Edmund, the younger (1635?-1655) . . . . .	682	Calvert, Frederick, sixth Baron Baltimore (1731-1771) . . . . .	720

## Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

Caird, Sir J. p. 365.  
Calderswood, H. 373.  
Caldwell, E. 376.

Caird, J. 368.  
Caldicott, A. J. 374.  
Callaway, H. 378.

Caldron, P. H. 371.  
Caldwell, Sir J. L. 376.

	PAGE		PAGE
Calvert, George (1795-1825) . . . . .	724	Campbell, Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll (1576?-1638) . . . . .	770
Calvert, Sir Harry (1763?-1826) . . . . .	724	Campbell, Archibald, Marquis of Argyll and eighth Earl (1598-1661) . . . . .	771
Calvert, James Snowden (1825-1884) . . . . .	725	Campbell, Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll (d. 1685) . . . . .	781
Calvert, Leonard (d. 1647) . . . . .	725	Campbell, Archibald, first Duke of Argyll (d. 1703) . . . . .	790
Calvert, Michael (1770-1862) . . . . .	726	Campbell, Archibald (d. 1744) . . . . .	791
Calvert, Thomas (1606-1679) . . . . .	726	Campbell, Archibald (1691-1756) . . . . .	792
Calvert, Thomas (1775-1840) . . . . .	727	Campbell, Archibald, third Duke of Argyll (1682-1761) . . . . .	793
Cambell or Campbell, Sir James (1570-1642) . . . . .	727	Campbell, Archibald (1726?-1780) . . . . .	794
Cambrensis, Giraldus (1146?-1220?). See Giraldus.		Campbell, Sir Archibald (1789-1791) . . . . .	794
Cambridge, John (d. 1835). See Cantebrig, John de.		Campbell, Sir Archibald (1769-1843) . . . . .	795
Cambridge, Duke of (1774-1850). See Adolphus Frederick.		Campbell, Colin, second Lord Campbell and first Earl of Argyll (d. 1493) . . . . .	797
Cambridge, Earls of. See Langley, Edward de, 1841-1402; Richard, d. 1415; Hamilton, James, first Earl, 1589-1625; Hamilton, James, second Earl, 1606-1649; Hamilton, William, third Earl, 1616-1651.		Campbell, Colin, third Earl of Argyll (d. 1580) . . . . .	798
Cambridge, Richard Owen (1717-1802) . . . . .	728	Campbell, Colin, sixth Earl of Argyll (d. 1584) . . . . .	799
Camden, Marquis of (1759-1840). See Pratt, John Jeffreys.		Campbell, Colin (1644-1726) . . . . .	800
Camden, Earl of (1713-1793). See Pratt, Charles.		Campbell, Colin (d. 1729) . . . . .	800
Camden, William (1551-1623) . . . . .	729	Campbell, Colin (d. 1782) . . . . .	801
Camelac (d. 927). See Cimelliauc.		Campbell, Colin (1754-1814) . . . . .	801
Camelford, first Baron (1737-1793). See Pitt, Thomas.		Campbell, Sir Colin (1776-1847) . . . . .	802
Cameron, Sir Alan (1753-1828) . . . . .	737	Campbell, Sir Colin, Baron Clyde (1792-1863) . . . . .	803
Cameron, Alexander (1747-1828) . . . . .	738	Campbell, Daniel (more correctly Donald) (1665-1722) . . . . .	806
Cameron, Sir Alexander (1781-1850) . . . . .	738	Campbell, Daniel or Donald (1671?-1753) . . . . .	807
Cameron, Archibald (1707-1753) . . . . .	739	Campbell, Donald (d. 1502) . . . . .	807
Cameron, Charles Duncan (d. 1870) . . . . .	740	Campbell, Donald (1751-1804) . . . . .	807
Cameron, Charles Hay (1795-1880) . . . . .	740	Campbell, Duncan (1680?-1730) . . . . .	808
Cameron, Donald (1695?-1748) . . . . .	741	Campbell, Lord Frederick (1729-1816) . . . . .	809
Cameron, Sir Ewen or Evan (1629-1719) . . . . .	742	Campbell, Frederick William (1782-1846) . . . . .	809
Cameron, George Poulett (1806-1882) . . . . .	745	Campbell, George (1719-1796) . . . . .	809
Cameron, Hugh (1705-1871) . . . . .	745	Campbell, George (1761-1817) . . . . .	810
Cameron, John (d. 1446) . . . . .	745	Campbell, Sir Guy (1786-1849) . . . . .	810
Cameron, John (1579?-1625) . . . . .	747	Campbell, Harriette (1817-1841) . . . . .	811
Cameron, John (1724-1799) . . . . .	748	Campbell, Hugh, third Earl of Loudoun (d. 1781) . . . . .	811
Cameron, John (1771-1815) . . . . .	749	Campbell, Sir Ilay (1734-1823) . . . . .	812
Cameron, Sir John (1773-1844) . . . . .	750	Campbell, Sir James (1570-1642). See Campbell.	
Cameron, John Alexander (d. 1885) . . . . .	751	Campbell, Sir James (1667-1745) . . . . .	813
Cameron, Julia Margaret (1815-1879) . . . . .	752	Campbell, Sir James (1763-1819) . . . . .	814
Cameron, Lucy Lyttelton (1781-1858) . . . . .	752	Campbell, Sir James (1745-1832) . . . . .	814
Cameron, Richard (d. 1680) . . . . .	753	Campbell, Sir James (1773?-1835) . . . . .	815
Cameron, William (1751-1811) . . . . .	754	Campbell, Sir John (d. 1563) . . . . .	816
Camidge, John, the elder (1735-1803) . . . . .	754	Campbell, John, first Earl of Loudoun (1598-1668) . . . . .	816
Camidge, John, the younger (1790-1859) . . . . .	755	Campbell, John, first Earl of Breadalbane (1635-1716) . . . . .	818
Camidge, Matthew (1758-1844) . . . . .	755	Campbell, John, second Duke of Argyll and Duke of Greenwich (1678-1743) . . . . .	821
Camn, Anne (1627-1705) . . . . .	755	Campbell, John (1708-1775) . . . . .	825
Camn, John (1604?-1656) . . . . .	756	Campbell, John, third Earl of Breadalbane (1696-1782) . . . . .	827
Camn, Thomas (1641-1707) . . . . .	756	Campbell, John, fourth Earl of Loudoun (1705-1782) . . . . .	828
Cammin, Saint (d. 653). See Caimin.		Campbell, John (1753-1784) . . . . .	828
Camocks, George (1666?-1722?) . . . . .	757	Campbell, John (1720?-1790) . . . . .	829
Camoyo, Thomas de, fifth Baron (d. 1420) . . . . .	758	Campbell, John (1766-1840) . . . . .	830
Campbell, Alexander (d. 1608) . . . . .	759	Campbell, Sir John (1807-1855) . . . . .	830
Campbell, Alexander, second earl of Marchmont (1675-1740) . . . . .	760	Campbell, John, first Baron Campbell (1779-1861) . . . . .	831
Campbell, Alexander (1764-1824) . . . . .	760	Campbell, John, second Marquis of Breadalbane (1796-1862) . . . . .	838
Campbell, Alexander (1788-1866) . . . . .	762	Campbell, Sir John (1780-1863) . . . . .	838
Campbell, Anna Mackenzie, Countess of Balcarres, and afterwards of Argyll (1621?-1706?) . . . . .	763	Campbell, John (1794-1867) . . . . .	839
Campbell, Archibald, second Earl of Argyll (d. 1513) . . . . .	764	Campbell, Sir John (1802-1878) . . . . .	839
Campbell, Archibald, fourth Earl of Argyll (d. 1558) . . . . .	765		
Campbell, Archibald, fifth Earl of Argyll (1530-1578) . . . . .	766		

## Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

*Cameron, Sir D. A. p. 379.*  
*Campbell, Sir G. 335.*

*Cameron, V. L. 379.*  
*Campbell, G. D.; 8th Duke of Argyll, 335.*

*Campbell, Sir A. 331.*  
*Campbell, J. D. 331.*

	PAGE		PAGE
Campbell, John Francis (1822-1885) . . .	840	Canterbury, Viscounts. See Manners-Sutton,	
Campbell, John McLeod (1800-1872) . . .	840	Charles, first Viscount, 1780-1845; Man-	
Campbell, Neil ( <i>d.</i> 1827) . . .	841	ners-Sutton, John Henry Thomas, third	
Campbell, Sir Neil (1776-1827) . . .	841	Viscount, 1814-1877.	
Campbell, Sir Patrick (1773-1841) . . .	842	Cantillon, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1784) . . .	907
Campbell, Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1722) . . .	843	Canton, John (1718-1772) . . .	908
Campbell, Robert Calder (1798-1857) . . .	843	Cantrell, Henry (1685 ?-1773) . . .	909
Campbell, Thomas (1733-1795) . . .	844	Cantwell, Andrew ( <i>d.</i> 1764) . . .	909
Campbell, Thomas (1777-1844) . . .	844	Canute or Cnut (994 ?-1035) . . .	910
Campbell, Thomas (1710-1858) . . .	848	Canute, Robert ( <i>fl.</i> 1170). See Robert of	
Campbell, William ( <i>d.</i> 1805) . . .	849	Cricklade.	
Campbell, Williehna, Viscountess Glenorchy		Canvane, Peter (1720-1786) . . .	917
(1741-1786) . . .	849	Canynge, William (1899 ?-1474) . . .	917
Campden, Viscounts. See Hicks, Baptiste,		Cape, William Timothy (1806-1863) . . .	919
first Viscount, 1551-1629; Noel, Edward,		Capel, Arthur, first Baron Capel of Hadham	
second Viscount, 1582-1643; Noel, Baptiste,		(1610 ?-1649) . . .	919
third Viscount, 1611-1682.		Capel, Arthur, Earl of Essex (1631-1688) . . .	921
Campeggio, Lorenzo (1472-1539) . . .	850	Capel, Sir Henry, Lord Capel of Tewkesbury	
Campion, Edmund (1540-1581) . . .	850	( <i>d.</i> 1696) . . .	926
Campion, George B. (1796-1870) . . .	855	Capel, Richard (1586-1656) . . .	926
Campion, Maria (1777-1803). See Pope.		Capel, Sir Thomas Bladen (1776-1853) . . .	927
Campion, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1620) . . .	855	Capel, William, third Earl of Essex (1697-	
Campion, <i>alias</i> Wigmore, William (1599-1665)	856	1743) . . .	928
Camville, Gerard de ( <i>d.</i> 1215 ?) . . .	856	Capel, Edward (1718-1781) . . .	928
Camville, Thomas de ( <i>d.</i> 1235) . . .	856	Capel Coningsby, Catherine, Countess of	
Canada, Viscount (1567 ?-1640). See Alexan-		Essex (1794-1882). See Stephens, Catherine.	
der, Sir William.		Capellanus, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1410 ?). See Walton,	
Cancellor, James ( <i>fl.</i> 1564) . . .	857	John.	
Candius, Hugh ( <i>fl.</i> 1107 ?-1155 ?) See		Capgrave, John (1393-1464) . . .	929
Hugh.		Capon, John, <i>alias</i> Salcot ( <i>d.</i> 1557) . . .	931
Candish. See Cavendish.		Capon, William ( <i>d.</i> 1550) . . .	932
Candler, Ann (1740-1814) . . .	857	Capon, William (1757-1827) . . .	932
Candlish, Robert Smith (1806-1873) . . .	857	Cappe, Newcome (1733-1800) . . .	933
Cane, Robert (1807-1858) . . .	860	Capper, Francis (1735-1818) . . .	934
Canes, Vincent ( <i>d.</i> 1672) . . .	861	Capper, James (1743-1825) . . .	934
Cunfield, Benedict (1563-1611) . . .	861	Capper, Joseph (1727-1804) . . .	934
Canicus or Kenny, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 598 ?). See Cain-		Capper, Louisa (1776-1840). See under	
nech.		Capper, James.	
Cann, Abraham (1794-1864) . . .	862	Cappoch, Thomas (1719-1746). See Coppock.	
Canne, John ( <i>d.</i> 1667 ?) . . .	863	Caraccioli, Charles ( <i>fl.</i> 1766) . . .	935
Cannera or Cainer, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 530 ?) . . .	865	Caractacus ( <i>fl.</i> 50) . . .	935
Canning, Charles John, Earl Canning (1812-		Caradoc, Sir John Francis, first Baron How-	
1862) . . .	866	den (1782-1839) . . .	936
Canning, Elizabeth (1734-1773) . . .	870	Caradoc, Sir John Hobart, second Baron	
Canning, George (1770-1827) . . .	872	Howden (1799-1873) . . .	938
Canning, Richard (1708-1775) . . .	883	Caradog ( <i>d.</i> 1035) . . .	939
Canning, Stratford, first Viscount Stratford		Caradog of Llancarvan ( <i>d.</i> 1147 ?) . . .	939
de Redcliffe (1786-1880) . . .	888	Caradori-Allam, Maria Caterina Rosalbina	
Cannon, Richard (1779-1865) . . .	896	(1800-1865) . . .	939
Cannon, Robert (1663-1722) . . .	897	Carantacus, in modern Welsh Carannog,	
Canon or Canonicus, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1329) . . .	897	Saint ( <i>fl.</i> 450) . . .	940
Canot, Peter, Charles (1710-1777) . . .	898	Carausius (245 ?-293) . . .	941
Cansfield, Benedict (1563-1611). See Can-		Carbery, second Earl of (1600 ?-1686). See	
field.		Vaughan, Richard.	
Cant, Andrew (1590 ?-1663) . . .	898	Card, Henry (1779-1844) . . .	945
Cantebrig or Cambridge, John de ( <i>d.</i> 1335) . . .	899	Cardale, John Bate (1802-1877) . . .	945
Cantelupe, Cantelupe, Cantelo, or Canteleo,		Cardale, Paul (1705-1775) . . .	947
Fulk de ( <i>fl.</i> 1209) . . .	899	Carder, Peter ( <i>fl.</i> 1577-1586) . . .	948
Cantelupe, George de ( <i>d.</i> 1278) . . .	899	Cardigan, seventh Earl of (1797-1868). See	
Cantelupe, Nicholas de, third Baron Cante-		Brudenel, James Thomas.	
lupe by writ ( <i>d.</i> 1355) . . .	899	Cardmaker, <i>alias</i> Taylor, John ( <i>d.</i> 1555) . . .	948
Cantelupe, Roger de ( <i>fl.</i> 1248) . . .	899	Cardon, Anthony (1772-1818) . . .	949
Cantelupe, Simon, called Le Norman ( <i>d.</i>		Cardon, Philip ( <i>d.</i> 1817 ?). See under Cardon,	
1249) . . .	899	Anthony.	
Cantelupe, Thomas de (1213 ?-1282) . . .	900	Cardonnell, Adam [de] ( <i>d.</i> 1719) . . .	949
Cantelupe, Walter de ( <i>d.</i> 1266) . . .	904	Cardonnell, afterwards Cardonnell-Lawson	
Cantelupe, William de, first Baron Cantelupe		Adam [Mansfeldt] de ( <i>d.</i> 1820) . . .	950
( <i>d.</i> 1239) . . .	906	Cardonnell, Philip de ( <i>d.</i> 1667). See under	
Cantelupe, William de, second Baron Cante-		Cardonnell, Adam [de] ( <i>d.</i> 1719).	
lupe ( <i>d.</i> 1251) . . .	906	Cardross, Barons. See Erskine, Daniel, second	
Cantelupe, William de, third Baron Cante-		Baron, 1616-1671; Erskine, Henry, third	
lupe ( <i>d.</i> 1254) . . .	907	Baron, 1650-1698.	

	PAGE		PAGE
Cardwell, Edward (1787-1861) . . . . .	951	Carleill, Christopher (1551?-1593) . . . . .	991
Cardwell, Edward, Viscount (1813-1886) . . . . .	952	Carlell, Lodowick ( <i>d.</i> 1629-1664) . . . . .	995
Care, Henry (1646-1688) . . . . .	954	Carleton, Baron ( <i>d.</i> 1725). See Boyle, Henry.	
Careless, William ( <i>d.</i> 1639). See Carlos.		Carleton, Sir Dudley, Viscount Dorchester (1573-1632) . . . . .	996
Carencross, Alexander ( <i>d.</i> 1701). See Cairncross.		Carleton, George (1559-1628) . . . . .	999
Carew. See also Carey and Cary.		Carleton, George ( <i>d.</i> 1728) . . . . .	1000
Carew, Sir Alexander (1609-1644) . . . . .	955	Carleton, Guy (1593?-1685) . . . . .	1001
Carew, Bampfylde Moore (1693-1770?) . . . . .	956	Carleton, Guy, first Baron Dorchester (1724-1808) . . . . .	1002
Carew, Sir Benjamin Hallowell (1760-1834) . . . . .	956	Carleton, Hugh, Viscount Carleton (1739-1826) . . . . .	1004
Carew, Sir Edmund (1464-1513) . . . . .	958	Carleton, Mary (1642?-1673) . . . . .	1004
Carew, Elizabeth, Lady ( <i>d.</i> 1590). See Carey, Elizabeth, Lady.		Carleton, Richard (1560?-1638) . . . . .	1005
Carew, Sir George ( <i>d.</i> 1613) . . . . .	959	Carleton, Thomas, <i>alias</i> Compton (1593?-1666). See Compton.	
Carew, George ( <i>d.</i> 1588). See under Carew, George, Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Totnes.		Carleton, William ( <i>d.</i> 1309?) . . . . .	1006
Carew, George, Baron Carew of Clopton and Earl of Totnes (1555-1629) . . . . .	960	Carleton, William (1794-1869) . . . . .	1006
Carew, Sir John ( <i>d.</i> 1362) . . . . .	962	Carliell, Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1622?) . . . . .	1007
Carew, John ( <i>d.</i> 1660) . . . . .	963	Carlile. See also Carliell, Carlisle, and Carlyle.	
Carew, John Edward (1785?-1868) . . . . .	963	Carlile or Carlisle, Anne ( <i>d.</i> 1680?) . . . . .	1008
Carew, Sir Matthew ( <i>d.</i> 1618) . . . . .	964	Carlile, Christopher ( <i>d.</i> 1588?) . . . . .	1008
Carew, Sir Nicholas ( <i>d.</i> 1539) . . . . .	965	Carlile, Christopher (1551-1593). See Carleill, Christopher.	
Carew, Sir Peter (1514-1575) . . . . .	968	Carlile, James ( <i>d.</i> 1691) . . . . .	1008
Carew, Richard (1555-1620) . . . . .	969	Carlile, James (1784-1854) . . . . .	1009
Carew, Sir Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1643?) . . . . .	971	Carlile, Richard (1790-1843) . . . . .	1009
Carew or Cary, Robert, also called Corvinus ( <i>d.</i> 1325) . . . . .	972	Carlingford, Earls of. See Taaffe, Theobald, first Earl, <i>d.</i> 1677; Taaffe, Francis, third Earl, 1639-1704.	
Carew, Sir Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1431). See under Carew, Sir John ( <i>d.</i> 1362).		Carlingford, Viscounts of. See Taaffe, Theobald, second Viscount, <i>d.</i> 1677; Taaffe, Francis, fourth Viscount, 1639-1704; Taaffe, Nicholas, sixth Viscount, 1677-1769.	
Carew, Thomas (1595?-1639?) . . . . .	972	Carlini, Agostino ( <i>d.</i> 1790) . . . . .	1012
Carey. See also Carew and Cary.		Carlisle. See also Carleill, Carliell, Carlile, and Carlyle.	
Carey, David (1782-1824) . . . . .	973	Carlisle, Sir Anthony (1768-1840) . . . . .	1012
Carey or Carew, Elizabeth, Lady, the elder ( <i>d.</i> 1590) . . . . .	973	Carlisle, Earls of. See Harclay, Andrew, <i>d.</i> 1323; Hay, James, first Earl, <i>d.</i> 1636; Howard, Charles, first Earl of the second creation, 1629-1685; Howard, Charles, third Earl, 1674-1738; Howard, Frederick, fifth Earl, 1748-1825; Howard, George, sixth Earl, 1773-1848; Howard, George William Frederick, seventh Earl, 1802-1864.	
Carey, Eustace (1791-1855) . . . . .	974	Carlisle, Countess of (1599-1660). See Hay, Lucy.	
Carey, Felix (1786-1822) . . . . .	974	Carlisle, Nicholas (1771-1847) . . . . .	1013
Carey, George, second Baron Hunsdon (1547-1608) . . . . .	974	Carlos, Edward John (1798-1851) . . . . .	1014
Carey, George Jackson (1822-1872) . . . . .	975	Carlos, Carlos, or Careless, William ( <i>d.</i> 1689) . . . . .	1014
Carey, George Saville (1743-1807) . . . . .	976	Carlse, James (1798-1855) . . . . .	1015
Carey, Henry, first Baron Hunsdon (1524?-1596) . . . . .	977	Carlyle, Alexander (1722-1805) . . . . .	1015
Carey, Henry, second Earl of Monmouth (1596-1661) . . . . .	979	Carlyle, Jane Bailie Welsh (1801-1866). See under Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881).	
Carey, Henry ( <i>d.</i> 1743) . . . . .	980	Carlyle, John Aitken (1801-1879) . . . . .	1017
Carey, James (1845-1888) . . . . .	981	Carlyle, Joseph Dacre (1759-1804) . . . . .	1018
Carey, John, third Baron Hunsdon ( <i>d.</i> 1617) . . . . .	982	Carlyle, Thomas (1803-1855) . . . . .	1019
Carey, John (1756-1826) . . . . .	982	Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881) . . . . .	1020
Carey, Mathew (1760-1839) . . . . .	983	Carlyon, Clement (1777-1864) . . . . .	1036
Carey, Patrick ( <i>d.</i> 1651). See Cary.		Carmarthen, Marquis of (1631-1712) See Osborne, Thomas.	
Carey, Robert, first Earl of Monmouth (1560?-1639) . . . . .	984	Carmelianus, Peter ( <i>d.</i> 1527) . . . . .	1086
Carey, Valentine ( <i>d.</i> 1626). See Cary.		Carmichael, Frederick (1708-1751) . . . . .	1087
Carey, William (1761-1834) . . . . .	986	Carmichael, Sir James, first Baron Carmichael (1578?-1673) . . . . .	1087
Carey, William (1769-1846) . . . . .	986	Carmichael, James ( <i>d.</i> 1587) . . . . .	1088
Carey, William Paulet (1759-1839) . . . . .	987	Carmichael, James Wilson (1800-1868) . . . . .	1088
Cargill, Ann (1748?-1784), known as Miss Brown . . . . .	988	Carmichael, Sir John ( <i>d.</i> 1600) . . . . .	1039
Cargill, Donald, according to some, Daniel (1619?-1681) . . . . .	988		
Cargill, James ( <i>d.</i> 1605) . . . . .	989		
Carhampton, Earls of. See Luttrell, Henry Lawes, second Earl, 1743-1821; Luttrell-Olmus, James, <i>d.</i> 1829, under Luttrell, James.			
Carier, Benjamin (1566-1614) . . . . .	989		
Carilef, William de, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 1096) . . . . .	990		
Carkeet, Samuel ( <i>d.</i> 1746) . . . . .	993		
Carlesse, James ( <i>d.</i> 1679) . . . . .	993		
Carkett, Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1780) . . . . .	993		

Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

Carlingford, Baron, p. 652.

	PAGE		PAGE
Carmichael, John, second Baron Carmichael and first Earl of Hyndford (1638-1710)	1039	Carre, Walter Riddell (1807-1874)	1087
Carmichael, John, third Earl of Hyndford (1701-1767)	1039	Carrick, Earl of (1253-1304). See Bruce, Robert de VII.	
Carmichael, Richard (1779-1849)	1040	Carrick, John Donald (1787-1837)	1087
Carmylyon, Alice or Ellys ( <i>fl.</i> 1527-1531)	1041	Carrick, Thomas (1802-1875)	1088
Carnaby, William (1772-1839)	1041	Carrier, Benjamin (1566-1614). See Carier.	
Carnac, Sir James Rivett (1785-1846)	1042	Carrington, Sir Codrington Edmund (1769-1849)	1089
Carnac, John (1716-1800)	1042	Carrington, Frederick George (1816-1864)	1089
Carnarvon, Earls of. See Dormer, Robert, first Earl, <i>d.</i> 1643; Herbert, Henry John George, third Earl of the third creation, 1800-1819; Herbert, Henry Howard Molyneux, fourth Earl, 1831-1890.		Carrington, Lord (1617-1679). See Primrose, Sir Archibald.	
Carne, Sir Edward ( <i>d.</i> 1561)	1043	Carrington, first Baron (1752-1838). See Smith, Robert.	
Carne, Elizabeth Catherine Thomas (1817-1873)	1044	Carrington, Noel Thomas (1777-1830)	1089
Carne, John (1789-1844)	1044	Carrington, Richard Christopher (1826-1875)	1090
Carne, Joseph (1782-1858)	1045	Carroll, Anthony (1722-1794)	1092
Carne, Robert Harkness (1784-1844)	1016	Carruthers, Andrew (1770-1852)	1092
Carnegie, Sir David, of Kinnaird, Lord Carnegie and Earl of Southesk (1575-1658)	1046	Carruthers, James (1759-1832)	1093
Carnegie, Sir Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1566)	1047	Carruthers, Robert (1799-1878)	1093
Carnegie, William, Earl of Northesk (1758-1831)	1048	Carse, Alexander ( <i>fl.</i> 1812-1820)	1094
Carnwath, Earls of. See Dalryell, Robert, second Earl, <i>d.</i> 1654; Dalryell, Sir Robert, sixth Earl, <i>d.</i> 1737.		Carse, William ( <i>fl.</i> 1818-1845)	1094
Caroline (1683-1737)	1048	Carsewell, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1560-1572)	1094
Caroline, Matilda (1751-1775)	1054	Carson, Aglionby Ross (1780-1850)	1094
Caroline, Amelia Elizabeth, of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (1768-1821)	1059	Carson, Alexander (1776-1844)	1095
Caron, Redmond (1605 ?-1666)	1062	Carson, James (1772-1843)	1095
Carpenter, Alexander, latinised as Fabricius ( <i>fl.</i> 1429)	1002	Carstares, William (1649-1715)	1096
Carpenter, George, Lord Carpenter (1657-1732)	1063	Carswell, Sir Robert (1793-1857)	1100
Carpenter, James (1760-1845)	1063	Carte, Samuel (1653-1740)	1100
Carpenter, John (1870 ?-1441 ?)	1064	Carte, Thomas (1696-1754)	1100
Carpenter, John ( <i>d.</i> 1476)	1065	Carter, Edmund ( <i>fl.</i> 1753)	1103
Carpenter, John ( <i>d.</i> 1621)	1065	Carter, Elizabeth (1717-1806)	1103
Carpenter, Lant (1780-1840)	1066	Carter, Ellen (1762-1815)	1105
Carpenter, Margaret Sarah (1793-1872)	1068	Carter, Francis ( <i>d.</i> 1733)	1106
Carpenter, Mary (1807-1877)	1068	Carter, George (1737-1794)	1106
Carpenter, Nathanael (1589-1628 ?)	1070	Carter, Harry William (1787-1863)	1107
Carpenter, Philip Pearsall (1819-1877)	1071	Carter, Henry, otherwise Frank Leslie (1821-1880)	1107
Carpenter, Richard (1575-1627)	1072	Carter, James (1798-1855)	1108
Carpenter, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1670 ?)	1073	Carter, John, the elder (1554-1635)	1108
Carpenter, Richard Cromwell (1812-1855)	1073	Carter, John, the younger ( <i>d.</i> 1655)	1109
Carpenter, William (1797-1874)	1074	Carter, John (1748-1817)	1109
Carpenter, William Benjamin (1813-1885)	1075	Carter, John (1815-1850)	1111
Carpenter, William Hookham (1792-1866)	1077	Carter, John (1672-1745)	1111
Carpentière or Charpentière, — ( <i>d.</i> 1737)	1078	Carter, Matthew ( <i>fl.</i> 1660)	1112
Carpentiers, Carpentier, or Charpentière, Adrien ( <i>fl.</i> 1760-1774)	1078	Carter, Oliver (1540 ?-1605)	1112
Carpue, Joseph Constantine (1764-1846)	1078	Carter, Owen Browne (1806-1859)	1114
Carr, John (1723-1807)	1079	Carter, Peter (1530 ?-1590)	1114
Carr, John (1732-1807)	1079	Carter, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1692)	1114
Carr, Sir John (1772-1832)	1079	Carter, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1795)	1115
Carr, Johnson (1744-1765)	1080	Carter, Thomas (1735 ?-1804)	1115
Carr, Nicholas (1524-1568)	1080	Carter, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1867)	1116
Carr, R. ( <i>fl.</i> 1668)	1081	Carter, William ( <i>d.</i> 1584)	1116
Carr, Richard (1651-1706)	1081	Carteret, Sir George ( <i>d.</i> 1630)	1117
Carr, Robert, Earl of Somerset ( <i>d.</i> 1645) or Ker	1081	Curteret, John, 1st Earl Granville (1690-1763)	1119
Carr, Robert James (1774-1841)	1085	Carteret, Sir Philip de (1584-1643)	1124
Carr, Roger ( <i>d.</i> 1612)	1086	Carteret, Philip ( <i>d.</i> 1796)	1125
Carr, Thomas, <i>alias</i> Miles Pinkney (1599-1674). See Carre, Thomas.		Carthach, Saint, the elder ( <i>d.</i> 580 ?)	1125
Carr, William Holwell (1758-1830)	1086	Carthach, Saint, the younger ( <i>d.</i> 636), called also Mochuda	1126
Carre, Thomas (1599-1674), real name Miles Pinkney	1086	Carthew, George Alfred (1807-1882)	1127
		Carthew, Thomas (1657-1704)	1128
		Cartier, Sir George Etienne (1814-1873)	1128
		Cartwright, Christopher (1602-1658)	1129
		Cartwright, Edmund (1743-1823)	1130
		Cartwright, Frances Dorothy (1780-1863)	1132
		Cartwright, George ( <i>fl.</i> 1661)	1133
		Cartwright, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1763-1808)	1133
		Cartwright, John (1740-1824)	1133
		Cartwright, Joseph (1789 ?-1829)	1134
		Cartwright, Samuel (1789-1864)	1135
		Cartwright, Thomas (1535-1603)	1135
		Cartwright, Thomas (1634-1689)	1139

Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

*Carpenter, A. J. p. 393.*  
*Carroll, L. (C. L. Dodgson), 567.*

*Carpenter, P. H. 394.*

*Carroäus, J. T. 395.*

	PAGE		PAGE
Cartwright, Sir Thomas (1795-1850) . . .	1141	Castle, Thomas (1804?-1810?) . . .	1184
Cartwright, William (1611-1643) . . .	1141	Castlehaven, third Earl of (1617?-1684). See	
Cartwright, William ( <i>d.</i> 1687) . . .	1142	Touchet, James	
Carus, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1872?) . . .	1143	Castlemain, Countess of (1641-1709). See	
Carve, Thomas (1590-1672?) . . .	1143	Villiers, Barbara, Duchess of Cleve-	
Carvell, Nicholas ( <i>d.</i> 1566) . . .	1144	land.	
Carver, John (1575?-1621) . . .	1145	Castlemain, Earl of ( <i>d.</i> 1705). See Palmer,	
Carver, Jonathan (1732-1780) . . .	1146	Roger.	
Carver, Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1791) . . .	1147	Castlereagh, Viscount (1739-1821). See	
Carvosso, Benjamin (1789-1854) . . .	1148	Stewart, Robert.	
Carwardine, Penelope (1780?-1800?), after-		Castro, Alfonso y (1495-1558) . . .	1184
wards Mrs. Butler . . .	1148	Caswall, Edward (1814-1878) . . .	1185
Carwell, Thomas (1600-1664), real name		Cat, Christopher ( <i>fl.</i> 1703-1733) . . .	1186
Thorold . . .	1148	Catcher or Burton, Edward (1584?-	
Cary. See also Carew and Carey.		1624?) . . .	1187
Cary, Edward ( <i>d.</i> 1711) . . .	1149	Catchpole, Margaret (1773-1841) . . .	1187
Cary, Elizabeth, Viscountess Falkland (1585-		Catcott, Alexander (1725-1779) . . .	1187
1639). See under Cary, Sir Henry.		Catcott, Alexander Sopotford (1692-1749) . . .	1188
Cary, Francis Stephen (1808-1880) . . .	1149	Catesby, Sir John ( <i>d.</i> 1486) . . .	1189
Cary, Sir Henry, first Viscount Falkland ( <i>d.</i>		Catesby, Mark (1679?-1749) . . .	1190
1683) . . .	1149	Catesby, Robert (1573-1605) . . .	1190
Cary, Henry Francis (1772-1844) . . .	1151	Catesby, William ( <i>d.</i> 1485) . . .	1193
Cary, John ( <i>d.</i> 1395?) . . .	1153	Catharine. See Catherine.	
Cary, John ( <i>d.</i> 1720?) . . .	1153	Cathcart, Charles, ninth Baron Cathcart	
Cary, Lucius, second Viscount Falkland		(1721-1776) . . .	1194
(1610?-1643) . . .	1155	Cathcart, Charles Murray, second Earl Cath-	
Cary, Patrick ( <i>fl.</i> 1651) . . .	1160	cart (1783-1859) . . .	1194
Cary, Robert (1615?-1688) . . .	1161	Cathcart, David, Lord Alloway ( <i>d.</i> 1829) . . .	1195
Cary, Valentine ( <i>d.</i> 1626) . . .	1161	Cathcart, Sir George (1794-1854) . . .	1195
Cary, William (1759-1825) . . .	1162	Cathcart, Sir William Schaw, tenth Baron	
Caryl, Joseph (1602-1673) . . .	1162	Cathcart in the peerage of Scotland, and	
Caryll, John, titular Lord Caryll (1625-		first Viscount and Earl Cathcart in the	
1711) . . .	1163	peerage of the United Kingdom (1755-	
Caryll, John (1666?-1736) . . .	1164	1848) . . .	1196
Carysfort, Earls of. See Proby, John Joshua,		Catherine of Valois (1401-1437) . . .	1198
first Earl, 1751-1828; Proby, Granville		Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536) . . .	1199
Leveson, third Earl, 1781-1863.		Catherine Howard ( <i>d.</i> 1542) . . .	1212
Carysfort, first Baron (1720-1772). See		Catherine Parr (1512-1548) . . .	1217
Proby, John.		Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705) . . .	1221
Casali, Andrea (1720?-1738?) . . .	1165	Cathroe or Kadroe, Samt ( <i>d.</i> 976?). See	
Casanova, Francis (1727-1805) . . .	1165	Cadroe.	
Casaubon, Isaac (1559-1614) . . .	1166	Catley, Ann (1745-1789) . . .	1228
Casaubon, Meric (1599-1671) . . .	1170	Catlin, Sir Robert ( <i>d.</i> 1574) . . .	1229
Case, John ( <i>d.</i> 1600) . . .	1171	Catnach, James (of the Seven Dials) (1792-	
Case, John ( <i>d.</i> 1680-1700) . . .	1172	1841) . . .	1230
Case, Thomas (1598-1682) . . .	1173	Caton, William (1636-1665) . . .	1230
Casson, William, the elder (1692-1766) . . .	1176	Catrik, John ( <i>d.</i> 1419). See Ketterich.	
Casson, William, the younger (1720-1778) . . .	1176	Cattermole, George (1800-1868) . . .	1231
Cassan, Stephen Hyde (1789-1841) . . .	1177	Cattermole, Richard (1795?-1858) . . .	1233
Cassel or Cassels, Richard ( <i>fl.</i> 1757). See		Catti, Twm Shon (1530-1620?). See Jones,	
Castle, Richard.		Thomas.	
Cassell, John (1817-1865) . . .	1177	Catton, Charles, the elder (1728-1798) . . .	1234
Cassie, James (1819-1879) . . .	1178	Catton, Charles, the younger (1756-1819) . . .	1234
Cassilis, Earls of. See Kennedy, Gilbert,		Catton, Thomas (1700-1838) . . .	1234
second Earl, <i>d.</i> 1527; Kennedy, Gilbert,		Catton or Chattodunus, Walter ( <i>d.</i> 1343) . . .	1234
third Earl, 1517?-1558; Kennedy, Gilbert,		Cattwg, Ddoeth ( <i>d.</i> 570?). See Cadoc.	
fourth Earl, 1541?-1578; Kennedy, John,		Caulfield, James, fourth Viscount and first	
fifth Earl, 1567?-1615; Kennedy, John,		Earl of Charlemont (1728-1799) . . .	1235
sixth Earl, 1595?-1668; Kennedy, John,		Caulfield, Sir Toby or Tobias, first Baron	
seventh Earl, 1646?-1701.		Charlemont (1565-1627) . . .	1237
Cassivellaunus ( <i>fl.</i> 54 B.C.) . . .	1179	Caulfield, Toby or Tobias, third Baron	
Casteels, Peter (1684-1749) . . .	1180	Charlemont ( <i>d.</i> 1642) . . .	1237
Castell, Edmund (1606-1685) . . .	1180	Caulfield, William, fifth Baron and first	
Castell, William ( <i>d.</i> 1645) . . .	1181	Viscount Charlemont ( <i>d.</i> 1671) . . .	1237
Castello, Adrian de (1460?-1521?). See		Caulfield, William, second Viscount Charle-	
Adrian de Castello.		mont ( <i>d.</i> 1726) . . .	1237
Castillo, John (1792-1845) . . .	1182	Caulfield, James (1764-1826) . . .	1238
Castine, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1798?) . . .	1182	Caunt, Benjamin (1815-1861) . . .	1240
Castle, Edmund (1698-1750) . . .	1183	Caunter, John Hobart (1794-1851) . . .	1241
Castle, George (1635?-1673) . . .	1183	Caus, Solomon de (1576-1680). See De	
Castle, Cassel, or Cassels, Richard ( <i>d.</i>		Caus.	
1751) . . .	1183	Causton, Michael de ( <i>d.</i> 1395). See Cawston.	



	PAGE		PAGE
Causton, Thomas ( <i>d.</i> 1569) . . . . .	1241	Ceadda, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 672), better known as	
Cautley, Sir Proby Thomas (1802-1871) . . . . .	1242	Chad . . . . .	1800
Caux, John de ( <i>d.</i> 1263). See Caletto, John de.		Ceadwalla. See Cædwalla.	
Cavagnari, Sir Pierre Louis Napoleon (1841-1879) . . . . .	1244	Ceallachan ( <i>d.</i> 954) . . . . .	1302
Cavallier or Cavallier, Jean (1681-1740) . . . . .	1244	Coarbhall, lord of Ossory ( <i>d.</i> 888) . . . . .	1302
Cavallo, Tiberius (1749-1809) . . . . .	1246	Ceawlin ( <i>d.</i> 593) . . . . .	1303
Cavan, Earls of. See Lambart, Charles, first Earl, 1600-1660; Lambart, Richard Ford William, seventh Earl, 1763-1836.		Cecil, Sir Edward, Viscount Wimbledou (1572-1638) . . . . .	1304
Cave, Sir Ambrose ( <i>d.</i> 1568) . . . . .	1247	Cecil, James, third Earl of Salisbury ( <i>d.</i> 1683) . . . . .	1306
Cave, Edward (1691-1754) . . . . .	1247	Cecil, James, fourth Earl of Salisbury ( <i>d.</i> 1693) . . . . .	1306
Cave, John ( <i>d.</i> 1657) . . . . .	1249	Cecil, Richard (1748-1810) . . . . .	1307
Cave, Sir Stephen (1820-1880) . . . . .	1250	Cecil, Robert, first Earl of Salisbury and first Viscount Cranborne (1563?-1612) . . . . .	1309
Cave, William (1637-1713) . . . . .	1250	Cecil, Thomas, first Earl of Exeter and second Baron Burghley (1542-1623) . . . . .	1313
Cavellus, Hugo (1571-1626). See MacCaghwel, Hugh.		Cecil, Thomas ( <i>fl.</i> 1630) . . . . .	1314
Cavendish, Charles (1620-1643) . . . . .	1252	Cecil, William, Baron Burghley (1520-1598) . . . . .	1315
Cavendish, Christiana, Countess of Devonshire ( <i>d.</i> 1675) . . . . .	1252	Cecilia or Cecily (1469-1507) . . . . .	1321
Cavendish, Elizabeth, Duchess of Devonshire (1758-1824) . . . . .	1253	Cedd or Cедda, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 664) . . . . .	1322
Cavendish, Lord Frederick (1729-1808) . . . . .	1253	Cedmon, Saint ( <i>fl.</i> 670). See Cædmon.	
Cavendish, Lord Frederick Charles (1836-1882) . . . . .	1254	Celeclerech, Cilian, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 697). See Cilian.	
Cavendish, George (1500-1561?) . . . . .	1255	Clesia, Dorothea (1738-1790) . . . . .	1323
Cavendish, Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire (1757-1806) . . . . .	1256	Celeste, Madame, proper name Celeste-Elliott (1814?-1882) . . . . .	1324
Cavendish, Sir Henry (1732-1804) . . . . .	1257	Cellach, Saint (6th cent.) . . . . .	1324
Cavendish, Henry (1751-1810) . . . . .	1257	Cellach, Saint (1079-1129). See Celsus.	
Cavendish, Sir John ( <i>d.</i> 1381) . . . . .	1262	Cellier, Elizabeth ( <i>fl.</i> 1680) . . . . .	1326
Cavendish, Lord John (1732-1796) . . . . .	1262	Celling, William, or perhaps more properly William Tilly of Selling ( <i>d.</i> 1494) . . . . .	1326
Cavendish, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle (1624?-1674) . . . . .	1264	Celsus or Cellach, Saint (1079-1129) . . . . .	1327
Cavendish, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1601?) . . . . .	1266	Centlivre, Susannah (1667?-1723) . . . . .	1329
Cavendish, Thomas (1560?-1592) . . . . .	1267	Centwine or Kenten ( <i>d.</i> 685) . . . . .	1331
Cavendish, Sir William (1503?-1557) . . . . .	1272	Kenwall, Kenwealh, or Coinwalch ( <i>d.</i> 672) . . . . .	1332
Cavendish, William, first Earl of Devonshire ( <i>d.</i> 1626) . . . . .	1273	Cenwulf or Kenulf ( <i>d.</i> 1006) . . . . .	1333
Cavendish, William, second Earl of Devonshire (1591?-1628) . . . . .	1273	Ceolfrid or Ceolfrith, Saint (642-716) . . . . .	1333
Cavendish, William, Duke of Newcastle (1592-1676) . . . . .	1273	Ceolnoth ( <i>d.</i> 870) . . . . .	1335
Cavendish, William, third Earl of Devonshire (1617-1684) . . . . .	1278	Ceolred ( <i>d.</i> 716) . . . . .	1335
Cavendish, William, first Duke of Devonshire (1640-1707) . . . . .	1279	Ceolric or Ceol ( <i>d.</i> 597) . . . . .	1336
Cavendish, William, fourth Duke of Devonshire (1720-1764) . . . . .	1284	Ceolwulf ( <i>d.</i> 764) . . . . .	1336
Cavendish, William George Spencer, sixth Duke of Devonshire (1790-1853) . . . . .	1285	Cerdic ( <i>d.</i> 534) . . . . .	1336
Cavendish-Bentinck. See Bentinck.		Cernach, Saint ( <i>fl.</i> 450). See Carantacus.	
Caverhill, John ( <i>d.</i> 1781) . . . . .	1285	Cervetto, Giacobbe (1682?-1788) . . . . .	1337
Caw, John Young (1810?-1858) . . . . .	1285	Cervetto, James (1749?-1837) . . . . .	1338
Cawdell, James ( <i>d.</i> 1800) . . . . .	1286	Cestreton, Adam de ( <i>d.</i> 1269) . . . . .	1338
Cawdry, Daniel (1588-1664) . . . . .	1286	Chabham or Chobham, Thomas de ( <i>fl.</i> 1230) . . . . .	1338
Cawdry, Zachary (1616-1684) . . . . .	1286	Chabot, Charles (1815-1832) . . . . .	1338
Cawley, William (1603-1667) . . . . .	1287	Chaceporc or Chaceport, Peter ( <i>d.</i> 1254) . . . . .	1339
Cawood, John (1514-1572) . . . . .	1288	Chad or Ceadda, Saint ( <i>d.</i> 672). See Ceadda.	
Cawston or Causton, Michael de ( <i>d.</i> 1355) . . . . .	1289	Chaderton, Laurence (1536?-1640) . . . . .	1339
Cawthorn, James (1719-1761) . . . . .	1289	Chaderton, Chadderton, or Chatterton, William (1540?-1608) . . . . .	1341
Cawton, Thomas, the elder (1605-1659) . . . . .	1290	Chads, Sir Henry Ducie (1788?-1868) . . . . .	1343
Cawton, Thomas, the younger ( <i>d.</i> 1677). See under Cawton, Thomas, the elder.		Chadwick, James (1819-1882) . . . . .	1344
Caxton, William (1422?-1491) . . . . .	1290	Chafy, William (1779-1843) . . . . .	1345
Cay, Henry Boulst ( <i>d.</i> 1795). See under Cay, John.		Chaigneau, William (1709-1781) . . . . .	1345
Cay, John (1700-1757) . . . . .	1298	Chalk, Sir James Jell (1803-1878) . . . . .	1345
Cayley, Arthur ( <i>d.</i> 1848) . . . . .	1299	Chalkhill, John ( <i>fl.</i> 1600) . . . . .	1346
Cayley, Charles Bagot (1823-1883) . . . . .	1299	Chalkley, Thomas (1675-1741) . . . . .	1346
Cayley, Cornelius (1729-1780?) . . . . .	1300	Challice, Annie Emma (1821-1875). See under Challice, John.	
		Challice, John (1815-1863) . . . . .	1347
		Challinor, Mrs. Hannah ( <i>fl.</i> 670). See Woolley.	
		Challis, James (1803-1882) . . . . .	1347
		Challoner, Richard (1691-1781) . . . . .	1349

Lives in Supplement, Vol. XXII

*Cave, A. p. 397.*      *Cave, Sir L. W. 398.*      *Cavendish (Henry Jones), 317.*      *Cavendish, A. 393.*  
*Cavendish, Sir C. 399.*      *Cavendish, W., 7th Duke of Devonshire, 400.*      *Cayley, A. 401.*  
*Cecil, A. 402.*      *Cecil J. 403.*      *Celther, A. 405.*      *Cennick, J. 406.*  
*Chadwick, Sir E. 406.*      *Chaffers, W. 409.*      *Chaffers, R. 409.*

	PAGE		PAGE
Chalmers, Alexander (1759-1834) . . .	1352	Chalmers, W. A. ( <i>d.</i> 1798) . . .	1363
Chalmers, David (1530?-1592). See Cham- bers.		Chalmers, Sir William (1787-1860) . . .	1363
Chalmers, Sir George ( <i>d.</i> 1791) . . .	1354	Chalon, Alfred Edward (1780-1860) . . .	1364
Chalmers, George (1742-1825) . . .	1354	Chalon, John James (1778-1854) . . .	1365
Chalmers, George Paul (1836-1878) . . .	1355	Chaloner, James (1603-1660) . . .	1365
Chalmers, James (1782-1853) . . .	1356	Chaloner, Richard ( <i>d.</i> 1643) . . .	1366
Chalmers, Sir John (1756-1818) . . .	1356	Chaloner, Sir Thomas, the elder (1521-1565)	1366
Chalmers, Patrick (1802-1854) . . .	1357	Chaloner, Sir Thomas, the younger (1561- 1615) . . .	1367
Chalmers, Thomas (1780-1847) . . .	1358	Chaloner, Thomas (1595-1661) . . .	1369

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME





